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HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

CAPE COD NATIONAL SEASHORE

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by
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PREFACE

This report is intended to fulfill the requirements for a historic resource study of Cape Cod National Seashore. Its purpose is to provide a general history and historic base map of the National Seashore area. The study should provide the basic data needed for planning and interpretation. The numbers in parentheses in the text, which follow the sites and structures discussed there, correspond to the numbers on the historic base map.

My thanks are extended to Superintendent Hadley, Cape Cod National Seashore, and his staff; the personnel of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Massachusetts State Archives; Chester E. Cross of the University of Massachusetts Cranberry Experiment Station; and the National Archives.

HISTORY OF THE CAPE COD NATIONAL SEASHORE REGION

The history of the Cape Cod National Seashore region, during most of the period of white settlement, has been one of dependence on the sea for a livelihood. Protection of maritime activity off the Cape shore, through the development of lighthouses and the Life Saving Service, also played a role in the Cape's history. Disruption of marine activities, from wars and the financial inability to adopt new fishing methods, brought depressions. Even during prosperity the isolated Cape region took a backseat to the commercially prominent Boston area. After the Civil War, as fishing declined, the Cape residents turned to raising cranberries (although never great on the lower Cape) and promoting tourism. Finally, since the mid-1950s, it has succumbed to suburbanization.

I. EARLY MAPS AND EXPLORERS OF THE CAPE COD AREA

Almost immediately after Columbus' initial voyage, Europeans began to traverse the Atlantic to explore and map the coast of North America. Cartographers, in turn, used these men's accounts and charts as the basis for additional maps. Three areas of the North American coast--Sandy Hook, Cape Cod, and the Bay of Fundy--made a strong impression on these early voyagers as most maps contained references to at least two of these locations. None of the early maps showed an outline of Cape Cod, but only indicated the coastal location. These explorers and cartographers labeled the area with such descriptions as *arrecifes, faralones, mallebarre, baturier,* or *boxos,* but whatever the language term used it meant the same--the Cape of the Shoals or Reefs.[1]

The best known of the sixteenth century maps were those that evolved from Giovanni Verrazano's 1524 voyage, and Gerhardus Mercator's which dated 1542 (Figure 1). Verrazano, who followed the coast from Carolina to Newfoundland, used the words *C. della bussa* to delineate the Cape (B. F. DeCosta thought *della bussa* to be the equivalent of *baturier*) and *sirtis* for its shoals. Mercator applied the name *Cabo d. Malabrigo* (bad shelter) to the Cape. Another map, drawn by the Portuguese cartographer Diogo Ribero in 1529 and partly based upon the 1525 voyage of Estevan Gomez, gave the name *C. de Las Arenas* to Cape Cod.[2]

Delineation of the Cape Cod coast fell to seventeenth century explorers. Samuel Champlain evidently became the first to draw portions of the area during investigations of Nauset (Eastham) and Stage (Chatham) Harbors (Figures 2 and 3).[3] John Smith, of Jamestown fame, arrived in 1614 and mapped the Cape coast as far as the Isle of Nauset on the ocean side (Figure 4).[4] Although not published for several years, the Dutch "Figurative Map" of 1614 also charted the Cape which

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1. B. F. DeCosta, *Cabo de Baxos: Or, the Place of Cape Cod in the Old Cartoloty* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1881), pp. 2-3.

2. DeCosta, *Cabo de Baxos,* pp. 4-5; Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages A.D. 500-1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 331.

3. Charles P. Otis (translator), *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain,* II (N.Y.: Burt Franklin, 1966), pp. 83, 123.

4. Charles H. Levermore, (ed.), *Forerunners and Competitors of the Pilgrims and Puritans,* II, (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Published for the New England Society of Brooklyn, 1912).

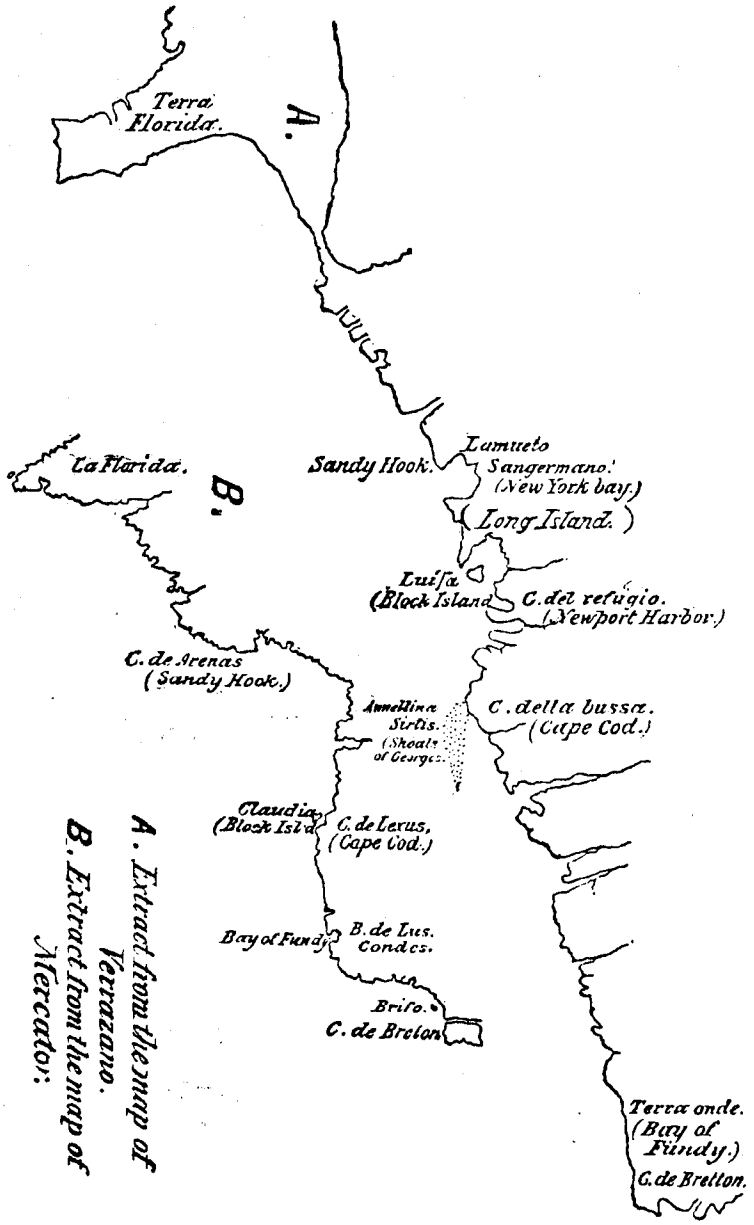

FIGURE 1

New England Historical and Genealogical Register, XXXV (January 1881)

they called Staten Hoeck.[5] In 1624 William Alexander published the first map of the Cape with the name Cape Cod printed on it.[6]

It cannot be ascertained positively which Europeans first passed the coast of Cape Cod. The Dutch apparently sailed by it as early as 1498, but neglected to describe the area at the time. Since, from their central point on the Hudson River, they carried on a far ranging fur trade along the coast in the years which followed, many Dutchmen undoubtedly became familiar with the region. Evidently, Allefonsce, a Dutchman, provided the first description of Cape Cod. As he passed in 1542, he wrote that it was "a cape which is high land."[7] This area, which he saw, was undoubtedly the region presently called the Highlands.

While the Dutch quietly conducted their fur trade along the present New York and New England coast, Basque, Norman, and Portuguese fishermen frequented the Cape Cod waters. Some used Cape Cod Bay for shelter and placed their fish to dry on its shores.[8] A group of Basques even desired to settle in the area. As a result of the 1583 voyage of Stephen Bellinger, a Frenchman from Rouen, the Basques of St. John de Luz petitioned the French king for permission to plant a colony in the New England region.[9] Some of these men evidently did come to the region, for when the Bartholomew Gosnold expedition arrived in 1602 they found Indians using a Basque shallop with mast and sail. John Brereton, a member of the Gosnold group, felt these natives must have obtained it from the St. John de Luz Basques.[10]

Bartholomew Gosnold encountered Cape Cod while exploring the New England coast looking for a colonization area and a passage to China. In his ship the *Concord* he sailed into Cape Cod Bay on May 15, 1602. John Brereton, in a chronicle of the voyage, wrote that they first mistook the Cape for an island. As a

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5. DeCosta, *Cabo de Baxos*, p. 12.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

8. Samuel E. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1921), p. 8.

9. DeCosta, *Cabo de Baxos*, p. 6.

10. John Brereton, *A Brief and True Relation of the Discovery of the North Part of Virginia; Being a Most Pleasant, Fruitful and Commodious Soil; Made this Year 1602, By Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, Captain Bartholomew Gilbert, and Divers other Gentlemen, their Associates, By the Permission of the Honorable Knight, Sir Walter Raleigh, & C.*, (London: Impensis Geor. Bishop, 1602), p. 85, found in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3rd Series, VIII, (1843).

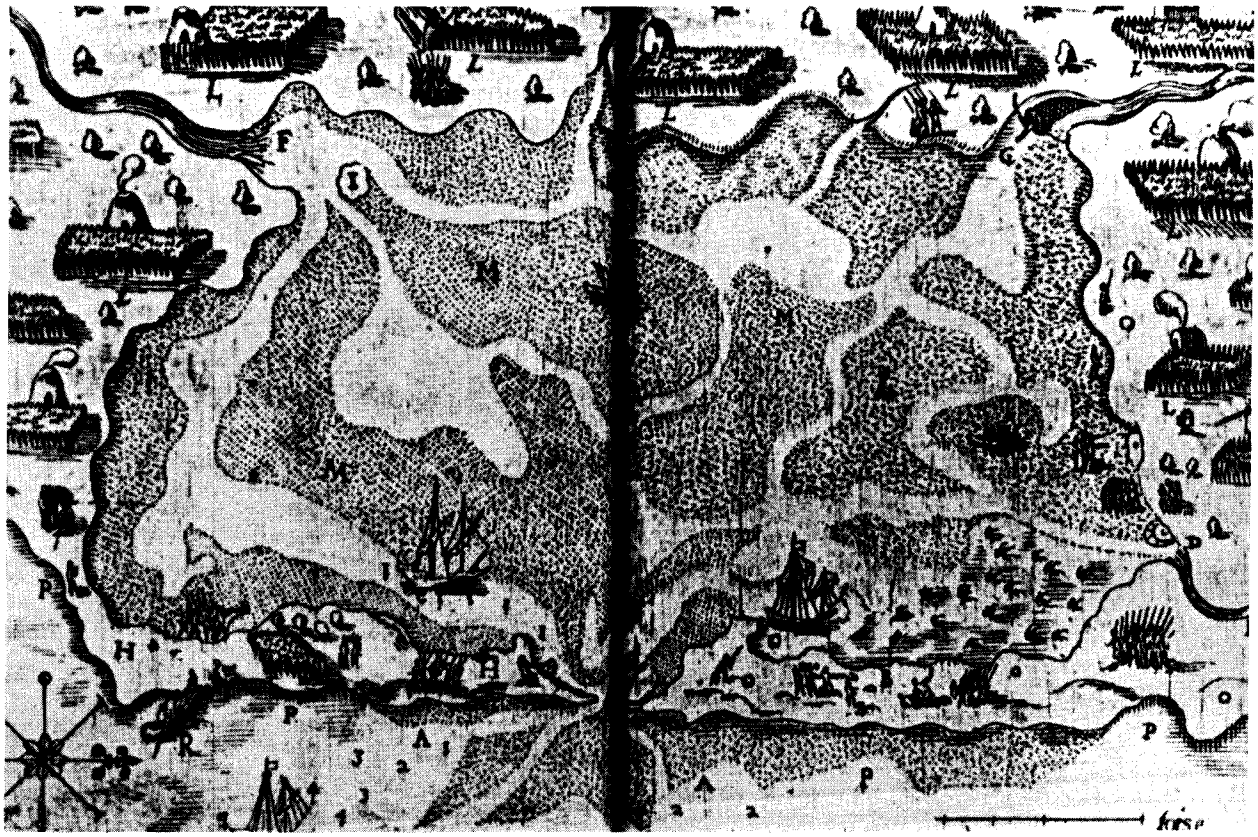

FIGURE 2
Champlain's Map of Nauset Harbor (1605)
Morison, Samuel Champlain: Father of New France.

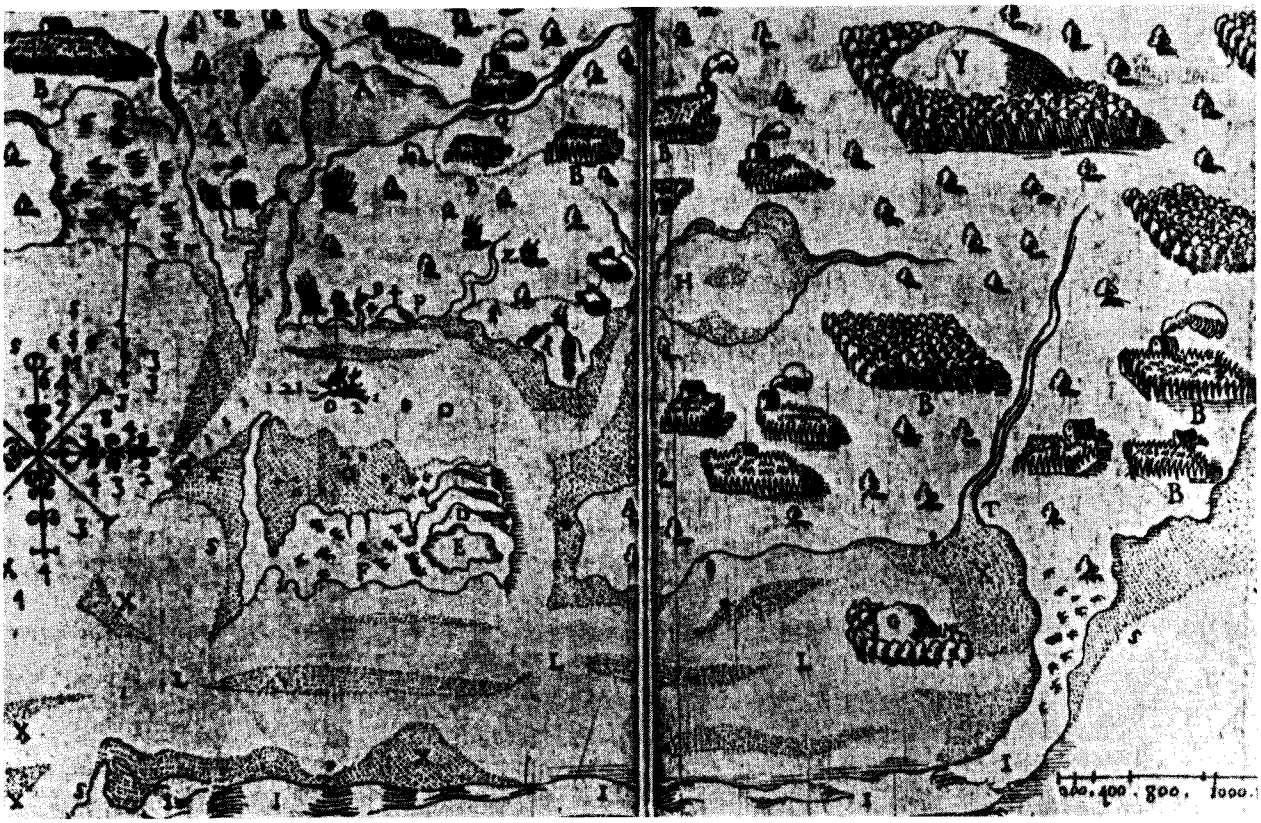

FIGURE 3
Champlain's Map of Stage Harbor (1606)
Morison, Samuel Champlain: Father of New France

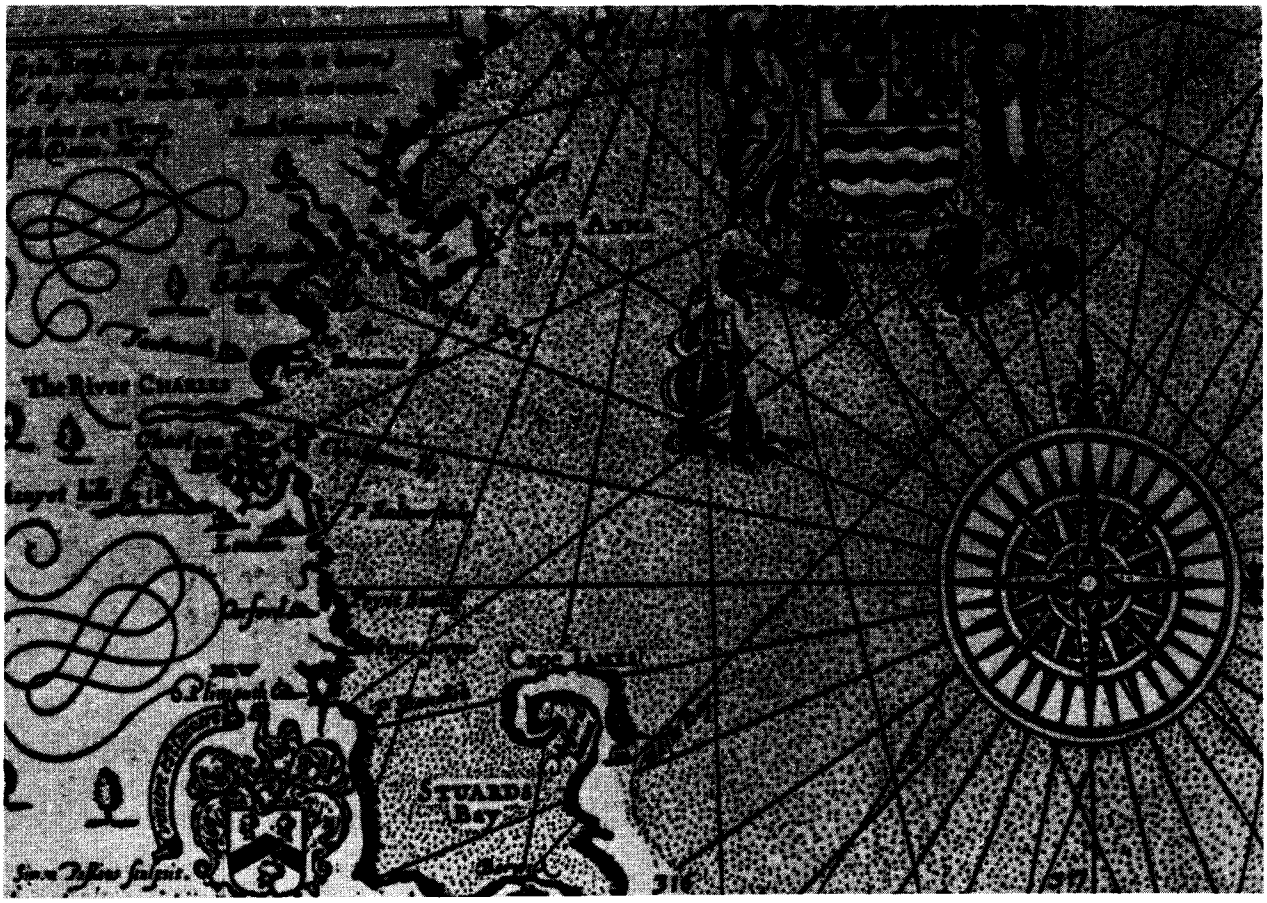

FIGURE 4
John Smith's Map of Cape Cod
Levermore (ed.), Forerunners and Competitors of the Pilgrims and Puritans

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result Gosnold searched for a stream through which he could pass back to the ocean. A shoal, however, forced him to anchor in the vicinity of present day Eastham. Scanning the shore from the *Concord*, he saw nothing to indicate a passage so he raised anchor and drifted southwest. Soon Gosnold was opposite Barnstable harbor. Since it appeared promising, he floated a half-shallop and rowed into the harbor with Brereton and three others. Finding the harbor too shallow for the *Concord*, they landed and went exploring. Upon reaching the highest hill (Shootflying Hill) they observed Nantucket Sound. Looking in the opposite direction, Gosnold saw that he had to sail back north and round the cape to reach the ocean. Returning to the *Concord* he found that those on board had caught such a large quantity of cod fish that some had to be thrown overboard. This abundance of fish prompted him to name the place Cape Cod. Sailing around to the ocean, Gosnold observed that the cape was wooded, but in some places "plaine." Following the ocean coast of the cape for some distance the next day, he came upon a point of land which projected into the ocean. Attempting to round the point, Gosnold nearly ran aground on its shoals. Gabriel Archer, another chronicler of the voyage, called the shoals Tucker's Terror and the point Point Care. This area was the Isle of Nauset, on the back side of Eastham Orleans, which has long since been swept away by the ocean. Gosnold spent several days off Monomoy Point, which he named Point Gilbert, while he checked the water's depth. On May 19 he rounded that point and anchored west of it. The next day he moved away from the cape. Before he left the area, however, he observed Buzzards Bay which he called Gosnold's Hope.[11]

In June of the next year (1603) Martin Pring sailed into Cape Cod Bay. He landed in Plymouth Harbor which he named Whitson Bay for the Mayor of Bristol, England. After nearly a two-month stay, during which time he gathered sassafras, he departed for England. During the course of his sojourn, he undoubtedly saw Cape Cod, but he did not mention going there.[12]

Two years passed before another expedition left a record of a journey to the Cape area. In the company of Sieur de Monts (Pierre du Guast), both Samuel Champlain and Marke Lescarbot described the voyage. Tired of their quarters on St. Croix, they sailed down the coast looking for a new location. On July 19,

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11. Walter F. Gookin, *Bartholomew Gosnold: Discoverer and Planter, New England-1602, Virginia 1607* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1963), pp. 97-106; DeCosta, *Cabo de Baxos*, pp. 9-10. Gookin noted that Brereton did not mention that Gosnold called the area Cape Cod. He only told of the abundant codfish. It was Archer's account, which appeared in 1625, that told of naming the land formation Cape Cod. Since the name Cape Cod was in general usage after Gosnold's voyage, it was undoubtedly passed orally among seamen of the various European nations.

12. " A Voyage set out from the Citie of Bristoll at the Charge of the Chiefest Merchants and Inhabitants of the said Citie with a Small Ship and a (continued)

1605 the group discovered that they had entered the bay of a cape. Since the sand on the tip of the cape appeared white, they named it Cap Blanc. The narrative of the course they followed in exploring the bay is difficult to understand for accuracy of location, but while sailing along the cape's bay coast Champlain recorded that they passed a river which went some distance inland. They called it St. Suzanne du Cap Blanc (Charles Otis, the translator of Champlain's journal, thought the river to be the Herring, but it could possibly have been the Pamet river). Eventually, they doubled back the cape's tip and followed its ocean coast which, from the point, bent around toward the south. On the ocean side Champlain remarked, "This coast is rather high, and consists of sand which is very conspicuous as one comes from the sea." The sandy shore turned to woods a short distance inland.[13]

Farther down the coast the de Monts party anchored where they sighted some Indians on the shore. Four men were sent to investigate. When they landed and climbed the sand bank, these men saw a bay bordered on all sides by Indian huts. The next day, July 20, de Monts decided to sail into the bay which they named Port de Mallebarre (Nauset Harbor) (40). With nine or ten men, including Champlain, de Monts visited the Indians. Although the Indians appeared friendly, an incident occurred several days later which marred the visit. On July 23, four or five of the Frenchmen went ashore with kettles to get spring water. A group of Indians met their shallop as they landed. As several of the men walked to the spring, one of the Indians seized a kettle and ran. It was evidently a spontaneous event since other Indians, unprepared for the occurrence, had entered the shallop. In the commotion which followed, the natives in the shallop jumped into the water while the French fired at the Indian fleeing with the kettle. The Indians on shore killed the sailor (39) whose kettle was stolen, and retreated. The incident, however, did not completely impair relations with the Indians, for later some returned and indicated a friendly intent. Five days after entering, de Monts left the harbor. Because of storms and fog, they decided to curtail further coastal exploration and traveled north, back to their home base on St. Croix.[14]

Champlain and Lescarbot returned to the Cape the next year in the company of Sieur de Poutrincourt. Their initial objective of coastal exploration as far south as Florida, was abandoned, for they had spent too much time retracing de Monts route of the previous year. An hour before daylight on October 1, 1606

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12. (continued) Barke for the Discoverie of the North Part of Virginia, in the Yeere 1603 under the command of Me Martin Pring." found in Levermore, (ed.), *Forerunners and Competitors of the Pilgrims and Puritans*, I, pp. 60-67.

13. Otis (translator), *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain*, II, pp. 79-80.

14. Otis (translator), *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain*, II, pp. 80-90; Samuel Eliot Morison, *Samuel de Champlain: Father of New France* (N.Y.: Little Brown and Co., 1972), pp. 64-69; "The Voyage of Monsieur de Monts into New France, written by Marke Lescarbot," found in Levermore, (ed.), *Forerunners and Competitors of the Pilgrims and Puritans*, 1, pp. 211-216.

they arrived in Cape Cod Bay. Dawn revealed a low, sandy coast nearby. De Poutrincourt anchored and dispatched some men in the shallop to look for a good harbor. In a short time they found a harbor in which they discovered an abundance of oysters. As a result the men named it Port aux Huistres (Wellfleet Harbor). After taking some soundings they left and returned to the ship. The group then sailed around the cape's tip and followed its seacoast south.[15]

Bad weather forced de Poutrincourt to anchor off Nauset harbor (Eastham). Compelled to stop there, he evidently decided to see the place where the de Monts party had spent five days the previous year. Taking the shallop with twelve to fifteen men, he entered the harbor where the group observed the Indians encountered the previous year. After inspecting the harbor, de Poutrincourt returned to the ship and continued to cruise south.[16] The next day, in the vicinity of a sandy point, which extended into the sea, they encountered difficulty with the shoals of Pollock Rip. The vessel's rudder was severely damaged before it could be extracted from danger. Despite this condition they succeeded in rounding the sandy point which they named Cap Batturier (Monomoy). At this point an Indian boarded the ship and, acting as their navigator, directed them to a safe anchorage (52). Champlain called the place Port Fortune (Old Stage Harbor in Chatham).[17]

While the ship's carpenter repaired the rudder, the men visited and traded with the apparently friendly Indians. On the eleventh day in the harbor (October 14), however, they noted that the Indians had begun to dismantle their huts and send the women and children into the woods. This observation caused the Frenchmen to fear an impending attack. De Poutrincourt ordered everyone to board the ship and all but three men, who were baking bread, complied. This trio chose to spend the night on shore. Their decision proved fatal, for the next morning the Indians attacked. Before the shallop with fifteen to sixteen men could reach shore, the three were dead. The Indians fled as the shallop neared, leaving the French to bury the bodies near a cross which had been erected the previous day. The Indians returned as the shallop departed and uncovered the dead. De Poutrincourt sent another party ashore to reinter the deceased. On this occasion the natives allowed the bodies to repose undisturbed. Having overstayed their welcome, the French weighed anchor and left the following day. After exploring Nantucket Sound for several days they returned to Stage Harbor hoping for revenge by kidnaping several Indians to use as slaves. Their efforts proved unsuccessful.[18]

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15. Otis (translator), *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain*, II, pp. 109, 115-117; Morison, *Samuel de Champlain*, p. 79.

16. Otis (translator), *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain*, II, p. 117.

17. Otis (translator), *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain*, II, pp. 118-119; Morison, *Samuel de Champlain*, pp. 79-82.

18. Otis (translator), *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain*, II, pp. 126-130; Morison, *Samuel de Champlain*, pp. 82-87; "The Voyage of Monsieur de Monts into New France, written by Marke Lescarbot," found in Levermore (ed.), *Forerunners and Competitors of the Pilgrims and Puritans*, I, pp. 268-276.

On August 3, 1609 Henry Hudson came upon Cape Cod from the ocean side and sent five men ashore in a shallop (probably on the back side of the Wellfleet area). They found grapes and rose trees samples of which they brought back to the ship. Hudson evidently turned northward, for the next day they anchored at the north end of the Cape's headland (Robert Juet, the chronicler of Hudson's voyage, wrote that the headland was that which Gosnold had seen in 1602 and named Cape Cod). Upon hearing a voice call to them, Hudson dispatched a boat to shore where the men found Indians. They returned with a native who was given food, drink, and three or four glass buttons and then sent back to land. Despite their knowledge of the cape from Gosnold's exploration, they apparently were confused as to the best way to proceed around it. From their anchorage at the north end of the Cape they sailed west, but soon discovered it was the wrong direction. Hudson turned back and sailed south. On the morning of August 5 fog caused them some difficulty. However, by afternoon they sighted the Cape again. Assured of their position they continued south at a sufficient distance from the Cape to skirt the shoals.[19]

John Smith explored and mapped the New England coast, including most of Cape Cod, in 1614. He stated that the Cape "is only a headland of high hils, over-growne with shrubby Pines, hurts [whortleberry bushes] and such trash, but an excellent harbor for all weathers. This Cape is made by the maine Sea on the one side, and a great Bay on the other in forme of a Sickell, on it doth inhabit the people of Pawmet, and in the bottome of the Bay them of Chawum: towards the South and South-west of this Cape, is found a long and dangerous shoule of rocks and sand...." Smith followed the seacoast only as far as the "Isle of Nauset." The Indians told him that the shoals began at Pamet to the Isle of Nauset and extended beyond their knowledge into the sea. He named the cape, Cape James and titled Provincetown Harbor, Milford Haven.[20] In addition it was Smith who named the entire region New England. Prior to that time it was called Norumbega.[21]

Thomas Dermer, who had accompanied John Smith, returned to the New England coast in 1619 and stopped at several places on Cape Cod. He later died from wounds inflicted by the Cape natives.[22] Dermer was apparently the last to record a visit to the cape before the Pilgrims arrived the following year.

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19. "Journal of Robert Juet," [Henry Hudson's third voyage, 1609], found in Levermore (ed.), *Forerunners and Competitors of the Pilgrims and Puritans*, II, pp. 397-399.

20. John Smith, "The General Historie of Virginia, New England & the Summer Iles," found in Levermore (ed.), *Forerunners and Competitors of the Pilgrims and Puritans*, II, pp. 675-677; Philip L. Barbour, *The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1964), p. 312.

21. Gookin, *Bartholomew Gosnold*, p. 51.

22. Henry C. Kittredge, *Cape Cod: Its People and their History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1968), p. 14.

II. A SHORTENED VOYAGE: THE PILGRIMS ARRIVE IN NEW ENGLAND

On November 9, 1620 the 102 passengers of the *Mayflower*, a bare majority of whom were Pilgrims, sighted Cape Cod. Three years of discussion and decision had led them to remove from Holland and England to the New World. Now, on November 9, they had arrived, but it was not the area in which they had received permission to settle. A patent from the Virginia Company granted them land below the forty-first parallel on the Virginia grant. In a hurried conference on that day the group decided to continue the voyage and settle on Manhattan.[1]

Fate intervened to change the Pilgrims' plans. As the *Mayflower* sailed south on the afternoon of the ninth, it encountered the shoals of the Pollock Rip. Captain Thomas Jones, who commanded the vessel, feared the loss of his ship and insisted on turning back. The next day they made their way north along the coast. On Saturday morning, November 11, the *Mayflower* rounded Race Point and entered Provincetown Harbor.[2]

Weary of their journey the Pilgrims decided to settle in the Cape Cod area even though it lay beyond the boundary assigned to them. This decision posed a governmental problem, for the Virginia Company patent did not extend to that region. As a result, before landing, they produced a temporary set of laws, the Mayflower Compact, to guide them until they could obtain a patent. This document proved quite liberal for its day since, contrary to the government policy in England, it allowed all the adult males, both Pilgrim and non-Pilgrim, a voice in the settlement's affairs. It was undoubtedly necessary to include the non-Pilgrim, for they comprised a large number of the group. To exclude them could have produced a division in the settlement at a time when a united effort to establish their plantation was a necessity. Additionally, John Robinson, a Pilgrim leader who remained in England, advocated a liberal government and religion.[3]

Having dispensed with the governmental compact, some of the men lowered the long boat and rowed ashore to examine the land. After a short walk in the area of present day Provincetown, they returned to the *Mayflower*. The next day being Sunday, they stayed aboard the ship. Monday dawned as the first day of work rather than further exploration. While the women ventured onshore to wash clothing, some of the men removed the shallop from the *Mayflower* and took it ashore for assembly. Others cut firewood to replenish their supply.

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1. George D. Langdon, Jr., *Pilgrim Colony: A History of New Plymouth, 1620-1691* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 1-2; William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647*, I, (Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1912), pp. 151-152.

2. Langdon, *Pilgrim Colony*, p. 2; Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1691*, p. 152.

3. William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647* (N.Y.: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), pp. 75-76.

On November 15 the primary objective of locating a site for a permanent settlement began. Commanded by Captain Miles Standish, sixteen men set out to explore the area known as their "First Discovery." Moving east along the shore, they saw five or six Indians with a dog run inland. They followed the tracks in the hope of locating the village, but night overtook them on the east side of East Harbor (now Pilgrim Lake). The next day the small band continued to track the Indians around the creek and salt meadow southeast of the harbor. Beyond the creek they lost the trail in some pines. Pressing onward, the group moved through brush, the thorns tearing their clothing. In the general vicinity of present day Pilgrim Spring they found fresh water springs and stopped to drink their first New England water. After a discussion the men decided to walk toward the mouth of the Pamet River, previously sighted from the *Mayflower*. On their way they passed a fresh water pond (Village Pond) and came upon an Indian stubble field and graveyard. Mounting a nearby hill (Corn Hill), the group discovered a metal kettle and newly made mounds of sand. Digging in the mounds they found Indian corn. Leaving the hill, Standish's band continued to the mouth of the Pamet which had two branches with a sand bank at their confluence. It appeared to be a good harbor for their shallop, but, time being limited, they left it for the next exploration. Returning to Corn Hill they removed as much corn as they could transport and headed back to the ship. At nightfall they made their second camp on the shore of village pond. The next day, November 17, the men moved inland where they became temporarily lost in the woods. Upon reaching the ocean, the group retraced their route back to Provincetown Harbor.[4]

Ten days elapsed before the Pilgrims began their "Second Discovery". On this occasion the assembled shallop facilitated their travel. With Captain Jones in command a group of some thirty men headed for the Pamet River, but the weather forced them into East Harbor (now Pilgrim Lake). Half of the men decided to proceed on foot to the Pamet. The next morning, November 28, before they reached the area, the shallop picked them up and took them to a point on the north side of the Pamet River which proved unsuitable for a harbor. After a brief walk inland they returned to Corn Hill and removed more corn which they loaded on the shallop. While Captain Jones set out for the *Mayflower* with the corn, the "explorers" camped for the night. On November 29 the group continued to survey the area. Moving inland again, they found another graveyard which contained the body of a white man. Continuing onward, the party came upon several Indian huts which still contained utensils. Taking some of these items, evidently to show the people on the ship, the men proceeded with their exploration. In the evening they rendezvoused with the shallop and returned to the main party.[5]

For several days afterwards the Pilgrims discussed the practicality of a permanent settlement in the Pamet River area. Those who favored a location elsewhere prevailed, and the group prepared for a third, wider-ranging expedition. On December 6 the "Third Discovery" began, again under the command of Miles Standish. The shallop pilot, Robert Coppin, told them of a harbor on the

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4. Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647*, pp. 162-165.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-166.

western side of the bay that he had once visited. He thought that it offered a promising place to settle. As a result the group decided to explore the coast as far as that harbor. Rounding Billingsgate Point, they sailed across the mouth of Wellfleet Harbor and grounded on a mud flat off Eastham. While part of the group camped on shore for the night, the other members moved inland to explore. The next day, December 7, those who had remained on the shore returned to the shallop and investigated Wellfleet harbor which they named Grampus Bay for the beached black fish they found there. Toward evening they sailed back to rejoin the other group. As they followed the coast, the men, who had searched inland, appeared on shore and directed them to enter a nearby creek (Herring River). They told the men on the shallop of finding graveyards and the remains of Indian huts in the vicinity.[6]

Since the Wellfleet harbor area held little promise for settlement, the reunited party decided to camp for the night and continue their exploration the next day. It was a wise decision to search further, for the Indians did not welcome the intrusion on their territory (present day Eastham area). About midnight they heard the Indians cry out, but mistook the noise for a pack of wolves. The next morning about five o'clock, as they prepared to leave, the Indians attacked. When the men of the shallop discharged their guns several times, the Indians retreated. Despite the arrows and shots exchanged, no one on either side was injured in this first encounter.[7]

Boarding the shallop, the group soon faced a furious winter storm. With near zero visibility the small vessel progressed rapidly before the wind. The strain, however, proved too much on the shallop and its rudder and mast broke. Fortunately, a temporary lull in the storm gave Coppin a glimpse of an opening in the shore. With difficulty the group guided their boat through the opening and onto the beach of Clark's Island in present day Plymouth Harbor. For the next two days they repaired their vessel and examined the area around the harbor. In their opinion it proved worthy of settlement. As a result, on December 12, they sailed back across the bay to announce their find to the group on the *Mayflower*. On December 16, 1620 the *Mayflower* dropped anchor in Plymouth Harbor and the Pilgrims faced the difficult task of establishing a permanent settlement.[8]

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6. *Ibid.*, pp. 167-170.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-173.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-177.

III. INDIANS ON THE CAPE

Cape Cod for a time did not attract the Pilgrims for settlement. Instead, they left it as the domain of the Indian. Although the Pilgrims' first encounter with the Cape Indians was far from friendly, subsequent meetings were conducted on an amiable basis. In their first few years at Plymouth the Pilgrims visited the Cape Indians to trade for corn since their first crops were insufficient to feed the whole Plymouth population.[1]

The Nauset Indians, a branch of the Algonquian linguistic stock, inhabited all of Cape Cod except for the extreme western end in which the Wampanoag tribe lived. They had a loose affiliation with the Wampanoags. Those Nauset villages on the upper Cape were dominated by the Wampanoags while the ones more distant on the lower Cape enjoyed relative independence. Six Nauset villages were located in the proximity of what is now Cape Cod National Seashore. These villages included: Manamoyik close to Chatham, Potanumaquut on Pleasant Bay near Harwich, Meeshawn in Truro township (Pilgrim Springs area), the main village called Nauset near Eastham, Pamet near Truro, and Punonakanit by Wellfleet. In 1621 their population was estimated at 500.[2]

For the most part the Cape Cod Indians led a sedentary life with agriculture as their main livelihood. They lived in small villages along the creek banks and the bays. Houses consisted of domed huts separated by their fields. These huts were constructed with a frame of green saplings bent into a semi-circle. Additional saplings were tied in horizontal circles around the frame. Strips of bark were sometimes placed over this skeletal structure, but most huts were covered with grass and reeds. A smoke hole was left at the top. Inside the huts, at the center, they made a stone-lined pit for the fire.[3]

During his two visits to Cape Cod, Samuel Champlain visited both the Nauset and Monomoy bands. He provided the best early description of their lifestyle. The Nauset that Champlain observed at Nauset Harbor in 1605 went naked except for covering appropriate areas of their bodies. Occasionally, however, they wore a robe made of grass and hemp which came to their thighs. Both men and women painted their faces red, black, and yellow. In addition the men cut the hair from the tops of their heads. Wild turkey feathers were placed in the hair for decoration. They lived in circular huts which were covered with a reed

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1. Frederick Freeman, *The History of Cape Cod: The Annals of Barnstable County and of Its Several Towns, Including the District of Mashpee*, I, (Boston: George C. Rand & Avery, 1860), pp. 105-107, 115.

2. John R. Swanton, *The Indian Tribes of North America* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971), pp. 21-22; Frederick W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, 2 vols., (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975), Vol. I, pp. 796, 839, Vol. II, pp. 40, 196, 289, 328.

3. Chandler Whipple, *The Indian and the White Man in Massachusetts & Rhode Island* (Stockbridge, Mass.: The Berkshire Traveller Press, 1973), p. 16; (continued)

thatch. One and a half foot openings in the tops permitted the smoke to leave. These huts were not clustered together, but were separated by cultivated fields in which grew corn, beans, squash, tobacco, and a root which tasted to Champlain like artichoke. The Nausets practiced crop rotation, but the effectiveness was diminished because weeds covered the fields left fallow. Prior to planting, the vegetation was burned off the field and the soil was turned with wooden spades.[4] Champlain noted that the Indians used two methods to prepare their corn for consumption. It was either boiled in an earthen pot or ground in wooden mortars. The flour from the latter process was used to make cakes. Shellfish formed part of the diet although the abundant crabs were not consumed but used for fertilizer. The sharp point of the crab tails served as arrowheads, as did flint. A Smithsonian Institution survey in 1882-83 identified eight Indian village sites on the lower Cape by the shell heap remains (see "I" on the Historic Base Map). The most common types of shells identified included clam, quahoag, conch, periwinkle, and oyster.[5]

The next year, 1606, Champlain visited the Monomoy band at Stage Harbor. He found them living in a style similar to those at Nauset Harbor. Each hut contained one or two beds which were a foot off the ground. They were constructed of little pieces of wood over which was laid a mat two to three fingers thick. Again, the huts were separated by cultivated fields in which were grown the same crops as those the Nauset band raised. Champlain noted that the Monomoy stored their corn in grass sacks which were buried five to six feet deep in the sand.[6]

For weapons the Monomoy had bows, arrows, and clubs, but Champlain felt they were better fishermen and farmers than hunters. For fishing the Indians used harpoons with bone heads and fishhooks.[7] Large rocks were used as whetstones to sharpen these implements as well as their stone axes. One such rock can be found on Skiff Hill in Eastham. The Cape Indians evidently preferred to use snares to catch wild animals rather than to shoot them with arrows. On the Pilgrim's first exploration of the Cape, William Bradford, Jr. was caught in one such snare.

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3. (continued) Thomas Morton, *The New English Canaan* (Boston: John Wilson and Sons, 1883), pp. 134-135.

4. Otis (translator), *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain*, II, pp. 81-85. Thomas Morton wrote that the natives dressed in deer or bear skin clothing, placed over their bodies like a mantel. When hunting, the men above the age of puberty wore breechcloths made of deer skin. In addition they had deer skin shoes. Morton, *The New English Canaan*, pp. 141-145.

5. Otis (translator), *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain*, II, pp. 86-87; *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, showing the Operations, Expenditures and Conditions of the Institution for the Year 1883* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1885), pp. 878, 896.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121, 124. Thomas Morton also noted the Indians' method of storing corn in large reed baskets which they placed in holes in the ground and covered. Morton, *The New English Canaan*, p. 160.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-125.

Thomas Morton, who lived in the Plymouth Colony area during the early 1620s, observed the Indians' marriage and childbearing customs. Girls, who became of marriageable age, wore a flat, red-leather cap for twelve months to advertise their availability. After marriage most girls were soon pregnant. They continued to work until the birth of their child. The women, attended by midwives, delivered quickly and within a day or two returned to their toil. The children were born white, Morton wrote, but in their infancy the mothers "made a bath of walnut leaves, husks of walnuts, and such things as will stain their skin forever, wherein they dip and wash them to make them tawny." This idea was a common seventeenth century misconception. Infants were carried in cradles on their mothers' backs. The cradle consisted of a board forked at both ends. The child wrapped in furs, was bound to the board with its knees thrust upward.[8]

Each Indian band lived within a political boundary on the Cape with only a loose connection existing among the bands. In these areas the concept of individuals owning parcels of land did not exist. The entire band held the land in common. Leadership in each band fell to a sachem or chief who retained the title within his family. As a result the position of sachem occasionally fell to a woman when a chief had no sons. The elders of a band acted as advisors. The medicine man was another person of influence within a band. This individual performed a religious function since he called upon Hobbamock, the god of curable disease, to heal the sick. Religion included many other deities whose roles allowed the Indians to explain the natural phenomena which occurred. Chief among these gods was the creator Kiehtan.[9] An archaeological survey should be made to locate the sites of any Indian villages within the Cape Cod National Seashore boundary.

Although not from the Cape, one Indian in particular, Squanto, befriended the Pilgrims and eased their life at Plymouth. Squanto was a Wampanoag from the Patuxet village which was located in the Plymouth Harbor area. In 1614 Thomas Hunt, who commanded a second ship in the John Smith expedition, captured Squanto and twenty-nine other Indians. He took them to Spain and sold them into slavery. Squanto eventually traveled to England where Sir Fernando Gorges provided for him and taught him English. In 1619 he returned to New England with the Thomas Dermer expedition. Before reaching Massachusetts the ship on which he traveled stopped on the Maine coast where another Indian named Samoset joined the group. Arriving in Plymouth Bay, they found that Squanto's entire village had died in the 1617 plague. As a result he and Samoset went to live with the Wampanoags. In the meantime the Pilgrims settled in the deserted area of Plymouth Bay once inhabited by Squanto's people. It was Samoset not Squanto who first visited the Pilgrims in March 1621. Because they treated him well, he

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8. Morton, *The New English Canaan*, pp. 145-147.

9. Whipple, *The Indian and White Man in Massachusetts & Rhode Island*, pp. 23, 28-29; Kittredge, *A History of Cape Cod*, p. 40.

returned with Squanto who decided to remain with the Pilgrims. Squanto showed the Pilgrims how to plant and fertilize corn, where to fish, and acted as their pilot on trips to the Cape. After harvest in 1622, while on a visit to the Manamoyik village near Chatham to obtain provisions, Squanto died.[10]

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10. Angie Debo, *A History of the Indians of the United States* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), pp. 43-45; Langdon, *Pilgrim Colony: History of New Plymouth, 1620-1691*, pp. 15-16; Freeman, *The History of Cape Cod*, I, pp. 104-105.

IV. WHITE SETTLEMENT AND THE DESTRUCTION OF CAPE COD RESOURCES

Despite the relatively poor soil, most men of Plymouth pursued agriculture for a vocation. Many became cattle breeders because cattle, a scarce, valuable commodity, commanded a high price among arriving settlers. The search for fodder led the Pilgrim farmers to Cape Cod. There in the salt marshes they found an ideal hay. Salt marsh grass, *Spartina patens*, grew weed-free in abundance. Working between tides, they cut the hay and piled it on staddles to dry. These staddles were circular platforms, the legs of which elevated them above high tide.[1]

As the population increased and land fertility in Plymouth declined, the Pilgrim farmers moved to Cape Cod to settle. Their farming practices, together with those of other occupations, greatly altered the physical appearance of the Cape. Slowly, the woods disappeared, replaced by brush and blowing sand.

When the Pilgrims arrived at the Cape in 1620, they described it as having luxuriant woods down to the shore line. Several others who preceded them, however, did not perceive the Cape as having the same dense growth noted by the Pilgrims. In 1605 Champlain saw the Cape headland as a point of sand. Elsewhere the shore was sandy, but inland the terrain soon turned to woods. John Smith, during his exploration of 1614, wrote that the headland was overgrown with scrubby pine and bushes.[2]

Despite the differing descriptions, at the time the Pilgrims landed it has been estimated that the Cape was about ninety-seven percent covered with woods. The Indians had cleared small patches of land on which to grow their crops. These areas were usually near the bays or streams because the lower elevations were closer to the water table and to the fish and crabs used for fertilizer. In addition the Indians fired the woods twice a year, each spring and fall. This practice cleared the underbrush and provided tender new growth for deer. About sixty-one percent, the upper elevations, of the Cape woods were touched by burning. As a result the higher elevations had a park-like appearance. Trees growing below an altitude of seventy-five feet were protected from fire by a moister forest floor as well as by the ponds, swamps, and streams.[3]

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1. Langdon, *Pilgrim Colony*, p. 146; L. Stanford Altpeter, "A History of the Forests of Cape Cod," (1939), p. 21, (Typescript located in the Cape Cod National Seashore files); David A. Gates, *Seasons of the Salt Marsh* (Old Greenwich, Conn.: The Chatham Press, 1975), pp. 62-63.

2. Otis (translator), *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain*, II, p. 80; Smith, "The General Historie of Virginia, New England & the Summer Iles," found in Levermore (ed.), *Forerunners and Competitors of the Pilgrims and Puritans*, II, pp. 675-676.

3. Altpeter, "A History of the Forests of Cape Cod," pp. 9-12, 70; Morton, *The New English Canaan*, p. 172. Trees which grew on Cape Cod included white and (continued)

The Pilgrim farmers employed more intensive burning and cutting of trees than the Indians. This practice provided pasture for their cattle and the many sheep which supplied wool for clothing. These animals destroyed the growth of young trees. Without a tree cover the land dried. Huckleberries, blueberries, scrub oak, and sheeps laurel spread over the treeless areas and created the condition to promote uncontrolled fires. These fires, in turn, killed more trees. So great was the destruction that the land became denuded. By mid-eighteenth century areas of shifting sand dotted the Cape east of Yarmouth where woods had once been, and no large timber remained of the original Cape woods.[4]

As the soil fertility decreased, farmers of the Cape sought to augment their income from other sources or slowly turned to other professions. The first non-agricultural supplement to their income occurred by accident. A species of whale called blackfish was so abundant in the area that they frequently became stranded on the beaches. Settlers would strip them of blubber and reduce it to oil. Soon individuals began to watch for the blackfish. Lookout towers were constructed in appropriate areas to observe their approach. When they were sighted, men would enter boats and drive them ashore. This activity in turn led Cape residents to sail the local waters in search of whales. By 1650 whaling had come into its own as a vocation.[5] Whaling increased the destruction of the woods. Large areas of trees were cut to furnish fuel for the reduction of blubber to oil. Coopers also needed trees to provide barrels to hold the whale oil.[6]

By 1660 the first Cape Codders began to sail the bay to fish. This industry encouraged related ventures which in turn reduced the woods. Small fishing vessels, which were constructed on the Cape, required white pine for masts. Pitch pine provided resin, while other trees were severely damaged during tapping to obtain turpentine and tar. Salt needed to preserve the fish was obtained by boiling sea water in open pans. By 1670 salt production received serious attention and continued to grow as an industry. Fuel to boil the sea water, of course, came from the woods.[7]

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3. (continued) pitch pine, hemlock, beech, yellow birch, ash, hickory, red maple, red and white oak, sour gum, and holly. Those trees which withstood the drier southern exposure were white, black, and scarlet oak, white and pitch pine, and possibly beech. In the early seventeenth century bogs contained heavy growths of coast white cedar while shrubs covered the tidewater swamp areas.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 37, 43.

5. Kittredge, *Cape Cod*, pp. 165-170; Altpeter, "A History of the Forests of Cape Cod," p. 29.

6. Altpeter, "A History of the Forests of Cape Cod," pp. 29, 39.

7. Kittredge, *Cape Cod*, p. 183; Altpeter, "A History of the Forests of Cape Cod, pp. 28-30.

Lacking adequate roads, the Cape people depended upon small packet ships for transportation. These small coastal vessels carried produce to Boston, the main port of the neighboring Puritan colony. Local products included fish, pork, beef, mutton, hides, tallow, timber, oysters, and whale oil. These small commercial ventures, in addition to the incipient fishing industry, fostered some shipbuilding. Cape Cod, however, failed to develop economically. Geography played a part in limiting general prosperity, for the Cape lacked good ports. Provincetown was the only area with a port of any consequence; however, it was not well located to promote commerce. Capital, too, was scarce and the Cape men did not have the contact with English merchants that the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay had. As a result the Cape, like the rest of Plymouth Colony, relied upon Boston merchants who acted as middlemen for their imports and market for their products. The situation did not change after Plymouth became a part of Massachusetts in 1691.[8]

8. Langdon, *Pilgrim Colony*, pp. 142-143.

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V. AN EXPANDED ECONOMY AND THE REVOLUTION

As in the decline of Cape agricultural production, the fish and whales in local waters, without conservation, began to disappear after 1715. This situation prompted the men to extend their maritime ventures to the ocean. Although soon eclipsed by Nantucket, three towns--Truro, Provincetown, and Wellfleet--took the lead in deepwater whaling. Sperm whales were first hunted in the ocean nearby and brought ashore, but soon the search extended from Brazil to the arctic. By 1730 the search for better fishing areas led Cape men to the Grand Banks. These fishermen dried their catch on a convenient beach and took it to the West Indies for trade. Those who could not afford the larger vessel necessary for the Grand Banks fished off the coast of Newfoundland. They salted their catch sufficiently to bring it home to dry.[1]

Shipbuilding increased by 1750 to meet the expanding needs of the fishermen and whalers. In that year the first professional shipbuilder, Thomas Agrey, arrived on the Cape and located at Barnstable. Soon this professional occupation spread along the Cape shore. Most of the construction material, however, was brought from Maine. This situation pointed to the pronounced lack of timber on the Cape.[2]

Maritime activity did not abound without interruption. The American Revolution profoundly affected Cape Cod's economy, for the powerful British navy prevented whalers and fishermen from pursuing their vocations. Much of the fishing and whaling fleets rotted in their harbors. From a base in Provincetown harbor the British vessels patrolled the Cape waters and held the population in subjugation. British raiding parties liberated provisions from the helpless inhabitants.[3]

While friendly relations occasionally developed between the two factions, the patriot residents resisted the English to the best of their ability. Some Cape men joined the Continental and Massachusetts armies while others served on privateers. Although limited, provisions were sent whenever possible to the American forces. Several times British shipwrecks provided unexpected supplies. Late in 1776, the supply ship HMS *Friendship* grounded on the ocean side of Truro. Its cargo which went to aid the American war effort, included maritime equipment, cannon, and small arms. The greatest prize, however, was the wreck of the sixty-four gun *Somerset* (8), for it represented a symbol of British oppression.

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1. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts*, pp. 18-20; Everett I. Nye, *History of Wellfleet from Early Days to Present Time* (Hyannis, Mass.: F. B. & F. P. Goss Printers, 1920), p. 23; Bearse (ed.), *Massachusetts: A Guide to the Pilgrim State*, p. 377; Kittredge, *Cape Cod*, pp. 170-172, 184.

2. Altpeter, "A History of the Forests of Cape Cod," p. 38.

3. Kittredge, *Cape Cod*, pp. 121-123.

Launched from the Chatham, England dock yards on July 18, 1748, the *Somerset* was a 1,436 ton vessel with a length of 160 long and a beam of forty-five and one-half feet. Its sixty-four guns included: twenty-six, 32-pounders; twenty-six, 18-pounders; and twelve, 9-pounders. The *Somerset* saw action in the French and Indian War when it was used in the 1759 expedition to Quebec.[4]

In April 1775 men from this vessel marched to Lexington and Concord. Again, on June 17 of that year, the *Somerset's* guns provided part of the artillery support for General William Howe's attack on Breed's Hill in the battle of Bunker Hill. During most of 1777 the *Somerset* protected British convoys. In November, however, it saw action against the American position at Fort Mifflin on the Delaware River below Philadelphia. In this action the Continental forces were cleared from that area allowing British vessels access to Philadelphia. Driven from that city and the region to the south, General George Washington retreated to a winter camp at Valley Forge.[5]

In the fall of 1778 the *Somerset* with a crew of 500 men, commanded by Captain George Ourry, headquartered in Provincetown harbor. It patrolled the waters around Cape Cod to curtail the American maritime activity. About November 1 the warship left Provincetown to search for French vessels reported in the area. A storm struck as it returned to that harbor on November 2. Unable to navigate in the tempest the *Somerset* became stranded on Peaked Hill Bars. The waves swept the ship over the shoals and onto the beach where the local inhabitants captured the survivors. Stripping the *Somerset* of everything of value including its remaining cannon, the patriots attempted to burn it. Sand eventually covered the wreckage until May 1886 when it reappeared. At that time souvenir hunters carried off much of the remains before it was again covered. The vestiges of the ship reappeared for a final time in 1973.[6]

After the Revolution, Cape Cod, like the rest of the nation, entered a depression. Slowly, the economy recovered through a combination of fishing, salt making, and, indirectly, the new China trade. Although whaling did not regain its former position, several factors stimulated fishing. On July 4, 1789 the United States Congress voted a bounty of five cents per hundred weight on dried fish which were exported and the same amount per barrel of pickled fish. Again in 1792 it offered another bounty of $1.00 to $2.50 per ton (depending on vessel size) if a fishing vessel engaged in codfishing at least four months per year. The war which began between France and Britain in 1793 also expanded the market for American fish. Most fishermen abandoned the Grand Banks at this time and sought fish in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and along the Labrador coast.

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4. J. J. Colledge, *Ships of the Royal Navy: An Historical Index*, I, (N.Y.: Augustus M. Kelley, Pub., 1969), p. 514; William L. Clowes, *The Royal Navy: A History From Early Times To the Present*, III, (London: Sampson, Low, Marston & Co., 1898), p. 206.

5. Nathan Miller, *Sea of Glory: The Continental Navy Fights for Independence, 1775-1783* (New York: David McKay Co. Inc., 1974), pp. 25, 228, 251.

6. Nathan Miller, *Sea of Glory: The Continental Navy Fights for Independence, 1775-1783* (N.Y.: David McKay Co. Inc., 1974), pp. 25, 228, 251; (continued)

Rather than dry their catches on convenient beaches, they returned home with them. As a result in the 1790s fish flakes, platforms used for drying fish, began to increase on the Cape beaches and docks. To encourage boys to enter maritime vocations private navigation schools opened in the Massachusetts seaport towns. Throughout the 1790s Wellfleet had several such schools which operated in the winter months.[7]

In addition to fishing, several Cape towns specialized in harvesting shellfish. Wellfleet harbor had contained an abundance of oysters before the Revolution, but a marine disease depleted the beds in 1775. After the war the oystermen successfully planted seed oysters from Chesapeake Bay. By 1800 the beds had recovered sufficiently to allow the harvest of 60,000 oysters. These shellfish were taken by local vessels to market in Boston, Salem, and Portland. The town of Orleans cultivated clams which were used as bait for codfishing.[8]

By the 1790s another facet of the reviving Massachusetts economy affected the Cape. Prohibited by the British after the Revolution from trading in many of their accustomed places, Boston and Salem merchants turned to a China trade. While Cape vessels did not participate in this commerce, the romance of traveling the world's sea routes led many Cape boys to Boston to begin their life on the sea. Numerous officers on these ships also came from the Cape. Boston merchants in fact sought Cape Cod men for their vessels because of their reputation as able seamen. Around 1800 the ordinary sailor received a wage of twenty to twenty-five dollars per month. Officers fared much better, for each had the privilege of one-half to five tons cargo space on the homeward journey to hold articles from their private China trade. In addition they received a one to eight percent commission on the new profit.[9]

A new inexpensive method of manufacturing large quantities of salt, which developed during the Revolution, contributed to the rising economy. Prior to that time insufficient supplies of salt had been obtained by boiling sea water

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6. (continued) Clowes, *The Royal Navy*, p. 406; J. W. Dalton, *The Life Savers of Cape Cod* (Boston: The Barta Press, 1902), pp. 8-9; Isaac M. Small, *Shipwrecks on Cape Cod* (Old Greenwich, Conn.: The Chatham Press, 1928), pp. 48-49; Kittredge, *Cape Cod*, pp. 7-8, 129-130; Mary R. Bangs, *Old Cape Cod: The Land, The Men, The Sea* (N.Y.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920), p. 141; New York *World*, May 16, 1886.

7. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts*, pp. 114fn, 134-135, 145; Kittredge, *Cape Cod*, pp. 134-135, 171-172, 186; Nye, *History of Wellfleet from Early Days to Present Time*, p. 23.

8. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts*, p. 148; Henry David Thoreau, *Cape Cod* (N.Y.: W. W. Norton & Co., 1951), p. 48; Levi Whitman, "A Topographical Description of Wellfleet in the County of Barnstable," October 26, 1793, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, First Series, III (1794), p. 119.

9. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts*, pp. 76-77, 84, 106, 109.

in open pans. As a result large amounts of salt were imported from the West Indies to meet the needs. After the Revolution the British cut off the supply of foreign salt. This situation led John Sears of Dennis, either by happenstance or experiment, to develop the new method of salt manufacturing which utilized a series of vats and solar evaporation. It proved to be such an effective technique that Cape Codders soon produced more salt than they consumed. Sale of the excess salt in other New England and southern fishing ports helped to revive the Cape economy. In 1793 Ruben Sears of Harwich improved the efficiency of the process by designing hipped roofs which could be swung over the vats to protect against dew and rain. Nathaniel Freeman, also from Harwich, began the use of small windmills to pump sea water into the vats.[10]

Several early nineteenth century travelers described the saltworks they encountered on the Cape. Edward Kendall, an Englishman, arrived at Chatham on September 5, 1807 where he depicted the large salt works owned by Richard Sears. Sea water was pumped from a location just below the high tide mark, through troughs, and into a range of vats called rooms. The vats were oblong with dimensions of 18x36 feet and sides about nine inches deep. Soft white pine from Maine was used in their construction. These vats stood on piles ranging from two to six feet above the ground. The height depended upon the soil moisture underneath, for sandy soil allowed them to be placed closer to the ground. Movable roofs were used to cover the vats when rain threatened. The first series of vats were called water rooms where the sea water remained from three to six days. At the end of that period the water was drained into the second series of vats named pickle rooms, for it had become brine. Here, lime precipitated and fine crystals of salt began to form. At that point the water was removed to the third and final range of vats called salt rooms where the crystals formed into large and heavy cubes which sank to the floor. The salt was then raked together, taken from the tank, and placed in a warehouse to dry. The entire process required about three weeks.[11]

Timothy Dwight, president of Yale who visited the Cape in the early 1820s, noted that salt works' owners designed their own vats. This observation accounted for the differing vat dimensions given by various individuals. Dwight wrote that most vats which he saw were twenty feet square and ten to twelve inches deep. They were made from one and one-half inch thick pine plank and arranged in four classes. The first, closest to the bay, was called the water room. It was followed by the pickle room, lime room, and, finally, the salt room. Each series was placed lower than the preceding to assure proper water flow to the next order. The vats had hipped roofs to shield them from dew and

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10. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts*, p. 145; Hager and Handy, *History of the Old Colony Railroad* (Boston: Hager & Handy Pub. Co., 1893), p. 400; Simeon L. Deyo, *History of Barnstable County, Massachusetts* (N.Y.: H. W. Blake & Co., 1890), p. 143; Altpeter, "A History of the Forests of Cape Cod," p. 39.

11. Edward A. Kendall, *Travels Through the Northern States of the United States in the Years 1807 and 1808*, II (N.Y.: I. Riley, 1809), pp. 131-134, 138.

rain. A windmill was used to pump sea water into the first room.[12] Dwight was the only person to state that vats were arranged in four groupings; all others listed only three series.

Henry David Thoreau on his journey through the Cape in the 1840s and 1850s found "salt works scattered all along the shore, with their long rows of vats resting on piles driven into the marsh, their low turtle-like roofs, and their slighter windmills, were novel and interesting objects...."[13]

Salt was not the only product obtained in the processing of sea water. Glauber salt, used in the tanning business to prevent hides from drying stiff, was obtained in the early stage of the process. Bittern water, which remained after the salt had been removed, yielded Epsom salt. The final product, the bittern water, minus Epsom salt, was used to make special cement for cornice and filigree work.[14] No salt works remain on the Cape today.

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12. Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York*, III (New Haven: T. Dwight, 1822), pp. 79-80.

13. Thoreau, *Cape Cod*, p. 32.

14. Kittredge, *Cape Cod*, p. 153. Three authors have given various figures for the number of Cape salt works. Deyo, *History of Barnstable County, Massachusetts* (144-145), stated that there were 210 slat works on the lower Cape in 1837 and only sixty-one by 1855. Kittredge, *Cape Cod* (152), listed 442 salt works on the entire Cape in 1837. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts* (145, 301fn), gave a figure of 136 for 1800, 668 in 1837, and 181 by 1855.

VI. DEPRESSION BEFORE A RENEWED PROSPERITY

The European war, which at first contributed to Cape Cod's post-Revolution economic recovery, ultimately produced another depression. In 1807 President Thomas Jefferson, seeking to end the belligerent powers' interference with American commerce, turned to economic pressure in the form of a trade embargo. All United States vessels were forbidden to leave for foreign ports. Although conditions were alleviated somewhat with the embargo's end in 1809, the eventual failure to normalize relations with England brought on the War of 1812.

In the War of 1812, as during the Revolution, the British navy harassed the Cape inhabitants. Two British warships headquartered at Provincetown and patrolled the waters between Cape Cod and Cape Ann. These vessels occasionally anchored off Truro and used the windmill on Mill Hill for target practice. Although Provincetown remained unmolested, and even benefited from trade with the British, other towns did not fare as well. Eastham and Brewster paid $1,200 and $4,000 respectively to keep their towns from naval bombardment. Orlean refused to pay a ransom, and when a British force landed to collect, the local militia easily repulsed it. This incident was termed the "Battle of Orleans."[1]

The British navy was not entirely successful in preventing commercial exchanges. Some Cape Codders such as John Collins of Truro devised an ingenious method to avoid the blockade. They sustained coastal trade by using whaleboats to carry goods along the bay shore to Sandwich from whence they were transported overland to Buzzard's Bay.

After the War of 1812 the Massachusetts economy suffered from a geographic disadvantage, for westward migration made it more remote from the centers of population. Ports in the mid-Atlantic and southern states offered easier access to inland areas. As a result Massachusetts turned to manufacturing textiles, paper, and shoes using fast running streams as the source of power. At the same time maritime activity increased, for cotton brought from the South and woven into cloth became the new export item. Commerce centered even more in Boston.[2]

The industrial revolution did not touch Cape Cod because it lacked water power and an adequate land transportation system. Because the ocean afforded easier communication, roads remained primitive. They existed as sandy tracks following the old Indian trails. Proposals to extend the road bed to a forty foot width were often only accomplished on paper.

The main road, which by the mid-eighteenth century ran the length of the Cape, has often been mentioned as the "King's Highway." This designation, however, is not an entirely accurate name for that road. The early Cape trail which

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1. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts*, pp. 207-209; Bangs, *Old Cape Cod*, pp. 150, 155-156; Kittredge, *Cape Cod*, pp. 137-139.

2. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts*, pp. 213-215, 225.

extended from the Plymouth township line to Yarmouth received the title "King's Highway" because it was an extension of a road with the same name built in 1684 in Plymouth. In June 1721 an Eastham town meeting voted to widen an existing road, that ran from Harwich to the Truro line, to forty feet and call it the "King's Highway" and common road. The eventual extension of this road through Truro and Provincetown never received that name. By 1768 Eastham referred to the "King's Highway" as the "King's Road." After the American Revolution the use of that name, of course, ended and it became known as the Public County Road. In the late nineteenth century the use of the name "King's Highway" revived not from tradition, but from the growth of English sentiment on the Cape. At that time the designation was erroneously applied to the entire length of the road.[3]

Between 1815 and 1855 fishing increased as the Cape entered a period of prosperity. In this period many fishermen turned to the Georges Banks which were a one day sail east of the Cape. Although whaling revived, it centered in New Bedford. Of the Cape towns only Provincetown continued for a time to have a whaling fleet. At its peak this fleet consisted of thirty vessels. Provincetown also had the largest fishing fleet, with salt works and windmills lining its shores. Wellfleet maintained its oyster breeding reputation. Some young men joined the merchant marine, others were employed on the coastal vessels which connected area ports with the hub of commerce in Boston. Those young men who remained as fishermen traveled to southern ports like Charlestown, South Carolina to pursue a winter trade and returned for the fishing season.[4]

At the height of fishing prosperity in the 1840s, fresh fish (cod, mackerel, halibut, and haddock) began to replace salt fish. The introduction of ice on the ships made this conversion possible. Slowly, fish flakes began to disappear from the Cape shores. Salt works, too, suffered from the declining use of salt. Cheaper foreign and domestic salt, added to the dwindling demand, almost ruined the salt business by the 1850s.[5] A few salt works continued to operate until 1888.

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3. William D. Hershey, "Cape Cod: 17th and 18th Century Roads with particular attention to the King's Highway," (July 5, 1962), pp. 21-23, 54-59, 63, (typescript located in the North Atlantic Regional files); "A Plan of the Town of Wellfleet taken in May 1795 by Gunters Seale," Series 1794, vol. 2, p. 22, #1035 (Massachusetts State Archives, Boston).

4. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts*, pp. 300-302, 314-316.

5. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts*, pp. 308-309; Bearse (ed.) *Massachusetts: A Guide to the Pilgrim State*, p. 427.

VII. THE END OF PLENTY

The 1850-60 period marked the end of an era for the Cape Cod fishing industry. Trawling began and a Gloucester man, Isaac Higgins, developed the modern seine boat. Until this time hand lines, used from the deck, had been the time honored method of catching fish. The new seine method required strong men, not the boys who had worked on the Cape Cod boats. Conservative Cape fishermen lacked the means to adopt the new methods. Limited resources and unfortuitous events again combined to limit Cape Codders livelihoods in the height of prosperity. What remained of the Cape fishing fleet concentrated in Wellfleet and Provincetown. Elsewhere, some Cape men sold their boats and turned to the cranberry bogs; others departed for mainland cities.[1]

The declining fishing industry adversely affected shipbuilding. Although a few ships were built in other lower Cape harbors, ship construction centered in Truro. The height of this activity came between 1846 and 1852. In that period a shipyard on the south bank of the Pamet River produced fifteen fishing vessels between forty-five and seventy-five tons. The declining fishing activity and the lack of conservation caught up with the Truro shipbuilding industry by 1852. Wind and tide moved sand into the harbor entrance making it impossible for boats to enter. With the end of harbor activity and ship construction Truro rapidly declined and many houses and stores were moved to Provincetown.[2]

In the fist half of the nineteenth century Cape Codders continued to abuse the land. Edward Kendall, in his Cape travel in 1807, found open spaces about Chatham in which the wind had blown away the soil. A sandy road took him through woods to Orleans and Eastham. North of Eastham he found the landscape partly wooded and partly used for pasture, but "both woods and pastures are here of a very humble quality...." In Wellfleet Kendall came to a vast area of sand. Roads, when located on hillsides, were formed from sandy excavations. Wellfleet had a number of salt marshes which provided forage for the numerous black cattle and horses. Some woods appeared in Truro, but near the inlets from the sea, tracts of sand drifted with the wind. The road from Truro to Provincetown led for a short distance over hills that ended in a salt marsh which opened at the other end into Provincetown harbor. The road skirted this marsh and led into Provincetown. An incredible sight greeted Kendall as he arrived in Provincetown. The houses were built on the water's edge while sand hills everywhere bordered the inner side of the peninsula. Sand was driven into banks like snow and sometimes heaped against the houses. Behind this border or sand dunes were small hills covered with "scrubby" woods and shrubs. Beyond this narrow belt of woods the area extending to the ocean contained another stretch of sand dunes.[3]

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1. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts*, pp. 306, 311-313.

2. Isaac M. Small, *True Stories of Cape Cod* (New Bedford, Mass.: Reynolds Printing, 1934), p. 25; Truro (Massachusetts) *Advocate*, July 10, 1902.

3. Kendall, *Travels Through the Northern States of the United States in the Years 1807 and 1808*, II, pp. 142-144, 152-155.

The Provincetown area was the most devastated on the Cape. From the earliest period of settlement the inhabitants had cut the trees and allowed cattle to graze on the sand hills. Denuded of vegetation the wind blew the sand toward the town. By 1714 several houses in the East Harbor area were almost covered with sand. Since Massachusetts colony owned the area as province land, the General Court passed a law in that year to preserve the trees. In 1739 it approved another act which prohibited pasturing cattle on the sparse dunegrass. The inhabitants ignored both regulations. Eventually, the sand buried several houses and advanced on Provincetown along a four and one-half mile front at the rate of fifty rods a year. Frightened, the townspeople called upon the state, which now owned the land, for assistance. In 1825 a commission investigated and suggested that the inhabitants plant grass on the dunes and stop cutting the trees. The town complied.[4]

Although this action reduced the movement of sand toward the town, the harbor remained endangered on two sides. Sand, which for years had been blowing into East Harbor, washed into Provincetown harbor and threatened to silt it. In addition travel on the road to Provincetown, which crossed the ocean beach at the head of East Harbor, had killed the grass and allowed the sand to blow. That stretch of beach had become so blown out that the ocean threatened to break through and carry tons of sand through East Harbor into Provincetown harbor. In 1854 a bridge was constructed across the mouth of East Harbor to divert traffic from the ocean beach. Two years later another state commission recommended a dike across the mouth of East Harbor to prevent the movement of sand into Provincetown harbor. Twelve years passed, however, before construction began. In the meantime tides swept sand around Long Point into the harbor. To rectify this situation plank bulwarks were placed on the outer side of that point to stay the action of the tide and thus the harbor was saved.[5]

Although Provincetown residents began to practice conservation, the other towns on the lower Cape continued to ignore the specter of decreasing natural resources. The woods, which Kendall had seen in Truro, soon disappeared, and, by the early 1820s, Timothy Dwight saw only dry, sandy, barren hills. Eastham and Wellfleet still had some low and lean woods. Dwight found the soil in eastern Eastham to be better than other areas of the lower Cape. By the 1850s the vegetation had further decreased; the sandy, barren hills of Truro had begun to turn to sand dunes. W. H. Bartlett, an Englishman who traveled the lower Cape in this period, found that the road in Truro was frequently erased by sand storms. At times the stage coach in which he rode became stuck in the sand. The driver told him that he could remember when the landscape had been wooded. Henry David Thoreau, who walked the lower Cape at this time, wrote that not a tree could be seen in the area north of Truro. He also found the area between Eastham and the Nauset lights barren where there were once woods. Cape historian Frederick Freeman wrote that except for a tract of oak and pine about one and a half miles

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4. Kittredge, *Cape Cod*, pp. 160-161.

5. *Ibid.*

wide on the Eastham/Wellfleet border, the area had no woods.[6] Almost fifty years passed before conservation measures were taken to restore the vegetation in these areas.

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6. Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York*, III, pp. 88-89; W. H. Bartlett, *The Pilgrim Fathers or the Founders of New England in the Reign of James the First* (London: Arthur Hall, Virtue & Co., 1853), pp. 190-192; Thoreau, *Cape Cod*, p. 50; Freeman, *The History of Cape Cod*, II, p. 355.

VIII. PROVINCETOWN HARBOR DEFENSE

Since inadequate harbor fortifications allowed the British navy to control many American ports during the War of 1812, the United States Army sought to correct the deficiency. In late 1816 it assigned a special board of officers the duty to survey and construct a system of coastal defenses. After attending to those areas deemed crucial, the board began a long-range fortification program in the 1820s. By 1850 a draft plan of harbor defenses from the Maine-Canadian border through the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Coast had been formulated. Most fortifications remained in the planning stage until the Civil War.[1]

Provincetown harbor fell within those areas surveyed for fortification. Over a three year period between 1833 and 1835 James Graham of the Army Engineers charted the harbor and took soundings. The object of the chart, Graham wrote, was to aid in the projection of military defense works for Provincetown harbor and to allow United States naval vessels to enter it safely. He thought Provincetown possessed one of the finest harbors for warships on the Atlantic coast.[2]

Despite the survey and Graham's glowing appraisal, Provincetown harbor remained unfortified until the onset of the Civil War. In early 1863 construction began on two batteries located on Long Point (2). They were completed in December of that year.[3] A short time later, on March 5, 1864, the state of Massachusetts ceded "all that portion of Long Point extending from the extremeity occupied by the lighthouse to a line drawn true west through the northern point of House Point Island, including also that island and all flats adjacent" to the United States (Figure 5).[4]

Both of the Long Point sites were constructed of earthworks (Figure 6). One battery, containing three guns, was placed next to the Long Point lighthouse while a second battery of five guns and the barracks were located 1,650 feet up the point from the first. A plank road connected the two sites (Figures 7 and 8).

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1. Emanuel R. Lewis, *Seacoast Fortifications of the United States: An Introductory History* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970), pp. 37-39.

2. James D. Graham, "A Report upon the Military and Hydrographical Chart of the Extremity of Cape Cod, including the townships of Provincetown and Truro, with their Seacoast and Ship Harbor: Projected from Surveys Executed During Portions of the Years 1833, 1834, & 1835" (Washington, D.C.: No Publisher, 1838), pp. 3, 3fn.

3. Major C. E. Blunt to General J. G. Totten (Chief Engineer), January 26, 1864, RG 77, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Long Point Batteries, Letters Received (National Archives, Washington, D.C.).

4. Long Point, Provincetown Harbor, Massachusetts, RG 77, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Military Lands, Massachusetts, Long Point, Provincetown Harbor, Map file No. Dr 189-Mass-1-1 (Cartographic Division, National Archives, Washington, D.C.).

Military Reservation, Long Point.

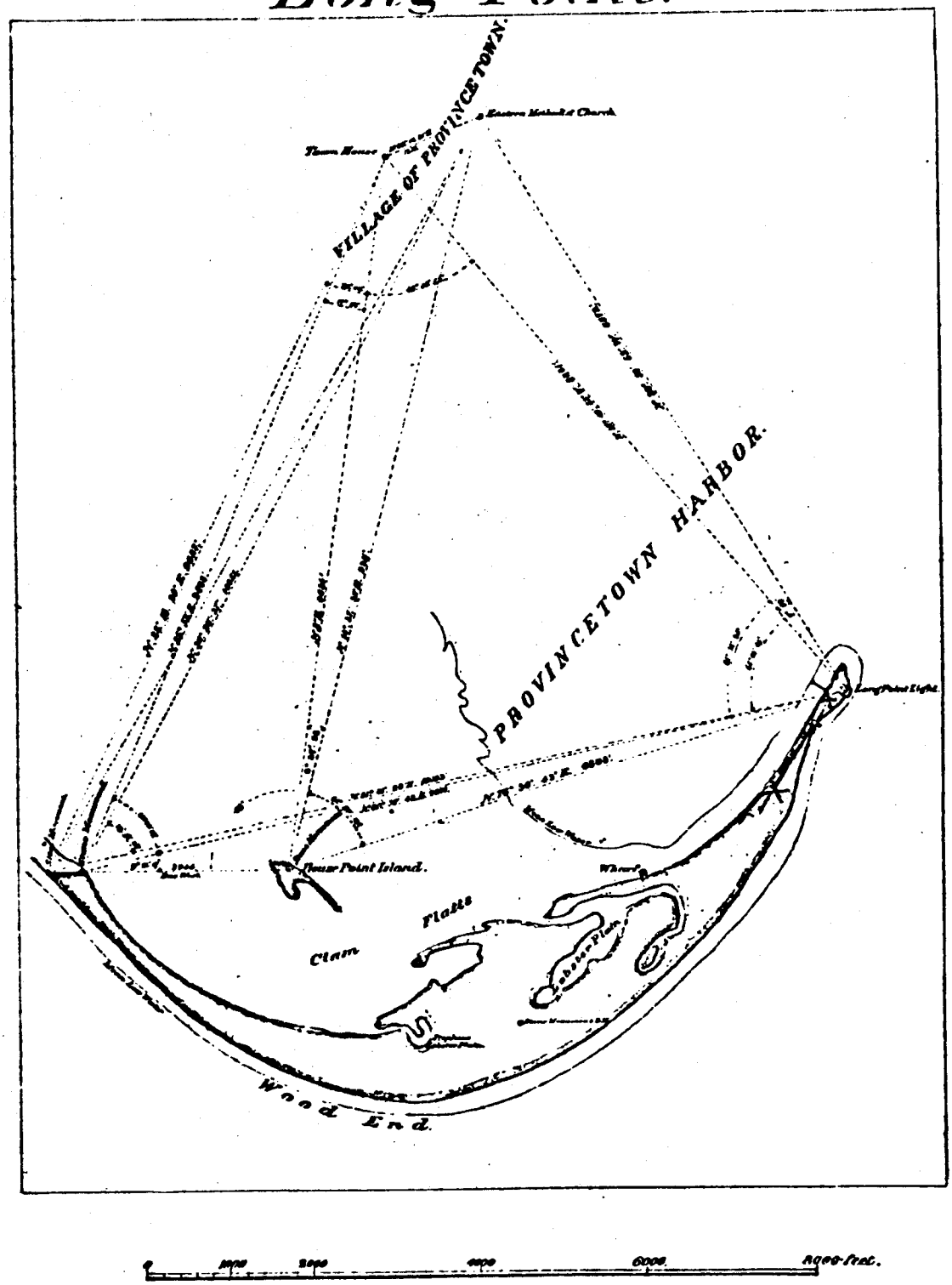


FIGURE 5

Map DR. 189-Mass.-1.-6, Cartographic Division, National Archives

Probable appearance of a gun emplacement

in The Long Point Batteries

(Top View)

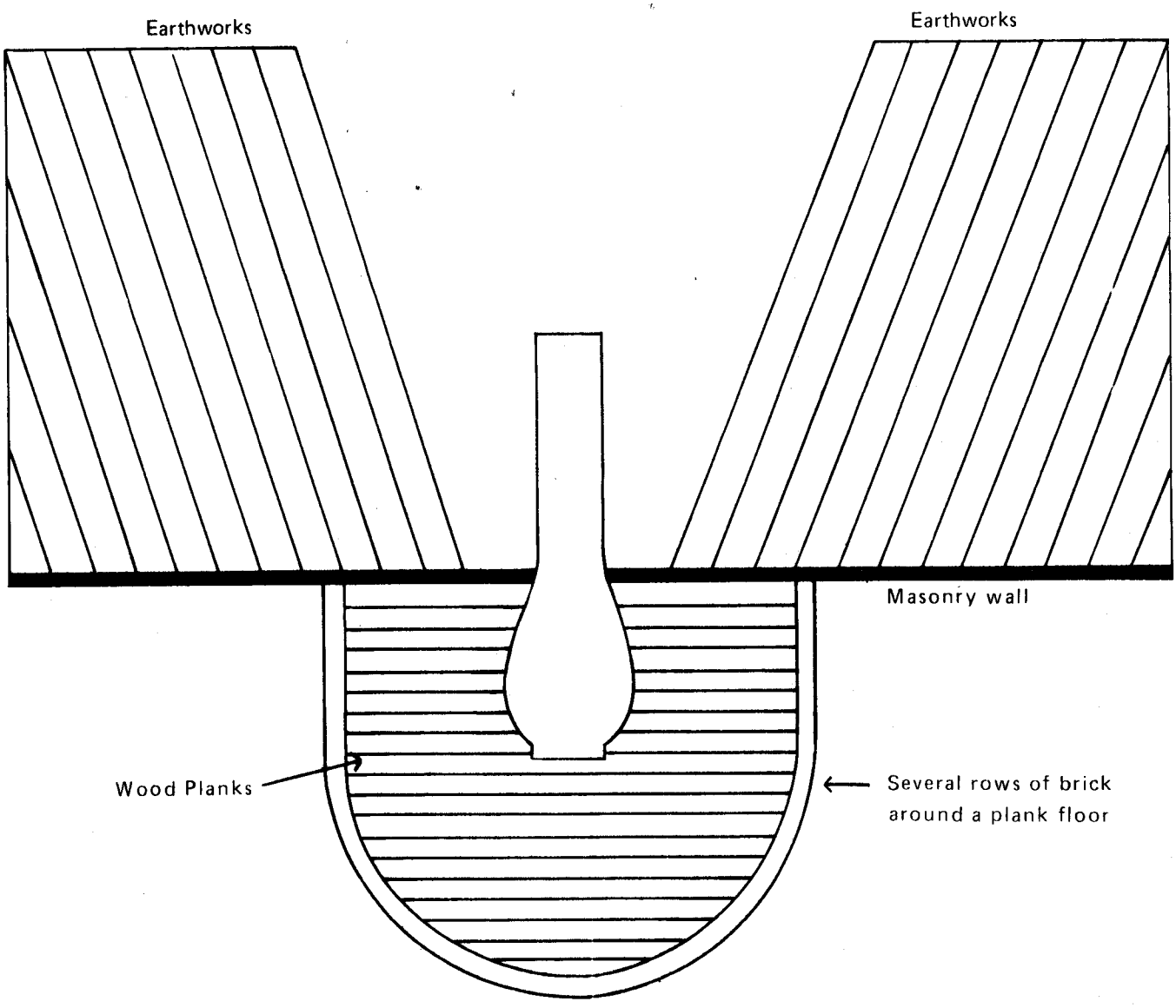


FIGURE 6

LONG POINT BATTERIES

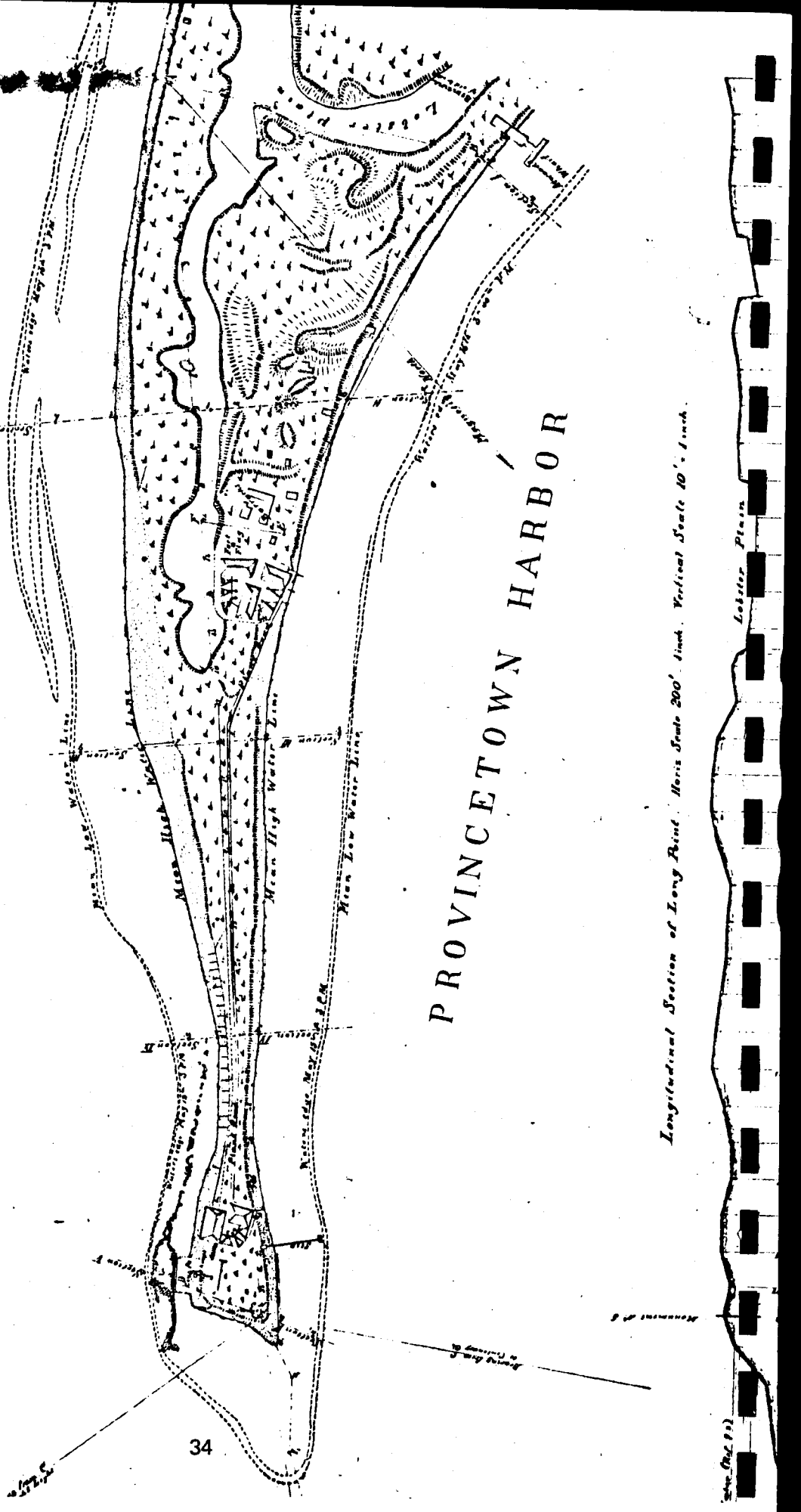
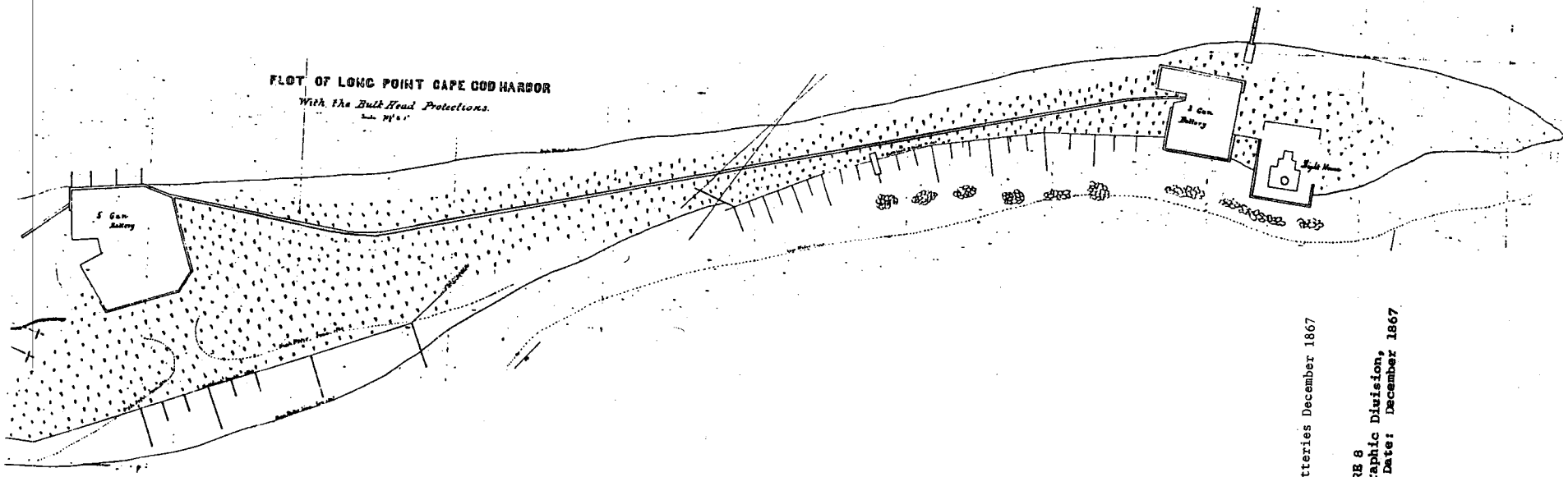


FIGURE 7
File B116 Roll 92
Cartographic Division,
National Archives
Date: May 1871

Cape Cod National Seashore Library



Long Point Batteries December 1867

FIGURE 8
Map B90, Cartographic Division,
National Archives, Date: December 1867

These two gun emplacements were never called forts, but were collectively termed the Long Point batteries. Long Point was one of thirteen sites along the east coast to receive temporary fortifications in this period. They were to protect "against predatory expeditions of rebel cruisers and iron-armored vessels, built in foreign ports claiming to be neutral...."[5] Armaments at Long Point consisted of ten and fifteen-inch smooth bore Rodman cannon and 100-pound Parrott rifled guns.[6] Existing documents on the Long Point batteries do not indicate the exact combination of the guns placed there.

Although the Long Point batteries saw no action during the Civil War, following that conflict the Army decided to convert them to permanent forts. However, the Division of Engineers directed its attention elsewhere and never prepared the necessary plans.[7] In 1872 the Army abandoned the batteries. Lieutenant Colonel J. M. Mansfield returned to the site in 1892 and reported that the two batteries were in complete ruins, with only simple mounds of earth and sand remaining.[8] By using the maps included in this report an archaeological investigation should reveal the battery and barracks sites.

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5. Report of the Chief Engineer, October 30, 1864, found in the *Annual Report of the Secretary of War* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), p. 918.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Reports of the Chief of Engineers, October 20, 1866 and October 21, 1867, found in the *Reports of the Secretary of War* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1866 and 1867), p. 419 and p. 6.

8. Lt. Col. J. M. Mansfield to Brig. Gen. Thomas L. Casey (Chief of Engineers), March 7, 1892, RG 77, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Subgroup b, Fortifications, Map file No. Dr 248-10-5 (Cartographic Division, National Archives, Washington, D.C.).

IX. SHIPWRECKS

Almost from the time of discovery seamen lived in fear of the Cape Cod shoals. With good cause, sailors steered clear of the Cape coast, for over the years thousands of vessels have been destroyed on its bars and rocks and uncounted lives have been lost in the storm tossed waves.

One of the first recorded wrecks was that of the *Sparrow-Hawk* (48). In the winter of 1626-27, while bound for Virginia, it ran aground off Nauset harbor. A gale arose and forced the vessel over the bar into the harbor where it again grounded. At low tide the passengers left their damaged ship. As they landed on the shore some English speaking Indians arrived and offered to conduct them to Plymouth or carry a message there. The group sent a message which brought Governor William Bradford with repair material. Shortly after mending the vessel, another storm caused such severe damage that it was abandoned. Over two hundred years later, on May 6, 1863, the wreckage reappeared after the sand had washed from it. The exposed remains gave evidence that it had been burned to the water line. Because of the vessel's unusual shape, two local men made a drawing of it (Figure 9). Out of curiosity visitors came to see the ship and nearly all took a fragment for a souvenir before it was again covered by sand in August of that year.[1] It has since been excavated and removed to the Pilgrim Hall Museum in Plymouth.

Another early shipwreck involved the pirate ship, the *Whido* (32), commanded by Samuel Bellamy. While sailing north in the direction of Cape Cod, Bellamy had captured a vessel with a cargo of Madeira. Lulled by the wine, the pirates were unprepared for the storm they encountered near the Cape. The vessel ran aground on April 28, 1717 and was wrecked against the table land about two-and-a-half miles south of Cahoon's Hollow. Only two men in the crew of over 100 survived. Upon learning of the disaster, the colonial governor sent Cyprian Southack to recover any remaining cargo. After a difficult journey Southack arrived at the site on the afternoon of May 3. He found the wreckage strung over a four mile stretch of the beach and at least 200 men plundering it. Too late to obtain anything of value, Southack had to be content to gather pieces of the wreck which he burned for its iron content.[2] More important, he reached the accident by sailing across the Cape through Jerimiah's Gutter. This route, which connected Cape Cod Bay with Town Cove and the Atlantic, was located at the site of the present day Orleans/Highway 6 rotary. Southack's trip was the last recorded passage of a vessel through this channel.

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1. Amos Otis, "An Account of the Discovery of an Ancient Ship on the Eastern Shore of Cape Cod," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XVIII (January 1864), pp. 38-40; Freeman, *The History of Cape Cod*, I, pp. 111-113.

2. Boston *News-Letter*, April 29-May 6, 1717; Cyprian Southack, *Journal*, May 1-13, 1717 (Massachusetts State Archives, Boston); George F. Dow and John Henry Edwards, *The Pirates of the New England Coast, 1630-1730* (Salem, Mass.: Marine Research Society, 1923), pp. 124-128; Freeman, *The History of Cape Cod*, II, p. 384fn. Since various spellings have been used for the name of Bellamy's ship, the one chosen for this report came from the 1717 Boston *News-Letter* article.

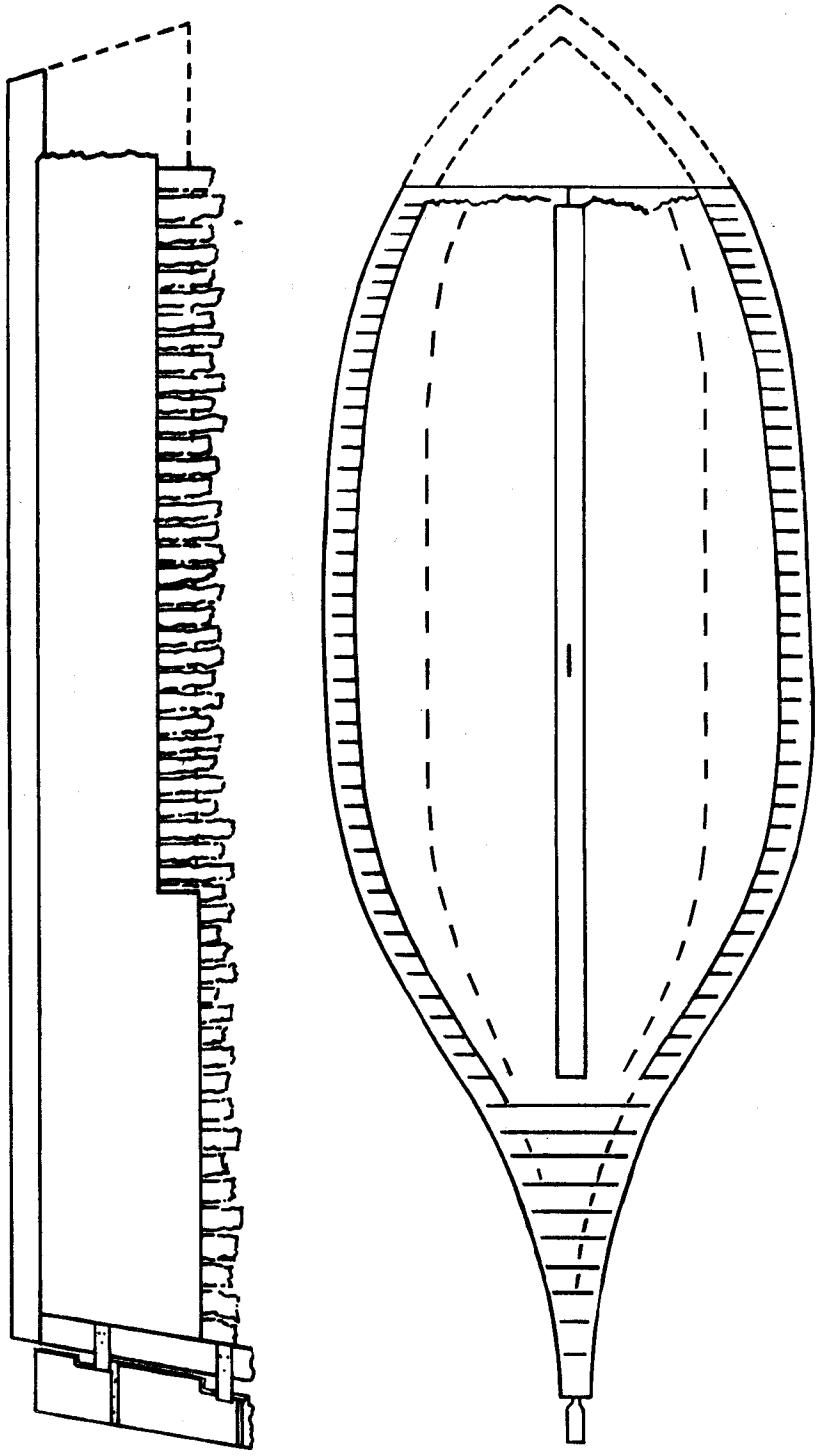

FIGURE 9
1863 Drawing of the Sparrow-Hawk Remains
New England Historical and Genealogical Register, XVIII (January 1864)

The greatest loss of life in the area occurred when the steamship *Portland* (10) sank northeast of High Head on November 27, 1898. The *Portland*, which made scheduled runs between Boston and Portland, Maine, departed the former city on November 26 as a gale arose. Before sailing far, the storm pounded the vessel with hurricane force and damaged its steering gear. Helpless, the steamship drifted toward Cape Cod and sank. All 175 of its passengers and crew died. Debris and bodies from the disaster covered the outer Truro beaches.[3]

Calamity touched more than merchant and passenger vessels. The Cape fishing fleets were subject to periodic castastrophe, leaving many widows. One of the worst misfortunes occurred in October 1841, in which only two crews of the Truro fleet survived.[4] Another disaster of a different type gripped the nation's attention in December 1927. At 3:30 p.m. on the seventeenth of that month the Coast Guard destroyer *Paulding* collided with the Navy submarine S-4 as it prepared to surface off Wood End (4). The submarine sank will all aboard. Divers ascertained that six of the forty-man crew initially survived, but efforts to rescue them were hampered by a gale which arose. These men also perished after several days when rescue efforts proved futile.[5]

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3. Small, *Shipwrecks of Cape Cod*, pp. 27-30.

4. Kittredge, *Cape Cod*, p. 209.

5. "Submarine Death Traps," *Literary Digest*, XCV (December 31, 1927), p. 3; Elroy S. Thompson, *History of Plymouth, Norfolk and Barnstable Counties Massachusetts*, II (New York: Lewis Historical Pub. Co. Inc., 1928), p. 865.

X. PROTECTION FROM THE SHOALS

By the mid-1790s the United States government became concerned about the frequent shipwrecks on the Cape Cod coast. As a result in 1796 it authorized the purchase of ten acres of land from Isaac Small for the construction of a lighthouse on the highland area of Truro. The site offered a good location for a light to guide vessels around the Cape and into Boston harbor. A temporary light was established while the permanent tower was under construction. Completed on June 12, 1797, the first permanent Cape lighthouse stood about 160 feet above the sea.[1]

Henry David Thoreau inspected the Highland lighthouse while on a tour of the Cape in the 1850s. Approaching the area, he noted that its white tower was visible from a distance of two miles. On closer observation he described the lighthouse as a "substantial-looking" brick structure surmounted by an iron cap. Inside, the keeper guided Thoreau up a winding, open iron stairway which led to a trap door in an iron floor at the top. Thoreau found that light was produced by fifteen argand lamps placed in parabolic reflectors which were twenty-one inches in diameter. The lamps were arranged in two horizontal circles, one above the other, to allow light to shine in every direction except directly down the coast. Surrounding the lamps at a distance of two to three feet were large plate glass windows on which the iron cap rested. These windows replaced the original small, thin glass panes which sometimes had broken in severe wind storms. A one-story brick keeper's house was attached to the tower.[2] Both the tower and keeper's house were razed in 1857 and replaced by the present taller structure. A first order Fresnel lens costing $30,000 was installed in the new lighthouse. In 1901 a flashing light was placed in the tower.[3] Installation of electricity has subsequently allowed an increase in that light's candlepower.

Soon after the completion of the Highland light, other lighthouses were constructed along the Cape coast. In 1808 two Chatham lights began to beam their warning to vessels passing the Cape's elbow (50). Ultimately, they were replaced by cast-iron lights, one of which was moved to Nauset (Eastham) in 1923. Eight years after the erection of the Chatham beacons, a stone lighthouse with a revolving light was built at Race Point on the Cape headland (5). It

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1. Isaac M. Small, *Highland Light* (Provincetown, Mass.: The Advocate Press, 1902), pp. 3-4; Robert P. A. Mills, *The American Pharos, or Light-House Guide: founded on Official Reports Received at the Treasury Department* (Washington, D.C.: Thompson & Homans, 1832), p. 48; Francis Ross Holland, Jr., *America's Lighthouses: Their Illustrated History Since 1716* (Brattleboro, Vermont: The Stephen Greene Press, 1972), p. 83.

2. Thoreau, *Cape Cod*, pp. 131, 148-149, 151, 164-167.

3. Small, *Highland Light*, pp. 5, 13.

served to direct vessels in both Boston and Cape Cod bays until the present cast-iron light replaced it in 1876. By 1827 a light on the tip of Long Point piloted ships into Provincetown harbor (1). Forty-eight years later it, too, was reconstructed.[4]

In 1838, on a bluff above Nauset Beach, the government built three brick lights, each fifteen feet high and 150 feet apart (34). Known as the "three sisters," these lighthouses eventually fell into the sea when the cliff eroded. As a result they were replaced with taller wooden structures in 1891. Inspection by Lighthouse Board officials led to a decision in 1918 to remove two of the Nauset lights; one lighthouse was deemed sufficient for the area.[5]

In 1918 Helen Cummings purchased the two Nauset lights at auction for $3.50. She had them moved to a temporary site near the French Cable Hut. They were permanently located on her nearby Cable Road property in 1920. Here the two buildings were fashioned into a house; one contained a kitchen and livingroom on the ground floor with a bedroom on the second level; the other was converted into two bedrooms. In the 1960s the property, including the former lighthouses, became part of the Cape Cod National Seashore.[6] Ultimately, these two former lighthouses are slated for restoration.

The third of the "three sisters" was replaced in 1923 with one of the cast-iron lighthouses from Chatham. Upon replacement the old structure was also sold and moved a short distance to a location near the French Cable Hut.[7] Presently owned by the Cape Cod National Seashore, its exterior has sustained few changes. By removing the attached structure, it could be returned to its original appearance.

Despite the valuable navigation aid rendered by lighthouses, the Cape Cod coast still proved hazardous. Since no light could effectively penetrate storms and fog, shipwrecks and loss of life continued. Even before lights were installed along the Cape coast, however, a Massachusetts group formed to preserve human life. Founded in 1786 and incorporated in 1791 the Massachusetts Humane Society provided the first organized effort in America to preserve the lives of shipwrecked mariners.[8] The Humane Society's initial work involved placing huts in strategic locations along the Massachusetts coast to shelter the survivors of

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4. Holland, *America's Lighthouses*, pp. 85-86; Mills, *The American Pharos, or Light-House Guide*, p. 48.

5. Edward R. Snow, *Famous New England Lighthouses* (Boston: The Yankee Pub. Co., 1945), pp. 342-343.

6. Interview of John A. Cummings by George C. Reeser, no date, (typescript in the Cape Cod National Seashore files); John A. Cummings to George C. Reeser, March 23, 1969, (letter in the Cape Cod National Seashore files).

7. *Ibid.*

8. R. B. Forbes, "Massachusetts Humane Society--Life-Boats," *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XIX (December 1848), p. 627; Dalton, *The Life Savers of Cape Cod*, p. 23.

shipwrecks. In the early 1790s it erected a hut at the head of Stout Creek (11).[9] The Society, however, selected a poor location, for within a few years strong winds blew the sand from the hut's foundation and the weight of the chimney caused it to collapse. It was demolished in January 1802.[10]

In the summer of 1802 the Humane Society's Trustees surveyed the Cape's outer coast to select sites for new huts. Six locations were chosen and a contract for their construction was consummated in the early fall. By October they were completed. All six huts stood on piles and had identical dimensions--eight feet long, eight feet wide, and seven feet high. A sliding door was located on the south side and a sliding shutter on the west. To aid in their location, a pole rising fifteen feet above the roof was placed to the east. Inside, the hut contained either straw or hay and a bench. A person was employed to examine the huts each autumn and provide fresh stores and hay so that they would be in order for winter.[11]

In October 1802 the Massachusetts Humane Society published the location of their Cape Cod huts for the benefit of seamen. In addition it listed coastal structures and houses in which a shipwrecked sailor could seek refuge. The first hut was placed on a sand ridge two and a half miles east of Race Point (7). A second hut was located at the head of Stout Creek near the site of the ill-fated 1790s hut, but, this time, the Society chose a spot where beach grass grew (11). The third hut was erected on an elevated part of the beach about one and a half miles north of the mouth of Nauset harbor (38). Another structure was placed on a narrow part of the beach due east of Sampson's Island and approximately half-way between the entrances to Nauset and Chatham harbors (47). The fifth hut was located one mile north of the Chatham harbor entrance (53) while the last one appeared on Cape Malebarre (Monomoy) beach one-half mile southeast of the entrance to Wreck Cove.[12]

About 1850 the Massachusetts Humane Society added other huts at Cahoon's (29) and Newcomb's Hollows (33) and provided them with lifeboats. At least four of the older huts had received boats at an earlier date. Local volunteers manned

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9. Anonymous, "A Topographical Description of Truro in the County of Barnstable, 1794," *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, First Series, III (1794), p. 197.

10. "Description of the Eastern Coast of the County of Barnstable from Cape Cod, or Race Point in latitude 42° 5' to Cape Malebarre or the Sandy Point of Chatham in latitude 41° 33' pointing out the spots on which the Trustees of the Humane Society have erected huts and other places where Shipwrecked Seamen may look for Shelter," *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, First Series, VIII, (1802), p. 111, (also published in Boston by Hosea Sprague, 1802).

11. "Report by the Massachusetts Humane Society Trustees to President William Freeman," August 26, 1802 (Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston); "Description of the Eastern Coast of the County of Barnstable...," p. 118.

12. "Description of the Eastern Coast of the County of Barnstable...," pp. 111, 116-117.

these vessels during shipwrecks. The lifeboats proved valuable for nearby disasters, but, because of their weight and for want of horse and carriage, they could not be transported any distance.[13]

In 1847 the United States Congress augmented the Humane Society's limited funds with an appropriation in the lighthouse bill of that year. The Society spent this money for more boats and rockets, and equipped two of the Cape huts with mortars.[14] In succeeding years Congress provided funds for life saving huts and equipment along the seacoasts and lake shores which had none. By 1854 salaried keepers were assigned to those stations built by the United States government.[15]

During two of his trips to Cape Cod, Henry David Thoreau visited Humane Society huts. On the first occasion in October 1849 he came upon one of these "lonely buildings" standing on piles driven into the sand. Inside Thoreau found "that there were some stones and some loose wads of wool on the floor, and an empty fire-place at the further end; but it was not supplied with matches, or straw, or hay, that we could see, nor accommodated with a bench." The condition in which the hut was maintained led him to think "how cold is charity! how inhumane humanity!" Eight years later Thoreau entered the hut at Newcomb's Hollow. "Within was a simple apartment containing the boat, a bench, a fire-place and chimney, an india-rubber bucket, a few armfuls of wood, a keg of rags, a tin case with matches and two candles and a candlestick over the fire-place...."[16] This sanctuary of later construction proved more humane than the older hut he had first encountered.

The inefficiency of the politically appointed keepers, who oversaw the life saving huts after 1854, prompted Congress to authorize the United States Life Saving Service on March 3, 1871. Stations were manned with skilled keepers and professional crews who patrolled the shore at night and in foul daytime weather.[17]

On Cape Cod the Massachusetts Humane Society continued to service its huts until an act on June 10, 1872 extended the Life Saving Service to that area. Since the small Humane Society huts proved unusable, nine identical new stations

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13. Forbes, "Massachusetts Humane Society--Life Boats," p. 628; Earle G. Rich, "The Lifesavers of Cahoon's Hollow," *The Summary* (July 3, 1969), p. 18; Thoreau, *Cape Cod*, p. 262fn.

14. Dalton, *The Life Savers of Cape Cod*, p. 24; Forbes, "Massachusetts Humane Society--Life-Boats," p. 627; Thoreau, *Cape Cod*, p. 262fn.

15. Dalton, *The Life Savers of Cape Cod*, pp. 25-27.

16. Thoreau, *Cape Cod*, pp. 75, 78, 262.

17. Deyo, *History of Barnstable County, Massachusetts*, p. 58; Dalton, *The Life Savers of Cape Cod*, p. 29.

were erected at Race Point (6), Peaked Hill Bars (9), Highland (14), Pamet River (23), Cahoon's Hollow (30), Nauset (36), Orleans (48), Chatham (51), and Monomoy by the winter of 1872-73. In 1883 the High Head station was added (12). Two more, Wood End (3) in 1896 and Old Harbor (49) in 1898, with the same design followed and finally Monomoy Point in 1902 made a total of thirteen.[18]

Initially, the Life Saving Service planned to abandon the Monomoy station and transfer the crew to Monomoy Point at its completion. However, when six of the life saving crew died in "the Monomoy Disaster" of March 1902, a decision was made to retain that station.[19] The Cahoon's Hollow station burned in February 1893. It was soon rebuilt using a different design. Shortly thereafter winds piled sand dunes near the station obstructing the view of the ocean. As a result a small building was constructed on a nearby high bank for the day watch.[20] The Chatham station also sustained some change. Several years after its construction, it was moved near the site of the later Old Harbor station. A few years later it was returned to a place near its original location to allow for a new station at Old Harbor. The move occurred prematurely, for Old Harbor did not receive a station for a number of years.[21]

The Life Saving Service performed a vital service to shipping not only in the Cape Cod area, but nationally. Patrolling in the biting cold and snow of a winter storm, burning Coston signals to warn vessels approaching shoals, or removing people from a stranded ship required keepers and surfmen of dedication and skill.

Except for the keeper who remained year around, the Cape Cod stations were manned from August 1 to June 1. At night and during storms or fog the crews patrolled the beach in shifts. Men from nearby stations walked toward each other until reaching a midway point. Here they met at a half-way house, a small shelter used for warming and exchanging checks. Surfmen in those areas which did not have a neighboring station in one or both directions carried time clocks. Keys for the clocks were fixed to a post at the terminal point of the patrol. Upon reaching the post a surfman wound the clock and recorded the time on a card. During the day, a watch was maintained from a station's lookout tower.[22]

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18. Thoreau, *Cape Cod*, p. 262fn; Deyo, *History of Barnstable County, Massachusetts*, pp. 58-59. See the appendix for the stations' locations.

19. Dalton, *The Life Savers of Cape Cod*, pp. 126-127. "The Monomoy Disaster" was so named because of the loss of the Monomoy Life Saving crew who died while attempting to rescue men from a stranded vessel.

20. Rich, "The Lifesavers of Cahoon's Hollow," p. 18; Dalton, *The Life Savers of Cape Cod*, pp. 66-67.

21. Dalton, *The Life Savers of Cape Cod*, pp. 108, 117-118.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-35.

Men not assigned the day watch followed a general routine. Mondays were spent cleaning and repairing the station. Tuesdays were a time to practice launching and landing a surfboat through the surf. The next day surfmen drilled with the International and General signal codes. Thursdays were reserved for practice with the breeches-buoy and related apparatus used on the beach to rescue the shipwrecked. On Fridays the men trained in resuscitation of the drowned. Saturdays were reserved for washing and Sundays for church. Each man received one day of leave per week during the daylight hours.[23]

Life Saving stations served as the home of the crew and housed the equipment they used for rescues. Most stations were painted dark red to make them visible from the sea. Nearby, a sixty foot flagstaff also marked their location and functioned to signal passing vessels. An observation room was on the roof or in an attached tower. By the 1890s each station and half-way house on the Cape was connected by telephone. Central switchboards in Chatham and Provincetown facilitated the use of these communication lines.[24]

On January 28, 1915 the Life Saving Service combined with the Revenue Cutter Service to form the United States Coast Guard. At first this reorganization did not affect the Cape Cod stations and they continued to function as in the past. Slowly, however, the Coast Guard began to phase out stations. High Head was discontinued in 1916, Monomoy was terminated in the mid-1920s, and by 1939 Peaked Hill Bars and Cahoon's Hollow were no longer operated. Shortly after its termination, erosion caused the Peaked Hill Bars station to fall into the ocean. Its remaining foundation and boathouse are of no value.[25] After the close of World War II the remaining stations were no longer operated.

Only two of the old Life Saving stations remain. The Cahoon's Hollow station exists as a privately owned restaurant. It has sustained considerable alterations. The other station, Old Harbor, has survived intact, but erosion has placed it in danger of falling into the ocean. Abandoned on February 10, 1947, Old Harbor was sold at auction. In 1972 the United States government reacquired the structure as part of Cape Cod National Seashore.

Although not confronted with the number of disasters that the Race Point and Peaked Hill Bars stations encountered, Old Harbor exemplifies the Life Saving Service on Cape Cod. On June 21, 1897 bids were opened for the construction of the Old Harbor Life Saving station. J. S. Randall of Portland, Maine won the contract with a bid of $4,437. The architectural design for the new station was

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23. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

25. *Annual Reports of the United States Coast Guard, 1915-1917, 1920-1932* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1915-1917, 1920-1932); *Register of Commissioned and Warrant Officers, and Cadets, and Ships and Stations of the United States Coast Guard, 1927-1941* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1927-1941).

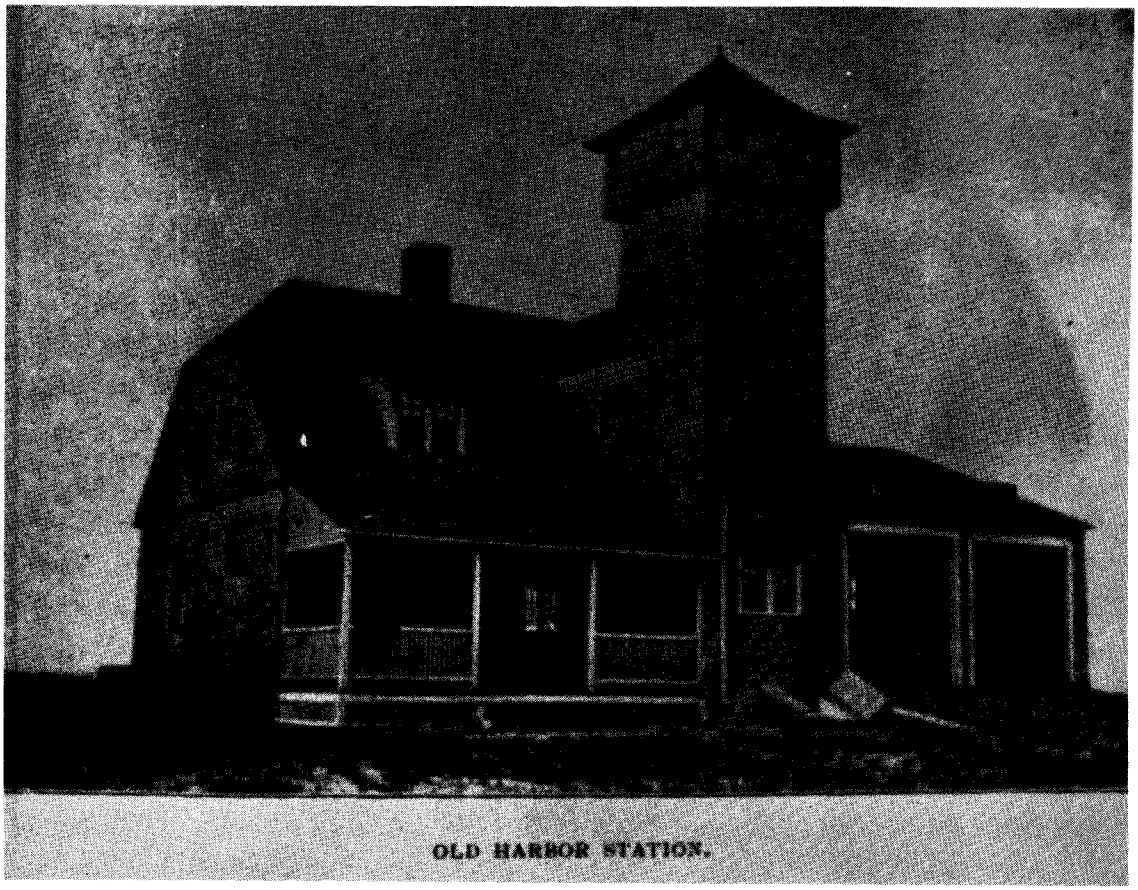

FIGURE 10
Old Harbor Life Saving Station about 1900
Dalton, The Life Savers of Cape Cod

a duplicate of that used at four other stations: Spermaceti Cove, Cape May, Wood End, and Absecon. After some delay Randall completed the structure on February 18, 1898 (Figure 10). Ten days later Hezekiah F. Doane was appointed keeper and a crew arrived to finish the final month of the season. Old Harbor employed six surfmen from August 1 to May 31. A seventh man (winter man) was added from December 1 to April 30. A list of furnishings for the new station was completed by September 17, 1897 and the station received the final items on the list in April of the following year (see appendix for the furnishings list).[26]

Since beach erosion presently threatens to destroy the Old Harbor station, preservation requires its relocation. As the only intact Life Saving station on Cape Cod, it should be saved. It could be moved to a new location where, when funding permits, it could be refurnished and used to interpret the history of service to the maritime activity along the Cape Cod coast.

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26. Notification of Opening of Bids for a New Life Saving Station at Nauset Beach near Chatham, Massachusetts, Old Harbor Life Saving Station, General Correspondence, #60667 (40/435), RG 26, Records of the United States Coast Guard (National Archives, Washington, D.C.), Hereafter cited as USCG/NA; Report on Completion of Old Harbor Station by William W. Latham, Asst. to the Superintendent of Construction, USLSS, February 18, 1898, Old Harbor Life Saving Station, General Correspondence, #60667 (21), USCG/NA; S. I. Kimball, General Superintendent, USLSS to the Superintendent of the Second Life Saving District, February 28, 1898, Old Harbor Life Saving Station, General Correspondence, #59597 (15), USCG/NA; List of Furnishings for the Old Harbor Life Saving Station, September 17, 1897, Old Harbor Life Saving Station, General Correspondence, #61898, USCG/NA; *Annual Report of the United States Life-Saving Service for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1900* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), p. 11.

XI. A CLOSER CONNECTION WITH EUROPE: THE FRENCH CABLE AND THE MARCONI STATION

In the 1870s several communication corporations were formed as speculative ventures. One such organization, the *Compagnie Francaise du Télégraphe de Paris a New York*, began in 1879 with an objective of laying a transatlantic cable. In England the company was known as the P. Q. Company after its president Monsieur Pouyer-Quertier. Shortly after its inception, the corporation settled on a route from Brest to the island of St. Pierre in the Miquelon island group and thence to Cape Cod. Using a cable built in England by the Siemens Brothers and an American ship the U.S.S. *Faraday*, the cable was laid in four months. On Cape Cod at the North Eastham terminal the company constructed a station and several attendant's homes. Here the cable connected with an overland telegraph. By 1895 financial difficulties led the P. Q. Company to merge with *La Societé Francaise des Telegraphes Sous-Marins* and form *La Compagnie Francaise des Câbles Télégraphique*. This new organization laid an entirely French-made cable directly from Brest to Cape Cod in 1897-98. Since the new cable terminated in Orleans, the structures at the old site were moved to that town. To facilitate the operation of both lines from the Orleans office, a land cable was laid from there to the extremity of the first transatlantic cable at North Eastham. A hut was constructed at the North Eastham terminal (35) in which the ocean end and land cable joined.[1]

Radio communication has since reduced the use of ocean cables. However, the French Cable Hut in North Eastham remains, but not on its original site, for erosion caused the initial location to disappear into the Atlantic. Moved back a short distance, it sustained some alteration when converted to summer visitor's quarters. Purchased in 1972 by the United States government and placed on the National Register, its exterior form serves to interpret the transatlantic cable activity on Cape Cod.

Cape Cod was also the site of transatlantic radio communication development, that wireless phenomenon which ultimately made the cable obsolete. Although others in the nineteenth century had experimented with transmitting sound by electromagnetic waves, Guglielmo Marconi succeeded in sending the first radio signals. During the latter half of the 1890s, he increased the distance of reception until, in 1899, a message was transmitted across the English Channel. Marconi then turned to the development of a transatlantic system from England to North America. While work progressed on a station at Poldhu, near Penzance, Cornwall, England, he traveled to Canada and the United States to select sites on the opposite side of the Atlantic. He chose several locations including one at St. Johns, Newfoundland and another on Cape Cod in South Wellfleet (31).[2]

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1. J. D. Scott, *Siemens Brothers 1858-1958: An Essay in the History of Industry* (London: Wordenfold & Nicolson, 1958), p. 40; K. R. Haigh, *Cableships and Submarine Cables* (Washington: United States Underseas Cable Corp., 1968), p. 317-321; James Wilson to Mr. Barnes, May 24, 1962 (letter in the Cape Cod National Seashore files).

2. Hinshaw and Lohr, *Marconi and his South Wellfleet Wireless*, pp. 6-7.

Both the initial Poldhu and Cape Cod stations used a system of wires strung between 200-foot-high poles set in a circle. Completed in 1901, gales destroyed both stations in that same year before any transmissions could be made. Rebuilding the Poldhu station with a less complex system, Marconi readied it to send a signal to Newfoundland. At 12:30 p.m. December 12, 1901 he received the first transatlantic electronic signal at his marine station on Signal Hill, St. Johns. The signal was the letter S (three dots in Morse code) repeated at three minute intervals. In all twenty-five repetitions were heard.[3]

It was a momentous occasion, but the first transatlantic message awaited the rebuilding of the Cape Cod station. That station was reconstructed using four, 210-foot-high wooden towers set in a square formation. Placed on concrete foundations, the towers were 200 feet apart. A radio room and power plant were built in the center of the square. Finally, it was completed in December 1902. On January 15 of the next year Marconi arrived with a message to transmit from President Theodore Roosevelt to King Edward VII. It was successfully sent on the night of January 18. The monarch, in turn, replied to Roosevelt. Marconi placed the paper tapes of the return message into two envelopes and gave them to an employee, Charles Paine, who took them to the Wellfleet depot telegraph office. They were relayed from there to the President and the press in New York.[4]

For thirteen years the Cape Cod station continued to function, but expanded service elsewhere eliminated its need. In 1920, four years after its final use, it was dismantled.[5] Ultimately, the United States government acquired the site as part of Cape Cod National Seashore and in 1963 erected a shelter to commemorate Marconi and his Cape Cod station. Its call letters WCC, however, still continue in use by the RCA Ship to Shore station in Chatham.

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3. John V. Hinshaw and Edison Lohr, *Marconi and his South Wellfleet Wireless* (Chatham, Mass.: Chatham Press, 1969), pp. 9, 11; P. T. McGrath, "Authoritative Account of Marconi's Work in Wireless Telegraphy," *Century Magazine*, LXIII (March 1902), pp. 769, 778; Ray Stannard Baker, "Marconi's Achievement: Telegraphing Across the Ocean without Wires," *McClure's Magazine*, XVIII (February 1902), pp. 290-299.

4. Scott Corbett, *Cape Cod's Way* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1955), pp. 226-227; Hinshaw and Lohr, *Marconi and His South Wellfleet Wireless*, p. 17; James Wilson to Mr. Barnes, May 24, 1962.

5. Corbett, *Cape Cod's Way*, pp. 226-227.

XII. HARD TIMES

The Civil War proved disastrous to Cape Cod marine activity, for that war hastened the development of steamships. Cape Codders lacked the money to buy these ships and continued to utilize sailing vessels. Soon, however, they found that they could not compete with the larger steam powered fishing ships from other ports. As a result many owners sold their fishing schooners. Most of these vessels were dismantled and converted into coal barges. Even if these fishing vessel owners had possessed the financial means to purchase the larger steamships, they would have faced another problem, for the shallow Cape ports precluded the entrance of these large vessels. Fishermen of Provincetown proved an exception for a time, but by the 1890s the trend to large steam powered ships had also overtaken their enterprise.[1]

Some Cape men turned to weir fishing after they sold their vessels. In this operation long poles were driven into the off-shore sand and nets were attached to trap fish. So many fish were caught (mostly mackerel) that the market price became depressed. The fishing economy, however, revived somewhat in the mid-1890s with the introduction of freezer plants. This innovation allowed fish to be hauled by rail to distant markets.[2]

Whaling, in a limited capacity, continued on the Cape. About 1874 Jonathan Cook of the Provincetown firm H. & S. Cook and Company established a whale oil factory on federal military property 500 feet southwest of the old five gun battery on Long Point. It included a 600 foot wharf on the harbor side of the point. Cook built a small windmill 2,600 feet farther down the point toward Wood End which he used to pump fresh water through an iron pipe, supported on trestles, to his oil works. Despite the Army's effort to remove the factory, Cook persisted. Finally, in 1883 the War Department suspended its orders and allowed Cook to remain on the point.[3] Cook evidently ran a successful operation with whales killed in local waters. An 1880 photograph (Figure 11) shows his employees cutting up a whale at the factory.

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1. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts*, p. 369; Isaac M. Small, *Just a Little about the Lower Cape, Personal and Otherwise* (N.P., 1922) p. 7; Kittredge, *Cape Cod*, p. 197.

2. Small, *Just a Little about Cape Cod, Personal and Otherwise*, p. 8; Kittredge, *Cape Cod*, p. 198.

3. Lt. Col. George Thom to the Chief of the Corps of Engineers, USA, December 12, 1877; Joseph Veazie, Asst. Engineer, to General H. W. Benham, Corps of Engineers, December 24, 1877; General H. W. Benham to the Chief of the Corps of Engineers, USA, July 27, 1880; Treasury Department Memorandum, February 23, 1883. All of the above citations are located in RG 77, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Land Papers, Long Point Batteries, Long Point, Provincetown, and Truro, Massachusetts (National Archives, Washington, D.C.).

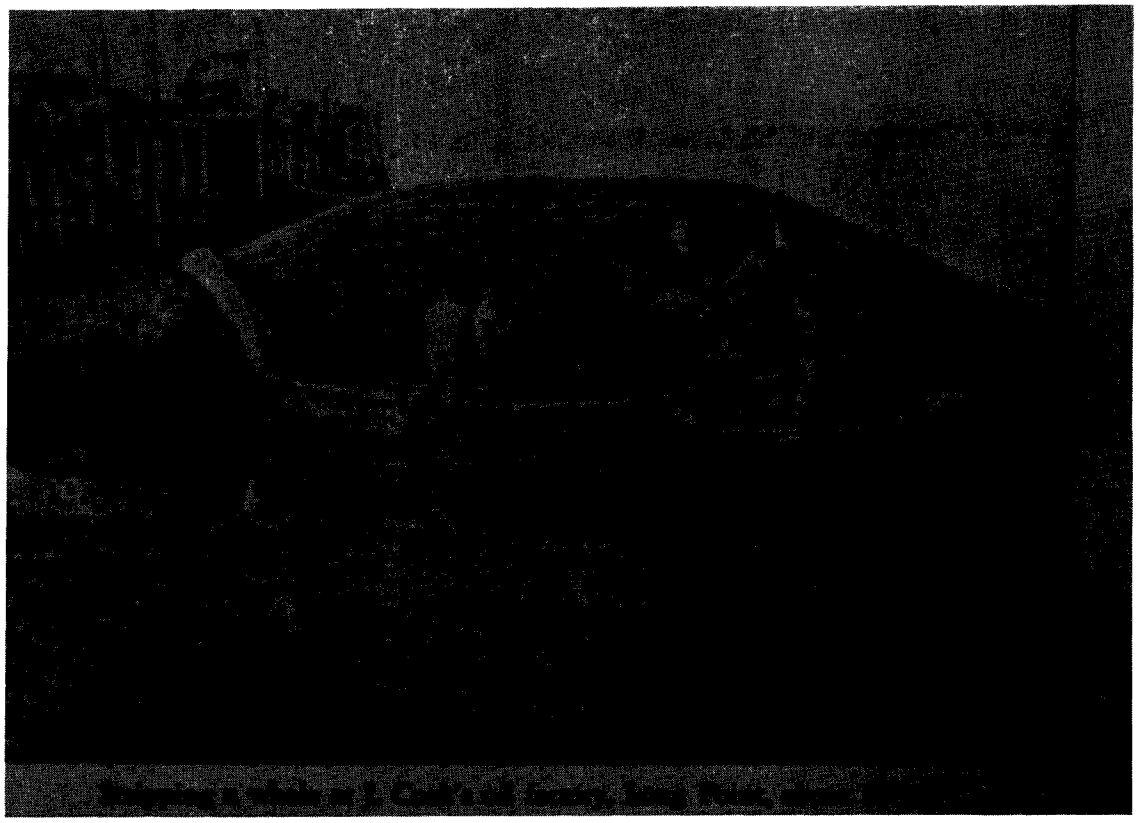

FIGURE 11
Stripping a Whale at J. Cook's Oil Factory, Long Point
Moffett, Art In Narrow Streets: The First Thirty-three of the Provincetown Art Association

Despite the occasional attempt to bring industry to the lower Cape, most efforts did not succeed. Even with the coming of the railroad, the Cape remained isolated. The first railroad track on Cape Cod was constructed in 1848 by the Cape Cod Branch Railroad which ran as far as Sandwich. In 1854, soon after the corporation changed its name to Cape Cod Railroad Company, the line was extended from Yarmouth to Hyannis. By mid-1857 the tracks ran through Barnstable to Yarmouth. Another concern, the Cape Cod Central Railroad Company, formed in 1861 and built a line from Yarmouth to Orleans by 1865. Three years later it sold out to the Cape Cod Railroad Company. In 1869 the tracks reached Wellfleet. On March 27, 1872 the Old Colony and Newport Railroad Company united with the Cape Cod Railroad Company to form the Old Colony Railroad Company. This corporation completed the tracks to Provincetown on July 22, 1873.[4] By the twentieth century the tracks became the property of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad Company.

The coming of the railroad fostered some attempts to bring industry to the lower Cape. About 1870 a group leased the Truro town hall and installed machinery for a shoe factory. The venture lasted only several months, for it was too far from markets and too small to meet the competition of larger, more favorably located factories.[5] About 1883 the Leominster Shirt Company of Leominster, Massachusetts opened the Puritan Shirt factory in Provincetown. By the early 1890s it had 150 employees and produced 100 dozen shirts per day.[6] In the early twentieth century its unfavorable location also forced it to close. One industry, the raising of cranberries, proved well-suited to Cape Cod.

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4. Hager and Handy, *History of the Old Colony Railroad*, pp. 50, 68, 71, 75, 83, 97-98, 403; Kittredge, *Cape Cod*, p. 154.

5. Small, *True Stories of Cape Cod*, p. 57.

6. Hager and Handy, *History of the Old Colony Railroad*, p. 403.

XIII. CRANBERRIES

Wild Cranberries have grown on Cape Cod from time immemorial. The Indians, who called the bright red fruit "sassamanesh," were the first to use the berries both as food and medicine. Roasted unripe berries were placed on wounds while the ripe ones were mixed with dried venison to make pemmican. When the Pilgrims arrived, the natives taught them to use the cranberry in their food. The early settlers, however, made no effort to cultivate the plants. They only picked the wild berries for home consumption.[1]

Despite the lack of cultivation, cranberries became an important addition to the Pilgrims' diet. The attachment to the cranberry led Plymouth colony to ship ten barrels as a gift to Charles II who failed to appreciate the tart berry. This circumstance did not lessen the Cape Codders' esteem for the wild cranberry and they were even listed on the menu of the Old Colony Club of Plymouth in 1769. By 1773 the people of Provincetown voted a one dollar fine for anyone caught picking more than one quart of cranberries before September 20. In addition the transgressor had to surrender the berries he picked.[2]

Commercial cultivation of cranberries did not begin until the nineteenth century. Prior to that time the meager production of each wild plant limited the harvest and therefore the supply for the area in which it grew. Henry Hall of North Dennis, who owned land on which wild cranberries grew, made a discovery about 1813 which led to experiments in commercial production. When the timber on the land adjacent to his cranberry bog was cut, the wind blew the sand from that area onto the cranberries. Instead of harming the plants, the sand proved beneficial for it gave them new vigor. At harvest he picked more and larger berries. Soon, others joined in sanding their wild cranberry bogs. Production increased to a point by the 1820s that some cranberries were carried on sailing vessels for trading in distant ports. In 1833 the *New American Orchardist*, a Boston publication, carried a report of men picking twenty to fifty bushels of cranberries per day.[3]

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1. C. D. Stevens, Chester E. Cross, and Walter E. Piper, "The Cranberry Industry in Massachusetts," *Massachusetts Department of Agriculture Bulletin*, No. 157 (May 1957), p. 5; Byron S. Peterson, Chester E. Cross, and Nathaniel Tilden, "The Cranberry Industry in Massachusetts," *Massachusetts Department of Agriculture Bulletin*, No. 201 (June 1968), p. 1; Benjamin Eastwood, *A Complete Manual for the Cultivation of the Cranberry* (New York: C. M. Saxton & Co., 1856), p. 13.

2. "Cape Cod Cranberries," *Fortune*, XXXIV (October 1946), p. 144; Clare Leighton, *Where Land Meets the Sea: The Tide Line of Cape Cod* (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1954), p. 68; Conrad K. Casarijian, "A Geographic Analysis of Cranberry Bog Distribution in Massachusetts" (Masters' Thesis, University of Colorado, 1967), pp. 7-8.

3. Deyo, *History of Barnstable County, Massachusetts*, p. 147; Peterson, Cross, and Tilden, "The Cranberry Industry in Massachusetts," pp. 1-2, 4.

Cape Cod National Seashore Library

By 1854 the cranberry industry reached such importance that the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture conducted a survey of the acreage, crop value, and land value per acre. At that time Barnstable, with 197 acres in production, ranked fourth among the twelve Massachusetts counties which grew cranberries.[4]

In the late 1850s cranberry production on Cape Cod received a significant boost from fishing boat captains. Many Cape fishermen, financially unable to adopt the expensive new fishing methods, sold their outmoded sailing vessels and turned their attention to cranberries. It was mainly through the leadership of these men that the cranberry industry came to a place of prominence. Using their experience of financing fishing vessels, these seamen applied the same methods to fund the development of new bogs. These fishing captains had raised capital for new vessels by selling interests in "64ths." The cost of constructing a ship was divided into sixty-four parts and investors purchased one or more parts. As a result these men financed new cranberry bogs by selling "64ths."[5]

Through the Civil War period high prices accompanied the upward spiralling production. After that war, however, the money received for cranberries dropped and the industry entered a depressed period until the late 1890s. Some investors lost their money. Cape Codders, however, were no strangers to adversity. They managed to hang on and even slowly increase the cranberry acreage. By 1855 Barnstable County, with 2,408 acres in production, led the state.[6]

The cranberry business required money and knowledge, if one hoped to achieve success. The purchase price of a bog, which had a good peat bottom and readily available water supply for flooding, was high. Even as early as 1854 bogs sold for upwards of $450 per acre. The most costly part of the operation, however, came at the beginning with clearing the bog of brush and stumps, and making the surface level. Then ditches were dug across the bog to allow for flooding and drainage. As the final preparation before planting, the bog was covered with three to four inches of sand. Cranberry vines were then set out in rows.[7] (Rows are no longer used in present day cultivation.)

Until the 1890s only two cranberry varieties, Early Black and Howe, were available for planting. About fifty other varieties, including McFarlin, Mathew, and Centennial, have since been developed, but they have received only minor

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4. Peterson, Cross, and Tilden, "The Cranberry Industry in Massachusetts," p. 2; Casarijian, "A Geographic Analysis of Cranberry Bog Distribution in Massachusetts," p. 10.

5. Peterson, Cross, and Tilden, "The Cranberry Industry in Massachusetts," pp. 2-3; Fredrika A. Burrows, *Cannonballs & Cranberries* (Taunton, Mass.: William S. Sullwold, Pub., 1976), pp. 60, 72; "Cape Cod Cranberries," *Fortune*, p. 144.

6. "Cranberry Culture," *Scientific American*, LXXIV (March 28, 1896), p. 201; Casarijian, "A Geographic Analysis of Cranberry Distribution in Massachusetts," p. 10.

7. Frank Overton, "Three Hundred Dollars an Acre From Cranberries," *Country Life in America*, XI (November 1906), p. 71.

acceptance. Most growers to the present day have favored the old reliable Early Black and the Howe which ripen in September and October respectively.[8]

Once into production a cranberry bog required considerable care. To prevent frost from killing the vines, the bogs were flooded each year from November until March. Even during the growing season a bog may be flooded for several days if temperatures drop below freezing. To keep vines productive a bog required re-sanding about every three to five years. At those times sand was spread at a depth of one-half to one inch over the winter ice. When the ice melted in spring the sand sank evenly on the floor of the bog. Insects have also posed a problem, for cranberry plants and fruit have been susceptible to attack from cranberry fruitworm, blackheaded cranberry fireworm, weevils, green cranberry spanworm, and blunt-nose leafhopper. Insecticides have been used in the later years to control pests.[9]

Harvesting cranberries took place in September through October. Berries were picked by hand at first, but over the years other methods have been developed. The first such contrivance was apparently a cranberry rake introduced in the 1830s. In 1880 a wooden scoop was developed. Since World War II, mechanical pickers have received greater usage. Berries which fell to the ground during harvest were reclaimed when the bog was flooded, for the loose cranberries floated on the water.[10]

Women and children comprised the earliest labor force for picking berries. Bogs were divided into two to three foot wide rows by running twine the length of the bog. Each individual picked an assigned row. When using the hand method, a picker spread the fingers slightly apart beneath the vine. Using a quick upward movement with the hand, pickers stripped the berries from the plant. About 1900 growers began to bring Portuguese from the Cape Verde Islands to work as pickers. The descendants of some of these men still do this work.[11]

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8. Overton, "Three Hundred Dollars an Acre From Cranberries," *Country Life In America*, XI (November 1906), p. 71; "The Cranberry Industry," *Scientific American*, LXXXVI (March 22, 1902), p. 206; Deyo, *History of Barnstable County, Massachusetts*, p. 149; Peterson, Cross, and Tilden, "The Cranberry Industry in Massachusetts," p. 34; Cape Cod Cranberries," *Fortune*, p. 144. Cranberry plants began to bear fruit two to three years after setting. An early twentieth century belief held that the vines bore abundantly for only twenty years after which time they needed resetting. Subsequent evidence has shown that even one hundred year old plants produce profitably.

9. Peterson, Cross, and Tilden, "The Cranberry Industry in Massachusetts," pp. 43, 63; "The Cranberry Industry," *Scientific American*, p. 206; Deyo, *History of Barnstable County, Massachusetts*, p. 149.

10. "Cape Cod Cranberries," *Fortune*, p. 146; Overton, "Three Hundred Dollars an Acre From Cranberries," *Country Life In America*, p. 71.

11. Corbett, *Cape Cod's Way*, p. 56; "The Cranberry Industry," *Scientific American*, p. 206.

Marketing and processing cranberries evolved with increased production. Depressed conditions after the Civil War evidently prompted a group of forty growers from Barnstable and Plymouth counties to form the Cape Cod Cranberry Growers' Association. Since its inception in 1866 this association has continued to promote the cultivation and sale of cranberries to the present day. R. C. Randall of Wareham has received credit for constructing the first processing plant of any significance. In 1898 his company began the production of both syrup and jam marketed under the name "Ruby Phosphate." His venture, however, closed in 1901. Large-scale processing began in 1912 with the founding of the United Cape Cod Cranberry Company. In 1930 this business combined with two later ventures to form Cranberry Canners, Incorporated. Although undergoing two subsequent name changes, the company has continued to market its products under the brand name "Ocean Spray" to the present day.[12]

Over the years Barnstable County has endured many ups and downs in the cranberry industry. By the 1890s it fell to second place behind Plymouth county in cranberry production, a position it still maintains. Production acreage, however, continued to climb until a high of 4,677 was reached in 1905. Since the county had only 3,200 acres of bogs with peat bottoms, expansion beyond that figure proved disastrous for some growers. Using poor judgment and eager for the high profits which returned by the late 1890s, these men began to grow cranberries in bogs with hard clay bottoms. Meager harvests resulted on these marginal lands.[13]

Acreage has declined since 1905 to 1,141 by 1964. Population growth on the Cape has been the primary contributor to this great reduction. Another characteristic common to farming in general has affected the cranberry industry in the past twenty years. The small family operated units have been giving way to larger mechanized operations with hired work forces.[14]

Although the lower Cape did not have significant cranberry production, two adjacent cranberry bogs, with a structure between them called the "Bog House," are located on the Cape Cod National Seashore property. In total the bogs comprise about twelve acres--four in the west bog and eight in the east. Both bogs have good peat bottoms. These bogs have been used for cranberry production since 1888. In that year James F. Howe purchased the property. Four years later he sold the land to H. H. Sears who continued production until his death. In 1938 Louis A. Crowell bought the property from the executor of the Sears' estate. Crowell named his operation the "Pamet Cranberry Company." He, in turn, sold

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12. Peterson, Cross, and Tilden, "The Cranberry Industry in Massachusetts," p. 4; Burrows, *Cannonballs & Cranberries*, p. 84-85.

13. Casarijian, "A Geographic Analysis of Cranberry Bog Distribution in Massachusetts," pp. 10, 37.

14. Peterson, Cross, and Tilden, "The Cranberry Industry in Massachusetts," p. 71.

the land to Tonda C. Haynes in April 1947. She maintained production in the west bog until 1952 and in the east bog until 1961. The United States government purchased the property in 1963.[15]

Without attention both bogs have since become overgrown with grass and weeds. The east bog, which was planted with Early Black cranberries, could be brought back into production. Ample sand can be obtained from a two acre site on its east side. A small one and a half acre pond near the south end of this bog could be used as the source of flood water. It would require a dike, however, to raise the water level. In addition there is proper air circulation to prevent frost spots. The west bog, which contained McFarlin cranberries, probably cannot be used. In 1952 construction work on highway 6 caused the water level of the Pamet River to rise making it impossible to drain that bog properly.[16]

The "Bog House" situated on the property is a combination of several structures. The upper story is a full cape house constructed about 1830. Shortly after Tonda Haynes purchased the property in 1947, she had the building raised and a one-story storage and work area built underneath.[17] Rather than put siding on only the lower portion, she had the entire structure resided. In addition it would appear that she had the floor joists of the older building replaced. Although National Register forms have been prepared for the structure, it lacks the historical and architectural integrity to merit inclusion on that list. If the bogs are ever restored to cranberry production, the "Bog House" could be repaired and used to store bog equipment, or used as an interpretive center for cranberry production on the Cape.

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15. Ralph J. Stevens, "Appraisal Report, Tract 17-T-2706, Truro, Massachusetts (January 11, 1963), pp. 5, 10-11 (Cape Cod National Seashore files).

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

XIV. THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Although the cranberry industry thrived, and fishing remained small and diversified, the growing preoccupation of Cape Codders in the twentieth century turned to summer residents and tourism. Whether the publication of Henry David Thoreau's book on Cape Cod or whether Captain Lorenzo Dow Baker initiated the summer visitor interest has remained a moot point, for tourists began to arrive at the Cape in increasing numbers during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In fact they probably first came to the Highland area of Truro where, by the early 1870s Isaac M. Small provided accommodations. Until the 1920s the effort to attract tourists was geared toward the wealthy. These entrepreneurs of the Industrial Revolution resided at first in establishments like the Chequessett Inn. This hotel, owned by Lorenzo D. Baker and located on Mercantile Wharf in Wellfleet, provided guests with such luxuries as fresh and salt water baths, and telephones. By the 1890s the wealthy began to construct their own summer cottages.[1]

The interest in summer homes on the Cape brought a concern for conservation. Economics motivated this interest, for many of the denuded areas on which sand had continued to blow during windstorms, were viewed as ideal locations for summer cottages. Making these sand strips habitable required replanting trees and grass. To facilitate this conservation movement, the Massachusetts Harbor and Land Commission received a $3,000 appropriation in 1894 to experiment with planting various kinds of trees and beach grass in the sandy areas. In the two succeeding years, it obtained $3,500 per year to continue the work. The success of this experiment led to greater state conservation efforts. In 1923 the Shawme-Crowell Forest was established in Sandwich and Bourne townships. Eleven years later the Roland Nickerson State Park was set aside in Brewster township.[2] Continued conservation and the abandonment of farmland between 1860 and 1920 has resulted in the return of woods to the once denuded areas of the Cape.

World War I provided an interlude between the pander to wealthy tourists and the onset of the general population's attraction to the Cape as a vacation site. Although Cape men left their homes to fight in Europe, the war actually came to Cape Cod. On the foggy morning of July 21, 1918, enemy shells landed on Nauset Beach. As the tug *Perth Amboy* with four barges in tow proceeded along the Cape coast about 10:30 that morning, a German submarine surfaced just southeast of the Nauset Life Saving Station and began to fire on it (37). The tug Captain heard the shots before he saw the submarine through the haze. By that

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1. Marion Vuilleumier, *Earning a Living on Olde Cape Cod* (Taunton, Mass.: William S. Sullwold, Pub. Co., 1968), p. 67; E. G. Perry, *A Trip Around Cape Cod, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, South Shore, and Historical Plymouth* (Boston: Chas. S. Binner Co., 1898), p. 26; Bearse (ed.), *Massachusetts: A Guide to the Pilgrim State*, p. 438; Kittredge, *Cape Cod*, p. 309; Deckie McLean, "Can Cape Cod Survive Suburbanization," Boston *Sunday Globe*, August 12, 1973; Nye, *History of Wellfleet from Early Days to the Present*, p. 25.

2. George E. Walsh, "Saving a Town and Cape," *Scientific American*, LXX (August 21, 1897), p. 118; Altpeter, "A History of the Forests of Cape Cod," pp. 61-62.

time it was too late to avoid the undersea craft; two empty barges and one loaded with stone were sunk, the fourth barge was damaged, and the tug set afire. During the bombardment, several rounds landed on the beach.[3]

Hearing the noise, some local inhabitants gathered on shore to watch the engagement. They notified the Coast Guard, which dispatched an unarmed plane from the Chatham base. It flew past the submarine, and then hastily retreated to Chatham when that vessel fired on it. The shots missed the airplane and landed far back on the beach. Those aboard the tug and barges managed to escape with only two injuries. As the crew came ashore, intermittent shots went over their heads and landed on the beach below some cottages. The submarine finally submerged and disappeared, having fired the only enemy rounds to strike American soil during World War I.[4]

In the 1920s tourism became the leading industry on Cape Cod. American society changed after World War I with the advent of more leisure time and money throughout the general population. As a result attention turned from attracting the wealthy to the Cape to focusing on those of lesser means. Agents of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad became the primary promoters of Cape Cod summer vacations. They sold tickets all over the East Coast in their successful drive to bring people to the Cape. As a result it was really the railroad which developed mass tourism on Cape Cod. Although slowed by the depression and World War II, visitors arrived in increasing numbers in the post-1945 period.[5]

Since the mid-1950s, suburbanization has also touched the Cape. In their search to escape city life, more and more people have chosen to dwell on that less populated peninsula. Land prices have soared so high that many native Cape Codders can no longer afford the cost. Outsiders have also tended to own the businesses and take the profits out of the Cape.[6]

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3. Boston *Daily Globe*, July 22, 1918.

4. Boston *Daily Globe*, July 22, 1918; Alice A. Lowe, *Eastham, Massachusetts 1651-1951* (Lexington, Mass.: The Hancock Press, 1951), p. 116.

5. McLean, "Can Cape Cod Survive Suburbanization."

6. *Ibid.*

XV. BOUND BROOK ISLAND

Since the first settlement, the history of Bound Brook Island and Wellfleet have been intertwined. Wellfleet was originally organized on July 29, 1723 at Chequesset Neck as the north precinct of Eastham. Bound Brook Island, so called because it was bounded by a brook and the Herring River, was chosen as an early settlement area. The first inhabitants farmed, but the soil soon became depleted. As a result the people began to augment their income with whale oil obtained from beached Blackfish. To better observe the approach of these marine mammals, they constructed a lookout tower on their island. Soon, the inhabitants joined the crews of Wellfleet whaling ships as whaling became their chief occupation in the years before the Revolution.[1]

Like many other areas of the Cape, Bound Brook Island was originally heavily wooded. The original inhabitants, however, despoiled the natural vegetation with dire results. Besides cutting trees, so many people pastured their cattle, horses, and sheep on the island and beach area that, without adequate ground cover, the sandy soil began to blow. Sand began to threaten the salt marshes and clog the Herring River. To allow the return of grass, the colonial legislature passed an act on February 2, 1768 which forbade pasturing animals on the shores and meadows of Bound Brook Island between April 1 and November 30 of each year. Those who violated the act were fined five shillings per head for cattle over one year old, and one shilling for each sheep. Anyone who found livestock loose in that area could impound them. The owner had to pay two shillings per head of cattle or horses and four pence per sheep to retrieve his animals. If impounded livestock remained unclaimed for six days, they were sold at public auction. Money derived from the sale, after deducting the fine and impoundment fee, was held for twelve months and was returned to the animals' owner upon demand. If the money went unclaimed within that period, it was placed in the public treasury and used to care for the poor.[2] The severity of the penalties probably discouraged grazing animals on that island.

Despite the attempt to control overgrazing on Bound Brook Island, the land remained barren. In 1794 only a few small pitch pine and oak trees could be seen. Fresh hay was no longer cut from the salt marshes. Grain for the area had to be brought from southern states, and the Bound Brook inhabitants erected a windmill to grind it (the windmill's location can be seen in Figure 12).[3]

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1. Freeman, *The History of Cape Cod*, II, p. 386; Jeremiah Digges, *Cape Cod Pilot* (Provincetown, Mass.: Modern Pilgrim Press, 1937), p. 192; Nye, *History of Wellfleet from Early Days to Present Time*, p. 9; Whitman, "A Topographical Description of Wellfleet in the County of Barnstable," October 26, 1793, p. 118.

2. "Act to Prevent Damage to Bound Brook and Griffins Islands," Bound Documents, I, *Agriculture 1644-1774* (Massachusetts State Archives, Boston); Freeman, *The History of Cape Cod*, II, p. 654.

3. Whitman, "A Topographical Description of Wellfleet in the County of Barnstable," October 26, 1793, pp. 118, 121; "A Letter from Rev. Levi Whitman, (continued)

The inhabitants of Bound Brook Island suffered during the American Revolution. Blockaded by British naval vessels, they could not pursue their livelihood of whaling. As a result their vessels rotted in the harbor. Without adequate funds to purchase new ships after the Revolution, the whaling industry declined. Instead, the Wellfleet people turned to cod fishing. Even their oysters were killed by a marine disease in 1775. Seed oysters, however, were obtained from Chesapeake Bay and successfully planted in the Wellfleet waters.

After the Revolution the Bound Brook Island population declined. In 1794 only ten dwellings still remained. Of these structures one, the Atwood-Higgins house (24), has survived as one of the best examples of a Cape style home. Originally it was a Cape Cod single or half house when Richard Higgins built it between 1727 and 1740. In 1805 Thomas Atwood purchased the house and doubled it. These men probably made their living from the sea although Thomas Atwood engaged in some farming. The Wellfleet census for 1800 indicated that Atwood owned three black slaves. Thomas Atwood, Jr. obtained the house upon his father's death. After he died in 1873, the structure stood vacant for forty-six years. In 1919 George K. Higgins obtained the land from a relative, Captain B. Atwood. He erected three buildings on the property: a barn in 1924, a guest house in 1929, and an old country store in 1947. In 1961 Higgins gave the land to the United States government.[4] The house has since been listed on the National Register and has become an interpretive site of the Cape Cod National Seashore.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the population of Bound Brook Island increased to about twenty-four houses. The community also contained a store and schoolhouse. Fishing remained the chief livelihood of these people. Two salt works were erected on the west (27) and southwest (28) portions of the island. Shipbuilding also occurred there, and the first ship recorded as having been constructed in Wellfleet was assembled about 1800 under the hill below the Atwood-Higgins house (25). Named the *Freemason* by its owner, Reuben Rich, the vessel weighed 100 tons. After the Civil War, when the fishing economy began to stagnate, people slowly migrated from the island. By 1900 it was depopulated.[5] Few individuals returned in the twentieth century.

Probably the most renowned native of Wellfleet, Lorenzo Dow Baker, was born on Bound Brook Island in 1840 (26). Baker rose to a position of wealth and notoriety through the importation of bananas to the United States. At age fourteen he began his sea life on a fishing schooner. For fifteen years he worked on fishing vessels during which time he became part owner of a thirty ton mackerel

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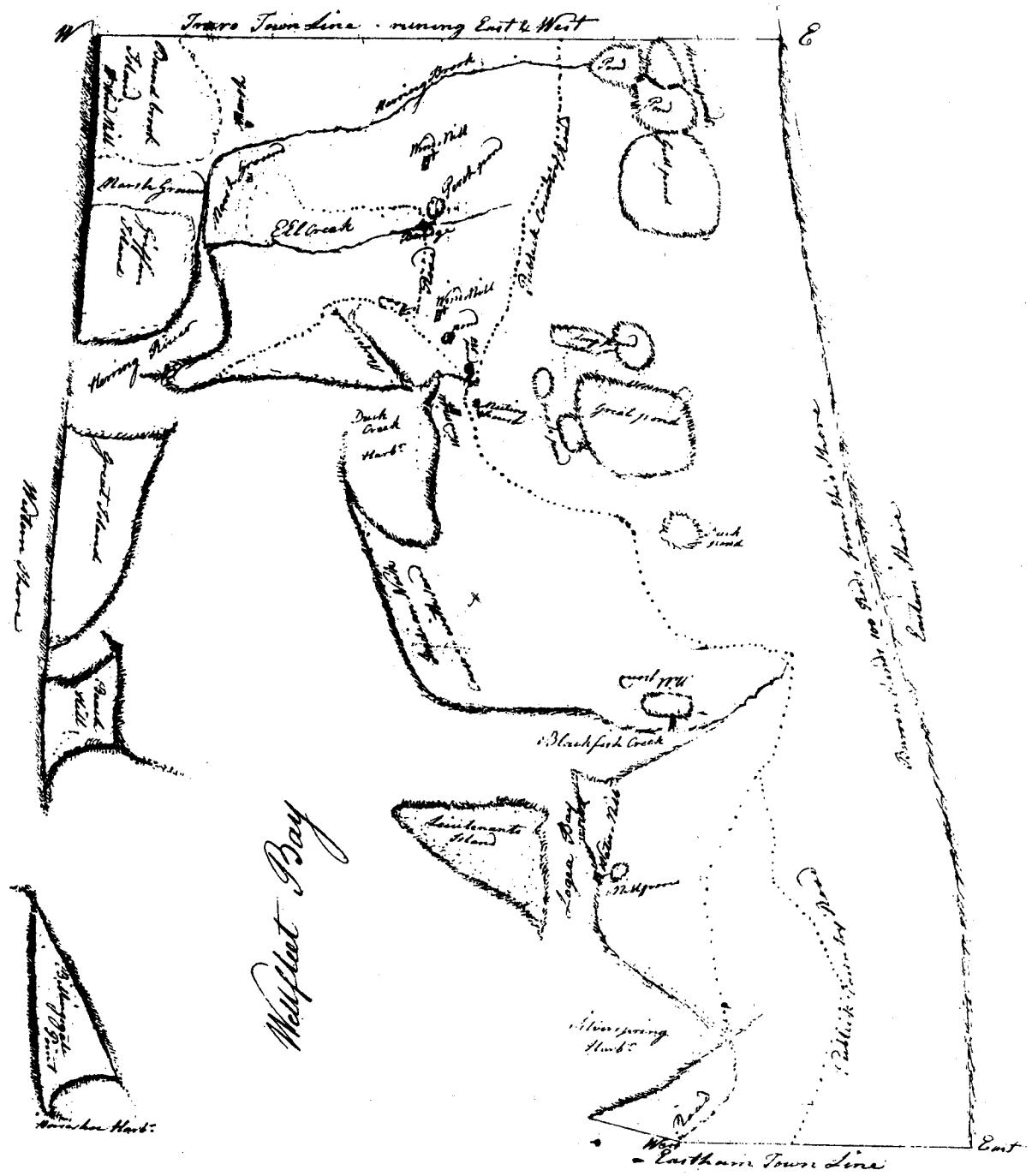
3. (continued) Containing an account of the Creeks and Islands in Wellfleet and Observations on the Importance of Cape-Cod Harbor, to Rev. James Freeman," October 26, 1794, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, First Series, IV (1795), p. 41.

4. *Second Census of the United States, 1800,* Wellfleet Township, Barnstable County, Massachusetts, RG 29, Records of the Bureau of the Census (National Archives, Washington, D.C.); "Atwood-Higgins House," Historic American Building Survey, July 19, 1960.

5. Digges, *Cape Cod Pilot*, p. 203; Nye, *History of Wellfleet from Early Days to Present Times*, pp. 12, 25, 27; Freeman, *The History of Cape Cod*, II, p. 654.

MASS. ARCHIVES 1035 MAPS & PLANS



From the Center of this Town to Boston Town house the reputed Distance is 105 Miles
From the Center of this Town to the Shire Town in this County is 31 Miles
The Magnitude of Ponds in this Town by Estimation is 560 Acres

FIGURE 12
1795 Map of Wellfleet Showing the Windmill on Bound Brook Island. Series 1794, Volume 2, Page 22, #1035, Massachusetts State Archives

A Plan of the Town of Wellfleet taken in May 1795 By Gunters Scale. Jam^s Waterman

seiner. In 1870, at age 30, Baker's life took an unexpected turn. In that year, shortly after purchasing the eighty-five ton vessel *Telegraph*, a group of gold prospectors hired him to take them and their equipment to the Orinoco River in Venezuela. On the return trip he stopped at Port Antonio, Jamaica to repair his leaking ship. During the ten days required for repairs, he sought a cargo to take north. On a pier Baker noticed some green bananas and purchased 160 bunches for one shilling each. He took these fruit to Jersey City where he made a handsome profit, selling them for $2.00 per bunch. After coastal trading and fishing for eight months, Baker sailed again for Port Antonio where he bought a full cargo of bananas and coconuts. On this occasion he returned to Boston and sold the bananas to Andrew Preston, a buyer for Seaverns and Company. It was the first large cargo of bananas ever sold in Boston. This successful venture launched Baker on a new vocation.[6] Bananas, however, were not a new item in the United States, for as early as 1804 a shipment of that fruit had arrived in New York. By 1843 a New York commission dealer had begun to import bananas and seven years later they were imported to New York, Philadelphia, and sometimes Baltimore on a regular basis. Bananas arrived in New Orleans during the late Civil War years.[7]

With Andrew Preston as the sole purchaser, Baker began to bring several cargoes of bananas to Boston each year. He was limited to summer voyages since the perishable quality of bananas precluded their shipment during the winter cold. During the other months of the year he participated in coastal trading. By 1876 Baker acquired enough wealth to allow him to become a partner in the Standard Steam Navigation Company, a sailing ship concern. With additional vessels, more voyages were made to Jamaica for bananas, and Preston continued to purchase and distribute each cargo.[8]

In 1877 Baker decided to move with his family to Jamaica to handle the purchasing and shipping business from that end. As his prosperity increased he decided to form his own banana company. In 1885 Baker persuaded Andrew Preston to quit the Seaverns firm and join with nine others in forming the Boston Fruit Company. Baker remained in the Caribbean while Preston acted as the company manager in Boston.[9]

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6. Charles M. Wilson, *Empire in Green and Gold: The Story of the American Banana Trade* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1947), pp. 19-22; Stacy May and Galo Plaza, *The United Fruit Company in Latin America* (New York: National Planning Assn., 1958), p. 5; Frederick U. Adams, *Conquest of the Tropics: The Story of the Creative Enterprises Conducted by the United Fruit Company* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1914), pp. 38-39.

7. Wilson, *Empire in Green and Gold*, pp. 24-25.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 28, 69-71; May and Plaza, *The United Fruit Company in Latin America*, p. 5.

9. *Ibid.*

For the first three years, the Boston Fruit Company prospered and began to acquire Caribbean land. In 1886 Baker purchased four Jamaican banana plantations capable of producing 150,000 bunches per year. Profits, however, declined in 1888 because the company's sailing ships could not compete with the speedy steamships used by the competition. As a result the Boston Fruit Company purchased a steamship and leased two others. A double benefit resulted from this investment. Not only were bananas brought quickly to market, but in addition the steamships allowed the company to stretch the Boston season from four to eight months.[10]

In 1890, with profits again steadily rising, the company reorganized and expanded. Lorenzo Baker became president and tropical manager, while Andrew Preston remained the Boston manager. Under Baker's leadership, Boston Fruit purchased additional Jamaican land and sought a plantation on another Caribbean island. By locating its holdings in several areas, the company hoped to minimize crop damage from storms and revolutions. Baker's search led him to the Dominican Republic where he acquired a 40,000 acre estate. Expansion included the quest for more markets because the Boston area had become saturated. In Baltimore they purchased controlling interest in the Buckman Fruit Company. In succeeding years Boston Fruit bought half interest in the Quaker City Fruit Company of Philadelphia and part interest in three New York banana firms.[11]

Intense competition in the three new market areas caused the Boston Fruit Company to lose money. To ameliorate this situation, the company decided that by dealing in greater quantities of bananas it could lower its costs and, therefore, undercut rival firms. As a result Boston Fruit purchased two more steamships in 1895 and leased an additional two the next year. Furthermore, it formed a sales affiliate, Fruit Dispatch, through which Boston Fruit distributed its bananas as well as consignments for other companies.[12]

Just as the future brightened, disaster struck. In 1898 several hurricanes hit Jamaica and destroyed eighty percent of the banana crop. Under this circumstance Andrew Preston decided that the company needed reorganization into a much larger firm which could draw bananas from a number of countries, and distribute them to all desirable markets in the United States. Fate provided Baker and Preston with just such an opportunity to expand.[13]

Monetary hardship led the largest American banana importer, Minor Keith, to the headquarters of the Boston Fruit Company. In 1898 Keith, who owned three banana companies which operated between Central America and New Orleans, encountered financial difficulty in the construction of a Costa Rican railroad. He suffered an additional misfortune when his New Orleans banana distributor entered

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10. Wilson, *Empire in Green and Gold*, pp. 77-80.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82, 85.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 83, 85, 93-97, 103.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-104.

bankruptcy, while owing him over a million dollars. Seeking a new agency to distribute his bananas, Keith arranged with Preston to have the Boston Fruit Company affiliate, Fruit Dispatch, handle his trade. Soon, Keith returned to Boston with an offer to merge his companies with the Boston Fruit Company. Without hesitation Preston and Baker accepted. Reorganized as the United Fruit Company, incorporation occurred on March 20, 1899. Andrew Preston became the President with Minor Keith the First Vice-president. Lorenzo Baker, the president of the old Boston Fruit Company, remained in Jamaica as the tropical manager until his death in 1908.[14]

Preston and Keith parlayed the United Fruit Company into an enormous operation. Purchasing competing companies, more Latin American land, and establishing a fleet of ships, they created a world wide organization. The record of the United Fruit Company in many Central American countries was one of bribery and exploitation as government leaders and even national armies became instruments to forward company ends. It was a dark course that led from Baker's first cargo of bananas delivered in Boston to the height of the United Fruit Company's power. Despite some of the results, Lorenzo Dow Baker deserves remembrance as a towering figure in the age of big business.

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14. May and Plaza, *The United Fruit Company in Latin America*, pp. 6-7; Wilson, *Empire in Green and Gold*, pp. 107-108.

XVI. THE HIGHLANDS

Located in Truro, the Highlands contained the best land in that township and, therefore, developed differently from the rest of the area. While most people of Truro sought a life on the sea as fishermen, the inhabitants of the Highlands farmed. The settlement of Truro began about 1700 as people from Eastham moved into the area. First called Dangerfield, it was incorporated on July 16, 1709 as Truro.[1]

Probably the first inhabitant of the Highlands, at first called Tashmuit, was the Reverend John Avery (19). Born in Dedham in 1685, where his father was a minister, the young Avery chose to follow in his father's footsteps. After graduation from Harvard in 1706, he moved to Truro where he was employed as a minister. Satisfied with Avery's ability, the townspeople unanimously invited him to remain as their permanent minister on February 23, 1710. Almost three months later the Truro proprietors voted to give him about thirty-four acres of land at Tashmuit for a home. Avery served the people of Truro until his death on April 23, 1754.[2]

Aside from the Reverend John Avery, the history of the Highlands has centered on a family named Small. The name Small appears among the earliest proprietors of Truro. Although the exact date they settled on the Highlands remains unknown, Isaac Small was evidently born there in 1754. His property, on which he raised corn, livestock, and hay, extended across the Highlands to the Atlantic. In addition Isaac was a miller. He built a wind-powered grist mill on his property in 1785 near the present Highland Lodge. Shortly after he married in 1779, Isaac constructed a full cape house on his land (15). With few alterations it still stands, privately owned, on the west side of the present Coast Guard Road. In 1794 five other families also lived in the Highlands area.[3]

Small had two sons, Joshua and James, between whom his property was divided on his death in 1816. Joshua received his father's house and land west of the present Coast Guard Road, while James inherited the property to the east. In 1835 James constructed his own farm house on this land. Both brothers continued to farm the land until their deaths. In 1841 a visitor to the Cape encountered James Small in a wagon drawn by two horses. Spending the night with him, the visitor noted that Small owned numerous cattle.[4]

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1. Freeman, *The History of Cape Cod*, II, p. 535.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 543fn, 549, 549fn, 557, 558fn.

3. "Isaac Small House," Historic American Buildings Survey, August 1962; Anonymous, "A Topographical Description of Truro in the County of Barnstable, 1794," *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, First Series, III, (1794), p. 197.

4. Anonymous, "Tour to Cape Cod from August 5 to 13, 1841," No. 16, *Cape Cod Miscellaneous, 1833-1843* (Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston).

A more famous guest, Henry David Thoreau, stopped at the James Small residence in both 1849 and 1855. In 1849 Thoreau noted that James had two occupations; he was both a farmer and the keeper of the Highland light. In 1796 James's father had given ten acres of his land to the United States government on which to build the light. Evidently tending the light took too much time from James Small's farming, for the 1850 census listed a James Davis as keeper of the lighthouse.[5]

An agricultural census ten years later revealed that James Small owned 100 acres of improved and fifty acres of unimproved land. By this period he kept only one horse along with five milk cows, two other cattle, and three pigs. On the property he raised rye, corn, and Irish potatoes. In addition he harvested twenty-five tons of hay and sold butter. On his first visit to the Highlands, Thoreau noted that the corn raised there had little stalk or leaf, but despite its shortness the ears were large. Even the rye heads were very large.[6]

Both Joshua and James's sons remained at the Highlands. About 1853 one of Joshua's sons, Thomas, moved into a house just north of his father's home (13). Thomas owned 200 acres of land. In 1860 he had two horses, five milk cows, four other cattle, and four pigs. He raised corn and potatoes. In addition he harvested twenty tons of hay and sold butter. The other son Isaac inhabited the family home after his father's death in 1850. James's son Isaac M. did not farm. Instead, he found employment as the marine reporting agent on the Highlands.[7]

The Boston Board of Trade had established the marine reporting station, which was connected by telegraph to their Boston office, to receive reports on passing ships and other marine intelligence for the benefit of that city's shipping interests. The first reporter, George Low, operated from an office in the Highland lighthouse. A small building, used to observe passing vessels, was later constructed just north of the lighthouse. In 1861 at the age of sixteen Isaac M. replaced C. G. L. Pope as reporter. Pope had quit when the Board of Trade failed to pay his salary. In 1880 Isaac M. built his home, the "Cliff House," on the site of the small marine reporting structure (17). He had a large bay window, facing the ocean, built on the second floor from which he observed passing ships. The ells and a porch on the east were added later.[8]

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5. *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850,* Truro Township, Barnstable County, Massachusetts, RG 29, Records of the Bureau of the Census (National Archives, Washington, D.C.); Small, *Just a Little about the Lower Cape, Personal and Otherwise,* pp. 36, 39; Small, *True Stories of Cape Cod,* p. 46; Thoreau, *Cape Cod,* p. 163.

6. *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agricultural Census,* Truro Township, Barnstable County, Massachusetts (Massachusetts State Archives, Boston).

7. *Ibid.*

8. Small, *Just a Little about the Lower Cape, Personal and Otherwise,* pp. 3, 5, 37.

Sometime after Isaac's death the "Cliff House" was converted into five apartments, each with a bath, and used for summer rental.

The ocean has eroded the bluff so that the "Cliff House" stands dangerously close to the edge. Preservation would require removing the structure from its original site. Considering that it was not the first, but the third location of the reporting station, that its interior has been significantly modified, and that preservation would require removal from its original location, it would seem better to measure and photograph the house and allow it to pass from the scene even though it has been placed on the National Register.

With the coming of tourists to Cape Cod, Isaac M. Small augmented his income by providing quarters for these visitors. The first place of accommodation Small opened was his father's old farm house which he named the "Highland Lodge." In 1876 he built an addition on the structure to make room for the increasing number of guests. This building, in which Thoreau stayed, has since been moved to South Truro. In 1902 Small added two cottages, "Rock Cottage" (21) and just east of it "Beacon Cottage" (20), to house more tourists. These two structures could perhaps be used now to house summer park employees. Ever increasing numbers of visitors prompted Small to construct the Highland House (16) in 1907. This structure has been leased from the Cape Cod National Seashore by the Truro Historical Society. In addition to housing tourists, Small had his son, Willard, construct a nine hole golf course (22) on his property in 1892. He relaid the course in 1913 using plans obtained from J. H. McKinley of New York. It probably constitutes one of the oldest golf courses in the United States.[9] The town of Truro has leased it from the National Seashore.

One additional structure, the so-called "Jenny Lind Tower," can be seen about one mile south of the Highland Lighthouse. Originally, it was one of four stone towers attached to each corner of the Fitchburg depot in Boston. This station, constructed about 1847, was the terminal of the Boston and Maine Railroad. In 1927, when the depot was razed, Harry M. Aldrich purchased one of the towers and moved it near his summer home on Cape Cod. A romantic story has since appeared about the tower. Supposedly, when Jenny Lind came to Boston in 1850 to give a concert, the demand for tickets was so great that many persons were unable to obtain them. As a result Jenny climbed to the top of that tower and sang for the ticketless people. Harry Aldrich, the story relates, was an admirer of Miss Lind and purchased the tower for a monument to her. In a more plausible account Aldrich bought the tower for a monument to his grandfather, an official of the Boston and Maine Railroad at the time the depot was constructed.[10] Other than as a curiosity, the tower has no relevance to Cape Cod history.

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9. Small, *Just a Little about the Lower Cape, Personal and Otherwise*, pp. 36-39.

10. Small, *True Stories of Cape Cod*, p. 44; George L. Moses, "Slightly Salty," *Cape Cod Standard-Times*, February 20, 1966.

XVII. FORT HILL

Fort Hill was one of the early areas of settlement in Eastham. In 1642 the people of Plymouth found their land so depleted hat they considered moving the entire settlement to Eastham, then called Nauset. Eastham represented an agricultural land of plenty. After much discussion a decision was reached to stay in Plymouth with only a part of the population relocating in Eastham. In April 1644 the new settlement began with the name Nauset. Agricultural settlement, the mainstay of Plymouth colony at the time, was based upon the idea that families would gather in a compact location. This practice stemmed partly from the idea that community living restrained human behavior, and partly for protection. When a new town such as Eastham began, each man received a house lot of from one to twenty acres and a plot of land beyond the village limits upon which to raise his grain. Animals were grazed on a commons area.[1]

Thomas Prence was among those who relocated to Eastham in 1644. He had arrived in Plymouth in November 1621 on the *Fortune*, the second ship to bring Pilgrims to the New World. Either because of his family background or his wealth, Prence rose in the colony's hierarchy. By 1633 he became one of the assistants to Governor William Bradford. Except for two, one-year periods, 1634 and 1638, when he was governor of Plymouth Colony, he remained an assistant until 1657, the year he again became governor until his death in 1672.[2]

In Eastham Thomas Prence built his house near Fort Hill (41) and chose 200 acres of the richest farmland. His home, razed in the 1840s, stood about 300 feet east of the present site of Eastham's information booth near the junction of Governor Prence Road and Highway 6. In addition to farming and his governmental duties, Prence formed a partnership on December 5, 1659 with Nathaniel Mayo and Simon Lynde to make spermaceti. This white, waxy solid obtained from whale oil was used to make candles.[3] Prence's partnership reflected the general drift away from agriculture and the growing awareness of deriving income from the sea.

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1. Freeman, *The History of Cape Cod*, I, pp. 166-167, 172; Langdon, *Pilgrim Colony*, p. 146. In 1651 Nauset became Eastham when the town was incorporated.

2. Langdon, *Pilgrim Colony*, p. 71; Freeman, *The History of Cape Cod*, II, p. 363.

3. Enoch Pratt, *A Comprehensive History, Ecclesiastical and Civil, of Eastham, Wellfleet and Orleans, County of Barnstable, Mass. From 1644 to 1844* (Yarmouth, Mass.: W. S. Fisher and Co., 1844), pp. 12-13; Digges, *Cape Cod Pilot*, p. 162; Perry, *A Trip Around Cape Cod*, p. 127; Freeman, *The History of Cape Cod*, I, p. 173; Bangs, *Old Cape Cod*, p. 67; Bearse, *Massachusetts: A Guide to the Pilgrim State*, p. 256; Hershey, "Cape Cod: 17th and 18th Century Roads with particular attention to the King's Highway," p. 76; "Agreement by Thomas Prence to a joint partnership with Nathaniel Meyo and Simon Lynde to make Spermaceti," December 5, 1659, Book 1638-1759, Winslow papers (Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston).

Prence, as governor of Plymouth Colony from 1657-72, was stern and tactless. Refusing to move to Plymouth, he ran the colony from his Eastham home. As a result Eastham, in effect, became the capital during Prence's tenure in office. Since some of the colony's inhabitants had begun to drift from the church, one of Prence's first objectives as governor was to tighten governmental control over religion and assure financial support of the church. Quakers, who during the 1650s had begun to settle in Plymouth, were the object of his concern. To prevent a further infection of Quaker ideas among the people, he sought to drive them from the colony. Any who returned were whipped. When this tactic failed, Prence resorted to heavy fines on Quakers and their sympathizers. Impoverished, their homes and land taken from them to pay the fines, the Quakers remained. Fortunately for them, the restoration of the monarchy brought relief. In 1661 Charles II ordered an end to Quaker punishment. Unwilling to provoke the British government, Prence ceased his religious persecution, but he tightened the requirements for participation in civil government to prevent non-Pilgrims from holding office.[4]

Much of Prence's remaining tenure centered on maintaining smooth relations with the Indians. Although the people of Plymouth paid the natives for any property they obtained, the Indians, faced with the specter of an ever increasing number of white inhabitants, began to resent the loss of their land. Shortly after Prence's death, the King Philip's War erupted, but did not touch Cape Cod.[5]

In 1672, the year of Thomas Prence's death, the Reverend Samuel Treat arrived in Eastham as the first full-time minister. The town allotted him a homesite on Fort Hill (42) along with several parcels of meadow land and twenty acres of upland at the head of the cove. Treat, a hell-fire and damnation preacher, had a great concern for the Indians in his area. A believer in Indian self-government, he sought to help them improve their life. Learning their language, Treat spent about half of his time among them, preaching and attending to their schooling. He translated the Confession of Faith and had it printed in the Nauset language. By 1685 he had 500 Indians in his charge which encompassed the lower Cape. At that time Treat had four Indian preachers with him who read his sermons at the various villages three Sundays a month. On the fourth Sunday Treat preached to them collectively. The four Indian ministers also acted as school masters. As a result of his work the Indians venerated Treat as both their religious leader and as a father. It was a great blow to them when he died on March 18, 1717.[6] Probably no Pilgrim minister developed a greater rapport with the Indians or helped to maintain a peaceful relationship between the two races which inhabited the Cape, than Treat. Although the Lower Cape Indians fared well during Treat's lifetime, they ultimately succumbed to disease and the white man's urge to own more land.

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4. Langdon, *Pilgrim Colony*, pp. 71-72, 76-78.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 154-163.

6. Freeman, *The History of Cape Cod*, II, pp. 366, 366fn, 369, 370fn, 373fn, 381; Kittredge, *Cape Cod*, p. f4; Digges, *Cape Cod Pilot*, p. 165; Perry, *A Trip Around Cape Cod*, p. 123.

A 1776 map of the Fort Hill area showed only one house on the hill.[7] It was probably the home of Prence Freeman, a descendant of Thomas Prence.[8] Samuel Freeman, who married Thomas Prence's daughter, took over the Fort Hill farm upon the death of his father-in-law.[9]

In the early nineteenth century the settlement pattern of Fort Hill changed. James H. Knowles, and Daniel Penniman, lived there and farmed the area land. In the 1830s William Knowles evidently augmented his agricultural income from a salt works located on the cove north of his home. An 1831 map of Eastham (Figure 13) showed the general location of this salt works (44) and another on the south side of Fort Hill (45). After the production of salt became unprofitable, William Knowles focused his attention on his farm. In 1860 he owned forty acres of land on which he raised grain and potatoes, and had an orchard. His livestock included one horse, three milk cows, six other cattle, and two pigs. In addition he harvested fifteen tons of hay and sold 200 pounds of butter. James H. Knowles, who lived nearby, owned sixty-two acres of land, thirty-two of which were improved. He, too, raised grain and potatoes, and had an orchard. His livestock included two horses, two milk cows, five other cattle, and two pigs. James harvested twenty-two tons of hay and sold 150 pounds of butter.[10]

Daniel Penniman, who came to Fort Hill from Boston in the latter 1820s, owned only eight acres. The 1860 agricultural census showed that he raised rye, corn, and potatoes, and had an orchard on this land. He kept one horse, two milk cows, and two pigs. In addition he cut ten tons of hay and sold seventy-five pounds of butter. Since his farm emcompassed such a small acreage, he probably harvested his hay from the nearby salt marsh. Undoubtedly, this marsh was the source of his neighbors' hay as well.[11]

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7. "Charts of the Coast and Harbors of New England Composed and Engraved by Joseph Frederick Wallet Des Barres, Esq.; In consequence of an Application of the Right Honorable Lord Viscount Howe, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships in North America From the Surveys taken under the Direction of the Lords of Trade," Maps of Cape Cod dated April 29, 1776 (Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston).

8. "A List or Return on Oath of the Names of the Householders in the town of Eastham in the County of Barnstable in the Colony of the Massachusetts-Bay; and the Number of the Souls in each Family, including Inmates and Boarders," June 25, 1776 (Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston).

9. Pratt, *A Comprehensive History, Ecclesiastical and Civil, of Eastham, Wellfleet and Orleans, County of Barnstable, Mass. From 1644 to 1844*, p. 13.

10. *Fifth Census of the United States, 1830*, Eastham Township, Barnstable County, Massachusetts, RG 29, Records of the Bureau of the Census (National Archives, Washington, D.C.); *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agricultural Census*, Eastham Township, Barnstable County, Massachusetts; Henry F. Walling, *Map of the Counties of Barnstable, Duke, and Nantucket, Massachusetts* (New York: D. R. Smith & Co., 1858).

11. *Fifth through Eighth Census of the United States, 1830-1860*, Eastham Township, Barnstable County, Massachusetts; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agricultural Census*, Eastham Township, Barnstable County, Massachusetts.

Daniel Penniman's son Edward became a man of note as a whaling captain. He was one of few Eastham men to choose such a vocation. Most Eastham men, if they entered a life on the sea, did not engage in fishing or whaling. Instead, they were merchant men who traveled between Cape towns and Boston or the West Indies. At age eleven in 1842 Edward went to sea as a cook on a fishing schooner. He pursued a fishing career for eight years. Then on May 31, 1852 he left New Bedford, Massachusetts on the Whaling ship *Isabella* as a boatsteerer (Harpooner). The vessel did not return until July 28, 1855 (In the two year period between the time he left the fishing boats and his voyage as a boat-steerer, he probably had one trip on a whaling vessel). After one or two more voyages in the latter half of the 1850s, he returned to Eastham where he married Betsy Knowles. Her father William lived almost across the road from the Daniel Penniman farm.[12]

On May 15, 1860 Edward again sailed from New Bedford, but this time as Captain of the bark *Minerva*. He spent four years at sea during which time he had a narrow escape from a Confederate privateer. In early 1864 Penniman returned to Eastham for only five months, leaving New Bedford again on September 11 for another four year trip. Once more he commanded the *Minerva*. Edward took his wife Betsy on these voyages to the south Pacific and they came to enjoy that part of the world, especially Hawaii which served as a common area for whaling ships to obtain supplies.[13]

In 1867 Betsy wrote to her mother from the *Minerva* indicating that they were seriously considering retiring in Honolulu where the families of a number of their whaling captain friends already lived. They evidently postponed the decision for a time since they returned to New Bedford on April 2, 1868. Upon reaching Eastham to visit their families, Edward decided to forego retirement in Hawaii and build his home on Fort Hill.[14]

Edward Penniman began construction on his house probably in late 1868. It was undoubtedly completed sometime in 1869, for the 1870 census gave his real estate value at $7,000 and a personal estate of $1,800. Ten years earlier, the

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12. Deyo, *History of Barnstable County, Massachusetts*, pp. 742-743; Alice A. Lowe, *Nauset on Cape Cod: A History of Eastham* (Falmouth, Mass.: Kendall Printing Co., 1968), p. 31; Reginald B. Hegarty, Curator, Free Public Library, New Bedford, Massachusetts to Donald Penniman, July 30, 1969 (letter in the Cape Cod National Seashore files); Walter Teller, *Cape Cod and the Offshore Islands* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p. 68.

13. Reginald B. Hegarty, Curator, Free Public Library, New Bedford, Massachusetts to Donald Penniman, July 30, 1969; Irma Penniman Broun, "Fresh Breezes and Passing Squalls: A True Tale of Whaling Days," (1974), pp. 2-4, (typescript in the Cape Cod National Seashore files).

14. Broun, "Fresh Breezes and Passing Squalls: A True Tale of Whaling Days," pp. 4-5.

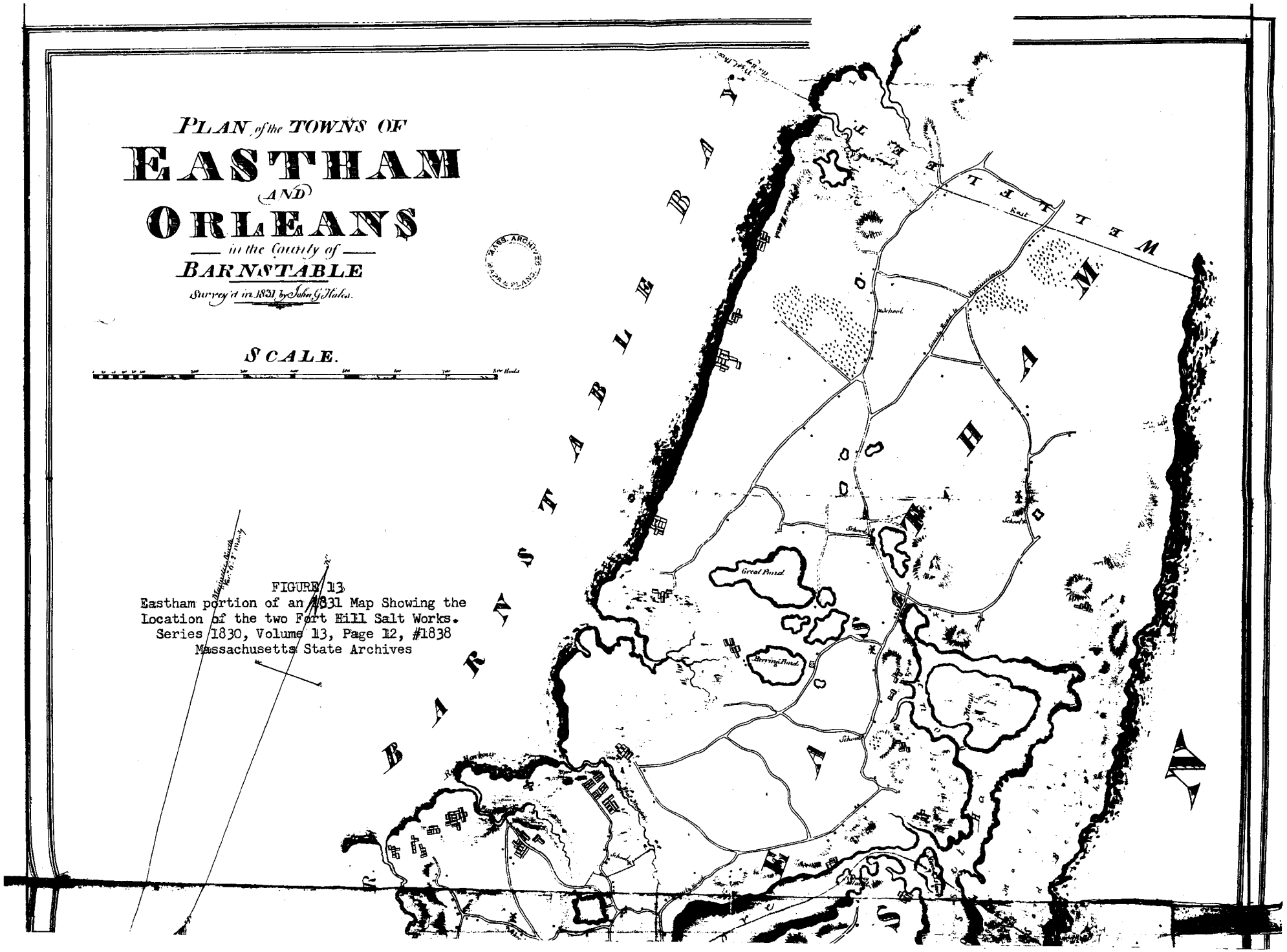

FIGURE 13
Eastham portion of an 1831 Map Showing the Location of the two Fort Hill Salt Works.
Series 1830, Volume 13, Page 12, #1838
Massachusetts State Archives

census, which listed real estate values, indicated that he held no property. At that time he had only a personal estate valued at $1,000.[15]

Patterned after the French Second Empire architectural style, it was one of the most elaborate houses in Eastham (43). Contrary to legend he did not travel to France to obtain the plans, for this construction style had become common in the United States by that date. Sometime in the 1870s Penniman added a two-story carriage house adjacent to his home. Patterned in the architectural style of his home, it contained a workshop, hayloft, and stalls for a horse and cow. The Penniman home, a National Register property, is the only whaling captain's house on the Cape Cod National Seashore property. Plans have been made to turn it into an interpretative center for park visitors.

In succeeding years Edward Penniman made three more voyages in search of whales. On a short trip, May 8, 1874 to December 6, 1875, he sailed as captain of the bark *Cicero*. One year later, September 11, 1876, he left New Bedford in command of the bark *Europa* and returned November 9, 1879. On his final voyage, September 18, 1881 to November 18, 1883, he directed the bark *John A. Howland*. Before sailing back to Massachusetts and retirement, he dropped his wife and daughter in San Francisco from where they returned on a transcontinental trip. After retirement, Penniman became a prominent figure in local affairs until his death in 1913. One son, Eugene, followed in his father's footsteps as a whaling captain.[16]

By the 1890s the farmers of Fort Hill no longer raised rye, corn, and potatoes. From that time until its final agricultural use in the mid-1940s, turnips, asparagus, and carrots became the main crop.[17]

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15. *Eighth and Ninth Census of the United States, 1860-1870*, Eastham Township, Barnstable County, Massachusetts. Edison Lohr, as the National Seashore historian, compiled a historical data section for a short Historical Structure Report in October 1963, but he had the date for the house's construction incorrect. He had Penniman and his family moving into the house in March 1868. This move would have been impossible since Penniman did not return from his whaling voyage until April 2, 1868 and did not decide to build his Fort Hill home until sometime after that date.

16. Reginald B. Hegarty, Curator, Free Public Library, New Bedford, Massachusetts to Donald Penniman, July 30, 1969; Broun, "Fresh Breezes and Passing Squalls: A True Tale of Whaling Days," p. 12; Lowe, *Nauset on Cape Cod: A History of Eastham*, p. 151.

17. Katharine Crosby, *Blue Water Men and Other Cape Codders* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1947), p. 221; Agnes Edwards, *Cape Cod Old and New* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918), p. 119; Thompson, *History of Plymouth, Norfolk and Barnstable Counties Massachusetts*, II, p. 873.

APPENDIX

Cape Cod National Seashore Library

LOCATIONS OF THE CAPE COD LIFE SAVING STATIONS

Wood End - one-eighth mile east of the Wood End lighthouse

Race Point - one and five-eighths miles northeast of the Race Point lighthouse

Peaked Hill Bars - two and a half miles northeast of Provincetown

High Head - three and a half miles northwest of the Highland lighthouse

Highland - seven-eighths mile northwest of the Highland lighthouse

Pamet River - three and a half miles south of the Highland lighthouse

Cahoon's Hollow - two and a half miles east of Wellfleet

Nauset - one and a quarter miles south of the Nauset lighthouse

Orleans - abreast of Ponchet Island

Old Harbor - a half mile north of the Chatham inlet

Chatham - one and a quarter miles south-southeast of Chatham lighthouse

Monomoy - two and a quarter miles north of the Monomoy lighthouse

Monomoy Point - three-fourths mile southwest of Monomoy lighthouse

LIST OF FURNISHINGS FOR THE OLD HARBOR LIFE SAVING STATION

ITEM NO.	QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION
1	15	Beds, iron, single, hard wood side rails, with quality woven wire mattresses combined.
2	3 okrs	Blankets, 8 pounds per pair, gray.
5	15	Mattresses, stuffed with rattan, cotton tops, square edges, bound, weight 27 lbs., 6 feet 2 inches by 2 feet 6 inches, super Pearl River or York ticking.
6	15	Mattress covers, park check, No. 90, to fit mattresses, item No. 5.
7	15	Pillows, feather, first quality, live geese, 20x30 inches, weight 3 pounds, A.C.A. ticking.
8	30	Pillow cases, 23x35 inches, 1-inch hem "Utica Mills."
9	30	Pillow covers, park check, No. 90, to fit pillows, item No. 7.
10	60	Sheets, brown, standard weight, 7-4, 2 1/2 yards long, hemmed and made, Atlantic "A", or equal quality.
11	2	Blocks, breeches buoy, English pattern.
12	2	Blocks, double, 8-inch, inside galvanized iron strapped, lignum-vitae sheaves, with Wellman's duplex roller bushings and loose hooks.
13	1	Block, double, 10-inch, inside galvanized iron strapped, lignum-vitae sheaves, with Wellman's duplex roller bushings and loose hooks.
14	2	Blocks, double, 8-inch, inside galvanized iron strapped, lignum-vitae sheaves, with Wellman's duplex roller bushings and loose hooks and beckets.
15	1	Block, double, 10-inch, inside galvanized iron strapped, lignum-vitae sheaves, with Wellman's duplex roller bushings and loose hooks and beckets.
16	2	Blocks, galvanized iron, combination snatch.
17	1	Block, single, 8-inch, inside galvanized iron strapped, lignum-vitae sheaves, with Wellman's duplex roller bushings and loose hooks.
18	1	Block, single, 10-inch, inside galvanized iron strapped, lignum-vitae sheaves, with Wellman's duplex roller bushings and loose hooks.
19	1	Block, single, 8-inch, inside galvanized iron strapped, lignum-vitae sheaves, with Wellman's duplex roller bushings and loose hooks and beckets.
20	1	Block, single, 10-inch, inside galvanized iron strapped, lignum-vitae sheaves, with Wellman's duplex roller bushings and loose hooks and beckets.
21	3	Blocks, single, 6-inch inside galvanized iron strapped, open galvanized iron sheaves, swivel eye with thimble, ash shell, 18-foot tail of 2 1/4 inch manila.

ITEM NO.	QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION
34	285 lbs	Hawser, 3-inch, Bolt rope, best manila, right hand laid, one red yarn throughout the entire length of one strand (150 fathoms).
35	410 lbs	Hawser, 3-inch, Bolt rope, best manila, right hand laid, one red yarn throughout the entire length of one strand (235 fathoms).
36	135 lbs	Whip line, 1 1/2-inch, Bolt rope, best manila, left hand laid, one red yarn throughout the entire length of one strand (300 fathoms).
37	200 lbs	Whip line, 1 1/2-inch, Bolt rope, best manila, left hand laid, one red yarn throughout the entire length of one strand (450 fathoms).
41	10 lbs	Best manila, long fiber, smooth laid, 6-thread, rope.
43	25 lbs	Best manila, long fiber, smooth laid, 12-thread, rope.
44	75 lbs	Best manila, long fiber, smooth laid, 1 1/4 inch, rope.
45	50 lbs	Best manila, long fiber, smooth laid, 1 1/2 inch, rope.
49	50 lbs	Best manila, long fiber, smooth laid, 2 1/2 inch, rope.
50	70 lbs	Best manila, long fiber, smooth laid, 3 inch, rope.
53	10 lbs	Best Russian hemp, 12-thread, rope.
54	10 lbs	Best Russian hemp, 15-thread, rope.
55	5 lbs	Halyards, signal, No. 7, braided, Italian hemp, rope, in coils.
56	10 lbs	Marline, rope.
57	10 lbs	Spun yarn, 2-yarn, rope.
58	2	Bowls, mixing, yellow, 6-quart.
59	2	Bowls, sugar, without handles, with covers, best ironstone china.
60	3 sets	Cups, coffee without handles, with saucers, best ironstone china (set to consist of 6 cups and 6 saucers).
62	2	Dishes, baking, yellow, 10-inch.
63	2	Dishes, butter, with covers and drainers, best ironstone china, 5-inch.
64	6	Dishes, vegetable, 10-inch, with covers, best ironstone china.
65	1	Jug, stone, 1-gallon.
66	1	Jug, stone, 2-gallon.
67	1	Jug, stone, 3-gallon.
68	2	Pitchers, milk, 1-quart, best ironstone china.
69	2	Pitchers, molasses, 1-pint, heavy glass, white metal covers.
70	2	Pitchers, water, best ironstone china 6's.
71	2 doz	Plates, dinner, 10-inch, best ironstone china.
72	2 doz	Plates, soup, 10-inch, best ironstone china.
73	2	Platters, meat, oval, 14-inches, best ironstone china.
74	2	Saltcellars, pressed glass, plain, heavy, largest size.
75	1 doz	Tumblers, table, pressed glass, plain, extra heavy, largest size.
76	1 1/2 doz	Chairs, office, hard wood, seat in one piece, back of bent wood in one piece, with five upright rungs, one 1/4-inch iron rod, with head and nut, on each side through seat and side rungs.
77	1	Table, extension, 10-ft., ash, brass casters.

ITEM NO.	QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION
78	1	Table cloth, Cotton Cardinal with or without border, 5 foot 8 inches x 12 feet.
79	1	Table cover, oil cloth, white marble pattern, 1 1/4 x 4 yards, rolled on 1 1/2-inch roller.
80	12 yds	Towling, crash, light, 18-inch, best quality.
81	12 yds	Towling, crash, heavy, 18-inch, best quality.
83	12	Brackets, brass, 5 1/2 x 7 inches, with brass screws.
87	2	Coal hods, 18-inches, extra heavy galvanized iron, Iron Clad Co.'s or Pfeifer's.
89	1	Coffee mill, side, Parker's No. 460.
92	2 sheets	Emery cloth, No. 00, Baeder, Adamson & Co.'s.
93	2 sheets	Emery cloth, No. 1 1/2, Baeder, Adamson & Co.'s.
94	2 sheets	Emery cloth, No. 3, Baeder, Adamson & Co.'s.
95	1	Flour sieve, seamless, tin rim, 12 3/8 inches diameter, No. 18 mesh.
96	2	Forks, carving, rubber handles, with bolsters, Russell's or Northampton Cutlery Co.'s.
97	1	Fork, flesh, 18-inches, 3 prong, malleable iron, retinned.
98	1	Funnel, corrugated, 1-quart, 4X tin.
99	1	Funnel, corrugated, 1-quart, 4X tin, with brass wirecloth strainer.
111	2 sets	Knives and forks, dinner, best shear steel, rubber handles, with metal bolsters, Russell's Northampton Cutlery Co.'s or L.&G. (set to consist of 6 knives and 6 forks).
112	2	Knives, butcher, best shear steel, 7-inch blade, cocoa or beech handles, with metal bolsters, Russell's Northampton Cutlery Co.'s or L.&G.
113	2	Knives, carving, best shear steel, 12-inch blade, cocoa or beech handles, with metal bolsters, Russell's Northampton Cutlery Co.'s or L.&G.
114	1	Knife, mincing, best cast steel, single blade, polished, No. 1, plain handle.
115	1	Knife, putty, 6-inch, square, elastic, riveted handle.
116	2	Match safes, iron, japanned, large, self-closing.
117	1	Measure, lipped, 4X tin, gallon.
118	1	Measure, lipped, 4X tin, quart, graduated measure.
119	2 lbs	Nails, boat, copper, 1-inch.
120	2 lbs	Nails, boat, copper, 1 1/2-inch.
122	5 lbs	Nails, boat, galvanized, Swedish iron, 1-inch.
123	5 lbs	Nails, boat, galvanized, Swedish iron, 1 1/2-inch.
124	5 lbs	Nails, boat, galvanized, Swedish iron, 3-inch.
125	5 lbs	Nails, cut, 6d.
126	5 lbs	Nails, cut, 8d.
127	5 lbs	Nails, cut, 10d.
129	5 lbs	Nails, cut, galvanized, 6d.
130	5 lbs	Nails, cut, galvanized, 8d.
131	5 lbs	Nails, cut, galvanized, 10d.
133	5 lbs	Nails, wire, common, 2d.
134	5 lbs	Nails, wire, common, 4d.
135	5 lbs	Nails, wire, common, 6d.

ITEM NO.	QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION
136	5 lbs	Nails, wire, common, 8d.
137	5 lbs	Nails, wire, common, 10d.
140	5 lbs	Nails, wrought, 6d.
141	5 lbs	Nails, wrought, 8d.
142	5 lbs	Nails, wrought, 10d.
143	5 lbs	Nails, wrought, galvanized, 6d.
144	5 lbs	Nails, wrought, galvanized, 8d.
145	5 lbs	Nails, wrought, galvanized, 10d.
148	2	Padlocks, brass, 4-tumbler, 3 inches long, with drop plates, and duplicate keys.
149	2	Pans, dust, japanned, best heavy tin, ordinary house size, half covered, steel edge.
150	1/2 doz	Paper, sand, Baeder, Adamson & Co.'s, No. 00.
151	1/2 doz	Paper, sand, Baeder, Adamson & Co.'s, No. 1 1/2.
152	1/2 doz	Paper, sand, Baeder, Adamson & Co.'s, No. 3.
153	2	Pepper boxes, planished, 2 1/4 x 3 1/2 inches.
154	1	Rake, garden, 14 teeth, cast steel.
155	1	Scale beams, No. 2, common, japanned, light, 500 pounds capacity.
157	1	Screw, bench, beech or birch wood, 2 1/2-inch, 24 inches long.
160	1/4 gross	Screws, brass, flat head, gimlet points, 3/4-inch, No. 8.
161	1/4 gross	Screws, brass, flat head, gimlet points, 1-inch, No. 10.
163	1/4 gross	Screws, brass, flat head, gimlet points, 1 1/2-inch, No. 14.
166	1/2 gross	Screws, iron, flat head, gimlet points, 1/2-inch, No. 5.
168	1/2 gross	Screws, iron, flat head, gimlet points, 3/4-inch, No. 7.
169	1/2 gross	Screws, iron, flat head, gimlet points, 1-inch, No. 9.
171	1/2 gross	Screws, iron, flat head, gimlet points, 1 1/2-inch, No. 13.
173	1/2 gross	Screws, iron, flat head, gimlet points, 2-inch, No. 15.
174	3	Soap dishes, hanging, galvanized, Central Stamping Co.'s, No. 100, 4 3/8 inches.
175	1 lb	Solder, best half and half.
176	1	Spring balances, improved, 24 pounds by 1/2 pound, with rings and hooks attached.
181	4	Spittoons, indurate fiber, No. 2.
183	2	Spoons, bread, forged iron, tinned, 18-inch.
184	2 doz	Spoons, table, pure white German silver, not less than 18 percent nickel, perfectly plain in style, highly polished and finished, and shall measure 8 1/16 inches, and weigh 20 ounces avoirdupois to the dozen.
185	2 doz	Spoons, tea, pure white German silver, not less than 18 percent nickel, perfectly plain in style, highly polished and finished, and shall measure 5 11/16 inches, and weigh 9 5/32 ounces avoirdupois to the dozen.
186	1 lb	Tacks, copper, in papers, size 1/2-inch, full weight.
187	1 lb	Tacks, copper, in papers, size 5/8-inch, full weight.
189	1 lb	Tacks, galvanized iron, in papers, size 4-ounce, full weight.
194	1 lb	Tacks, black iron, in papers, size 8-ounce, full weight.
196	6	Wash basins, without foot, 11 1/2 inches diameter, copper, stamped tinned inside, with rings.

ITEM NO.	QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION
197	10 lbs	Yellow sheet metal, 18-ounce.
203	1/2 doz	Burners, lantern, No. 1, tubular (for No. 0 tubular lift-wire lantern).
204	1/4 doz	Burners, lantern, No. 1, tubular (long cone and long shaft for No. 0 reflector lantern).
206	1 doz	Chimneys, No. 2, for B.&H. lamps.
207	1/4 doz	Globes, green, for "Dietz" No. 0, lift-wire, tubular lanterns with guards.
208	1/4 doz	Globes, ruby, for "Dietz" No. 0, lift-wire, tubular lanterns with guards.
209	1 doz	Globes, white, for "Dietz" No. 0, lift-wire, tubular lanterns with guards.
211	2	Lamps, hanging, brown or brass finish, length, 29 inches, with metal rings, 1-quart metal font, central draft, with chimney, burner, smoke bell, and tin shade, complete.
212	2	Lamps, table, metal, kerosene burner, with 10-inch tin reflector shade, complete.
213	1	Lamp filler, quart, best heavy block tin, to close airtight.
214	1	Lamp trimmer, "Challenge," No. 40, polished blades.
215	3 doz	Lampwicks, flat, woven, No. 1 (5/8-inch).
216	3 doz	Lampwicks, flat, woven, No. 2 (1-inch).
218	1 doz	Lampwicks, woven, No. 2, for B.&H. lamps.
220	1	Lantern, beach, japanned, with wings and staves and 12 extra light of glass.
221	6	Lanterns, tubular, "Dietz," No. 0, lift-wire, with guards.
222	2	Lanterns, Patrol, tubular, "Dietz," No. 0, reflector, with hoods.
223	1	Oil tank, 60-gallon capacity, No. 26 galvanized iron, with pump, front of hood to slide around, painted, letered U.S.L.S.S.
237	1	Medicine chest, with medicines.
242	2	Brushes, dust, best quality, all horsehair, black, 9 1/2-inch block.
243	2	Brushes, paint, flat, leather bound, all white Russia bristles, for ordinary painting, size 3 1/2-inch.
246	1	Brush, paint, round, No. 4-0, all white bristles, Clinton's extra, or Whiting's extra Russia.
247	1	Brush, paint, round, No. 5-0, all white bristles, Clinton's extra, or Whiting's extra Russia.
248	2	Brushes, sash tool, No. 2, "Atlantic," wire bound, extra French bristles.
249	2	Brushes, sash tool, No. 3, "Atlantic," wire bound, extra French bristles.
250	1	Brush, varnish, 1-inch, flat, tin bound, French bristles, "Atlantic," double thick.
251	1	Brush, varnish, 2-inch, flat, tin bound, French bristles, "Atlantic," double thick.
252	1	Brush, whitewash (heads), brass bound, all white Russia bristles, Clinton's extra, width 8 inches.

ITEM NO.	QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION
256	2 lbs	Drier, patent, Harrison Bros. & Co.'s, in 1-pound cans.
259	1	Glass cutter, steel wheel.
268	25 lbs	Lead, white, in oil, strickly pure, Harrison Bros. & Co.'s.
276	5 gal	Oil, boiled linseed, strickly pure, in 5-gallon cans.
279	3 gal	Oil, raw linseed, strickly pure, in 3-gallon cans.
280	2 gal	Oil, hard finish white, Berry Brothers', Pratt & Lambert's "Excelsior," Acme White Lead and Color Works', or John Lucas & Co.'s, in 1-gallon cans.
304	1 lb	Prussian blue, best, strickly pure, ground in oil, Harrison Bros. & Co.'s, in 1-pound cans.
308	5 lbs	Putty, in 5-pound skins or tins.
311	1 gal	Turpentine, best, in 1-gallon cans.
319	1	Anchor, boat, galvanized iron, weight 16 pounds.
320	1	Anchor, boat, galvanized iron, weight 35 pounds.
327	1 box	Axle grease, 2-pound boxes, "Frazer's," "Manhattan," or "The Four Brothers."
329	6	Bath bricks.
330	1/2 lb	Beeswax, pure yellow.
333	4	Boat hooks, navy, double hooks, ball points, No. 14, Newhall's, with 9-foot staves.
335	1/2 doz	Brooms, corn, best railroad XXX, without seed, not less than 28 pounds to the dozen.
337	6	Brushes, scrubbing, white tampico center, gray wings, 11-inch block.
338	2	Brushes, stove, all black bristles, very full, dauber extension, with handles.
339	6	Buckets, fire, No. 20 galvanized, 14-quart.
340	4	Buckets, rubber, No. 2, 10-quart, metal parts of galvanized iron.
348	1 lb	Glue, broken, Peter Cooper's No. 1 1/4, or "Buffalo" No. 1.
349	1	Hand grapnels, galvanized 2 1/2 pounds.
350	1	Hand grapnels, galvanized 4 pounds.
353	12 lbs	Leather, rigging.
355	1	Marline spike, 12-inches.
356	4	Mops, cotton, 1-pound.
357	2	Mop sticks, Taylor's patent.
358	5	Needles, sail, Smith's, No. 11.
359	5	Needles, sail, Smith's, No. 14.
360	5	Needles, sail, Smith's, No. 16.
363	48 ft	Oars, best ash, dressed as required per sample, ends of blades coppered, 8-foot.
365	60 ft	Oars, best ash, dressed as required per sample, ends of blades coppered, 10-foot.
366	120 ft	Oars, best ash, dressed as required per sample, ends of blades coppered, 12-foot.
368	84 ft	Oars, best ash, dressed as required per sample, ends of blades coppered, 14-foot.
369	90 ft	Oars, best ash, dressed as required per sample, ends of blades coppered, 15-foot.

ITEM NO.	QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION
371	72 ft	Oars, sweeps, best ash, dressed as required per sample, ends of blades coppered, 18-foot.
	2	Buckets, water, cedar, 10-quart.
377	1/12 doz	Palms, sewing, full hide, mounted, No. 2.
379	2 lbs	Paste, polishing, Universal, in 1-pound cans.
380	2 lbs	Rotten stone, lamped.
381	20 lbs	Sal soda.
382	10 lbs	Sapolio.
383	1	Slate, double, 9x13 inches, brass hinges, without panel backs.
384	1 doz	Slate pencils, soapstone.
385	80 lbs	Soap, fresh water, good quality.
387	4 lbs	Sponges, large, coarse, for boat use.
389	1	Tarpaulin, 10x10 feet, No. 6 cotton canvas, tabled, unpainted, brass eyelets 12 inches apart all around.
390	1	Tarpaulin, 12x12 feet, No. 6 cotton canvas, tabled, unpainted, brass eyelets 12 inches apart all around.
391	1 doz	Thole pins, locust, 3/4-inch, 9 inches long.
392	1 doz	Thole pins, locust, 1-inch, 10 inches long.
393	1	Tray, chopping, oval, No. 4.
394	1 lb	Twine, best Andover flax, 3-ply.
395	1 lb	Twine, cotton, sewing, 1/2-pound balls.
396	5 lbs	Waste, cotton, machinery, white picked, No. 1.
398	1	Wheelbarrow, canal or railroad, bolted.
400	1	Ash shifter, "Rival," wood, galvanized wire, for barrels.
401	1	Boiler, 8-quart, cast iron, round, tinned inside, with cover.
402	1	Boiler, 12-quart, cast iron, round, tinned inside, with cover.
405	1	Boiler, wire, retinned, reversible, 13 wires, rivited, 10x9 inches.
406	1	Cake turner, stamped, threaded handle, retinned, 4 1/2x3 1/2 inches.
410	25 lbs	Castings for "Beaver" range No. 8-21.
445	1	Colander, family, retinned, feet fast, 12x5 1/8 inches.
450	4	Collars, tin, for 6-inch stovepipe.
455	4	Dampers, cast iron, for 6-inch stovepipe.
456	2	Dippers, cup, stamped, retinned, 5x2 1/2 inches, flaring flat handles.
459	21 lbs	(5) Elbows, stovepipe, No. 18 galvanized iron, round, 6-inch.
465	1 set	Fire bricks for "Beaver" range No. 8-21.
480	1	Griddle, round, bailed, 16-inch.
485	1	Kettle, tea, iron, galvanized, 8-inch, pit bottom.
487	1	Ladle, deep, solid, tinned iron, retinned, 3 3/4-inch, 14-inch flat handle with hook.
489	2	Pans, bake, round, wrought iron, polished, 2 quarts, 8 1/4x2 1/4 inches.
490	1	Pan, bake, round, wrought iron, polished, 4 quart, 10 3/4x2 5/8 inches.
492	1	Pan, bake, round, deep, wrought iron, polished, 2 quarts, 8 5/8x3 inches.
494	1	Pan, bread, 4X tin, stamped, handled, retinned, 15x10 inches.

ITEM NO.	QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION
495	1	Pan, bread, 4X tin, stamped, handled, retinned, 18x12 inches.
496	1	Pan, cake, round, stamped, retinned, shallow, tubed, 8 1/2 inches diameter, 2 1/4 inches deep.
497	1	Pan, cake, round, stamped, retinned, deep, tubed, 11 1/2 inches diameter, 3 3/4 inches deep.
499	1	Pan, dish, round, best heavy tin, stamped, retinned, with handles, 17 quart, 18x6 inches.
500	1	Pan, dripping, smooth iron, best charcoal, 10x15 inches, weight per dozen 19 pounds.
501	1	Pan, dripping, smooth iron, best charcoal, 12x20 inches, weight per dozen 26 pounds.
502	1	Pan, fry, wrought iron, polished, lipped, 10x2 inches.
503	2	Pans, fry, wrought iron, polished, lipped, 14 1/8x2 1/4 inches.
506	1	Pan, mixing, stamped, retinned, 10-quart, 15 1/4x4 1/2 inches.
507	1	Pan, pudding, tin, stamped, retinned, beaded edge, extra deep, 6-quart.
508	1	Pan, pudding, tin, stamped, retinned, beaded edge, extra deep, 10-quart.
509	1	Pan, roast, iron, seamless, 11x16 inches, handled.
511	1	Pan, sauce, cast iron, inside enameled, with cover, 6-quart.
512	1	Pan, stew, tin, stamped, retinned, shallow, plain, 5-quart, 11 5/8x2 5/8 inches.
515	142 lbs	Pipe, stove, No. 18 galvanized iron, 6-inch.
520	1 doz	Plates, pie, tin, 10-inch, stamped, 1 1/4 inches deep.
521	3	Pokers, stove, 26-inch, 1/2-inch iron, with rings and hooks.
522	1	Pot, coffee, 3-gallon, 4X tin, flat copper bottom, handled, bail handle.
523	1	Pot, coffee, 1-gallon, 4X tin, flat copper bottom, handled, bail handle.
524	1	Pot, tea, 2-gallon, 4X tin, flat copper bottom, handled, bail handle.
525	1	Pot, tea, 1-gallon, 4X tin, flat copper bottom, handled, bail handle.
527	3	Shovels, stove, wrought iron, japanned, "U.S." No. 65, 5x8 1/2x23 inches.
528	1	Steamer, 4X tin, raised cover in one piece, new style, 6-inch.
529	1	Steamer, 4X tin, raised cover in one piece, new style, 9-inch.
530	1 doz	Stove polish, Dixon's, "Rising Sun" or "Phoenix," papers.
531	1	Stove cover lifter, cast iron, japanned, 10-inch.
532	1	Stove, cooking, "Beaver" range No. 8-21, for coal, single oven with furniture complete, including 1 wash boiler, 1 iron pot and cover, 1 iron kettle, 1 iron teakettle, 1 dipper, 1 square tin pan for bread, 1 drip pan, 1 spider, 1 shovel, 1 poker, 1 griddle, 1 round tin pan for pudding, 1 lower joint stovepipe (to connect with 6 inch pipe galvanized).
554	3	Stoves, heating, "Princess Beaver" No. 12, indirect draft (hard coal).
557	21 lbs	Zinc, sheet, 9 gauge (size 36x42 inches).
558	3	Zinc boards, No. 9 zinc, square, 36x36 inches (for heating stove).

ITEM NO.	QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION
559	1	Zinc boards, No. 9 zinc, oblong, 32x42 inches (for heating stove).
560	1	Auger, carpenter, best steel, 1/2-inch, handled, with nut, Russell Jennings' or Pugh's.
561	1	Auger, carpenter, best steel, 1-inch, handled, with nut, Russell Jennings' or Pugh's.
562	1	Auger, carpenter, best steel, 1 1/2-inch, handled, with nut, Russell Jennings' or Pugh's.
564	1/4 doz	Awls, brad, best steel, shouldered, 1/8-inch, without handles.
566	4	Axes, felling, 5-pounds, handled, Ogden's "Yankee."
568	2	Ax handles (felling ax), extra hickory, all white, polished, 32-inch.
569	2	Ax handles (felling ax), extra hickory, all white, polished, 34-inch.
571	1	Bevel, sliding T, No. 4, 10-inch, Disston's.
572	1	Bit, auger, for brace, best solid cast steel, 1/8-inch, Pugh's.
573	1	Bit, auger, for brace, best solid cast steel, 1/4-inch, Pugh's.
574	1	Bit, auger, for brace, best solid cast steel, 1/2-inch, Pugh's.
575	1	Bit, auger, for brace, best solid cast steel, 3/4-inch, Pugh's.
576	1	Bit, auger, for brace, best solid cast steel, 1-inch, Pugh's.
577	1	Bit, plain, screw-driver, 1/2-inch, solid cast steel, standard quality, Russell Jennings' or Pugh's.
578	1	Bit, snail, countersinks, for wood, cast steel, standard quality, Russell Jennings' or Pugh's.
579	1	Bit, rose, countersinks, cast steel, round shank, for brass, standard quality, Russell Jennings' or Pugh's.
580	1	Bit, flat, countersinks, cast steel, for iron, standard quality, Russell Jennings' or Pugh's.
581	1	Brace, Barber's improved, rachet, No. 32, 10-inch sweep, maple, cherry, or walnut head and handle.
582	1	Brand, metal, U.S.L.S.S., in 1-inch letters, 18-inch iron handle.
583	1	Chisel, socket firmer, solid cast steel, 1/4-inch, with handle leather tipped, 6 to 6 1/2-inch blade, Buck Bros.
584	1	Chisel, socket firmer, solid cast steel, 1/2-inch, with handle leather tipped, 6 to 6 1/2-inch blade, Buck Bros.
585	1	Chisel, socket firmer, solid cast steel, 1-inch, with handle leather tipped, 6 to 6 1/2-inch blade, Buck Bros.
587	1	Chisel, socket firmer, solid cast steel, 2-inch, with handle leather tipped, 6 to 6 1/2-inch blade, Buck Bros.
588	1	Chisel, cold, solid cast steel, octagon, 1-inch, regular length, Peck, Stow & Wilcox Co.'s.
589	1	Compass, carpenter's, best steel, 6-inch.
590	1/2 doz	Files, saw, slim, tapered, double cut, 5-inch, handled, Kearney & Foot's or Disston's.
591	1/2 doz	Files, saw, tapered, 7-inch, handled, Kearney & Foot's or Disston's.
594	1/2 doz	Files, flat, bastard, 12-inch, Kearney & Foot's or Disston's.
595	1	Gauge, marking, Russell & Erwin Mfg. Co.'s No. 61.

ITEM NO.	QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION
596	1/6 doz	Gimlets, nail, steel, double cut, wood handles, Shepardson's, No. 1.
597	1/6 doz	Gimlets, nail, steel, double cut, wood handles, Shepardson's, No. 2.
598	1/6 doz	Gimlets, nail, steel, double cut, wood handles, Shepardson's, No. 3.
599	1	Gouge, socket firmer, solid cast steel, 1/2-inch, with handles leather tipped, 6-inch blade, Buck Bros.
600	1	Gouge, socket firmer, solid cast steel, 1-inch, with handles leather tipped, 6-inch blade, Buck Bros.
602	1	Grindstone, No. 2 "Ohio," 20 inches diameter, 2 1/2 inches thick, mounted, complete, with crank and treadle.
603	1	Hammer, claw, adz eye, solid cast steel, weight 1 pound, handled Peck, Stow & Wilcox Co.'s or Clark's.
604	1/6 doz	Handles, beech, for 1/8-inch shouldered brad awls.
605	1	Handle, for claw hammer, extra hickory, all white, polished.
606	2	Handles, for hatchets (ax pattern), extra hickory, all white, polished.
607	2	Handles, for boat hatchets, extra hickory, all white, polished.
608	1	Handle, for pickax, extra hickory, all white, polished.
609	1	Handle, for 8-pound blacksmith's sledge, extra hickory, all white polished.
610	2	Hatchets, ax pattern, (boat), 3 3/4 cut, handled, Collins & Co.'s, No. 2.
611	2	Hatchets, ax pattern, 4 1/2-inch cut, handled, Beatty's, No. 2.
612	2	Hatchets, boat, claw hammer head, handled, Beatty's No. 3 or Collins & Co.'s, No. 6.
614	1	Knife, regular drawing, extra quality, cast steel, 8-inch cut, handles ferruled and capped, Couglass Manufacturing Co.'s.
615	1	Mallets, round, lignum vitae, 4 inches diameter, mortised handles.
617	1	Nail set, cast steel, No. 1.
618	1	Nippers, end cutting, 7-inch, good American warranted.
619	1	Oiler, zinc, "Paragon," No. 3, brass bottom, double walled cup.
620	2	Pickaxes, railroad pattern, adz eye, steel points, 6-pound, handled, average length 24 1/2 inches, "Trenton."
621	1	Pincers, steel, 7-inch, good American, warranted.
622	1	Plane, jack, best beech, "Sandusky," 16 inches long, Butcher's double iron, 2 1/4-inch.
623	1	Plane, jointer, best beech, "Sandusky," 28 inches long, Butcher's double iron, 2 1/4-inch.
624	1	Plane, smoothing, best beech, "Sandusky," 8 inches long, Butcher's double iron, 2 1/4-inch.
625	1	Pliers, steel, flat nosed, 8-inch, good American, warranted.
626	1	Rasp, wood, 12-inch, half-round, handled, Kearney & Foot's or Disston's.
627	1	Rule, carpenter's, boxwood, brass bound, 2-foot, 3 joints, 1 3/8 inches wide, 8ths and 16ths.
629	1	Saw-set, Morrill's No. 1.

ITEM NO.	QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION
630	1	Saw, butchers, 20-inch, extra spring steel blades, beech handle, polished edges, three brass screws, flat back.
633	1	Saw, hand, crosscut, 26-inch, four screws, grained blade, Disston's.
634	1	Saw, hand, rip, 28-inch, four improved screws, grained blade, Disston's.
636	1	Saw, wood, with frame, No. 6, Disston's.
637	1	Screw driver, steel, 8-inch, handled, brass ferrules, Stanley's.
638	7	Shovels, best steel, No. 3, handled, Ames'. (needed one for each man to clear snow drifts).
639	2	Shovels, round point, best steel, long handled, Ames'.
640	1	Shovel, scoop, Ames', No. 2.
641	1	Sledge, blacksmith's 8-pound, steel face and peen polished, handled, Atha Tool Co.'s No. 29 or "Trenton."
642	1	Soldering tool, 1-pound, handled.
643	1	Spade, best steel, handled, Ames', No. 2.
644	1	Spokeshave, best steel, 3-inch blade, plated, beechwood, with thumbscrew, Bagshaw & Field's or Booth & Mills'.
645	1	Stone, oil, mounted, 8x2x1 1/8 inches, Washita.
646	1	Square, carpenter's steel, "Eagle."
648	1	Wrench, monkey, 12-inch, knife-handle, Coe's.
649	1	Wrench, combination pipe bolt and nut, 12-inch, Jennings & Co.'s.
650	1	Vise, carpenter's parallel, 3 1/2-inch jaw, Parker's or "Trenton" No. 4.
652	1	Barometer, life buoy, aneroid, porcelain dials, square oak frame.
653	2	Boat drags, canvas.
654	2	Breeches buoys, with slings complete, per sample.
655	1/2 M	Cartridge bags, red.
656	1/2 M	Cartridge bags, white.
659	2	Clocks, banner lever, nickel plated, one day, 8-inch dial, time, U.S.L.S.S. in black letters, 3/8-inch, on dial.
662	1	Compass, liquid, boat, with lacquered copper, improved binnacles, complete, 5 7/8x5 7/8x9 1/4 inches.
663	2	Crotches.
664	1 Box	Dials, card, for Imhauser's time detector, 370 dials to box [for use with the old time detectors to be transferred from the Orleans station].
665	86 ft	Fenders, cork, for boat, 5 inches diameter at center, tapered to 2 1/2 inches at end, covered with No. 4 cotton canvas.
666	1 yd	Flannel, red, all wool, 27 inches wide.
667	1	Flask, powder, heavy copper, 16-ounce capacity, screw top, outside spring.
669	2	Glasses, binocular, 26", field glass, short body, oxidized slides, movable shades, heavy sole leather case, with strap for hanging; "U.S.L.S.S." to be engraved upon slides and stamped or gilded upon the inner side of case cover.

ITEM NO.	QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION
670	2	Hand carts, "Racine Wagon and Carriage Co." pattern.
671	3	Heaving Sticks.
677	15	Life belts, cork, "Abbey" pattern size 38 inches.
678	15	Life belts, cork, "Abbey" pattern size 40 inches.
681	1	Life car.
682	10 lbs	Powder, Hayard's (L.S.S. Standard), 10-pound packages.
685	2	Reels, double, for hand carts.
686	2	Sand anchors.
687	2	Sand anchor pendants.
688	4 doz	Signals, "Coston," patrol.
689	6	Signal holders, "Coston," improved.
690	1	Speaking trumpet, brass, 14-inch, marked "U.S.L.S.S."
691	3	Tally boards, No. 1.
692	3	Tally boards, No. 2.
693	1	Telescope, Bardou & Son's, day and night adjustment, No. 326, 22".
695	2	Thermometers, copper case.

GUN "LYLE" & EQUIPMENT

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION
2	Combination levels.
500	Friction primers.
2	Guns "Lyle," 2 1/2-inch.
2	Gun carriages.
2	Haversacks.
2	Lanyards.
1	Powder measure, 1 oz.
1	Powder measure, 2 oz.
2	Priming wires.
12	Projectiles, 3 1/2 inches.
2	Quoins.
2	Rammers and sponges.
2	Sponge covers.
2	Waist-belts.
2	Wiping rods and worms.
2	Veut-girulets.
2	Veut-punches.
2	Shot-lines, "Whiton," No. 4.
3	Shot-lines, "Whiton," No. 7.
2	Shot-lines, "Whiton," No. 9.
1	Cartridge case, copper.
3	Faking-boxes, size "A".
1	Faking-box, size "B".
1	Hawser-cutler
6	Signal cases, tin (for patrol signals).
1 set	Signals, tin (International code).

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION
2	Torches and staffs
1	Wagon, surfboat ($98.00 delivered in New York City).
1 bbl	Oil, mineral, about 52 gallons, water white, fire test not less than 150° F., flash test not less than 125° F., safe superior quality, strong, tight, well made iron hooped cask bearing stamp of properly authorized inspecting officer, per gallon - 10 cts.

WINDOW SHADES

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION
	Best Scotch Holland, sage "Hartshow" rollers or equally good, springs and fixtures complete.
4	3 ft 11 in x 2 ft 3 in wide (for crew's quarters).
2	4 ft 11 in x 3 ft 1 1/2 in wide (for crew's quarters).
2	6 ft 7 in x 3 ft 8 in wide (for keeper's room and kitchen).
1	2 ft 6 in x 1 ft 6 in wide (for locker room).
1	2 ft 9 in x 2 ft 9 in wide (for locker room).
2	6 ft 7 in x 3 ft 2 in wide (for mess room).
1	3 ft 6 in x 2 ft 7 in wide (for pantry).
1	2 ft 9 in x 2 ft 9 in wide (for spare room).
2	3 ft 5 in x 2 ft 3 in wide (for stair case hall 1st floor).
3	2 ft 6 in x 1 ft 6 in wide (for stair case hall 2nd floor).
1	3 ft 6 in x 4 ft 7 in wide (for storm and clothes room).
4	2 ft 6 in x 1 ft 6 in wide (for tower).

BOATS

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION
1	Surf row boat, 24 foot, Monomoy model.
1	Surf-sailing boat, 24 foot, Monomoy model.
1	Surfboat wagon

MISCELLANEOUS

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION
1	Library case "No. 52."
1	Book case
1	Desk, oak, roll-top, 4 ft long, 3 ft-9 inches high, 30 inches deep with side closet, mounted on large plate casters.
1	Table, kitchen, hardwood, 27x42 inches, with drawer.

BOOKS, BLANKS, CIRCULARS, ETC.

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION
9	Regulations as to Uniform of Employees
2	Revised Regulations
1	Official Register
1	International Code of Signals publication
9	Instructions to Mariners in case of Shipwreck
10	Beach Apparatus Drills
10	Articles of Engagement of Surfmen
10	Application for and certificate of Medical Inspection
10	Report of Change in Crew
10	Recognition of Distress Signals
3	Hospital Relief to Keepers and Surfmen
3	Instructions as to care of Marine Glasses
3	Instructions to Surfmen in regard to use of Patrol Clocks
9	Employment of Temporary Surfmen
9	Evidence required with application for benefit of Sec. 7, May 4, 1882
9	Instructions to Employees relative to use of signals
9	Increase of Compensation of Keepers and Surfmen with regulations
9	Amending paragraph 151 Revised Regulations (salvage)
3	Limitation of the hours of daily service upon Public Works
1	Keepers to Act as Inspectors of Customs
1	Keeper's Instructions as to care and use of Patrol Clocks
3	Pay of Surfmen for fractional parts of a month
1	Keeper's authority to discharge surfmen
1	Keeper to make wreck reports, etc.
3	Relative to leave of absence of surfmen and keepers
1	Regulations in regard to official telegraphing
1	Assistance to Weather Bureau, Department of Agriculture
1	In aid of the enforcement of quarantine regulations
10	Relative to Boating, Hunting, etc.
10	Providing for the Enforcement of the Provisions of Executive Order of July 27, 1897, as to removal from the Classified Service. Department Circular No. 122, issued August 11, 1897.
10	Regulations governing admission to the Grade of Surfman in the Life-Saving Service (Form 396)
10	Employment of Substitutes in Life-Saving Service
10	"Seventh Man" in Life-Saving Service on the Atlantic Coast
10	Blank application for examination to the grade of surfman, Life-Saving Service
1	Book, Government Salary tables
1	Pay of Life-Saving crews
1	Benefits provided by Sections 7 and 8, Act of May 4, 1882
10	To Keepers and crews of Life-Saving Stations (Relative to wearing of Lifebelts), Department No. 39, 1876
1	Instructions to District Superintendents and Keepers, Life-Saving Service, relative to forms adopted under Civil Service Rules, No. 188, November 11, 1897

SIGNALS AND FLAGS

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION
1 set	International code of signals
1	National Ensign 6 1/3 x 12 feet
1	Square white flag for signaling
1	Square red flag for signaling
1	Star pennant

In 1916 Old Harbor received a Beebe-McLellan self-bailing power surfboat. Its other boats included two Monomoy surfboats and one dinghy at that time.

Taken from Old Harbor Life Saving Station, General Correspondence, #61898, September 17, 1897, RG 26, Records of the United States Coast Guard (National Archives, Washington, D.C.).

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Long Point Batteries, Letters Received.

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