

FINAL REPORT

**PAMET CRANBERRY BOG
ETHNOGRAPHIC ASSESSMENT**

FX 95-01

**Submitted to National Park Service
Regional Office, Boston MA**

Cap Cod National Seashore Library

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June 8, 1995**

Jim Brown is the recently-appointed Curator of the Museum and shared that he was just beginning to become familiar with its holdings and materials. However he would try to be of whatever help he could, especially in the absence of Beverly Thacher. I reviewed and photographed the "Cranberry Room", which is actually the central exhibition of the Museum. It displays a clear connection with Harwich Cape Verdeans and John Raneo and others had apparently helped greatly in gathering and preparing the displays (in the tenure of Beverly Thacher, who seemed also to be very proud of it). He looked quickly through available records, though his time was limited because he was scheduled to attend his daughter's recital in Sandwich and the Museum actually closed at 2pm. He was able to locate the Harwich Independent 1933 article about the Strike (which identified a "local grower...Louis Crowell") and told me about a masters thesis by Jean Barker¹³. He knew nothing more about Crowell but promised to try to find any other archival materials that might be available. We copied the Strike article and I quickly reviewed the Barker document, noting especially the data about Cape Verdean ownership and her investigation about the 1933 Strike. In a follow-up phone call, Mr. Brown indicated that he had not been able to locate anything about Crowell and promised to forward copies of three pages of Cape Verdean land ownership records from the Barker document (I had planned to copy them while at the Museum but because of the time constraints I forgot to do so; he did in fact send them soon after.)

M. Gida Crowell
 Box 32, East Dennis MA 02641 508-385-3233
 (May 2)

Ms. Crowell was referred to me by "Linc" Thacher. I finally reached her on May 2 and was pleased to do so. Nearly 90 years old, she still lives alone and was very cooperative over the phone. She confirmed that her father Louis Crowell had never lived in Truro but always in East Dennis, in fact in the home in which she still lives. She certainly did remember the Pamet bog although she herself only went there a few times. When asked if she was aware of any Cape Verdeans who worked on the bog, she responded quickly and definitively: "Oh yes, (I know) because they used to come to the house looking for work". She did not remember the name Antone Sequeira. She could not remember the span of time of involvement of Cape Verdean pickers but recalled that the numbers dwindled when her father bought mechanical pickers. As I explained more about my research, she urged me to call Mr. David Sampson who "worked for (her) father for many years and remembers a lot more details about the bogs".

¹³ *Interestingly enough historian Marilyn Halter (Between Race and Ethnicity) was a primary mentor for Barker in this research, and Halter's influence shows.*

N. David and Olive Sampson
 15 Winter Street
 Yarmouthport MA 02675 508-362-3411
 (May 2 and June 1)

Finally! Someone who had specific and corroborative information about Cape Verdean involvement with the Pamet Bog! We had two conversations because of the need to try to reconcile the chronological accounts from different sources.

On May 2 Mrs. Sampson answered the phone and said that her nearly 87-year-old husband did not hear too well. However she was kind enough to ask him to come closer to the telephone and she would ask him a few questions. Yes, he certainly did work for Louis Crowell, in fact did so "for about 50 years". 50 years on the bogs? No, he started to work for Mr. Crowell about 1926 at the Bass River Golf Course, where Crowell was "in charge of the greens". Crowell apparently had bogs at the same time, not only in Truro but also in Harwich, East Dennis and Brewster (they estimated that Crowell owned about 35-40 acres in all. After several years at Bass River, Mr. Sampson was asked to take charge of the Crowell bogs, including the Pamet Bog, and worked for him until his own retirement in 1965.

My questions about Cape Verdeans at Pamet at first were not fruitful. Neither recalled an Antone Sequeira and Mrs. Sampson's remembered some "Portuguese" but "I would say they were not Cape Verdeans." When pressed however (and with her in turn pressing the questions to Mr. Sampson) he finally started to recall the names of "oh yes, the Portuguese from Harwich": "Monteiro, Gomes, Johnny Roderick, Joe Barber, Frank Pina". When I said that these certainly sounded like "Cape Verdean names",¹⁴ especially from Harwich, Mr. Sampson finally confirmed that indeed they were. When I asked if they by any chance remembered someone who went by the name of "Foot", both certainly did and recalled Frank Monteiro; Mrs. Sampson said that Mr. Monteiro was "a very nice man" and "helped her husband a lot, all over". Yes he certainly also remembered that Mr. Monteiro worked on the Pamet Bog and that their time did overlap (Mr. Sequeira thought it was in the early 50's; Mr. Sampson leaned more toward the 1940's as we pressed the chronology further in the second conversation on June 1). In addition Mr. Sampson also said that 3-4 men from Wareham or Marion MA lived in "the house" during the week and he "had to take them home on the weekend"!

¹⁴ *Reliance on surnames is risky but sometimes the only available method. Its ambiguity and margin for error make necessary the consideration of other factors such as "community residence", which is a variable called upon here.*

Mr. and Mrs. Sampson were extremely responsive over the phone. Mrs. Sampson said that she and her husband had "been out all day with his sister" and then she and her daughter had been out, so they were both tired. However she encouraged me to drop by whenever in the area; Mr. Sampson mentioned in the background that he had Crowell "surveyor papers" for some of his other bogs and I might want to look at them.

On June 1 I shared with the Sampsons the need to clarify the chronology, specifically the records of ownership that had Louis Crowell selling Pamet in 1947 and Thacher's report of involvement starting in the 1950's. They both struggled more with the dates, using especially the milestones of their marriage, their daughter's birth, the 1938 hurricane, and wartime. In regards to the Thacher involvement, Mr. Sampson indicated that "that was another Crowell, in South Dennis". By talking through the related dates and testing each other's memory they were able to identify at least the "1940's" as the period when they could place Cape Verdeans specifically at the Pamet bog.

IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT MR. SAMPSON HAD CLEAR RECOLLECTIONS OF A NUMBER OF CAPE VERDEAN MEN (FROM HARWICH AND WAREHAM/MARION) WHO WORKED WITH HIM IN THE CROWELL BOGS, GOING BACK TO THE LATE 1930'S. HE REMEMBERED VIVIDLY THE ASSOCIATION OF "FOOT" MONTEIRO AROUND THE TIME OF THE 1938 HURRICANE, WHEN THEY "LOST A WHOLE CROP". HE RECALLED DRIVING THE CROWELL TRUCK TO HARWICH AND TO WAREHAM/MARION, AND HE AGAIN NAMED SEVERAL MEN IN PARTICULAR: FRANK MONTEIRO, JOE BARBER, MOSES RODERICK, FRANK PINA, ETC.. He noted that Crowell had "36 scoops" and most often he would pick up about 25 pickers; about 12 was the total which he could recall for the Pamet bog. When asked further, he specified that indeed most of the pickers he remembered were Cape Verdean (again, "Portuguese" was the appellation he recalled, "Cape Verdean" seemed unfamiliar to him.) Although Crowell did use mechanical pickers -- "Western" pickers rather than Darlington because "Darlingtons punched holes in the berries"--these were not used at Pamet because, he recalled, "we had enough pickers".

Mr. Sampson also shared a few stories:

- While he worked for Crowell, he would regularly just go ahead and do what he thought was required for the week, not "bothered" by Mr. Crowell, and just present to him at the week's end the pay slips, the work done, etc.. When I went over the chronology of Crowell's ownership, he remembered the sale of Pamet because at one of those presentations of the pay slips for "work for the week" at Pamet, he said that "Mr. Crowell laughed and said 'I already sold that bog'".

- He had grown up on a farm and had a lot of experience with raising chickens and its vocabulary. When he started to manage the Crowell bogs, he was therefore surprised when he was asked to "take the truck to Harwich and get a dozen setters". He thought that strange, why would they need "setters" in a bog--i.e., hens that rest over the eggs while they hatch? A friend laughingly corrected him, that Crowell was referring actually to "vine setters", persons (usually women) who would set the vines for planting.

Mr. and Mrs. Sampson both recalled the Pamet bog area as a "wonderful place", especially good because the "water is right there". Mr. Sampson remembered that after the Route 6 construction (1952) the water availability was ruined and he wanted to make sure that the restoration managers were aware of this (I assured him that indeed they were). Both were pleased to hear about the restoration project, and Mrs. Sampson asked that I "do them a favor: let them know when they start working the bogs", she would like to take Mr. Sampson for a drive down there. I assured her that they would be notified about the progress and encouraged them to visit, even now, even before the restoration might begin.

It would certainly be useful to do a face-to-face interview at the Sampson home, preferably with photos and other data in hand.

O. Interview Log

Original photos and audiotapes have been submitted with the Final Report to NPS; xeroxed copies of all photos are included as part of all copies of the Final Report. All interviews are summarized in the Final Report.

Alfred and Adelina Amado, Cataumet
April 3 (audiotape and photo)

Elizabeth Allen, Truro Historical Society
April 4 (verbal interview and photo)

Jim Brown, Brooks Academy Museum Curator, Harwich
April 4, May 3 (verbal and phone interviews)

Frank Caruso, Plant Pathologist
Cranberry Experimental Station, East Wareham MA (phone interview)

Gida Crowell, East Dennis

May 2 (phone interview)

Eugenia Fortes, Hyannis

March 20, April 3 (audiotape and picture)

Shirley Gomes, State Representative, Harwich

March 30, May 2 (phone interviews)

John Raneo, Harwich

April 3, May (audiotape and photo)

David and Olive Sampson, Yarmouthport

May 2, June 1 (phone interviews)

Cynthia Slade, Truro Town Clerk and David Lindstrom, Assistant Town Clerk

March 21, 22, April (Verbal)

Eugenho Texeira, Harwich

April 3, April 25, May 1 (phone interview)

Beverly and "Linc" Thacher, North Harwich

March 30, April 4, 8 (phone interview)

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 - "Bottom Lines", July 2, 1984
 - "The Cape Verde Connection" Series, 1984-1985
 - "Cape Verdean Governor Strengthens Ties with Islands' Descendants", August 17, 1989
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Page, Helan 1995 Excerpts from NPS Report, pages 19-50.

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Pires, Sidney "Peachy" Interview, 1/16/95 Wareham MA

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Russell, Laura "Lolo" Interview, 1/18/95, Wareham MA

Semedo, Querino Kenneth J. 1994 The Story Must Be Told: Working the Cranberry Bogs and The Soul and Social Life of the Men and Women Who Worked the Cranberry Bogs. Pages 1-29.

The Harwich Independent September 13, 1933 "Pickets Patrol No. Harwich Bogs". Page 1.

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APPENDICES*

- a. Cape Cod/Cape Verdean Demographics
- b. Madeline DeLuze Uter (Text Summary and Photos)
- c. Photographs (copies and originals)
Pamet Cranberry Bog and Boghouse
Interviewees
Brooks Academy Museum "Cranberry Room",
Harwich MA
- d. Cranberry Harvest, pp. 109-110
- e. Cape Verdean Land Ownership in Harwich
(Barker)
- f. Documentation Consent Forms

a. Cape Cod Demographics

This is an area for much further research. Demographic categories are ambiguous at best, and historically and scientifically there is no evidence that any people is anything but mixed. Nonetheless especially within the "Black-White calculus" of the United States context many insist on pushing the dichotomous distinctions and assigning labels. As indicated above the Cape Verdean history and experience challenge the easy classification and Cape Cod's very mixed demographic heritages, including Native Americans, add to the complexity. It would be very useful to develop an accurate baseline of demographic data for Cape Cod.

The initial information that there were no (or very few) Cape Verdeans in Truro was hard to accept, especially since the Portuguese presence is well-known in the area. The phenotypical range among Cape Verdeans is much broader than among Portuguese but it would not be impossible that a public attribution would "lump" everyone together. However a review of Truro Vital Records from 1854-1976, looking particularly at birthplace of parents and marriage partners, confirmed the scarcity. The records showed two Cape Verdean families over this period, with the DeLuze family the most consistent and long-term; Marshall also cites "two families of Cape Verdean ancestry" in his book that covers Truro from 1902 to 1920 (1974:69). In Wellfleet it was confirmed by observation that there is one Cape Verdean family, in which the widow still lives in the home which she and her husband purchased on Route 6 over 48 years ago.

The originating DeLuze ancestors were John Antone DeLuze and Mary A. Tavares DeLuze, both born in Cape Verde. The records show at least five children born in Truro, including one still-born. Four of the five were designated "colored" in the handwritten ledger; the fifth, Madeline Elizabeth born in 1908, had no designation. The parents were both designated "colored" at their deaths (in 1941 and 1954). Truro marriages involving their children were also accompanied by the "colored" designation. The death certificate for Madeline DeLuze Uter, who was well-known in what she called "my little Truro", died in 1990 at the age of 81 and that certificate finally identified as "Cape Verdean". In the one other Cape Verdean-ancestry family, one of the four Truro births was classified as "part African", and two others as "mulatto". Interestingly enough the father (Perry) was born in Cape Verde and the mother in "Western Islands" (the appellation for the Azores). It can be speculated that "part African" and "mulatto" were intended by the designator to identify these individuals as separate and different from those who were of fully Cape Verdean ancestry, i.e. partly "European".

The 1980 Federal Census "counted" a total of 1120 "Cape Verdeans" on Cape Cod. Falmouth was recorded as having the most, with 429, followed by Harwich with 307. In the Cape Verdean Connection 1980's newspaper series, it was noted

that "...the Census Bureau offers no explanation for the absence of Chatham, Provincetown, Sandwich, Truro, Wellfleet and Yarmouth from the listings" (1984). At this point it is not clear how accurate the counts were, but it should be noted that the 1980 Census was the first time that "Cape Verdean" was available as an option for "self-identification", included on the long form. It was the result of a special campaign launched several years before by the Cape Verdean Recognition Committee, a subcommittee of the New Bedford Verdean Veterans Association. The total Cape Verdean national count in 1980 was 23,215 (50,772 in 1990), with Massachusetts reporting 15,533. A national estimation done in the mid-1970's suggested about 250-300,000 and this has become accepted in official circles. The discrepancy between these two ranges is understandable because of the educational process needed by the changes in the Census procedures.

An interesting sub-area for research in Cape Cod demographics would be the issue of mixing between and among the various populations. For example Native Americans/Cape Verdean mixing has been cited often in the literature (sometimes very pejoratively) but there has apparently been no sound investigation done yet. In addition Harwich interviewees referred to several "unofficial" Cape Verdean-White unions and a number of well-known figures who are reputed to have "Cape Verdean blood". Mashpee sources could help in tracking patterns of Native American/Cape Verdean-Portuguese mixing.

Cape Verdean-Americans on the Cape.

Town*	Total population	Portuguese*	Percent*	Town*	Total population	Cape Verdean	Percent
Barnstable	30,898	1,083	3.5	Barnstable	30,898	268	.87
Bourne	13,874	156	1.12	Bourne	13,874	29	.21
Dennis	12,360	167	1.35	Brewster	5,226	9	.17
Eastham	3,473	54	1.55	Dennis	12,360	60	.49
Falmouth	23,640	2,447	10.35	Eastham	3,473	3	.09
Harwich	8,640	295	3.28	Falmouth	23,640	429	1.81
Mashpee	3,700	141	3.81	Harwich	8,971	307	3.42
Provincetown	3,535	1,341	37.93	Mashpee	3,700	9	.24
Sandwich	8,727	104	1.19	Orleans	5,306	6	.11
Truro	1,486	257	17.29				
Wellfleet	2,209	96	4.34				
Yarmouth	18,449	350	1.89				

*In "Portuguese table," count includes all who listed themselves as Portuguese, Azorean or Madeiran" in 1980 census. Under Cape Verdean table, the Census Bureau offers no explanation for the absence of Chatham, Provincetown, Sandwich, Truro, Wellfleet and Yarmouth from the listings.

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CAPE COD TIMES JULY 2, 1984

Madeline DeLuze Uter

Madeline DeLuze Uter's family came from the Cape Verde Islands off the northwest coast of Africa. She was born in Provincetown, but her family moved to Truro when she was still a little girl. She told me many wonderful stories about her family and what the Portuguese community was like in the early part of this century.

My father came here as a whaler at the age of seventeen. His cousin had been to the States and came back and told him such fanastic stories that he wanted to come to "the New World." So at the age of seventeen, his father shipped him aboard this whaler. He never went back home. My mother's father was also a whaler and that is how she came when she was four years old. She went to the first grade at the age of nine - not speaking a word of English and the teachers in Provincetown in those days were Yankees and they couldn't understand Portuguese and she had such a time. But she wanted to learn desperately. Her great pride was that she was in the Portuguese choir at the Catholic church. The old priest, Father Terra, would try to teach my mother English and Ma learned fast. She skipped a grade so she was in the fourth grade at the age of twelve.

...My father never learned to speak English properly and my grandmother couldn't speak one word. But in Provincetown at that time, in every store and at the bank they were required to have at least one Portuguese speaking person, so my grandmother had no problem. She lived in the Portuguese neighborhood and she went to the stores without any problem. My last four brothers and sisters could not speak any Portuguese - didn't even understand one word. But the first four - well, I've lost a great deal of it.

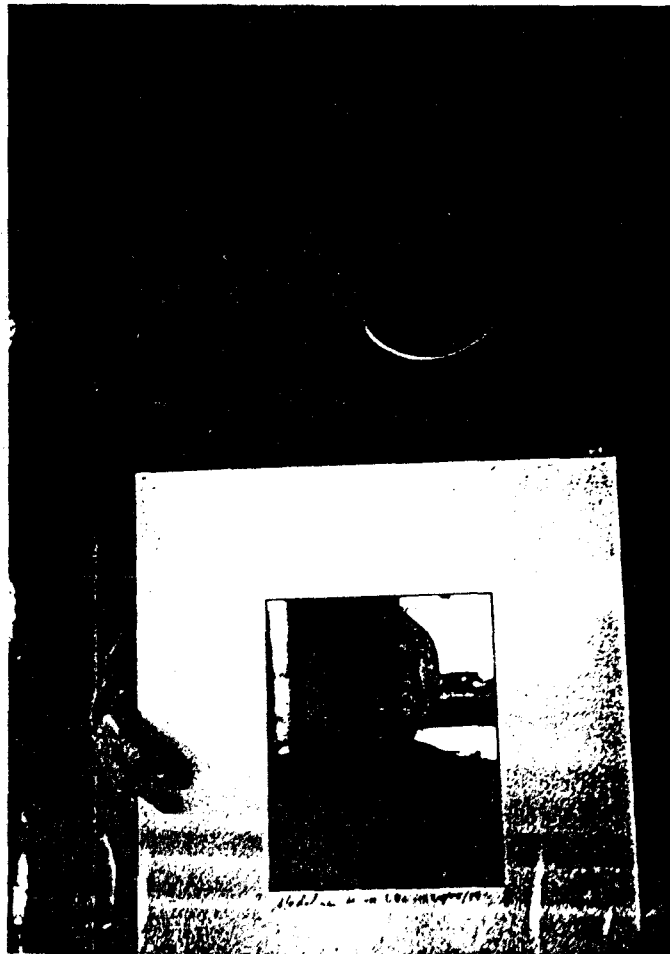
My father worked on the railroad after the fishing industry - that's when we moved to Truro. We had cows, and we had a pig and chickens and turkeys and whatnot. And my father always had four vegetable gardens - well, when you're raising eight children! And during the Depression to boot. If it wasn't for the clams and the fish - we ate an awful lot of clams! And an awful lot of baked beans - but we weren't alone. Everybody had to. But when I think of it now - that was the best food. And Ma would fix a chicken every Sunday.

During the Depression, Mother took in boarders - artists and writers. Can you imagine feeding and lodging a person for twelve dollars a week? Every Friday it was fish. One day a woman who stayed with us said, "Mrs. DeLuze: I've been here for three weeks - every Friday there's fish. I am not a Catholic!" And you know what Ma told her? "In Mrs. DeLuze house on Friday - everybody's a Catholic!"

413195 FROM ELIZABETH ALLEN - TRURO HISTORICAL SOCI.



Madeline DeLuze Uter
Truro MA
+195

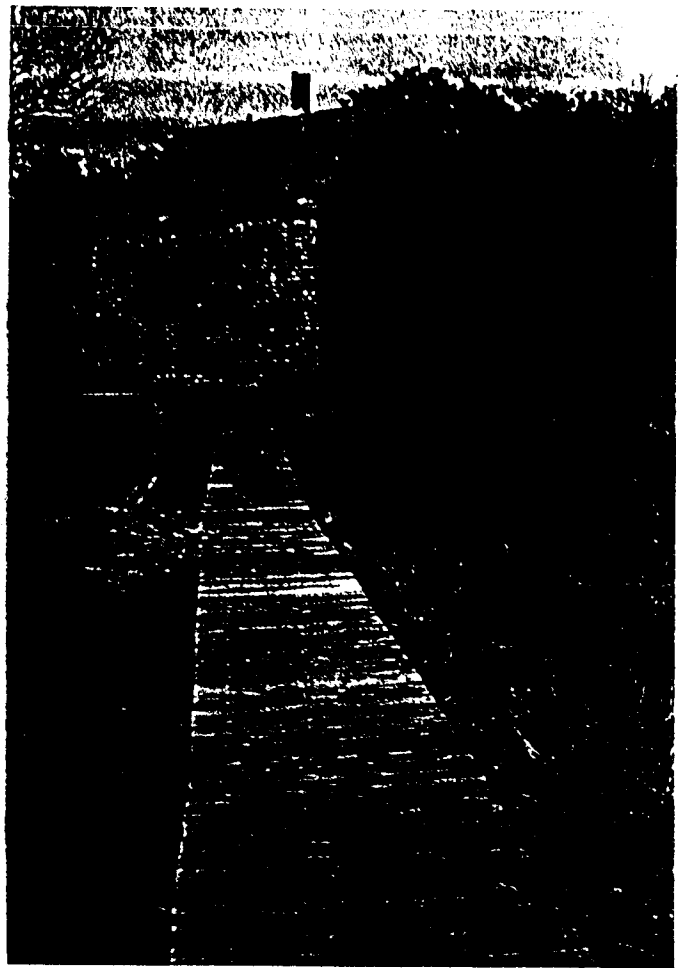


Elizabeth Allen
Truro MA
+195

All photos by
Laura Pres Hark, Ph.D.

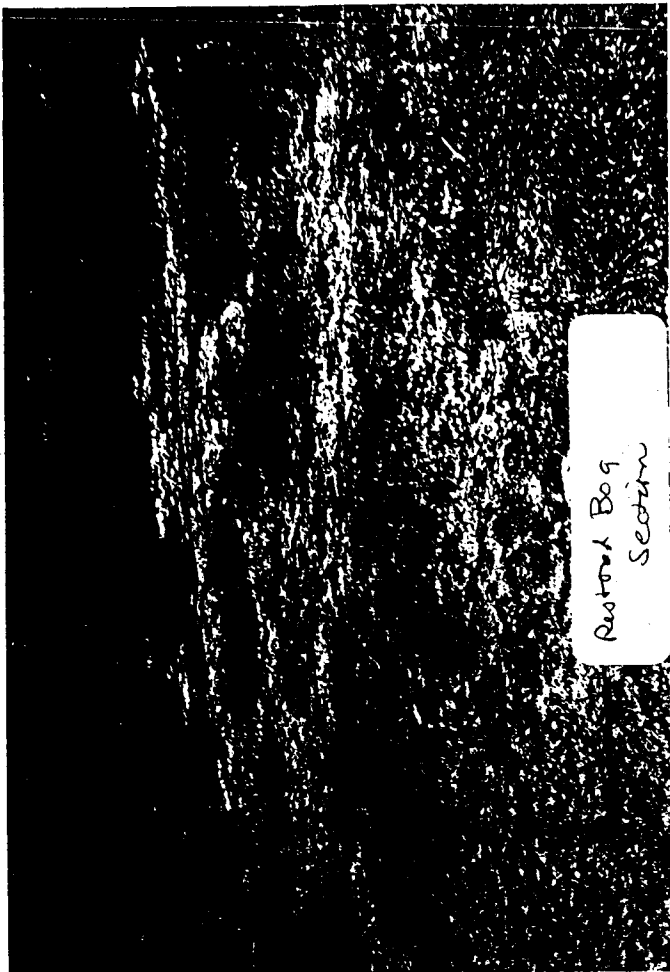


Original PCC Marker
Looking upward



Boq → Baghoros
Kamoth Semedo





Restond Bog
Section



Restond Bog
Section



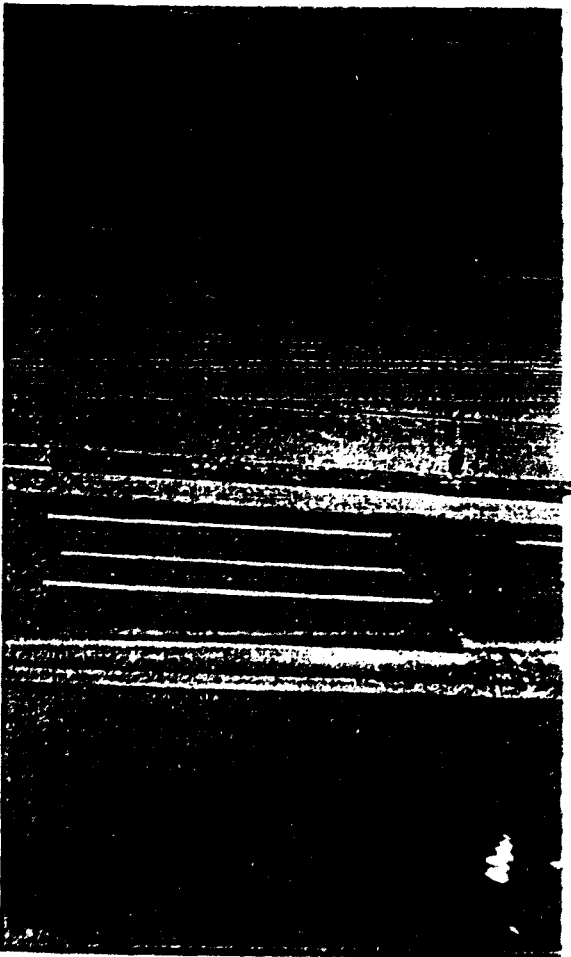
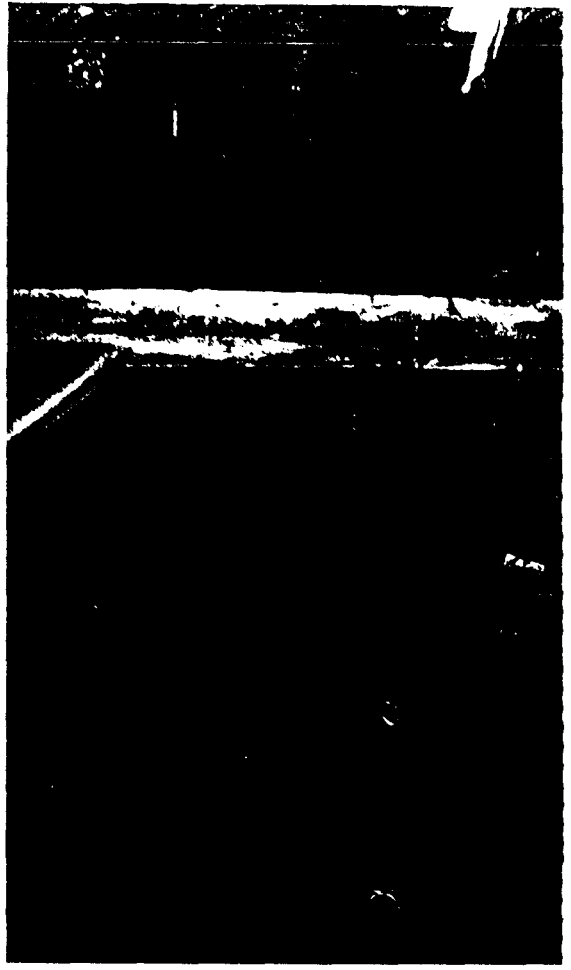
Superior Views
3/95

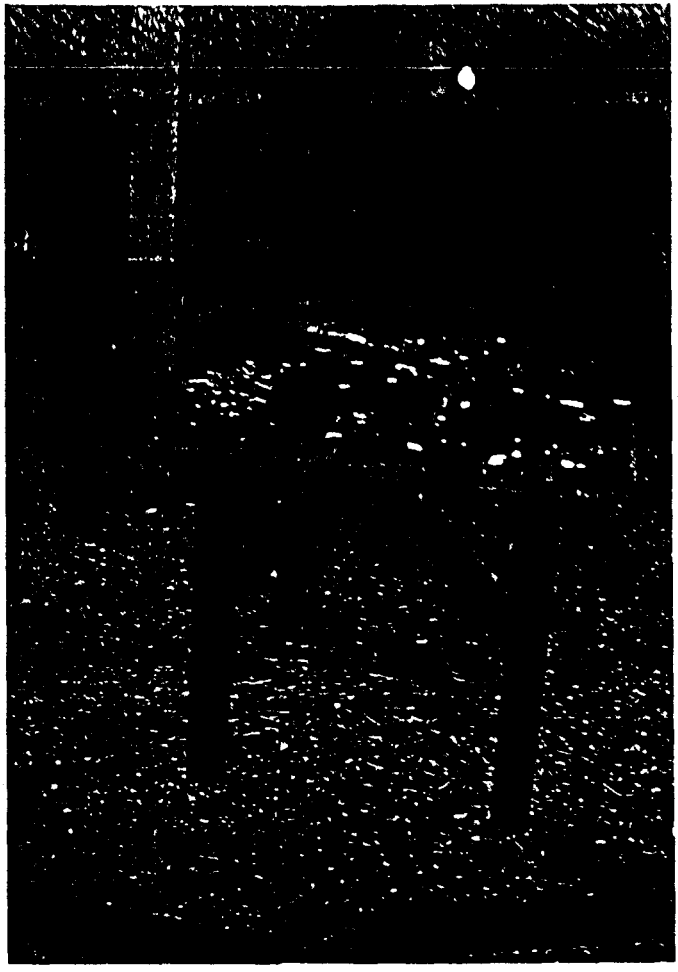


Superior Views
3/95

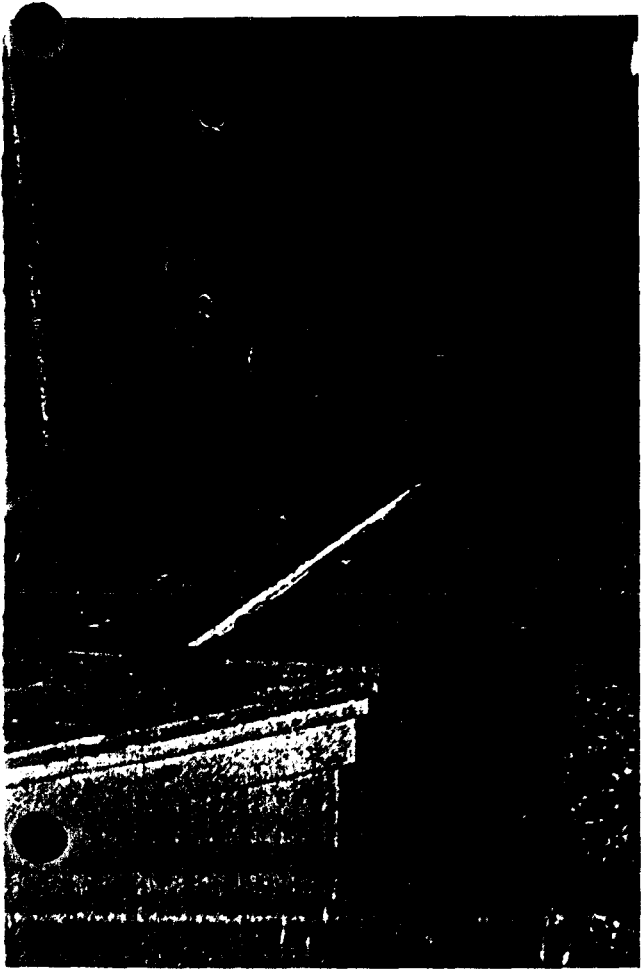
Interior Views

Billboards



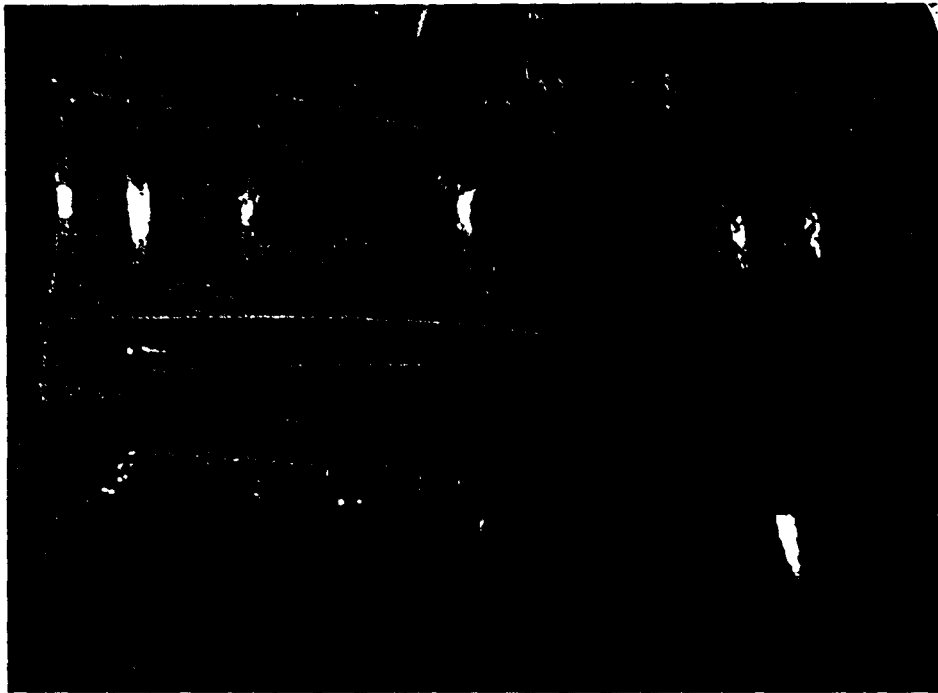


Interior Views





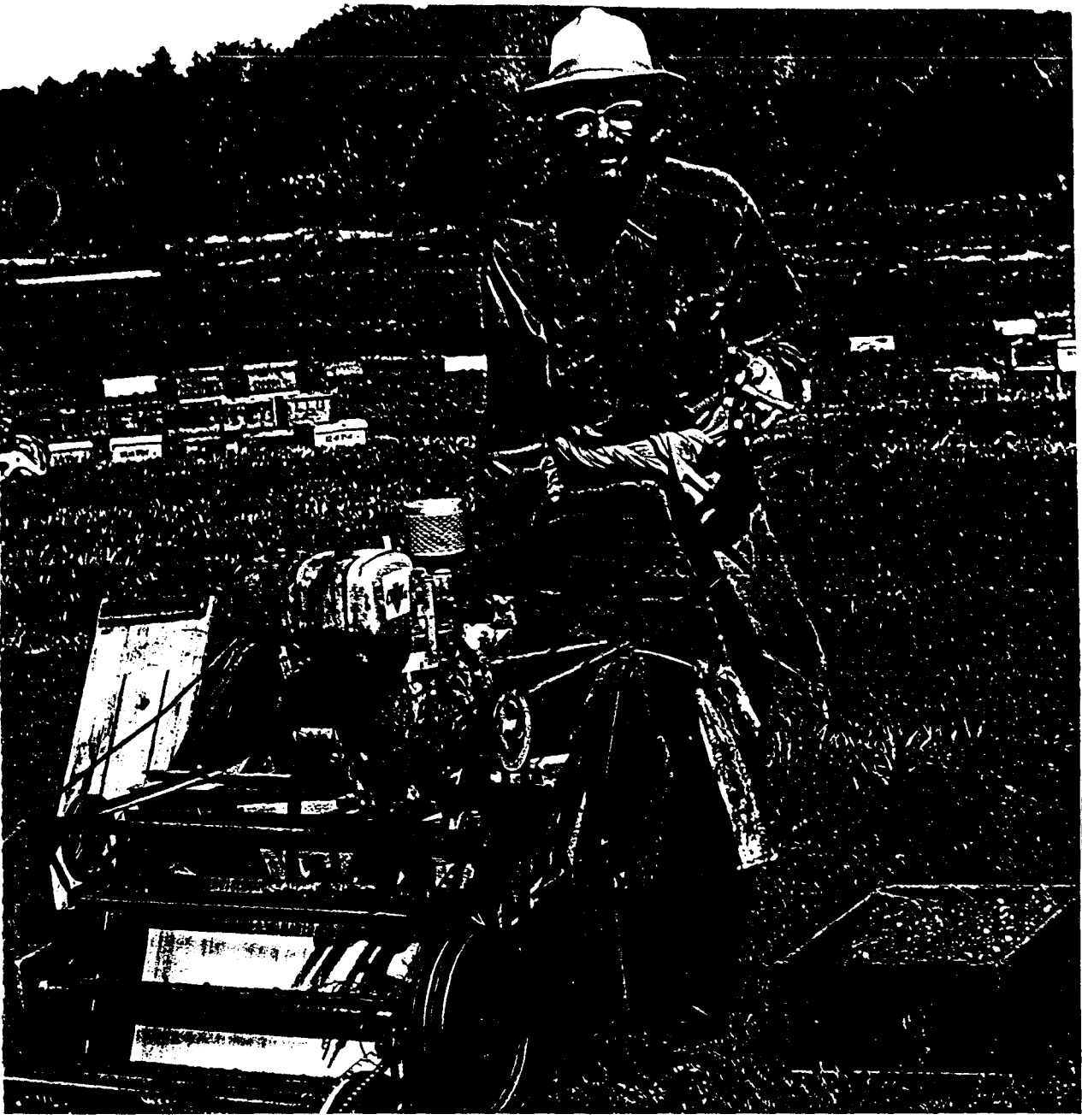
Panel - Panel
Cranberry Bog



Long - hauled - 1000 lbs
Salt and V. storage -
Storage



Shop 2000 lbs measure
Museum - Storage



Alfred Pomado at Handy
Bags c. 1900's - from Amado



Bags Around Amado Home
4195



Albert Amado-Grandy
Box 3, Catamount MA
C. 1960's from A. Amado

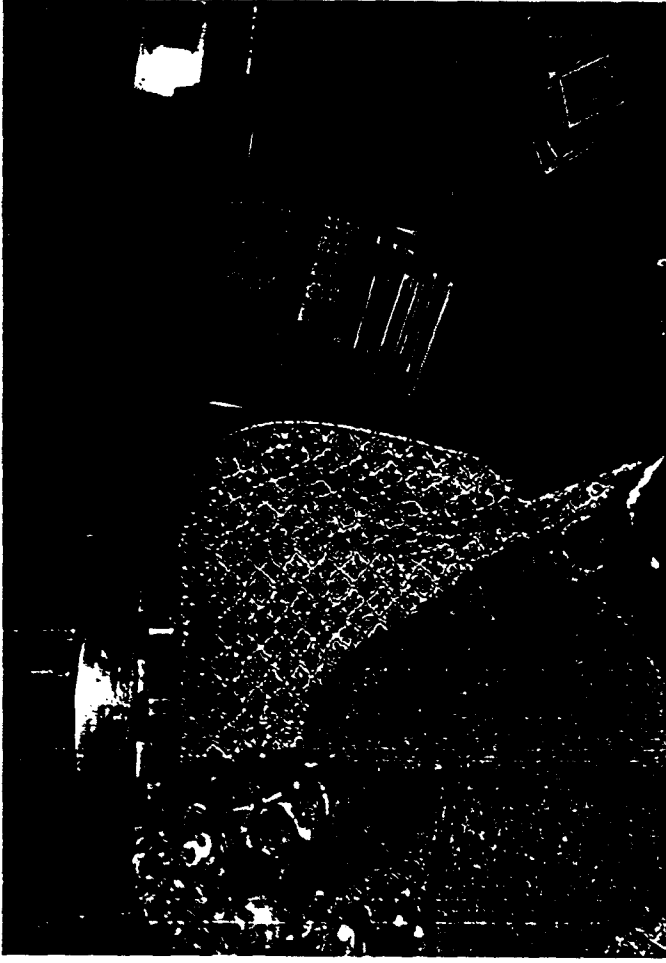
Albert Amado & Angelina Amado
Catamount MA 4/95



Albert Amado
Catamount MA
4 95



Eugenia Fortes
Hyannis MA 3/95



Mi Rod Amado
Catawampus + MA 4/95

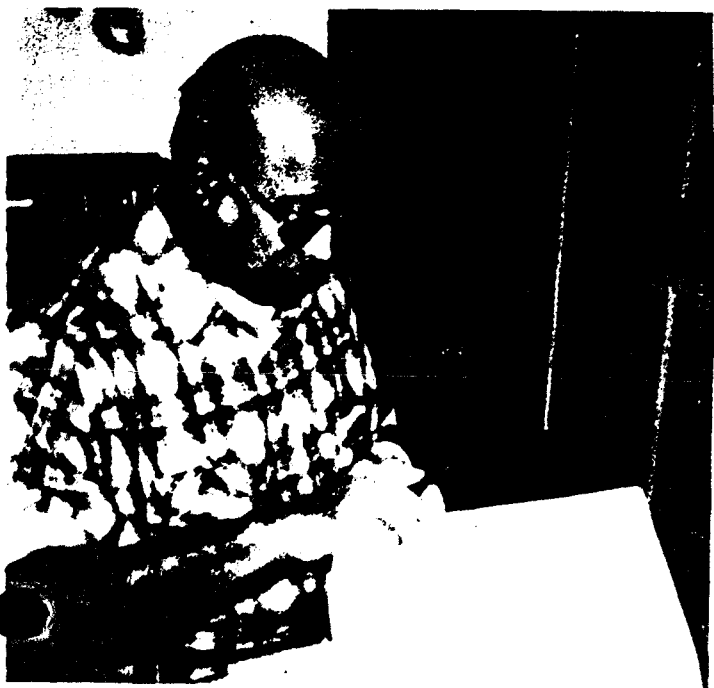


Harry Fernandes
Hyannis MA 3/95





John Raneo
Harwich MA 4/95



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EXHIBITIONS & COLLECTIONS

History of cranberry farming
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Costumes & Textiles • Glass & China
Exchange Hall Memorabilia
Brooks & Paine Families Exhibits
Indian artifacts • Toys
Gift Shop - local crafts
Charles D. Cahoon Paintings

RESEARCH & GENEALOGY

Vital Records, Town of Harwich, 1694-1850
Harwich Independent (newspaper), 1872-1958

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1995 MUSEUM PROGRAMS

- Jan. On-going activities for staff and volunteers
Feb. 12 Valentine Tea
Mar. 26 Society Meeting: "Researching Your Civil War Genealogy" - Garry L. Earles
Apr. 23 Opening Reception: "Familiar Faces" photo展 by Stephanie Foster
May 20 Maritime Heritage Week: Maritime VideoMarket
May 28 Society Meeting: "Cape Cod Railroad" - John Twobig
June 17 Museum opens: Toy & Doll Exhibit; Harwich Walking Tour; Guided tour of Cranberry Eckl
June 25 Cape Verdean Heritage program
July 23 Society Meeting: Native American program
Aug. 5 Antique Appraisal Day
Aug. 27 Society Meeting: Cape Cod in the Great Depress
Sept. 4 Last Museum Open day: but the work goes on
Sept. 9 Yard Sale
Sept. 25 Society Meeting: "Cape Cod Cemeteries" - Betty Szaberski
TBA Volunteer "Get-together Brunch"
Oct. 22 Brooks Academy Alumni program
Nov. 18 Christmas Bazaar
TBA Society Annual Meeting: The Museum Year in Review
Dec. 10 Christmas Tree Lighting and Carol Sing

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

Name(s) _____

Street Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

DUES:

- | | | | |
|---|---------|---------------------------------------|----------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Junior | \$ 2.00 | <input type="checkbox"/> Contributing | \$25.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Regular | \$ 5.00 | <input type="checkbox"/> Sustaining | \$50.00 & over |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Supporting | \$10.00 | <input type="checkbox"/> Life | \$75.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Organizational | \$15.00 | | |

Can You Volunteer?

Name(s) _____

Telephone _____

- | | | |
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| <input type="checkbox"/> Fund Raising | <input type="checkbox"/> Photograph Filing | |
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Send form to:

HARWICH HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.
P.O. BOX 5217, HARWICH, MA 02645

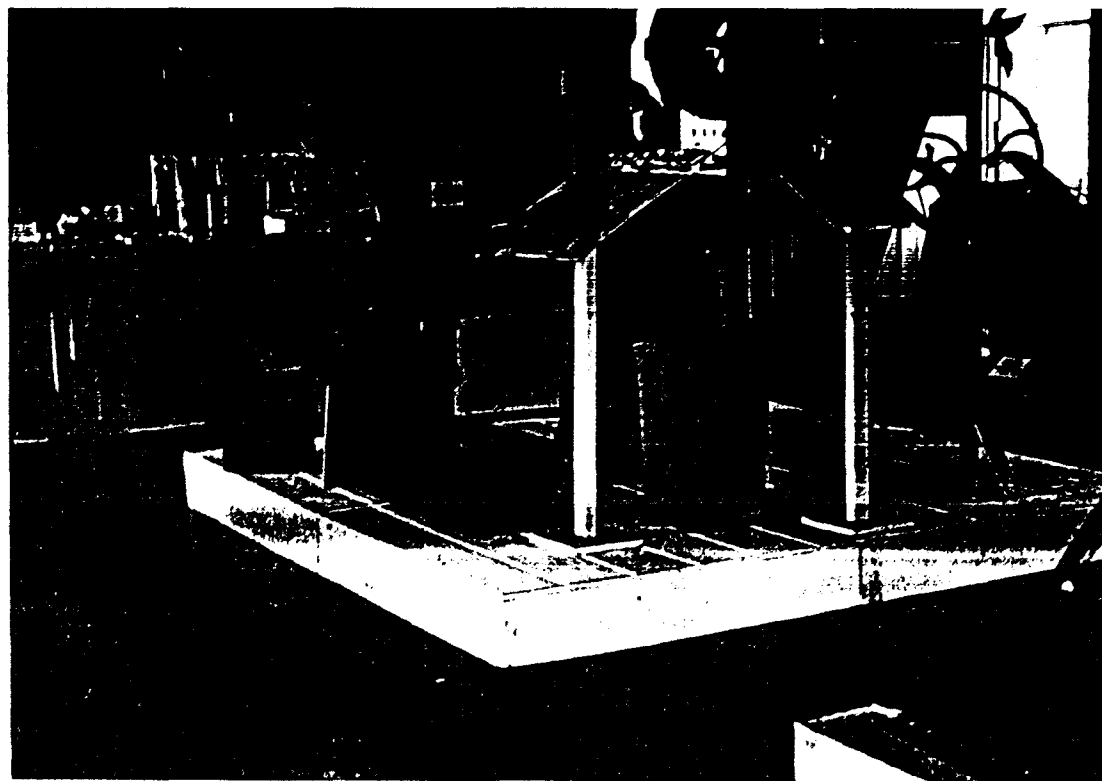
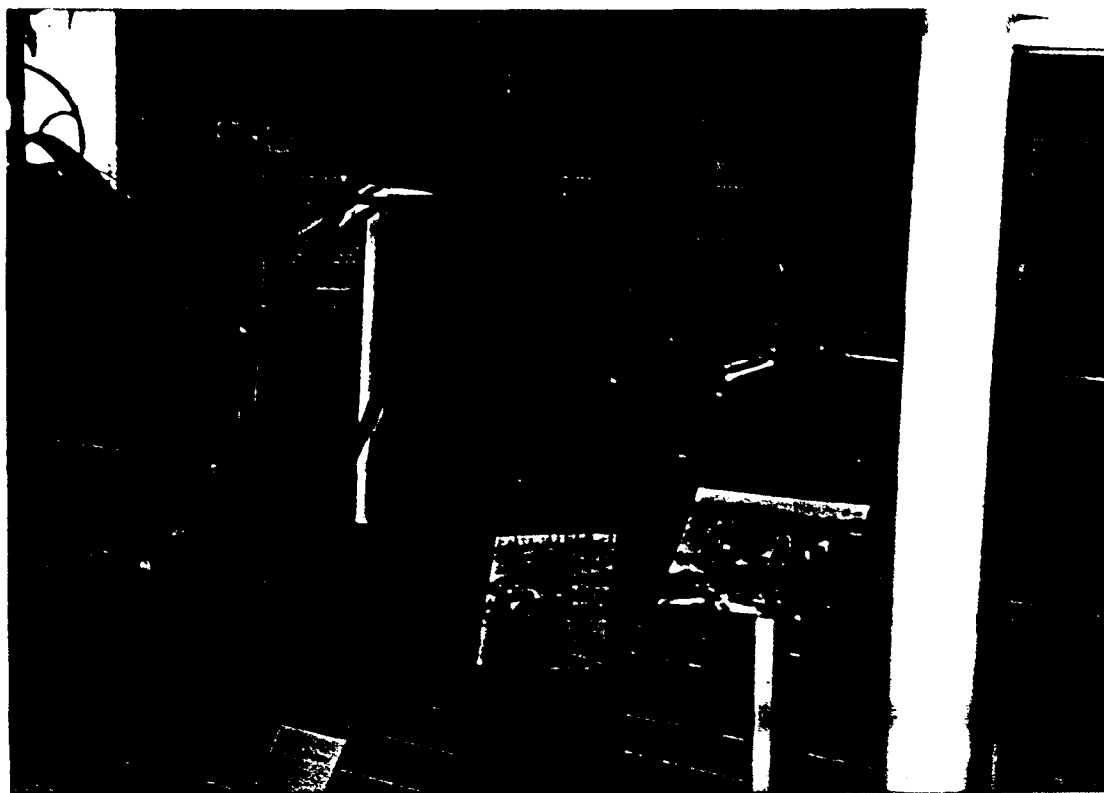
CRANBERRIES: The Birth of Industry

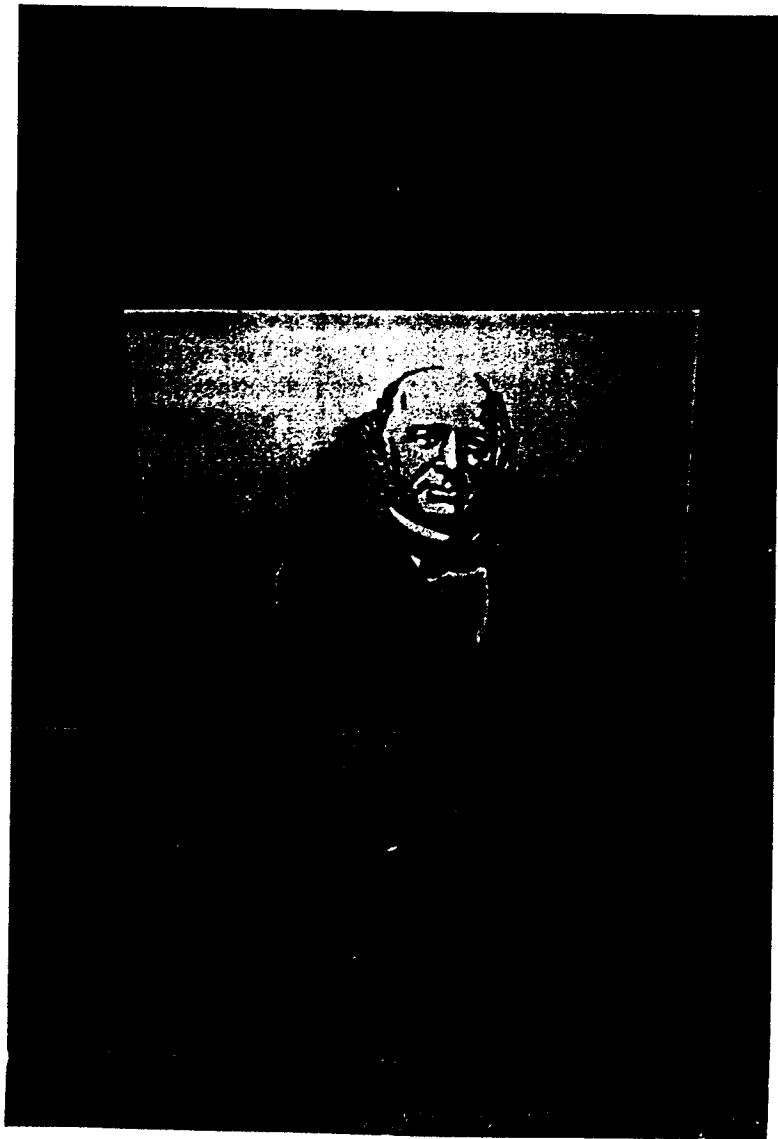
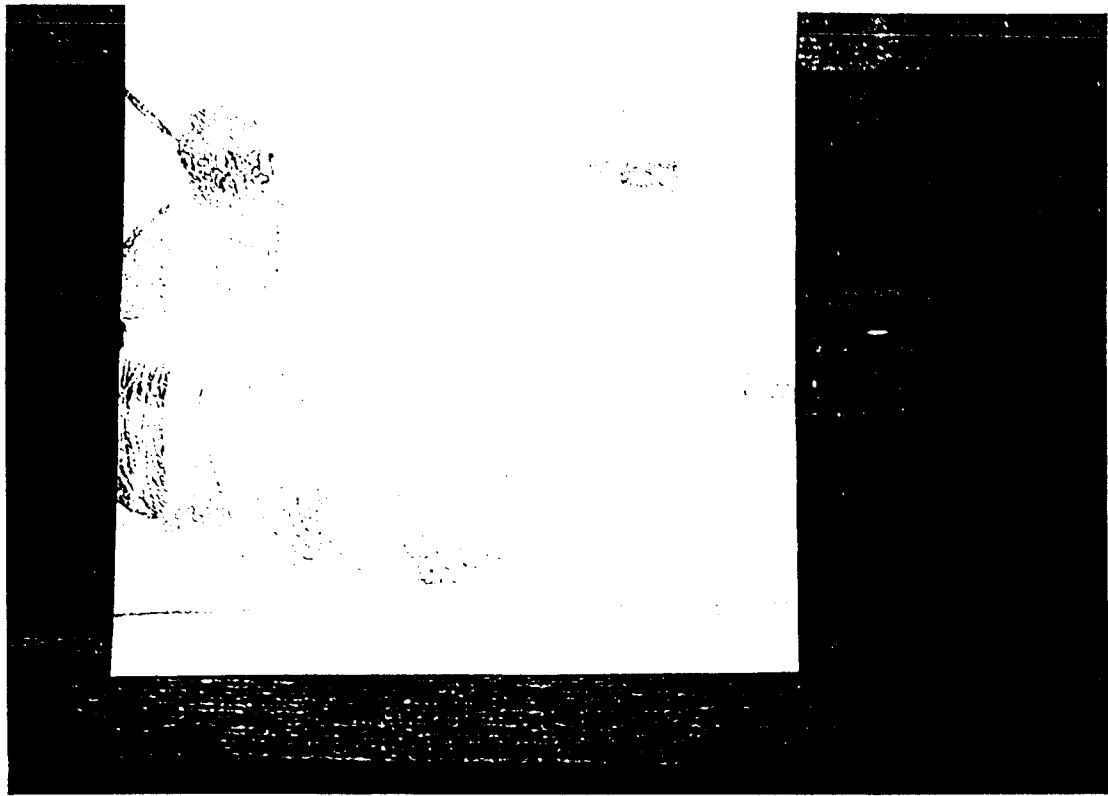
The cranberry industry in Massachusetts began in the 17th century when the Indians of Cape Cod and Southeastern Massachusetts gathered wild cranberries and used them for pemmican, a food and for medicinal purposes. The Indians cultivated them because the natural supply met their needs.

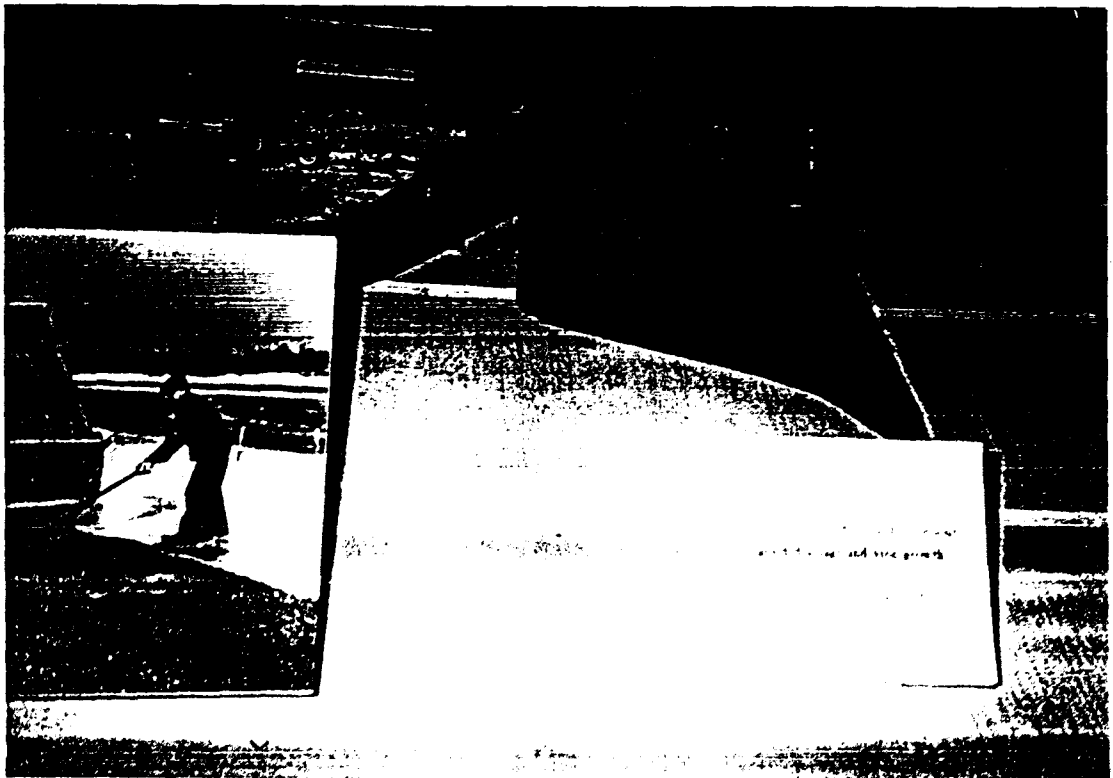
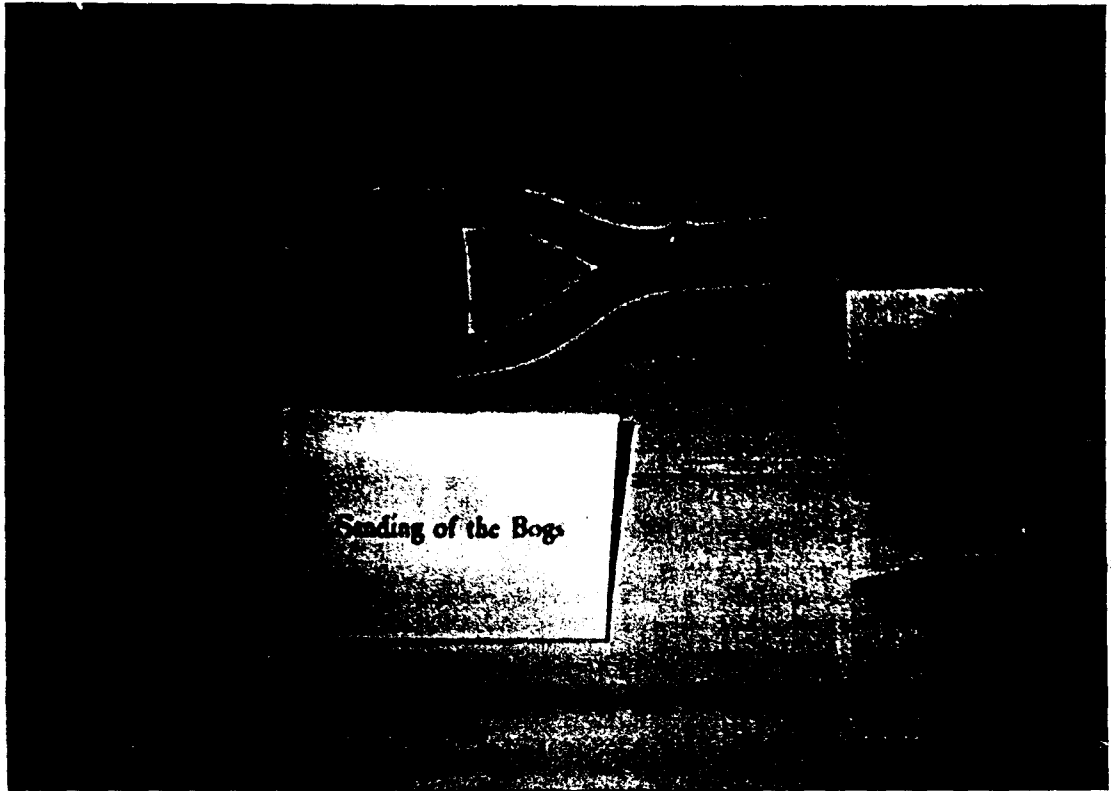
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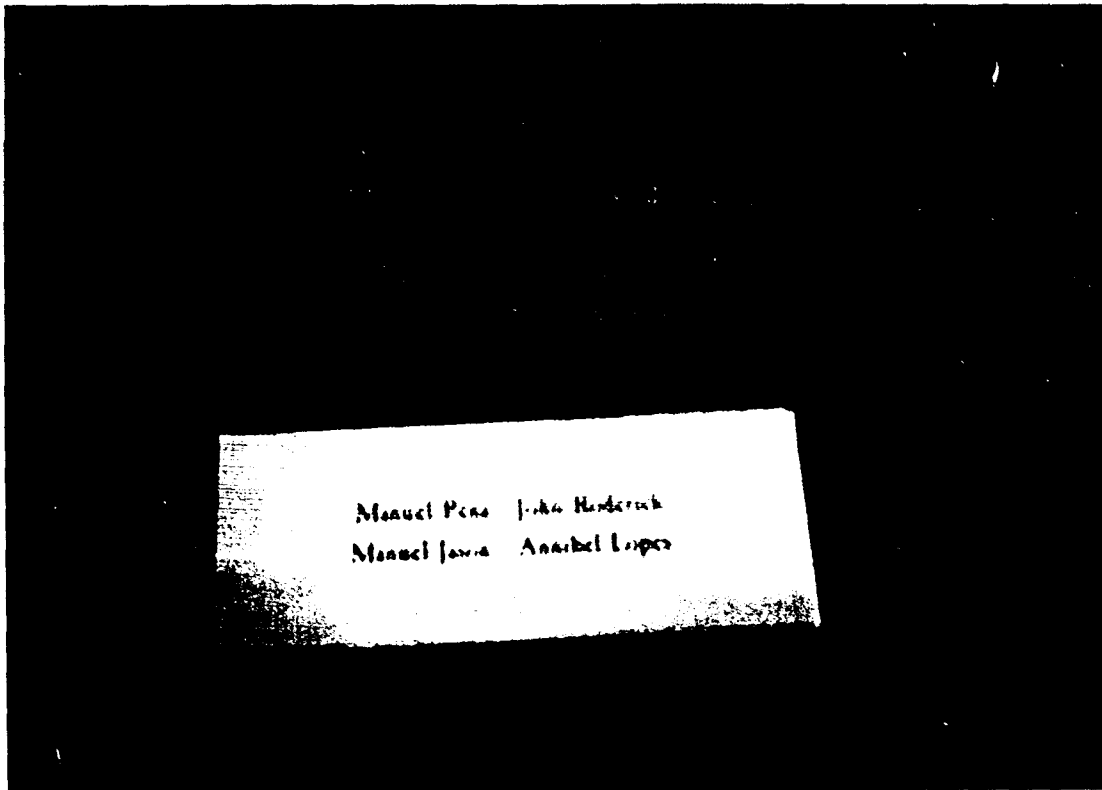
The Indians of Cape Cod and Southeastern Massachusetts gathered wild cranberries and used them for pemmican, a food and for medicinal purposes. The Indians cultivated them because the natural supply met their needs.

W. Photos by
Victoria Pires Hester
3-9/95



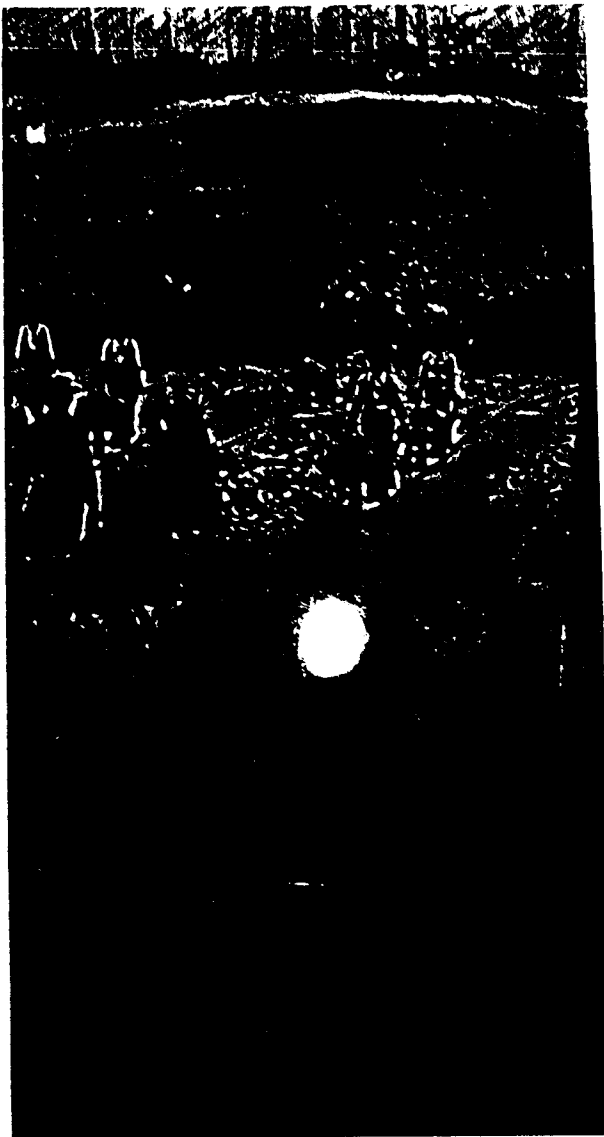


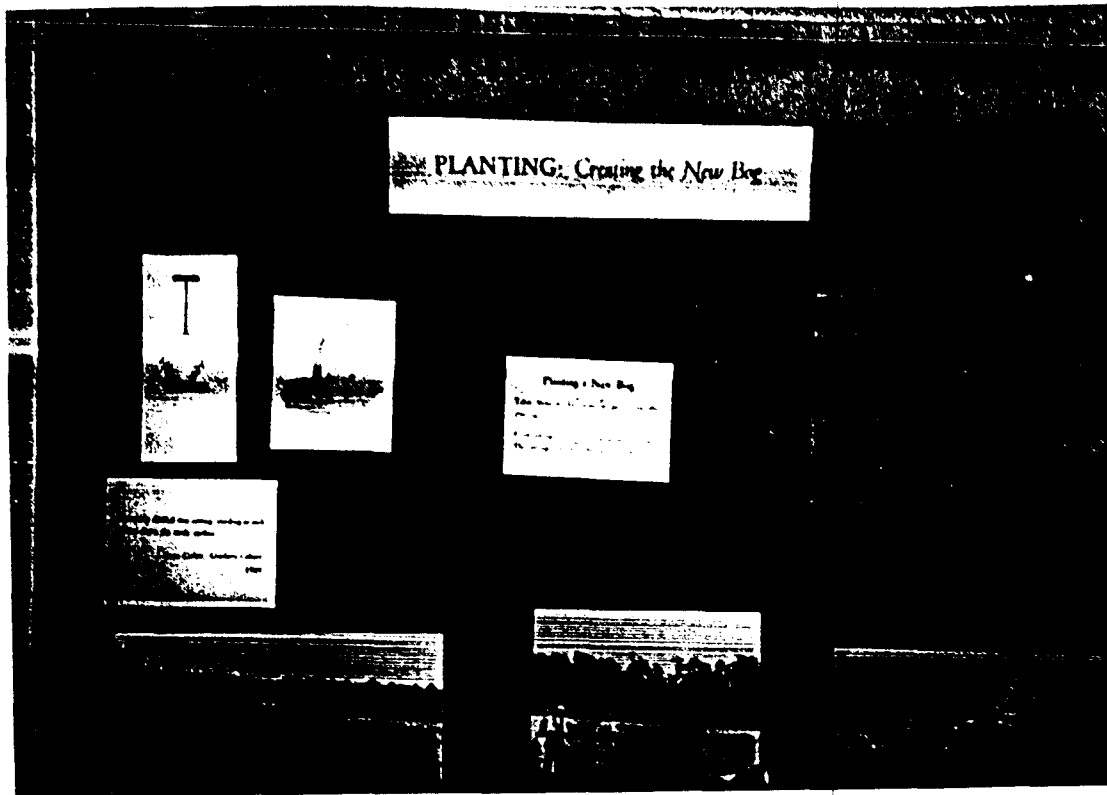


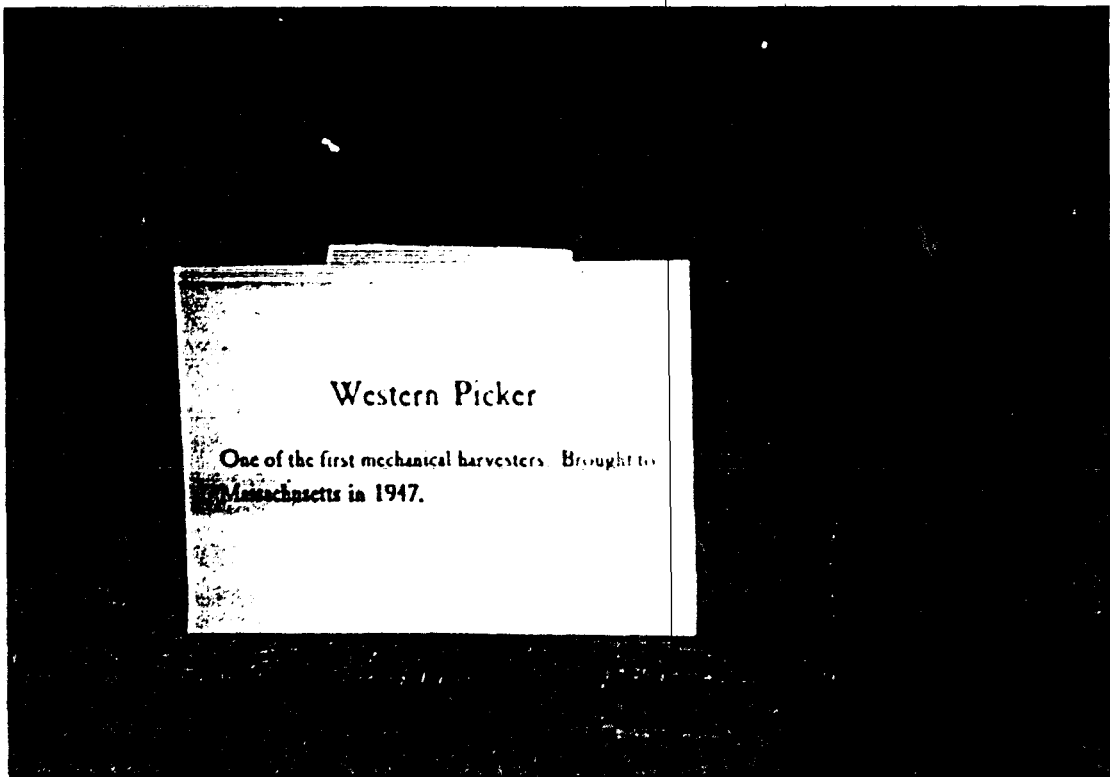
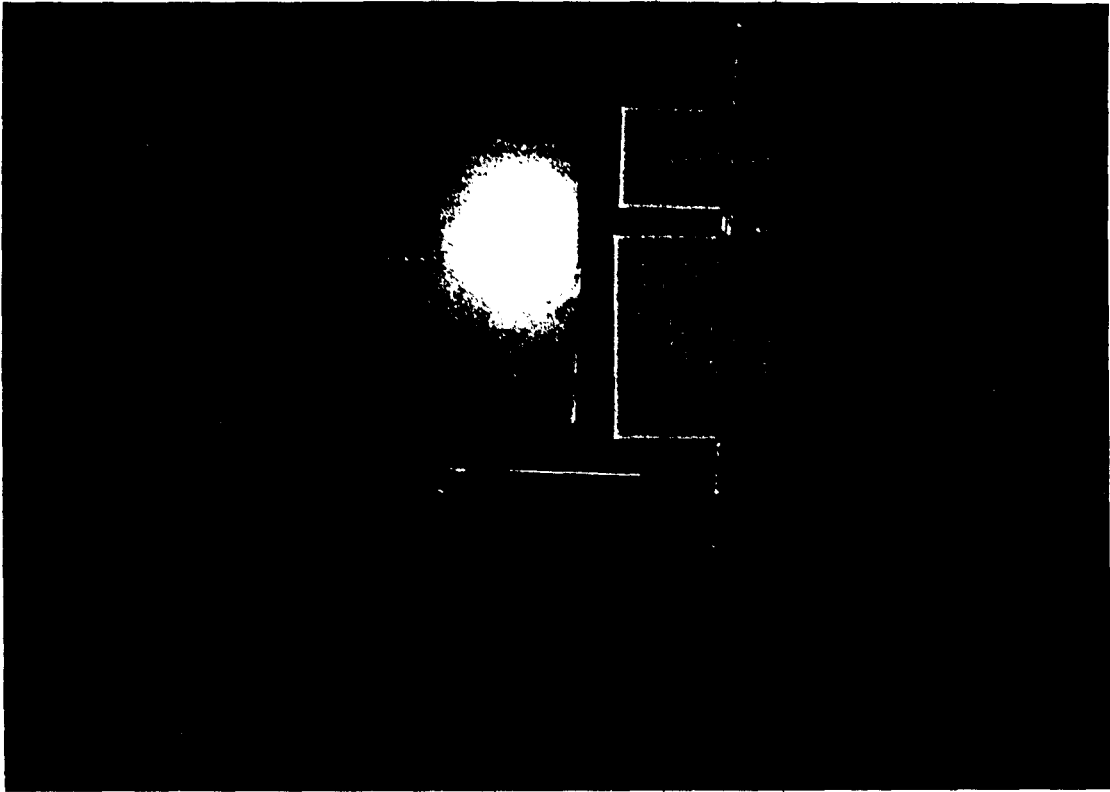


Manuel Pena John Hoderick
Manuel Jara Anabel Lopez









Western Picker

One of the first mechanical harvesters. Brought to
Massachusetts in 1947.

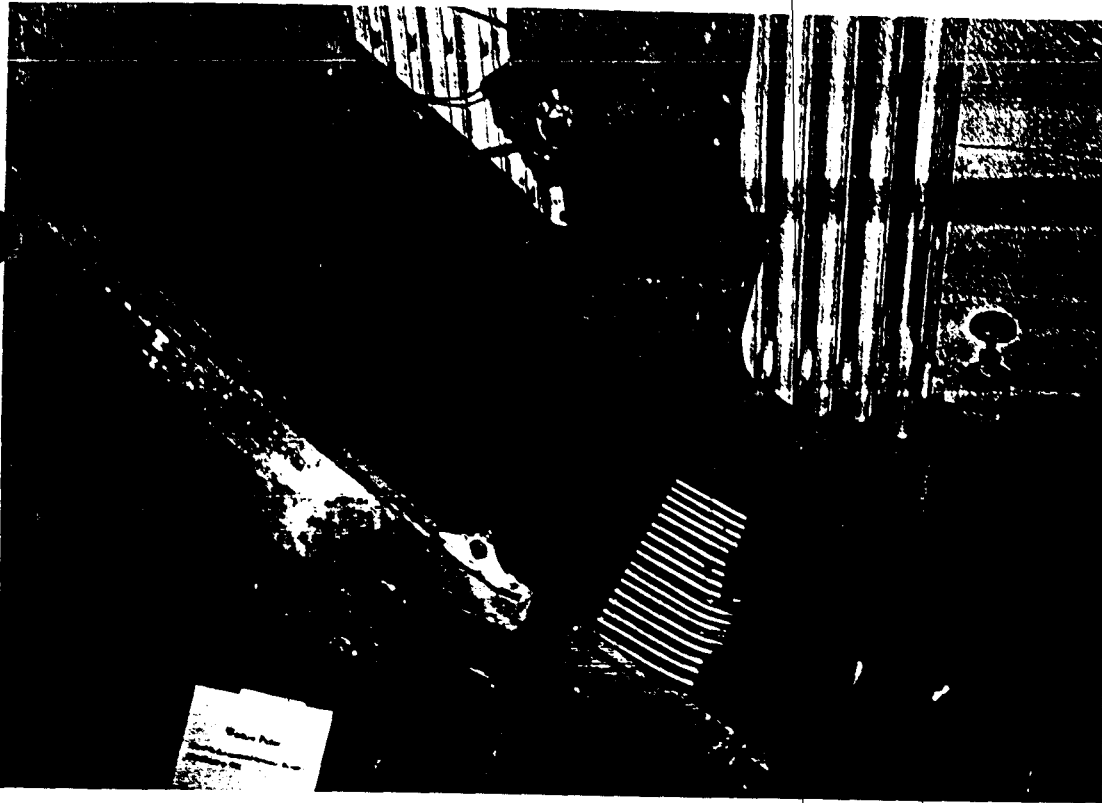


Photo 1
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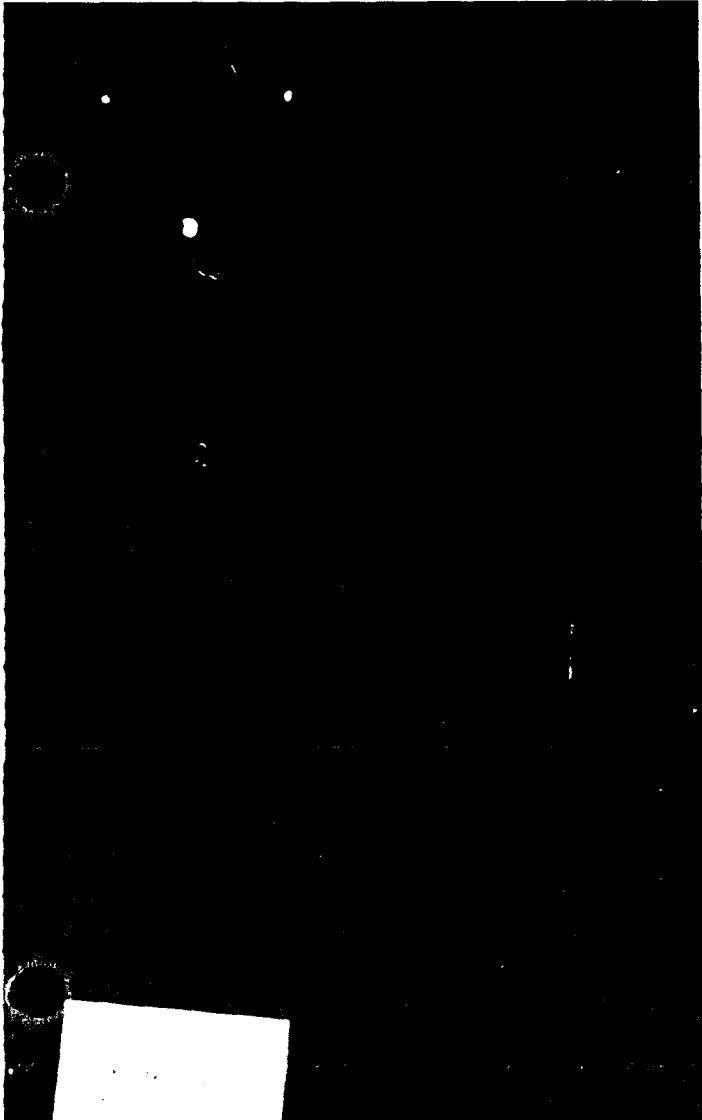


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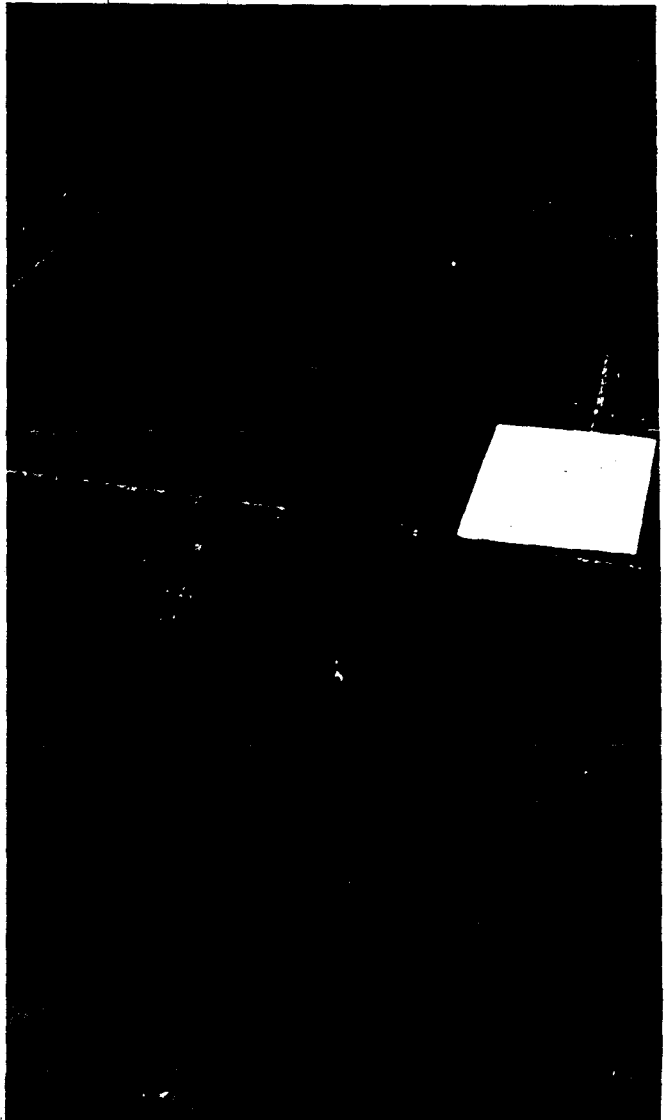
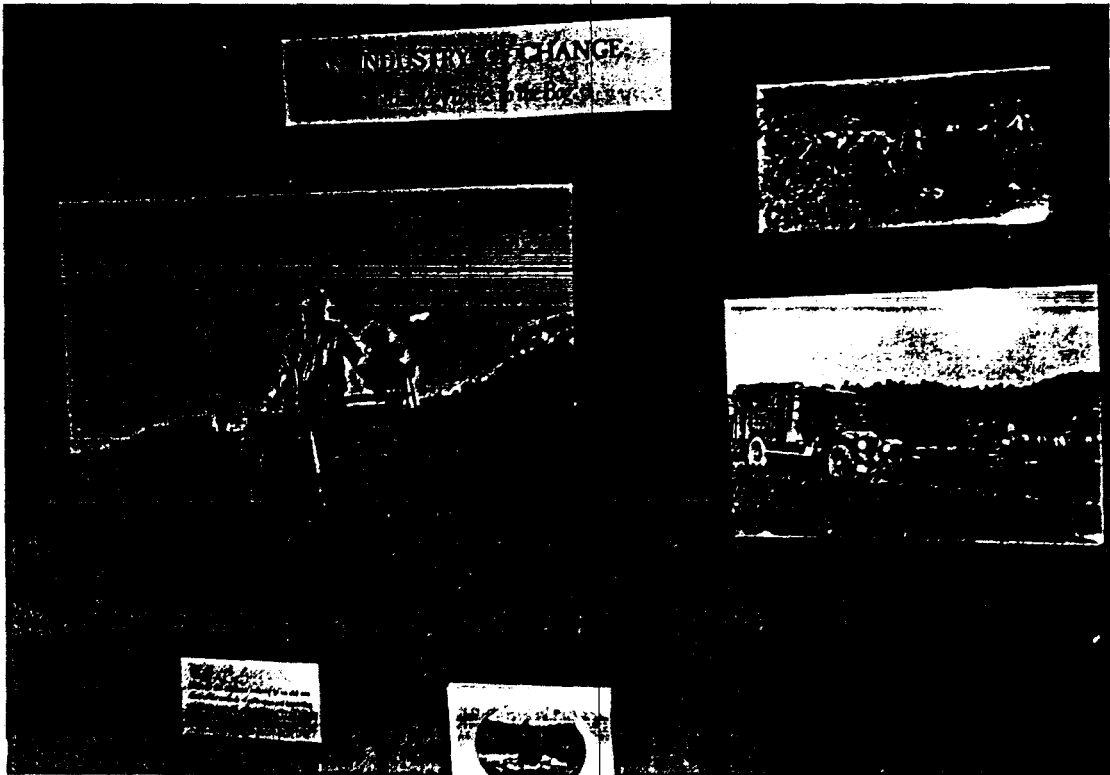


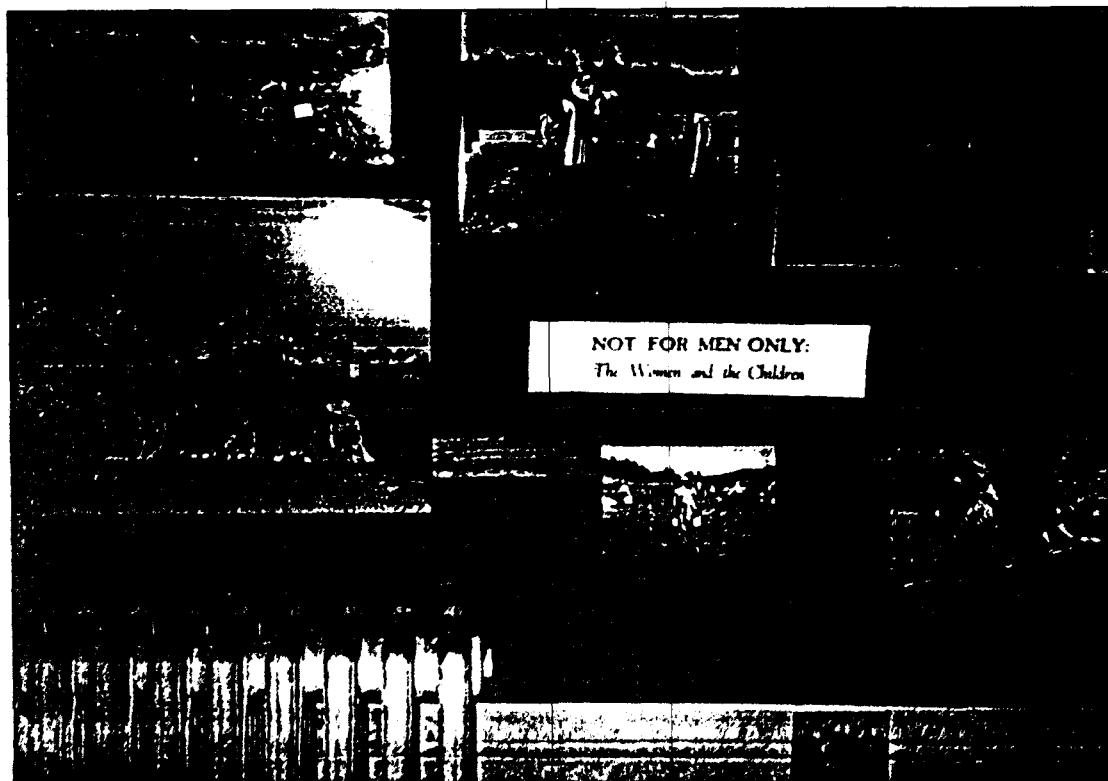
Photo 3
[Illegible text]

This wheel-off rig was made by blacksmith
Walter Rowley of West Wareham. He also made
coops and other items used in cranberry
winning. He was the father of Dr. Harold
Rowley of Harwich Port, who, as well as
being a medical doctor, grew cranberries.
Owned by his grandson, Herb Rowley.





CRANBERRIES BY THE BARS
The Capings



NOT FOR MEN ONLY:
The Women and the Children





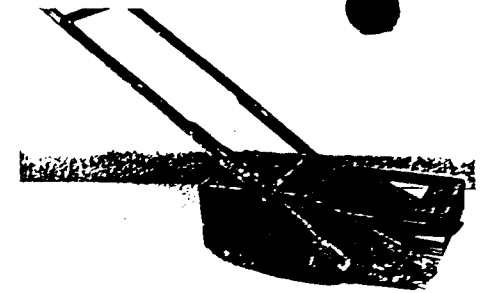
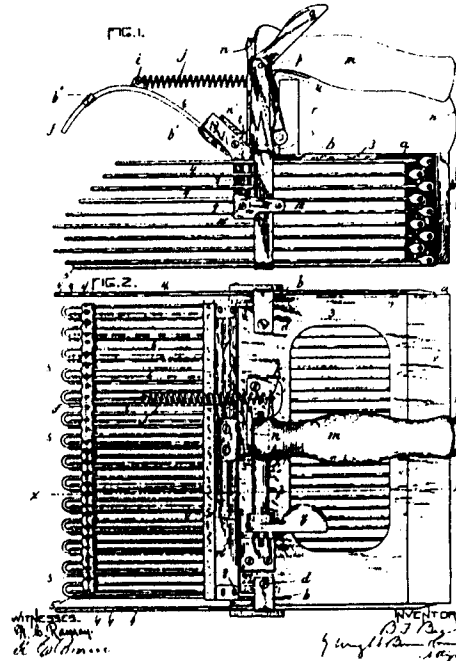
houses into storage sheds, garages or machine shops for maintaining their equipment. Here one can find state-of-the-art technology alongside idle antiquity. One thing is evident everywhere: Little comes from the assembly line of John Deere or International Harvester. Gary Western, manager of the Federal Furnace Cranberry Company, explains why:

We make almost all of our equipment. I just finished making this water-reel harvester. We don't patent anything. Hell, everyone makes

Scoop in Storage at Salt Park Museum



No Model. B. F. BEE. 2 Sheets—Sheet 1
 CRANBERRY PICKER.
 No. 410,307. Patented Sept. 3, 1889.



d.

A harvesting machine from the early 1900s. This machine, pushed along the bog like a lawn mower, had levers attached to the handle bar. When squeezed, the levers pulled two wires controlling the teeth on the harvesting bar, causing the teeth to trap the berries against the bars and toss the berries down. (Ocean Spray Cranberries, Inc.)

Top left: The "snap machine" or "snap scoop." (Engraving from L. H. Bailey, Standard Cyclopedia of Horticulture, 1928)

An engraving of the Bee snap machine, patented by Benjamin Bee of Harwich in 1889. Bee's machine worked on much the same principle as the Lumbert snap, but in his patent application Bee boasted of certain improvements "whereby the strength, durability, and efficiency of the apparatus are increased. . . ." He assigned his patent rights to Emulous Small, A.D. Makepeace and George F. Baker, three cranberry men known for their business acumen. Ironically, however, the Bee snap disappeared almost immediately. There are no pictures of it in use, and in a 1942 note to John C. Makepeace about the Bee, William Makepeace asked, "Were any of these made up? I never saw one." He wondered how much the assignees paid for the patent rights. (Courtesy of Nancy Davison)

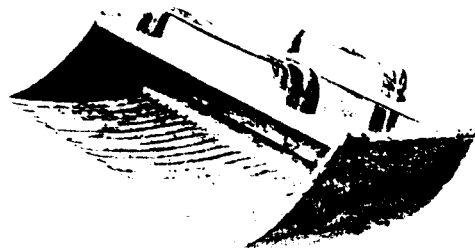
Picking with a long-handled scoop on a Makepeace bog in Wareham, 1938. This device was the invention of Arthur Atwood of South Carver. Not very many of these were made or even seen because they were slow. As one former scooper pointed out, "You couldn't make any money with it." (Ocean Spray Cranberries, Inc.)

their own anyway. . . You take ideas from here or there, but you make it the way it suits your purpose. We've been making all of our equipment for years. I've designed a lot of it, but we all work on the same ideas and techniques. . . until someone else comes up with a better one. For example, this water-reel—they started this in Wisconsin, but we changed it by adding the ditch reel. You won't find anything on these bogs made by the big companies. They wouldn't bother. Christ, if John Deere or one of those companies tried to make machinery for the cranberry industry, they wouldn't sell more than 50 of a kind. So we make our own.

The Snap Machine

The first major breakthrough in the growers' pursuit of a harvesting machine that would eliminate their dependency on a large labor force, and improve productivity, was Daniel Lumbert's invention of the "snap machine" or snap scoop in 1887. The Lumbert snap consisted of a

CRANBERRY HARVEST (1990)
 Joseph D. Thomas, Editor
 New Bedford MA: Spinner
 Publications

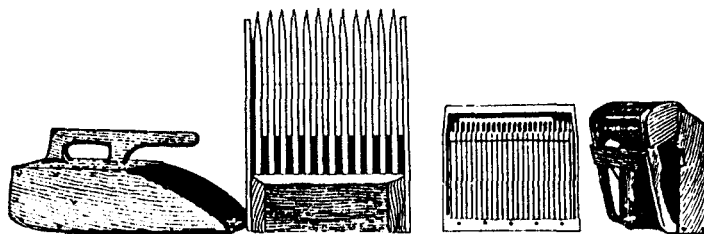


The Whaler scoop, made by the A.D. Makepeace Company. The Whaler scoop was the preferred tool of Massachusetts pickers. Its long wooden teeth extended to the back of the box framework, making the bottom of the scoop virtually all teeth and giving the operator a broader sweep of the vines. The Whaler scoop had two handles and anywhere from 16 to 24 teeth, although 18 teeth was most common.

The Makepeace Company had its scoop shop in an old wooden building on Main Street in Wareham. There, Ricky Kiernan recalls, he and Ernie Hennes, Walter Heleen and Everett Niemi learned to build the scoop from the master, Mr. Briggs. They would go to Charlestown, to a lumberyard by the waterfront, and select a wide-grained rock maple for the teeth and white poplar for the handles. At the shop, they would cut the wood up, drill two metal rods through the teeth to hold them together and put rods between each tooth for spacing, holding them together in a vice. This was done to insure the proper shape when the wood dried. (Ocean Spray Cranberries, Inc.)

Center: An engraving from *Cranberry Culture*, by F.C. Corbett, showing side and bottom views of two "cranberry picking devices," 1903. The right views show the snap scoop, the two left views an early, hand-made scoop. Before 1900 most scoops were made by the grower or by a local carpenter. The teeth were usually straight and mounted on a block so that when they were pushed into the vines they had to be lifted out or pulled back in a separate motion. Unlike rocking scoops (most scoops manufactured after 1910), they could not be worked in one continuous motion.

Right: The Banner scoop, made by the A.D. Makepeace Company. The Banner scoop was a New Jersey favorite. It had metal or wooden teeth (New Jerseymen preferred metal) and one handle. Scoops made by the Makepeace Company were rented to pickers for \$3, which was refunded when the worker returned the scoop at the end of the season. The last



metal box with 6-inch-long teeth extending from the bottom of the front side. The top and sides were hinged with a movable front, held in place by a spring. Snap scooping was a one-handed operation; the spring was worked by the thumb and the handle was held in the fingers. The teeth were shoved into the vines and the front was sprung to them, pulling the berries into the box as the machine was withdrawn.

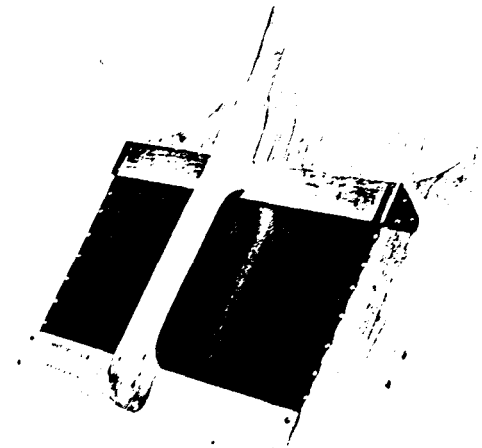
The snap scoop didn't break off as many vines as did the larger wooden scoop, because the teeth were retracted after they grabbed the berries. It was used primarily on younger bogs, whose vines had not become thick and matted. On the denser vines, the snap was difficult to operate because of the thumb and wrist movement needed to operate the mechanism.

The Scoop

First introduced by individual growers in the 1890s, the scoop appears to be a descendent of the Maine and Norwegian blueberry scoops. According to Joseph White, a cranberry scoop was used in New Jersey as early as the 1850s, when the wild Jersey bogs were regarded as public property. This scoop, which he neither described nor illustrated, "combed the berries off, and also pulled out large quantities of old vines and dead grasses," which resulted in higher-yielding bogs.

The most common scoops had round wooden teeth 12 inches long and a half-inch in diameter. They were set far enough apart to comb through the vines but close enough together to trap the berries.

Working from the shore inward, scoopers crouched on their hands and knees with one hand on the top handle and the other on the bottom handle. They plunged the scoop into the vines just below the fruit and pushed along the nap of the bog in a rocking motion so that the berries fell back into the scoop's box.

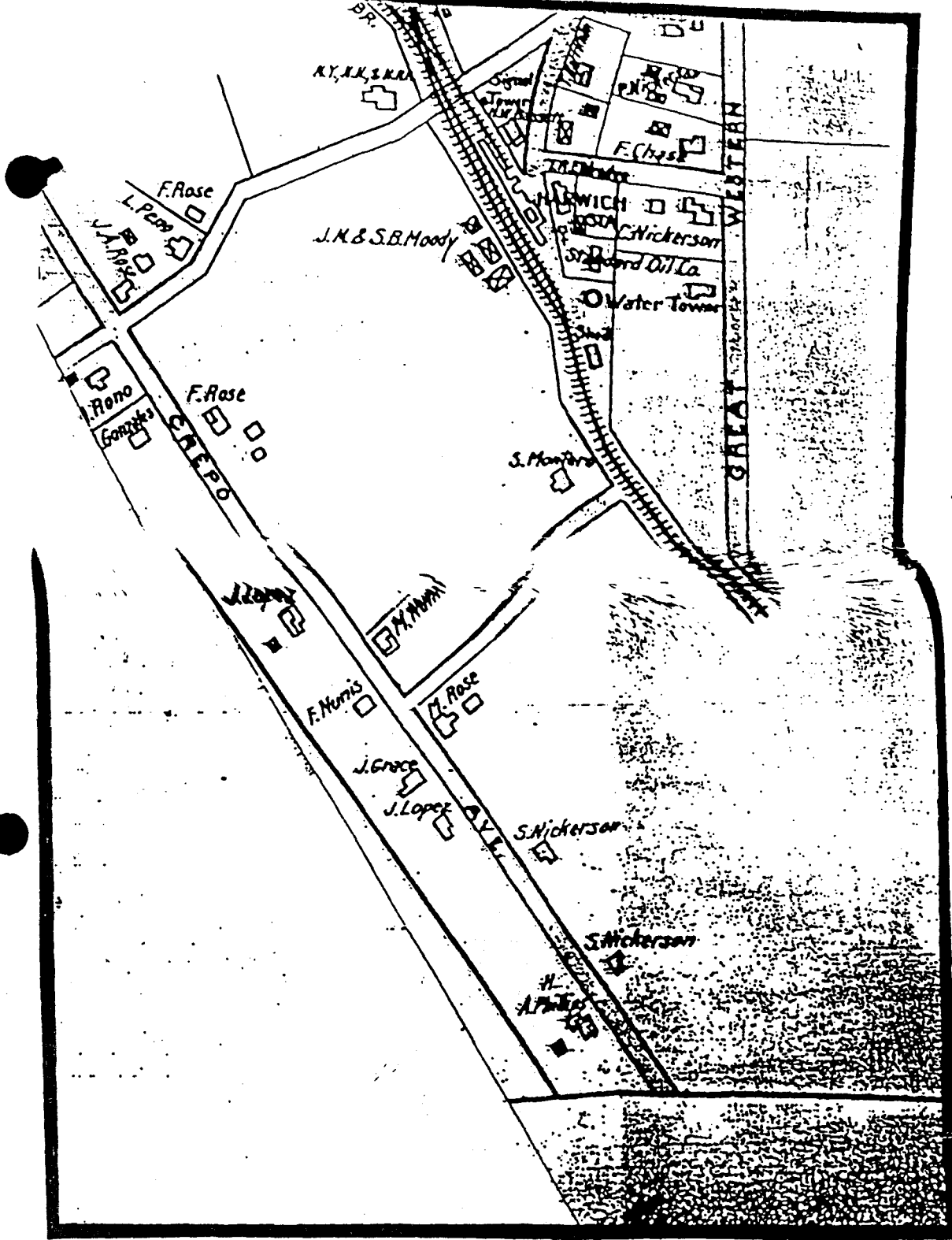


manufacturers patented & began producing them. A.D. Makepeace Company made the Whaler and Banner scoops; R.A. Everson of Hanson called theirs the Cape Cod Cranberry Picker; and Hayden, Bailey, Rowley, Buckingham and others all had their versions.

Ricky Kiernan, a foreman for the Makepeace Company who made hundreds of scoops, says that the Whaler was the most popular in Massachusetts. It was a two-handled rocking scoop with maple teeth, spruce sides and white poplar handles.

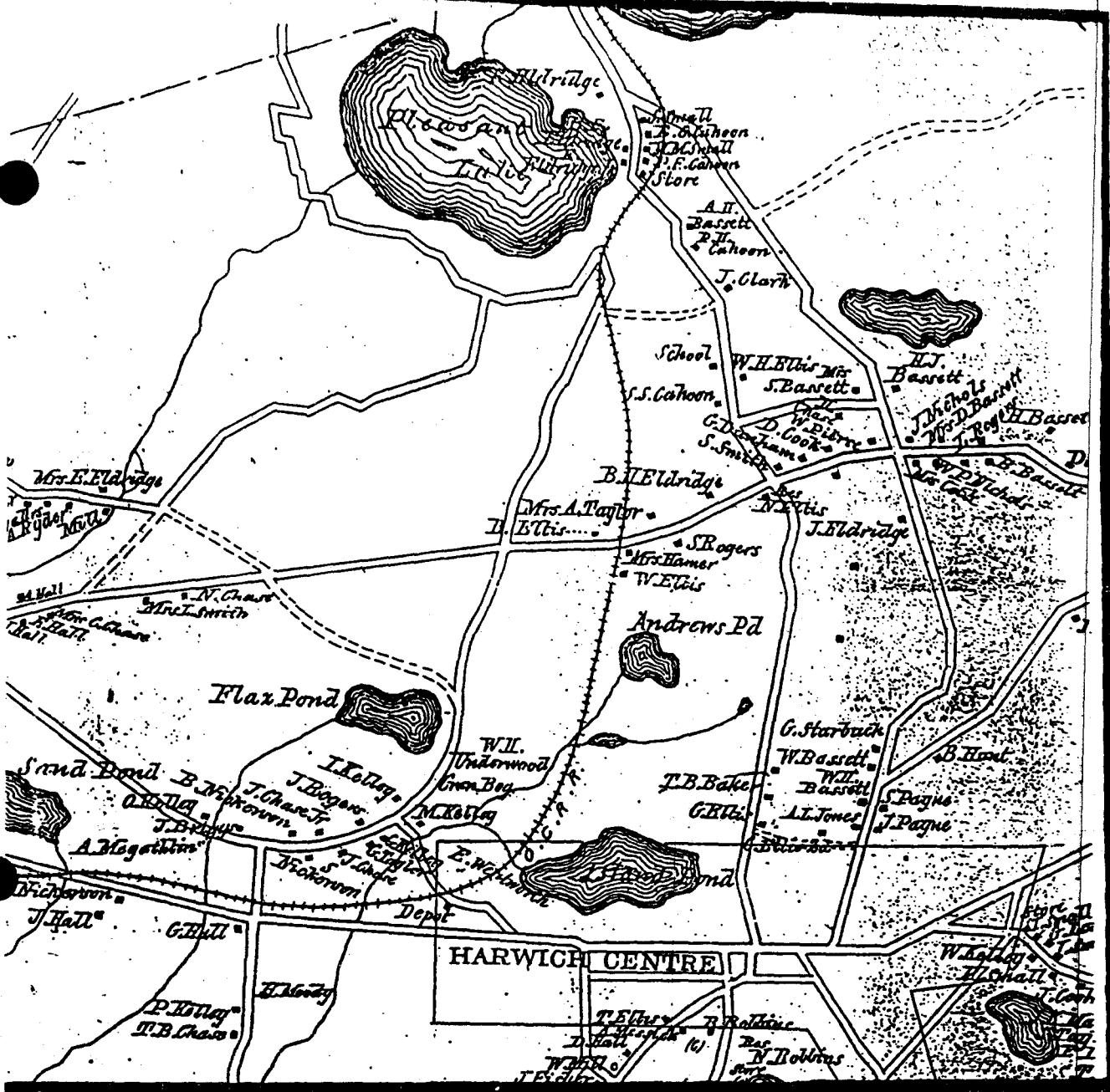
Large cranberry companies that employed picking gangs assigned scoops to pickers every morning and collected them at the end of the day. Pickers paid to rent the scoops and were usually responsible for their maintenance. The scoops were numbered and branded with the company name. Often someone was hired full time to keep the scoops in working order.

The practicality of the cranberry scoop for years eliminated the need for a mechanical harvester. As long as labor was affordable and reliable, the scoop was satisfactory, as it was efficient and did minimal damage to the vine. However, since scoop-picking was labor intensive, growers began to feel too dependent on the unstable conditions of the workplace—labor relations, wage demands and labor shortages were a nuisance, especially during harvest time. The ideal solution was a machine that would eliminate the large workforce and harvest the crop cleanly and quickly. While growers in the western states were turning more toward wet-harvesting, Massachusetts growers, convinced that the dry-harvested fresh-fruit crop would continue to be their bread and butter,



Map of Harwich Center from the Atlas of Barnstable County
1880

Note that present day Kelley or Main Street was called Crepo Avenue.



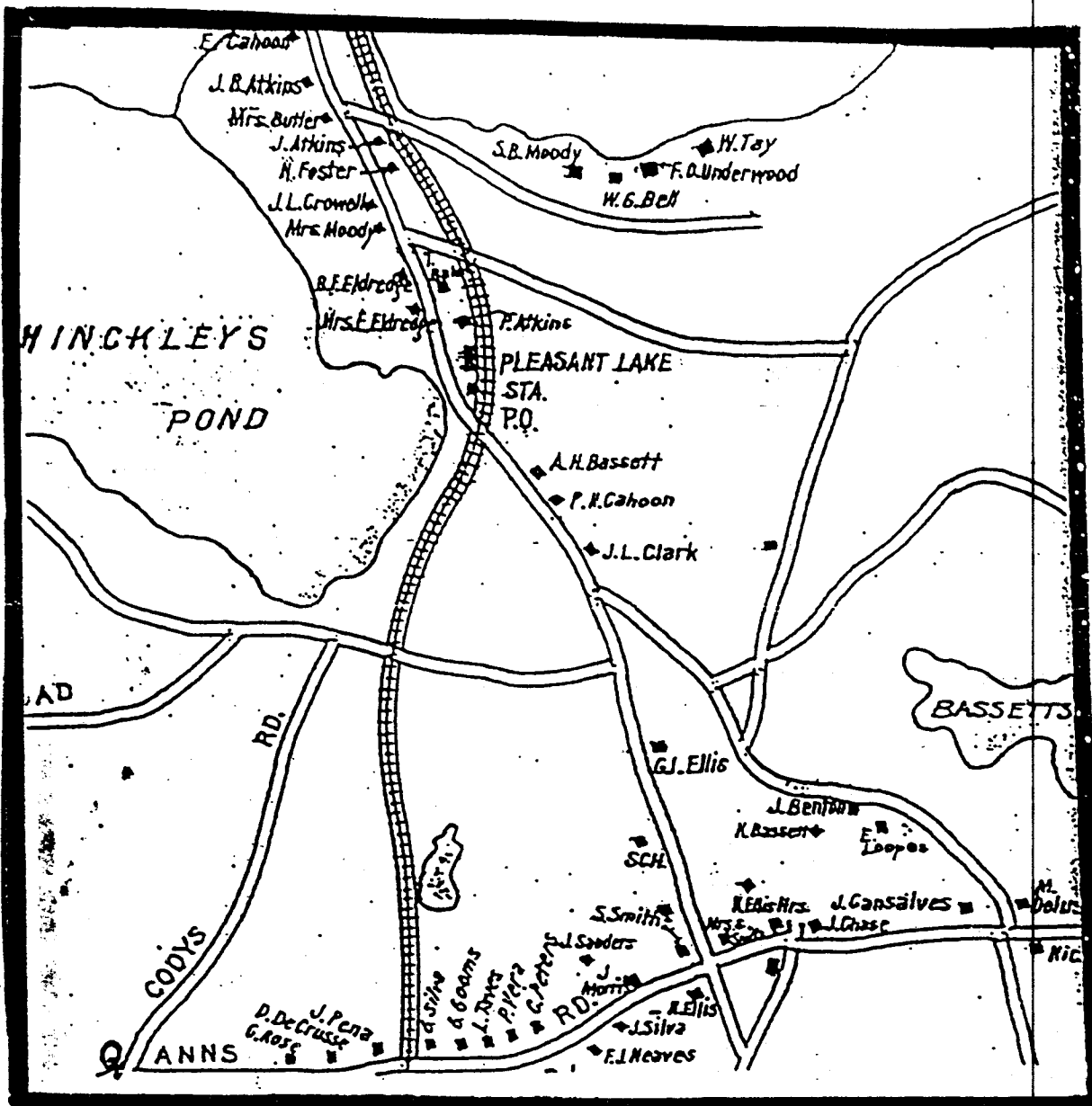
Map of Harwich Center from the Atlas of Barnstable County

1887

Note the surnames of property owners along Queen Anne Road south of Bassetts Pond.

To BECKY JOSEPH

DUPLICATE copy -



Map of Harwich Center from the Atlas of Barnstable County

1907

Note the change of ownership to people with Portuguese surnames along Q. Anns Road (Queen Anne's Road) south of Bassetts Pond.

BIRTHS.—CONTINUED. PORTUGUESE.

DATE	NAME OF CHILD	NAME OF PARENTS
Feb. 1	Male (stillborn)	Gideon Gomes, Mary Ann Pires
29	Game Gomez	William Gomes, Rose Monteiro
Mar. 3	Raoul Lopes	John Lopes, Matilda Rose
4	Evelyn V. Lomba	Antonio Lomba, Julia Lomba
11	Joaoquin Silva	Gordon Silva, Maria A. Silva
24	Louisa Pina	Frank Pina, Angeline Monteiro
29	Matilda DeSouta Andrade	John DeSouta Andrade, Alexandrina Fernand
May 7	Bernice Lopes } twins	John M. Lopes, Rosa Nunes
7	Beatrice Lopes }	
17	Maria DeCruz	Daniel DeCruz, Candida Silva
17	Manuel Monteiro	Grigolio Monteiro, Constancia Monteiro
June 3	Antonio Peters	Joseph Peters, Julia Perry
9	Ida Gomes	Isaac Gomes, Isabel Monteiro
28	Olivia Rose	William Rose, Julia Rose
Aug. 2	Emma Gomes	John Gomes, Jennie Grace
3	Anna Variz	Anotio Varz, Julia Diaz
10	Joseph Gomes	Manuel Gomes, Felmenia Diaz
22	Jose Graci	Joseph Grace, Catharina Silva
Sep. 16	Florinda Lopes } twins	Manuel Lopes, Florinda Lopes
	Louisa Lopes }	
21	August Grace	John Grace, Isabel Lopes
Oct. 7	Lidia M. Silva	Manuel G. Silva, Leopoldina L. Silva
16	Carolina Pena	Severino Pena, Maria Silva
30	John Rose	Gideon Rose, Catharina Rose
Nov. 7	Male (stillborn)	Lewis Nunes, Mary Naves Leitton
Dec 8	Maria Rosa	Frank Rosa, Carlotta Fernand
27	Jennie Gomes	Gideon Gomes, Marion Perry

Copy of page recording the births to Portuguese residents of
 Harwich from Annual Town Report for the Town of Harwich for

1904.

Town Clerk's Report.

TOWN CLERK'S REPORT OF BIRTHS

Recorded in the Town of Harwich in the year 1905.

DATE	NAME OF CHILD.	NAME OF PARENTS.
Jan. 16	Sears	Bartlett M. Sears & Daisy M. Cotell
25	Benj. Thomas Ferguson	Hugh R. Ferguson & Clara P. Sears
Feb. 13	Howard Cleoric Cahoon	Cleoric H. Cahoon & Mertis Perry
16	Theodore Harlin Wood	John T. Wood & Esther M. Handren
Mar. 26	Margaret Vernon Johnson	Frederick E. Johnson & Ethel V. Eldridge
29	Female	Rhoda Simmons
Apr. 30	Dorothy Carter Kelley	Walter Kelley & Bertha Carter
May 22	Phoebe Elizabeth Sears	Benjamin Sears & Sara Ethel Jordan
June 18	Kenneth Earle Buck	Joshua E. Buck & Bertha Rogers
July 2	Norman Obed Nickerson	Arthur Nickerson & Kate Chase
28	Marjory Bearse Jerauld	Ermond G. Jerauld & Luella H. Ryder
Aug. 7	Elinor Winslow Harding	Edwin G. Harding & Junietta Crowell
11	Lillian Cristell Bearse	Augustus W. Bearse & Lillie T. Eldridge
Oct. 13	(Stillborn) Ellis	Frank Ellis & Alma Eldridge.
19	Emily Doane Phillips	Arthur F. Phillips & Emma Eldridge
27	Carroll Francis Doane, Jr.	Carroll F. Doane & Hope Nickerson
Nov. 15	Sherman Freeman Bassett	Sherman F. Bassett & Eunice Marchant
24	Nickerson	Wilfred A. Nickerson & Mary Fitzgerald
17	Charles F. Clifton Bassett	Charles B. Bassett & Rachel Cook
Dec. 3	Lester Harrington Bassett	Benjamin H. Bassett & Delia Crosby
9	Eldridge	Harry B. Eldridge & Laura A. Handy
3	Nickerson	D. M. Nickerson, Jr. & Emaline Baker
14	Charles Leland Holmes	Charles D. Holmes & Eunice Kendrick
25	Mary Elizabeth McNeil	Roderick McNeil & May E. Davis

Births Continued—Portugee.

DATE	NAME OF CHILD.	NAME OF PARENTS.
Jan. 5	Nellie Pena	Antone Pena & Jennie Forte
8	Jennie Nunes	Frank Nunes & Amelia Sena
11	Manuel Fernand	John Fernand & Amelia Correy
Feb. 14	John Pena	Eugene Pena & Lottie Rose
19	Nellie Rose	John Rose & Amelia Rose
Mar. 5	(Stillborn) Gomes	John C. Gomes & Carrie Monteiro
Apr. 15	Mary J. Monteiro	Caesar Monteiro & Jennie Fernand
June 27	Theodore Pierce	John Pierce & Mary Silva
July 19	Olivia Rose	Manuel Rose & Annie Roderick
28	Julio Gomes	Manuel Gomes & Fannie Dias
Aug. 8	Amelia Lomba	Antone Lomba & Julia Viera
Sept. 3	Laura Lomba	Manuel Lomba & Gertrude Lomba
19	Elizabeth Francis	Nicholas Francis & Annie Lomba
26	Isabella Martin	William Martin & Caroline Dias
Oct. 8	Minnie Perry	John Perry & Mary Andrade
15	Dominga Perry	John Perry & Mary Pena
Nov. 5	Amelia Pierce	Albert Pierce & Angelina Augustine
19	Eva Leslie	Frank Leslie & Flora Cosmo
Dec. 6	Manuel Rose	William Rose & Julia Pena
14	Rose Lopes	John Lopes & Rose Nunes
22	Francis Reno	Antone Reno & Balbino Gomes

Copy of pages recording the births to Portuguese residents of Harwich from the Annual Town Report for the Town of Harwich for 1905. Note the change of designation from Portuguese in 1904 to "Portugee" in 1905.

BIRTHS.—Continued.

DATE	NAME OF CHILD	NAME OF PARENTS
1907		
May 11	Charlotte Adeline Chase	James H. Chase, Lottie Spindle
18	Helen, Benton Hall	Charles F. Hall, Jr., Mary E. Connors
24	Theodore Clifton Holmes	Charles D. Holmes, Eunice E. Kendrick
24	Theron Clinton	" " " " " "
25	Howard Brett Bassett	Charles B. Bassett, Rachael K. Cook
June 4	Ernest Randall Emery	Frank H. Emery, Florence B. Ellis
5	Herbert Lois Long	Abner L. Long, Fanny M. Clark
8	Bassett	Emma E. Bassett
17	Isalah Chase	Christopher C. Chase, Kate M. Baker
18	Clara Francis Rogers	Otis J. Rogers, Beulah Bogus
20	Ruth Reed Sisson	Harvey Sisson, Mary A. Nickerson
Ju 4	Marion Mildred Chase	Joseph W. Chase, Reliance E. Ellis
23	Leon Ernest Latch	John Latch, Euphemia Nickerson
23	Winthrop Freeman Kelley	Walter W. Kelley, Bertha Carter
Aug 7	Died nameless. Harding	Edwin G. Harding, Junieta Crowell
Sep 15	Elizabeth Frances Bassett	Benjamin Bassett, Myra T. West
15	Madeline Woodhouse	
28	Leon Jennings Kendrick	Wm. N. Eldredge, Mary T. Woodhouse
Oct 30	Salome Marion Chase	Reuben D. Kendrick, Eliza A. Nickerson
Nov 29	Died nameless. Larkin	Caleb Chase, Elizabeth Priestly
30	Ivan Henry Small	Peter S. Larkin, Margaret Lee
Dec 14	Higgins	George L. Small, Evelyn M. Small W. H. L. Higgins, Rosanna Lee

Births Continued.—PORTUGEE.

DATE	NAME OF CHILD	NAME OF PARENTS
1907		
Jan 14	James Peter Santigo	Joseph Peter Santigo, Annie Andrew
27	Laura Gomes	John Gomes, Jennie Gomes
Apr 5	Mary Rose	William Rose, Julia Pena
Aug 4	Dominga Grace	John Grace, Isabel Lopes
4	Lucy Ramos	Joseph Ramos, Julia Perry
12	Vilneta Rose	John Rose, Amelia Rose
Nov 5	Nellie Gomes	Gideon Gomes, Marion Perry
7	Abron M. Silva	Manuel J. Silva, Pauline Lopes
13	Antone Lopes	John Lopes, Justina Roderique
Dec 26	Amos Gomes	Manuel Gomes, Fanny Dias
28	Manuel Gonsalves	John Gonsalves, Mary Montiero

Copy of pages recording births in Harwich in 1907 from the Annual Town Report for the Town of Harwich for 1907. This was the last year that "Portugee" was used and the designation Portuguese was resumed until the separate listing of births was discontinued in 1922.

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- c. Photographs (copies and originals)
Pamet Cranberry Bog and Boghouse
Interviewees
Brooks Academy Museum "Cranberry Room",
Harwich MA
- d. Cranberry Harvest pp. 109-110, on Scoops stored in
Salt Pond Visitors Museum
- e. Cape Verdean Land Ownership in Harwich (Barker)
- f. Documentation Consent Forms (included in NPS copy only)

*With thanks and gratitude to all those who gave so generously of their time,
hospitality, and recollections ...*

FINAL REPORT PAMET CRANBERRY BOG ETHNOGRAPHIC ASSESSMENT

I. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

This Cranberry Bog Ethnographic Assessment was undertaken at the request of Dr. Becky Joseph, Regional Ethnographer at the National Park Service Boston Regional Office. It had been determined that the "cultural significance" of the Pamet Bog needed strengthening, for qualification for the National Register. The objective of this assessment was "to provide information on the history and cultural traditions of Cape Verdeans associated with the Pamet Cranberry Bog for purposes of a National Register nomination". The research would especially address "Criterion (c) (4) of the National Register Bulletin #38": "A property may be regarded as representative of a significant and distinguishable entity, even though it lacks individual distinction, if it represents or is an integral part of a larger entity of traditional cultural importance. The larger entity may, and usually does, possess both tangible and intangible components." (Undated, p. 12). The research focus was therefore directed toward defining the historical "Cape Verdean-cranberries connection" and more particularly placing the Pamet Bog within that established connection.

A key challenge in the research was related to the fact that Truro and its immediate area were not--and are not--areas of dense Cape Verdean settlement, so the immediate connection was not immediately apparent. The previously-identified Cape Verdean association was limited to the name of an Antone Sequeira who had apparently managed the Pamet bog in the late 1930's and lived in the Boghouse, and an interviewee's recollection of women coming by truck to pick; these interviewees were no longer available and records of their interviews were not found. It was only when the "ethnoscape"¹ boundaries was broadened beyond the Truro area that the specific association became more accessible. Research methods therefore included document and archival research, field and phone interviews and observation, consultation with cultural and cranberry industry experts, and demographic analysis.

¹ Appadurai, Arjun 1991 "Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology". In *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*. Edited by Richard G. Fox. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press. Pages 191-210.

In preparation, background sessions were organized by Dr. Joseph in Boston with National Park Service representatives Larry Gall, Bill Barlow, Katie Lacy, Paul Weinbaum, and Ann Tweedie on March 13, 1995. These provided a very useful broader context for the Project and for identifying possible implementation issues. My own previous research has addressed the historical Cape Verdean-cranberries association and this was used as a base for the research. The researcher's personal experience included experience in the picking of cranberries, blueberries and strawberries; it also familiarized her with the "commuting" aspect of the industry. Her hometown Wareham MA ("gateway to the Cape" and in Plymouth County) is one of the centers of the cranberry industry.

Between March 14 and June 1, 1995, over 30 field and phone interviews and follow-up interviews were arranged and conducted; the Pamet Bog and Boghouse were visited, with the expert assistance of Querino Kenneth Semedo of Wareham; and archival records, materials and artifacts at Cape Cod National Seashore Library, Salt Pond Visitors Museum, Truro Historical Society, and Brooks Academy Museum were reviewed, some copied or photographed.

This Report summarizes the research findings and defines the Pamet site as a "traditional cultural property" by identifying the historical Cape Verdean-cranberry connection, the specific Pamet association, and the important "Harwich connection". These speak directly to Pamet's "representation...of a larger entity of traditional cultural importance" (U. S. Department of the Interior, Undated page 12) and its qualification for National Register designation according to evaluation criteria (a) and (c)(4). Several management recommendations are offered. Appendices include a brief discussion of Cape Cod/Cape Verdean demographics, photos, maps, Harwich residential data, and documentation consent forms. Taped interviews and photo negatives are being submitted under separate cover.

This Report is submitted with deep thanks and appreciation to the many individuals and organizations who were responsive, interested, and supportive of both the research and the ultimate Project itself.

II. SUMMARY RESEARCH FINDINGS

The major findings of the research are as follows.

- The "cranberry-Cape Verdean connection" which is historically-based and documented applies equally well to the Cape Cod context, especially but not limited to the Harwich-Dennis area, which is also the area of origin of cranberry cultivation. This traditional connection---in both its general and specific sense--dates back to the 19th century. The fact that there are numerically few Cape Verdeans in the Truro/Wellfleet is mitigated by the corollary fact that Cape Verdeans and their descendants--like people in all of history--have travelled far and wide in pursuing opportunities, and that therefore the commuting between the Lower and Upper Cape areas for employment in the cranberry bogs was traditional. The social and research "field" therefore stretches far beyond the Truro boundaries, much like modern life itself.
- The specific Pamet-Cape Verdeans association has now been confirmed and expanded beyond the initial references. The name of Antone Sequeira was not known by either contemporary local or archival sources. However three different sources have confirmed the involvement of specific and named Cape Verdeans (now deceased) at Pamet: Gida Crowell, 89-year-old daughter of Louis A. Crowell living in the East Dennis home in which Crowell himself lived; David Sampson (87-year-old Yarmouthport man who worked for 50 years for Crowell) and his wife Olive; and Eugenho Texeira, nearly-95-year-old Harwich Cape Verdean man who himself worked in Truro bogs but not Pamet. The interview summaries will show that exact chronology, from these sources, is more difficult to pinpoint but the intersection of comments with other records suggests the early 1940's to the mid-1950's.
- These corroborated recollections reinforce the probability of even earlier Cape Verdean involvement at Pamet, which is suggested by the archival photos at the Salt Pond Visitors Museum, the history of the cranberry industry on Cape Cod, and the history of Cape Verdeans in the Harwich area going back to the latter part of the last century. In fact the Pamet-Cape Verdean connection hinges heavily on the "Harwich connection" and for that reason Harwich is the subject of brief discussion in the Report.
- Review and analysis of Truro's Vital Records for the period 1854-1976 revealed only two families of Cape Verdean ancestry during that period.

Anthony Marshall (1974) also cited this same reality. The DeLuze family was the most consistent presence and Madeline DeLuze Uter died in 1990 at 81 years of age. A well-known figure, she is remembered by a relative as being proud of showing off "my little Truro" to visitors.

- The Bog and Boghouse site and structure provide a wonderful potential for cultural education/exchange and service projects, as well as the actual commercial bog operation as a model of "organic growing". It was interesting that even the small-scale attempts already made (restoring a section, creating the panels) have generated apparently very good response from visitors and school groups. This was shared by both Frank Ackerman and Bill Burke.
- Although the two-story boghouse combining both residential and processing facilities is not typical of the "shanties" which have been historically used by many cranberry workers (Cape Verdeans, Finns, Puerto Ricans and others), the separate facilities have both been part of the Cape Verdean cranberry practices. (It has already been documented that this structure itself was constructed in two stages.) Consultant Kenneth Semedo corroborated that small Cape Verdean growers often carried out processing procedures right beside the bogs before shipping to market, and interviewee David Sampson remembers vividly the separating process at the Pamet site. The traditional implements on display and in storage at Salt Pond Museum were also familiar to Semedo and are described also in Cranberry Harvest (1990).
- My initial expectation was that the commercial bog/organic farming/leasing objectives and timetables might be somewhat at cross-purposes with the research and Project goal to identify and strengthen the broader cultural significance of the Bog and Boghouse. However, even though the schedules for the two action tracks are not necessarily congruent, it would appear that both can be integrated effectively--with careful planning and management to ensure that this happens.
- All interviewees, including the elected State Representative for the area (Shirley Gomes), expressed interest in the Pamet restoration and enhancement of its cultural dimensions. In particular, the Cape Verdean respondents indicated a strong willingness to be of assistance and to be involved in the Project. It is also true however that the sparsity of Cape Verdeans in this immediate region will require that the Cape Verdean linkage be deliberately and explicitly created and maintained. It will not happen "automatically" or "naturally"; specific management recommendations speak to this issue.

- Arrangements are apparently being made to lease the Pamet Bog to a two-party "collaborative" including the Plymouth-based Cranberry Hill Farm. Experience suggests that this kind of collaboration will be challenging to carry out. However the apparent experience and sensitivities of Robert and Christine Keese, as reflected in their proposal (1995), offer great potential that commercial and cultural/educational objectives can be fulfilled. Again careful monitoring will be important.

- The Boghouse is still in restorable condition, as seen in a walk-through up to the attic and according to expert Bill Burke. However a growing hole in the roof should be addressed, especially since this does not appear in 1989 photos. On the day of my visit there had been recent rainstorms and the interior beams were still damp. This openness to the elements only hastens the deterioration process.

- It was not possible to carry out field research in the Provincetown area during this time frame. Cape Verdean contacts were provided by other sources, and the history of Provincetown and its significant proportion of Portuguese residents suggest a denser presence than perhaps anticipated. This could also be helpful in providing a geographically-closer Cape Verdean presence for the Pamet Project.

- Further investigation would be fruitful in the areas of: demographic analysis of Cape Cod populations; the patterns and motivations for "secondary migration" within the Cape; the occupations in which the Cape's Cape Verdeans have engaged (including for example the "life saving" sector) and the typicality of "alternating" occupations depending upon the season; and official and unofficial responses to the populations of color. This would also augment the knowledge base of Cape Cod National Seashore about its human and cultural resources.

III. THE PAMET CRANBERRY BOG SITE AS A TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTY

The Pamet site is of course associated with a most important agricultural sector in northeastern New England, the cranberry industry. As part of the Lower Cape area, it is located near Dennis (in Barnstable County) which is actually the site of original cultivation of cranberries in 1816. It is also by definition part of a larger cultural context and association. Especially in New England the story of cranberries is integrally connected to the Cape Verdean and Cape Verdean-American story, and this has been historically documented and observed (Irving Demoranville 1995; Albert Jenks 1924; Marilyn B. Halter 1994; Laura Pires-Hester 1994; Joseph D. Thomas 1990). Furthermore even though the sparsity of Cape Verdeans in this geographical area makes it more difficult to corroborate the Cape Verdean involvement in the Pamet site, that becomes possible when one expands the boundaries of the research field to include Harwich and the Wareham/Marion areas and when one understands the commuting patterns (for employment) that have characterized the Cape Verdean-American diaspora experience.

Integrity of this site as a "traditional cultural property" can be clearly validated. Adult Cape Verdeans growing up in the New England area know and understand the integral relationship between cranberries and the survival and flourishing of their community, as illustrated by the field interviews for this research and other research as well. In addition the "organic" methods scheduled to be used in the restoration of the bog are equivalent to the labor-intensive "traditional" building/maintaining/harvesting practices which engaged Cape Verdean workers from the turn of the century up until the mid-20th century (and still used by very small growers). One Cape Verdean respondent, for example, stated ironically that "the old growers didn't need insecticides in the old days, they had Cape Verdeans" (for weeding, planting, manual picking etc.). Finally, because of the contemporary condition and complexion of the industry (discussed later), younger Cape Verdean-Americans have less immediate associations. Therefore, restoration of the bog and usage of "traditional" practices, combined with National Register designation and integration of the Cape Verdean aspect in Bog operations and interpretation, will help convey that contribution to the larger community as well as to younger generations of Cape Verdean-Americans.)

This Cape Verdean connection is less well-known in those areas in which Cape Verdeans are not visible (such as the Truro area), so it is necessary to elaborate on both its traditional historical significance as well as the evidence to support specific Cape Verdean association with the Pamet site. It is asserted here that together these

meet National Register evaluation criteria (a) "association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history" and (c)(4) "representative of a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction" (Bulletin 38:11).

A. The Historical Cape Verdean-Cranberries Connection

The Pamet Cranberry Bog site is inherently associated with cultural segments of our history (United States history) which are not broadly known or deeply understood: its Cape Verdean-American history and experience and the cranberry industry. Even though contemporary Cape Verdean participation in this agricultural segment is less than the historical connection might anticipate, nonetheless, the cranberry traditions are deeply rooted in Cape Verdean-American history. The cranberry industry and its traditions, like seafaring traditions, have provided one of the defining features of the Cape Verdean-American experience. This rootedness has been variously documented, from both "outsider" and "insider" perspectives:

Over and over again, and without contradiction, owners and overseers of cranberry bogs pronounce the Cape Verder, whether he picks by hand, scoop or snap, the very best harvester of cranberries and spreader of sand with the wheelbarrow on the Cape Cod bogs (1925:14).

Cape Verdeans built at least 75% of the bogs of 80-90 years ago...they did the hard work [with wheelbarrows, scoops, etc.]...those older bogs built with good wheelbarrow sanding are still the best (Irving Demoranville, Director of Cranberry Experimental Station, East Wareham MA 1/17/95).

Cape Verdeans and Cape Cod were cranberries (Eugenia Fortes, 84-year old Cape Verdean Harwich-born Hyannis resident, 3/20/95).

The Cape Verdean-American story dates back at least three centuries, as Cape Verdean men boarded New England schooners and merchant ships in order to flee colonial conditions. It has many unique features, including its being a story of "voluntary" immigration of people of color. The archipelago of ten major islands off the western coast of Africa (see next page) was by all accounts uninhabited when it was claimed by Portugal in the mid-15th century. By the end of that century the Portuguese and other Europeans had mixed with Africans brought over from the African coast to form a new and distinct people.

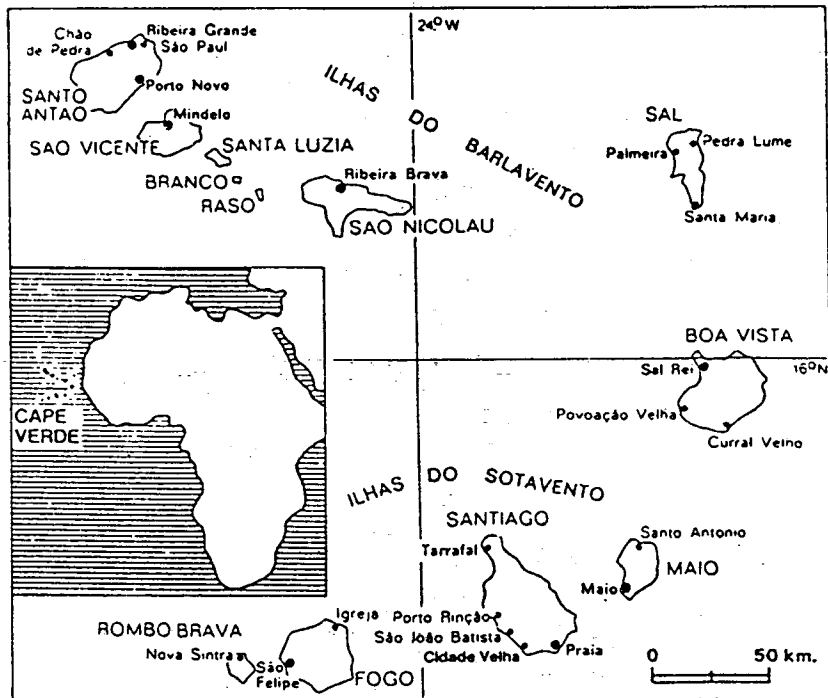


FIGURE 1: Map of Cape Verde and its Region 1980

Source: Colm Foy 1988

Cultural traditions also mixed African and Portuguese elements, with the new language crioulo being a largely spoken language with Portuguese roots and African influences. The inter-island degree of Africanization or Europeanization--of foods, of music, of language--was associated with the degree of distance from the African coast and proportionate numbers of Africans or Europeans within each island. The denser emigration of Cape Verdeans to the United States began in the mid-19th century, increasing at the turn of the century. In 1892 Antonio Coelho purchased an abandoned New England schooner and began a decades-long transatlantic "Packet Trade" in which schooners owned, led and crewed by Cape Verdeans brought people, cargo and goods back and forth between the islands and New England. During the earlier part of the 20th century some of the schooners also transported "contract laborers" from the islands to New England cranberry bogs. The Islands became politically independent in 1975, led by the brilliant liberation leader Amilcar Cabral (Amilcar Cabral 1973; Basil Davidson 1989; Colm Foy 1988).

The cranberry industry is also a cultural sector that has joined the Native American, Cape Verdean and Yankee demographic heritages of New England². Wampanoag Indians (Pamet is apparently one subgroup of the Wampanoags) had used wild cranberries for nutritional and medicinal purposes and sold them to early English immigrants. By the end of the 17th century they were part of the distinctive New England regional cuisine. Cultivation of the wild berry started in Dennis MA at about 1816, the same period as the first American consular office was established in the Cape Verde Islands. By the 1840's cultivation had begun in Harwich, and by the turn of the century cultivation had moved inward so that acreage in the adjacent Plymouth County reached 48-61% of the state's acreage. Formalization of the industry began with the Cape Cod Cranberry Growers' Association in 1888 and the Ocean Spray cooperative was formed in Onset in 1930. (Ocean Spray ranked 385 of the Fortune 500 companies and marketed about 85% of the nation's cranberry crop in 1985.) Cranberry growing began in New Jersey, Wisconsin, Oregon and Washington State by the end of the 19th century.

Sometimes called "America's only native berry" (New York Times 10/28/84:6), cranberries have played an important role in this Cape Verdean diaspora story, especially in the smaller towns northeast of the more frequent ports of entry New Bedford and Providence and increasingly at the turn of the last century as Cape

² *Cranberry Harvest* (1990), edited by Joseph D. Thomas, is an excellent volume about the origins and history of the cranberry industry. It should be noted that the volume was specially-commissioned by the Cranberry Growers Association in celebration of its 100th anniversary.

Verdeans began to arrive in greater numbers. As Cranberry Harvest shows, the cranberry workers for the first part of the industry's history were primarily the local families and communities in Cape Cod and Plymouth County and after 1870 these were joined by "Slavs from Boston, Worcester and Brockton, and Portuguese, French-Canadians and others from New Bedford, Providence and Fall River" (1990:85). By the end of the century Cape Verdean and Finnish workers would become the primary cranberry pickers--although the Finnish population seemed to be more numerous in Plymouth County than in Cape Cod's Barnstable County.

As several of the persons interviewed for this project confirmed, the cranberry sector, from Plymouth County to Cape Cod, became increasingly attractive as an option to dwindling opportunities in the urban areas of New Bedford, Providence, and Fall River. When Eugenio Texeira (Harwich MA) arrived in 1920 from Fogo in Cape Verde "there were no jobs anywhere". After ten years of travelling from New England to Ohio and Florida and back again for work, he moved to Harwich and worked on bogs until about 1936, becoming involved in road construction until his retirement in 1965. Belmira Nunes Lopes was born in 1899 in Harwich and recounts her childhood journeys from Providence to Wareham to Harwich in an autobiography written with her niece Mary Louise Nunes (1963). A remarkable Cape Verdean-American woman of individual accomplishment and public service who died in 1994, Lopes also tells of her cousin Judge George Leighton who never finished high school because of his staying out for the cranberry seasons yet who went on to Howard University, Harvard Law School and a distinguished career as a Chicago federal judge. The pattern of staying out of school was widespread and officially recognized by School Department permits in cranberry-growing towns of southeastern New England³.

³ *Hope Morrill mentioned also that this practice still continues in some parts of Maine where potato-harvesting is a vital part of the general economy as well as the livelihoods of many individual families. I recently learned that this practice was also partly responsible for my brother's involvement in the Navy and Merchant Marines. At the beginning of his last year in high school (Wareham MA) he returned to school in the late fall after the cranberry season and in his words "I realized that I had missed too many days of school, so I walked in one door and right out the other" (John Pires, Jr., 12/19/94) It was soon after that he joined the Navy; he retired about five years ago after 35 years of service of merchant tanker and tugboat service in the Merchant Marines.*

It should be noted that the "berry cycle" also included strawberry- and blueberry-picking for many Cape Verdean families; some remember getting out from school in the spring for strawberries, picking blueberries in the middle of the summer, then cranberry-picking in the fall. These other berry cultures also involved commuting patterns for many Cape Verdeans, singly and in families.

In helping to shape the Cape Verdean-American ethnic history, the cranberry connection has acquired almost an "archetypical" status, in that it has been used by many to try to define the boundaries of the Cape Verdean-American experience and opportunity. As Eugenia Fortes, who arrived from Brava in 1920 stated with conviction: "Cape Verdeans and Cape Cod were cranberries" (March 20, 1995). A Wareham MA (in Plymouth County) example suggests the sometimes confining power of this archetypical association:

Esther E. Matthews, a Guidance Counselor coming to Wareham High School in the mid-1950's, was surprised at the social segmentation she saw and challenged it. [In a retrospective documentation] she....asserted that...'contemplation of entrance to a major eastern college was viewed with alarm, as was her challenge to seriously consider fully qualified Cape Verdean Americans' for scholarship assistance (Matthews 1987:64). As she shared many years later, her insistence that a Cape Verdean-descent top graduating senior--accepted at Smith College--be considered for the highest scholarship award was met with consternation. During the deliberations, a Committee member reportedly questioned 'who will pick the cranberries if Cape Verdeans went to Smith?' (Pires-Hester 1994:91).

As this and other examples suggest, the Cape Verdean participation in cranberries has been significant enough for such a confining association to be drawn, but in fact Cape Verdeans have not allowed themselves to be overtaken by its limitations. Paradoxically the Cape Verdean rich involvement in the industry has also been widely ignored. (Interestingly enough, Anthony Marshall, who proudly identifies himself as second-generation Portuguese, makes a similar observation about the Portuguese in Truro, and presumably in Cape Cod: "In more recent accounts of Truro little has been said about these people [the Portuguese]--whether by accident or design I do not know!...Shebna Rich, in his book...says not a word about these people, yet they had been in Truro, at that time [1902-1920], some 20 years" [1974:73]). At the beginning of this research, a casual comment following an inquiry for directions in Wellfleet yielded an interesting response: "It is interesting, Cape Verdeans really did the hard work, but you never hear about them anymore".

Those who really know the cranberry history know however the Cape Verdean's centrality in that history, as the previously-cited comments by Demoranville, Fortes, and Jenks illustrate.

There are other reasons for the inaccessibility of this information and for the

contemporary image of the industry. The untutored observer would not know this history from looking at the industry today. The industry has changed dramatically, in its technology and in its complexion. The advent of mechanical pickers--going back to at least the 1940's--decreased the labor intensity and the need for manual laborers for sanding, weeding, ditch-digging, and picking; processing still requires human screeners but technology has also changed this segment so that the seasons are shorter and the processing is done more quickly⁴. (In other recent research [Pires-Hester 1995a] it was ascertained that many recent Cape Verdean immigrant women are becoming involved in screening, many commuting from nearby towns and cities--following traditional practices.)

It should also be noted that the "traditional" manual methods, "doing it the old-fashioned way"--which are proudly cited in the Keese leasing proposal and echoed by a new Cape Verdean-descent grower in Wareham (Eddie Sylvia 1/16/95)--are generally the kinds of methods used in the days prior to the mechanization of the industry and prior to the current levels of knowledge about insecticides. It was those practices which made the need for labor as intense as it was, and increasing numbers of Cape Verdean immigrants responded, often travelling many miles for the options that would help them to survive. Cape Verdeans also participated in the industry's transformation (see for example the Alfred Amado pictures with the well-known Darlington picker in Appendix c) and contemporary owners also engage in these mechanized practices.

Besides the technological changes today's cranberry picture is different because of the historical and current patterns of ownership. For a complex of reasons--including access to capital and probable discrimination in gaining loans, aspirations to return to Cape Verde, movement into other occupations, inability to financially maintain their purchases and having to sell out, being out of the original owner "networks"--the number of Cape Verdean-descent growers today is smaller than the intimate history might anticipate. (Chapter 5 of the Pires-Hester dissertation analyzes comparative ownership in Wareham MA and also provides some data on availability of loans in the 1940's [1994:91-105].

⁴ *Several Cape Verdeans currently involved (and who have long-time involvement in the industry) in the screening processes who were interviewed recently in preparation for the Smithsonian Institution's Festival of American Folklife (which in 1995 will feature Cape Verde and the Cape Verdean-American experience) reported that they have seen definite deterioration in the quality ("they don't hold as well") of berries over the years, as harvesting and processing procedures have changed.*

It is this inaccessibility that compelled Querino Kenneth Semedo (Wareham MA) to write a personal chronicle of his own and his family's experience in cranberries. He describes for example the physical details of picking:

You begin on your knees placing the scoop in the vines, sliding the teeth of the scoop into the vines. Lifting the forward handle of the scoop and holding down the rear handle, you are now causing a rocking motion...and pulling the cranberries off the vines. This is a motion that the average Cape Verdean cranberry picker performed hundreds of times during the picking season (1994:14).

While documenting each phase from building to harvesting, Semedo compares the traditional and current methods and implements, highlighting especially the contrasting labor and time requirements.

The cranberry-Cape Verdean story is one of pain, disappointment, hard work at low wages, and even exploitation. It also however exemplifies the persistence and struggle to survive of an immigrant population that had to face the United States context of both immigration history and color--two powerful variables in the United States racial and ethnic calculus.

The social organizational and mutual aid patterns of the story can't be ignored. The commuting by individual car or truck, travelling in small friendship or family groups to bogs for picking, sometimes having to wait hours while the bogs dried sufficiently for picking--all these provided opportunities for socializing and sharing of remembered stories from the islands, foods, or recent cartas (letters) and messages from the overseas homeland, and helping each other. Even with the rigors of the work and the very low end-of-season wages, many people preferred the outdoors agricultural work, the challenge of picking as many boxes as possible, or getting together with old and new friends. These positive social aspects are confirmed in comments from both old and new generations, in this field research project as well as the Smithsonian field research (Pires-Hester 1995a):

Like my father, I loved the outdoors and loved picking...In fact in 1941, because so many of the men were away at war, there was an ad in the local paper for pickers. I answered the ad over the phone and made the arrangements. I could only pick from 1-4pm...Mr.

Bearse said he would pay me \$1/per box., "since I was a woman". Well, he was shocked when I picked 45 boxes--I could pick like the wind--but he had made a deal and had to pay me. I picked many more times for him...(Eugenia Fortes, Harwich MA, 3/20/95).

I worked with Handy for 35 years..I wish I had 35 more years on the bogs (Alfred Amado, Cataumet MA, 4/3/95).

When we broke for lunch (in the 1920's) I would have my girlfriends ask me the questions from the drivers' manual...I passed on the first try (Laura "Lolo" Russell, Wareham MA, 1/17/95).

I love the outdoors...and loved making my bogs the 'old-fashioned way', pulling up stumps, sanding with the wheelbarrow, etc....some old-timers told me I was crazy, why not use the new technology? (Eddie Sylvia, Wareham MA, 1/16/95, 40-year-old man trained and worked as Air Traffic Controller in North Carolina before returning home and buying and restoring small bog which had been overgrown).

I was the one who loved to go with my grandfather to his bogs (Caesar Monteiro, one of Wareham's early growers, who before his death owned over 60 acres)...I have a passion about the outdoors and love it...there's so much you have to know...(Sidney "Peachy" Pires, Wareham MA. 1/16/95, 35-year-old man trained and worked in Florida as Special Education Teacher, returned home and is now handling the remaining bogs from his deceased grandfather).

Sometimes arguments would break out--over nothing--and you'd expect men to come to blows, but they never did...and whatever it was, it was over before the end of the day or when they were together on the truck going back home (George Andrade, Middleboro MA, 1/16/95).

Cape Verdeans and Cape Verdean-Americans have therefore participated in all aspects of the cranberry industry, from building to managing to processing to owning. Although today's growers are not so numerous as one might hope or expect, there are indeed a number of owners. The largest Cape Verdean grower today is probably Joey Barboza of Wareham, who has holdings of about 300 acres. The cranberry has been a vital and dynamic part of the human story, the American story, and the Cape Verdean-American story, blending dynamically the elements of persistence, survival, creativity, and the entrepreneurial spirit. The Pamet cranberry bog site is certainly by itself not the only site with this larger cultural significance. Nonetheless it does represent it, and its being already a part of a "national park" augments its suitability for Register nomination and would seem to safeguard its cultural interpretive potentials.

B. Cape Verdeans and Pamet Cranberry Bog

As expected, the specific Pamet-Cape Verdean connection was more challenging to confirm. The Margaret Aiken and Tom Kane (now deceased) references have become the basis of the presumed connection, as stated for example by Hillary Quarles:

Following the death of Mr. Sears in 1938, the property was sold to Louis A. Crowell who operated it as the Pamet Cranberry Company. Tom Kane remembered that during this time Antone Sequeira ("a quiet, serious Cape Verdean" maintained the bog and lived in the bog house seasonally, much the same way Clem Parker had in earlier years....Mrs. Margaret Aiken, local resident in the 1960's, also remembered eight to ten people from the upper Cape who were brought to the bog by truck every morning and driven home in the evening. She remembered colorful clothing and a festive air...It is possible that these people like Antone Sequeira were Cape Verdeans (1995:7).

Those references plus the documented traditional connection between Cape Verdeans and cranberries would lead one to presume that the Pamet history did in fact include this dimension, but the sparsity of Cape Verdean settlement in the Truro area also suggested that definite confirmation might be difficult. No local individual or archival sources recalled or corroborated the presence of Antone Sequeira in the community or associated with the Pamet Bog.

Nonetheless several other findings confirmed the involvement of Cape Verdeans in Pamet operations, probably going back to the early part of the century.

- Selected photographs loaned by B. J. Allen of Truro Historical Society to the Salt Pond Visitors Museum and dated "ca 1900" clearly include persons of color among the subjects (H-35 and H-36). (It should be noted that other persons in these black-and-white photos might also be Cape Verdean, since the phenotypical range among Cape Verdeans was and is quite broad⁵.)

⁵ *These photos were made available and were graciously copied by Hope Morrill (Salt Pond Visitors Museum), from the archival files. In the June 1 follow-up interview with Olive and David Sampson, Mr. Sampson stated "oh they weren't dark..." when I asked if most of those "nonwhite" pickers were indeed Cape Verdean. It should be noted that the majority of the earliest immigrants were from Cape Verde's two smallest islands, Brava and Fogo, whose*

- The practice of commuting to cranberry bogs in Cape Cod proved to be quite commonly recollected by discussants both in Wareham and "upper Cape" areas. As shown in the interview summaries, Harwich Cape Verdeans (Alfred Amado, Eugenia Fortes, Shirley Gomes, John Raneo, Eugenio Texeira) reported themselves and/or others travelling by car and/or train to Brewster, Chatham, Orleans, Wellfleet, Truro and Provincetown. Most owned their own homes--home ownership has been an early and typical pattern among Cape Verdean immigrants and descendants--and did not stay overnight but rather returned home in the evenings.
- Harwich resident Eugenio Texeira in particular did work on Truro bogs but not Pamet. However he recalled that two of his good friends Frank Monteiro (aka "Fortunato" or "Foot") and Manuel Vieira did also work in Truro and for "Mr. Crowell" at the Pamet Bog. Nearly 95 years old himself, Mr. Texeira estimated that the years were approximately the early 1950s and that Mr. Monteiro was "like a foreman".
- Finally the Cape Verdean participation in Pamet was confirmed and corroborated by Gida Crowell of East Dennis (May 2, 1995) and David and Olive Sampson (May 2, June 1 1995). The nearly 90-year-old daughter of Louis A. Crowell lives in the same house in which she was born and where Mr. Crowell always lived. She did not remember Antone Sequeira. However, when asked if she was aware if Cape Verdeans worked for her father on the bogs, her response was quick and definitive: "Oh yes, (I know) because they used to come to the house looking for work."
- David Sampson, referred by Ms. Crowell, further corroborated both Ms. Crowell and Eugenio Texeira recollections. Responding to questions through his wife (he is hard of hearing) the 87-year-old man worked 50 years for Mr. Crowell, first at the Bass River Golf Course, then managing his many bogs throughout the region. He did indeed remember the Pamet bog and recalled several names of Cape Verdeans who worked there, including Frank Monteiro ("Foot"), Johnny Roderick, Frank Pina, etc.. He remembered them as being from Harwich and commuting regularly.
- Mr. Sampson also recalled also that three to four Cape Verdeans from Wareham (or Marion [6/1]) also worked on the Pamet Bog and lived in "the House". He remembered because it was he who drove them home every

residents tended generally (not exclusively) to be of lighter phenotypical ranges.

weekend.

A note must be made regarding the typicality of the Boghouse within the Verdean cultural context. The two-story structure (and this structure was not originally two stories, as earlier research has shown) is not typical of "shanties" in which Cape Verdeans and others resided (e.g., Finns and Puerto Ricans). However the living facility and the processing facility each are separately similar to the typical facilities used for these purposes. Kenneth Semedo, as a Consultant familiar with traditional practices, confirmed that many small growers, including Cape Verdeans, carried out the processing procedures right beside the cranberry bogs, then shipped them directly to the market (for example to Boston). The traditional separators and other implements seen in the archival photographs and at Salt Pond Visitors Museum were familiar to him, and most are represented in the volume Cranberry Harvest.

The general and specific Cape Verdean connection to the Pamet Cranberry Bog thus confirm the message included in the CCNS brochure Cranberries on Cape Cod, which refers to Cape Verdeans as "another ethnic group whose culture is now woven into the fabric of Cape Cod".

Early in the research it was apparent that Harwich⁶ played a key role in the

⁶ *Harwich has several similarities to Wareham MA, on the other side of the Cape Cod Canal. A review of Wareham's Town Reports from 1889 showed a "rapid increase in the population by immigration" as of 1894 (1894:41), the same year when Cape Verdean surnames appeared for the first time although "Cape Verdean" as specific ethnic designation did not appear until 1945 (Pires-Hester 1994:81). Another interesting similarity appears in regards to education of the new immigrant population. Barker cites an "inflammatory" debate about the creation of a new school for Cape Verdeans. The debate started in 1905 and was tabled for the next Town Meeting. Apparently the "stumbling block was the expense" but "the Cape Verdean students attended all schools...there is no record of any debate after 1905" (1993:46, 54). In Wareham this writer also located a Town Meeting recommendation for building a new school "with equal but different facilities" in an area of dense Cape Verdean settlement in 1945. Queries in 1980 about the issue and its resolution were unsuccessful; none remembered any details:*

...no one, including the well-known woman who chaired the School Committee in 1947, could shed further light on it. One person said that it was quietly killed by the Cape Verdean-descent member of the School Committee, a highly-respected Judge who died in 1980 (Pires-Hester 1994:84-85).

This Judge was incidentally Judge James Bento, who was born in Harwich and graduated from

Pamet-Cape Verdean connection. The prevalence of commuting to cranberry bogs, interviewee responses, Lopes' autobiography, the Brooks Academy Museum exhibition, all confirmed a strong Cape Verdean "community" well before the end of the 19th century. Betsy Cochran, writer of most of the articles in the 1980's "Cape Verdean Connection" series in The Cape Codder, described this growing presence:

Town records show that a quarter of the babies born in Harwich at the turn of the century were to Portuguese⁷ parents. Their names, at first so foreign, grew familiar to the Cape as generations came and went: Gomes, Nunes, Silva, Costa, Monteiro, Fernande, Andrade, Deas, Pina, Lopes, Roderick, Texeira, Raneo, and so on and so on (1984).

Jean Barker's recent research (1993) also traced the density of Cape Verdean land ownership and participation in Harwich. The continued presence of Cape Verdeans and their descendants in this locality, and their increasingly explicit ethnicity as Cape Verdeans make this a potentially positive connection to build and maintain in the Pamet Project.

The "Harwich connection" confirms once again the need to open up research and analytical boundaries to keep pace with the ethnic, geographic, and cultural boundary-crossing that has characterized human activity for centuries, especially in populations seeking to make new lives for themselves and their families.

IV. MANAGEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

Several recommendations follow from the research and its implications. These are related to operational and cultural resource management issues.

- The Pamet Boghouse must be shored up as soon as possible, even while the plans are underway for the restoration. The structure has undergone deterioration and the growing hole in the roof makes it more vulnerable to the

its high school in 1927. When he died in 1980 the senior member of that year's School Committee, Greek-American member of a major Wareham cranberry grower, acknowledged Bento as "probably the most respected town official ever, who served with great dignity" (Pires-Hester 1994:170).

⁷ *This interchangeability of "Portuguese" and "Cape Verdean" was found throughout the Harwich newspaper articles, and it seemed that the external attributions followed the patterns of population self-ascription. In contrast, in centers like New Bedford or even perhaps Wareham, this would be more unlikely, especially in a series specifically dealing with Cape Verdeans as a named population with distinct and identifiable origins, cultural practices, and contributions.*

elements. This is an area that requires immediate NPS action.

○ There are few Cape Verdeans in the immediate Truro area but as shown earlier the Cape Verdean-cranberries connection is a long-standing one and research confirms Cape Verdean commuting from the Upper Cape to cranberry bogs in the Lower Cape going back to the earlier part of the century. Because of this gap, Cape Verdean involvement in this project will have to be explicitly created and maintained. Since this historical and broad ethnic involvement deepens the cultural significance of this property, it makes it even more imperative that specific steps be taken to ensure this involvement. Bulletin #38 also emphasizes the need for "organized public participation", especially by "groups that may ascribe traditional cultural values to an area's historic property" (p.5). Consultation and field interviews with Cape Cod Cape Verdeans and persons familiar with Cape Verdean participation have started this involvement process, and all discussants expressed great interest in further involvement. Specific actions are recommended to help ensure this involvement.

- An Open Meeting could help launch this Project in a way that acknowledges its broad cultural significance and encourages participation.

Invitee would include those who have shared their information and thoughts about Pamet (for example the field interviewees), and special attention should be paid to the participation of the Cape Verdean respondents. Key persons in the Truro area, including educational representatives, would also be important. The meeting could probably start at the Bog site itself and move to the Museum. In addition to NPS persons announcing plans and updates, the Bog Leasees could present their plans for the bog restoration and "traditional" operations, and the Cape Verdean dimension would be described as well (involving Cape Verdean[s]) in this presentation of course). This kind of forum would be a good way for NPS to state at the outset its commitment to promoting the cultural aspects of the Project and it would begin the broader educational and interpretation process. It would also help encourage persons to become involved. NPS should have tentatively decided on a general Advisory process and timetable.

- A Project Advisory Group should be organized as soon as possible. The purpose of this Group would be to solicit more detailed personal experience with cranberries and with Pamet, their ideas for and possible participation in special educational/cultural programs related to the Pamet site, and other possible persons to be invited to participate. As

the project is proceeding, for example, the creation of educational materials and tapes, the progress of the bog restoration and the relationship between the organic methods and the "traditional" methods which many Cape Verdeans participated in could be agenda subjects. State Representative Gomes might be asked to serve as Chairperson, or Honorary Chairperson. It could meet perhaps 2-3 times per year, with Advisors being accessible for special purposes, but with a built-in procedure for keeping members abreast of developments.

- Cape Verdeans/Cape Verdean-Americans should be invited to serve on this Advisory Group.

Specific Cape Verdean interviewees have indicated their interest in the project itself: Lower Cape State Representative Shirley Gomes; Harwich and Hyannis residents Eugenia Fortes, John Raneo, and Eugenio Texeira; and Wareham resident Kenneth Semedo.

- State Representative Shirley Gomes should be contacted to inform her in greater detail about the Project, its possibilities and potential obstacles.

Ms. Gomes has expressed a specific interest in the Project as an initiative within her District and of interest to her constituents. In addition she herself is of Cape Verdean heritage and has personal experience with cranberries. In our conversations I have shared the status of the Project and she has confirmed her interest in being of assistance.

- A "small group interview" should be arranged for Eugenio Texeira, John Raneo, and Olive and David Sampson.

Eugenio Texeira and the Sampsons have both recalled some of the same (deceased) Cape Verdeans as being involved with Lower Cape cranberries and Pamet in particular. Their recollections of chronology were not precisely the same, and Mr. Sampson's recollections were different on different days on questioning and with added information. Getting them together in a face-to-face directed discussion would be the best way to reconcile their information as closely as possible. (It should be repeated that even without the precision of dates, there is sufficient related data to associate Cape Verdeans with the Pamet site.) John Raneo would be a useful addition to the discussion because of his knowledge of Harwich and its Cape Verdeans and family connections. At the very least, this discussion would also provide simultaneous but probably different perspectives on the same cultural events and practices, and would make a useful addition to the audiotape library and interpretation programs of CCNS.

- There should be contact between the Advisory Group and the existing "Friends of the Seashore" group.
 It is my understanding that the "Friends" group has committed itself to raising funds for preservation of the Boghouse. The contact would help ensure that the Cape Verdean aspect of the Project is understood by all relevant parties and might well enhance fund-raising possibilities.
- The Bog Leasees should be informed as quickly as possible about NPS's commitment to monitor not only the overall bog restoration but also its concern for the appropriate management of the bog as "cultural resource".
 The Keese proposal conveyed a cultural and educational sensitivity and initial awareness of the Cape Verdean connection; nonetheless it will be necessary to make sure that this concern is integrated into their activities as well. It is even possible that Advisors might be able to identify Cape Verdeans who might be involved in day-to-day operations in some way. Bringing the Leasees together with Cape Verdean Advisors would also help ensure incorporation of this cultural connection in the bog operations.
- CCNS representatives should visit the Harwich Brooks Academy Museum "Cranberry Room".
 This would be useful as an example of layout, interpretive model, and community involvement, and could benefit not only the Salt Pond Museum but also the Bog/Boghouse presentations and interpretation programs. Another important resource for sorting and identifying further the implements on display and in storage at Salt Pond is the document Cranberry Harvest (chapter on "Tools of the Trade", pages 108-123).
 The Salt Pond Museum cranberry artifact collection includes some unusual items, such as a long-handled scoop which was not familiar to Pires-Hester or Semedo. A later review of Cranberry Harvest revealed a picture and description of this short-lived implement and the man pictured using it is probably Cape Verdean. In late May 1995, Semedo was shown a similar scoop by a mutual friend in Wareham, who shared that the much-prized possession was actually used by his grandmother.
- Kenneth Semedo (Project Local Consultant) would also be a resource in helping to rearrange the artifacts and implements in the Salt Pond Museum, also the uses and appropriate display of some of the artifacts in the Museum storage room.

An arrangement is being explored to loan selected cranberry implements at Salt Pond

Visitors Museum to Smithsonian Institution for its 1995 Festival of American Folklife, which this year will feature Cape Verde and the Cape Verdean-American experience. The Festival presentations will include a live bog section (being arranged in Wareham) and interpretive presentations in a Learning Center. Both parties were enthusiastic about this possible collaboration in an annual event which attracts millions of visitors from around the world.

This Project has great potential--cultural, educational, agricultural modeling, commercial development, etc.--but the integration of these different objectives will not happen easily and automatically. The above management recommendations can help this integration. Once accomplished and available to the public, the restored Bog and Boghouse will be a wonderful contribution to the much-needed public strategies to share and illustrate our society's rich diversity. It will also greatly enhance the National Park Service's own diversity and responsiveness to the human and cultural resources around it.

V. FIELD AND PHONE INTERVIEW SUMMARIES

- A. Querino Kenneth Semedo (Local Consultant)
 132 County Road
 West Wareham MA 02576 508-295-3524
 (March 13, 20)

Kenneth Semedo is a Wareham Cape Verdean-American with long personal and family experience with the cranberry industry. He is active in Wareham's local civic and Cape Verdean-American organizations. In 1994 he wrote a monograph The Story Must Be Told, about the role of Cape Verdeans in cranberries. A passionate "view from the inside", it describes the rigors and required knowledge of all aspects of the industry and contrasts the traditional and contemporary methods. Mr. Semedo served as Consultant on the visit to the Bog/Boghouse and the Salt Pond Visitors Museum. From his own experience he confirmed that sorting and separating the berries was indeed done by small growers either right beside the bogs (similar to archival photos shared by Hope Morrill) or in facilities similar to the first floor of the Boghouse. He also urged measures to deter the deterioration of the Boghouse structure, which he admired as a classic "old Cape". He offered valuable information and suggestions about the proper display of some of the items on display as well as those in storage. He shared an enthusiasm for the Project and for the physical surroundings of the Pamet site.

In a previous phone inquiry, Mr. Semedo indicated that his wife was related to a family in the Truro/Wellfleet area; they both remembered vividly the "yellow house on the hill". We were able to locate the home, of widow Dorothy Thimas, and visited

with her. She confirmed that her family had indeed been the only Cape Verdean family in Wellfleet; she and her husband (recently died) had lived in Wellfleet 48 years. She felt that "she knew very little about cranberries" and had little else to say.

- B. CCNS Headquarters, Salt Pond Visitors Museum, and Pamet Cranberry Bog and Boghouse: Frank Ackerman, Division Chief of Cultural Resources and Interpretation; Linda Canzanelli, Assistant Superintendent; Hope Morrill Curator; Bill Burke, North District Interpretive Ranger (March 20, 21, 22, April 4, 26)

The Cape Cod National Seashore representatives shared their time, materials and information generously and expressed great interest in the Project. They look forward to proceeding with the Project, including the steps needed to "shore up" the Boghouse. All confirmed that there had never in their knowledge been any special requests for use of Park facilities by a Cape Verdean group.

Frank Ackerman provided a guided walking tour of the Bog/Boghouse area, describing as well the restoration and educational work that had been done previously. He also expressed urgent concern about the Boghouse's deterioration, indicating that he had requested temporary protective measures but these had not yet been acted upon. He is particularly excited about the Project's potential for incorporating more cultural concerns and connections, and looks forward to the strengthened data about the Cape Verdean connection. We were unable to enter the Boghouse on the first day because the locked door could not be opened without structural damage. He arranged for Bill Burke to let me in (through a window) on the following day. Mr. Ackerman was available for several follow-up telephone inquiries and shared updates about the leasing process and the unavailing attempts to get the roof repaired, as well as other possible contacts.

Linda Canzanelli had just returned from vacation. She indicated that a "Friends of the Seashore" group has expressed serious interest in fund-raising specifically for the Boghouse restoration. She agreed that it would be good to have Cape Verdean input and involvement and that getting the "Friends" together with interested Cape Verdeans would be doable and very worthwhile. She also agreed that making the specific Cape Verdean-Pamet connection might be difficult but that the strengthened "broader historical connection" would be most valuable.

Hope Morrill guided Kenneth Semedo and myself through the Museum display and the back storage room, and generously provided copies of her photo files, internal assessment reports of previous years, and the taped interview and partial transcript of the Lester Edwards interview by Margie Hicks. She supports the need for CCNS to go beyond "White American history" in their programs and displays.

She also expressed concern about the Boghouse deterioration, especially possible vandalism. (Bill Burke felt that this was probably not a big problem.) In discussing the roof issue with Mr. Ackerman present, she suggested that perhaps the local fire department might volunteer their "cherry-picker" to be used in a roof-covering effort. Morrill was also very interested in the advice and suggestions from Mr. Semedo regarding the display and use of cranberry implements.

Mr. Ackerman, Ms. Canzanelli, and Ms. Morrill were very interested in the upcoming (June-July 1995) Smithsonian Institution Festival of American Folklife, which will feature Cape Verde and the Cape Verdean-American experience (Ms. Canzanelli was familiar with this because of her previous affiliation with the Smithsonian.) They were enthusiastic that perhaps selected cranberry implements could be loaned for the Festival, which is scheduled to include a live cranberry bog section and interpretive presentations. The Festival Co-Curators have agreed to this collaborative arrangement and the logistical details are being worked out.

Bill Burke provided another walking tour of the Bog area, coming from the parking lot, and also a tour of the Boghouse interiors up to and through the attic (pictures in Appendix c). He confirmed the deterioration, specifically that which is hastened by the increasing exposure through the hole in the roof. He pointed out the dampness in the beams which was still evident from the recent rainstorms, but also confirmed that the structure itself is still restorable. He suggested other Harwich sources, including the Brooks Academy Museum and the book by Shebna Rich.

C. Cynthia Slade, Town Clerk
 David Lindstrom, Assistant Town Clerk
 Truro Town Hall 508-349-3860
 (March 21, 22, April 4)

The issue of "where/who are the Cape Verdeans in Truro area?" was one that could be addressed partially by observation and questioning of available persons, but interestingly enough most CCNS personnel did not live in this area. Archival analysis has always been of great value in my research; I spent a total of about 8 hours at the Town Hall. Both Clerks have served for many years and were very helpful in providing access to records and also responding to questions. Antone Sequeira was not a name known to them; neither was it known to Lurana Cook, who happened to be in the office and who has apparently indexed all cemeteries in Truro and Provincetown. All of them knew "Madeline DeLuze". The DeLuze name had been given to me by my sister's friend, who remembered that her husband's aunt Mrs. DeLuze would always drive visitors proudly around "my little Truro". On the second day of my Truro visit, Ms. Slade provided a copy of Anthony Marshall's Truro, Cape Cod As I Knew It. Apparently Ms. Cook had phoned Ms. Slade the previous night to

remind her about this book which she thought might be of help to me (it was a wonderful gesture since I had been unable to find the book in the CCNS Library). Ms. Slade also referred me to Elizabeth Allen, previous Curator of Truro Historical Museum and serving as Assistant Curator while a replacement is being sought.

I reviewed Vital Records for the years 1854-1976. Births, marriages, and deaths were recorded long-hand in ledgers and for the most part included parents' birthplaces and "color". The "color" designations were the least uniform and for several years at a time would not be logged in at all. The data followed patterns usually found in demographic data, especially data that involved immigration. Nonetheless the records revealed no more than two Cape Verdean families throughout this period, with the DeLuze family being the most consistent throughout. Neither Ms. Slade nor Mr. Lindstrom recalled any "Crowell" in Truro.

C. Eugenia Fortes
400 Pitchers Way
Hyannis MA 508-775-3480
(March 20, April 3)

Eugenia Fortes is an 84-year-old woman born in Brava Cape Verde and who emigrated to the United States in 1920, on the Melissa Trask schooner. A long-time friend of our family, she is a community activist, especially in the Cape Cod and national NAACP. She shared that her activism began in 1927 when she was refused service in a Boston YWCA: "they wouldn't take colored girls". Her accomplishments (still continuing) have often been recognized in local and area press. Recently she and a White long-time friend were again cited as Hyannis's most active and important volunteers.. She lived in Harwich during her childhood and still maintains the family home there, along with 2 1/2 acres and home in Harwich and also a home and 50 acres in Maine.

Ms. Fortes stated with conviction that "Cape Verdeans and Cape Cod were cranberries"--sanding, planting, weeding, picking stones, picking berries. In fact in the conversation about "organic farming" she commented "of course the old growers didn't have to worry about the need for insecticides because they had the Cape Verdeans". Nearly every family she knew participated in one of the only industries available to immigrants. She remembers leaving Harwich in early mornings to the "lower Cape", sometimes having to wait hours while the bogs dried enough for picking. Families would pack lunches of "fried mackerel and sweet potatoes, Cape Verdeans didn't know about sandwiches then, along with 'gofongo', 'batanca' and apples". At the end of the season families would shop for staples for the winter, beans, rice, potatoes, lard etc.. Both her father and mother worked in cranberries and in the winters her father would "fish off Monomy" (she remembers hating this because it was she who had to

take care of the cows). In her recollection there were no shanties in Harwich itself, most families owned their own homes and people who came to pick might have stayed with families or friends for short periods of time. In contrast Harry Fernandes (long-time friend, retired Army Lieutenant-Colonel visiting Ms. Fortes that evening and joining us for impromptu dinner). Mr. Fernandes remembered that in Carver one grower Mr. Atwood had 30-40 shanties, and that Atwood also delivered milk "on credit".

Ms. Fortes remembers travelling to the outer Cape but not so far as Truro. Like her father, she "loved the outdoors" and "loved picking". She especially remembers the instance when she responded to a wartime ad in 1941. At the time she had been working for 27 years for a family in Harwichport and was available only from 1-4pm. They agreed to her picking for these hours, and over the telephone he offered to pay her \$1/box "since you're a woman". Much to his shock she actually picked 45 boxes--"I could pick like the wind"--and he had to pay her what he had arranged beforehand. She picked for him for 2 years and made about \$1200 each season. A Cape Verdean man in Pleasant Lake made the scoops of most people she knew. His model was known as the "Cape Cod Scoop" and he added two extra teeth to hers.

Ms. Fortes expressed well the complexity of recollections and memories of Cape Verdean involvement in cranberries. She loved the outdoors and the socializing/community building/mutual aid aspects; she also remembers all too well how hard it was to survive, how certain Cape Verdeans in the community helped those who were "worse-off". She recalled one man in particular (still alive) who "came to the rescue of many people". She also has strong feelings about the racial and ethnic environment in Hyannis and Harwich, particularly Harwich and what she characterized as the "separate schools". Her own view of the town is different from that of her cousin John Raneo who served for 25 years as Chief of Police in Harwich and was one of the persons she recommended for interview. Others included Eugenio Texeira, Shirley Gomes, John DaLuz, and Brooks Academy Museum in Harwich.

E. Frank Caruso, Plant Pathologist
Cranberry Experimental Station
2870 Cranberry Highway
East Wareham MA 02538 (508-295-4132)
(March 30)

Frank Caruso returned my call at the request of Irving Demoranville, whom I had called about the subject of the Pamet Bog and what he might be able to share about Cape Verdean involvement on the "lower Cape". (Demoranville is Director of

the Station and has been so for the last 43 years; he is regarded as something of a legend.) Mr. Caruso is apparently quite involved with and knowledgeable about the Project, and optimistic about what it can demonstrate about the potential of organic growing. He agreed that the Keese proposal for the Pamet Bog Lease was the best among the three submitted (Bill Barlow at NPS Boston had also indicated this). He agreed that the Keese's residence in Plymouth might be problematic, although they have built a structure in Wellfleet. He was hopeful that something could be worked out.

In response to an inquiry, Mr. Caruso confirmed that the RFP was probably not known to a wide audience (I had asked him, as I had of Mr. Barlow, if any special efforts were made to inform Cape Verdean growers). He added that there are very few growers with experience in organic growing; in fact the other two respondents had no previous experience. He also suggested that Beverly and "Linc" Thatcher would be good resources for further historical information, and provided their phone numbers.

In an April 4 phone conversation with Mr. Ackerman, he indicated that the Keese Plymouth residence was actually a disqualifying factor. With further negotiations and discussions the Keeses are apparently trying to work out a "collaborative arrangement" with the Cape Cod-based grower who had submitted the second-ranked proposal. This combination would combine the resources of both companies, including the very essential organic growing experience of the Keeses--and their interests and commitments to educational and cultural concerns.

F. John Raneo
339 Main Street, Harwich, MA 02645 508-432-0418
(April 3, May 2)

John Raneo was born in Harwich in 1922; his father was born in Fogo and his mother Nellie Raneo also in Harwich. In the Cape Cod Times series on the "Cape Verde Connection", Nellie Raneo (mother of John) reported that her father came to Harwich from New Bedford "because he didn't like factory work and heard there was work on the bogs" and because his mother lived there:

How my grandmother got here I don't know, but she was here and had two houses, and she gave us one. I was born here, and so was my brother Isaac (1984).

Mr. Raneo was 11 when his father died. After graduating from Harwich High in 1940 he joined the Army--the "\$21/month could help at home"--and served in North Africa and Italy. After several promotions he became Captain in the 1940's; he has

chronicled his years of combat duty in a written document⁸. He came home in 1946, discharged as a Reserve Officer. Back in Harwich he bought a house, married (his wife was born in Fall River) and was called back to Fort Dix; after two years he "saw Korea coming" and left the service.

In Harwich Mr. Raneo was encouraged by Selectmen to join the Police Department and became a permanent police officer in 1962. With 37 years on the force, he was Police Chief for the last 25 of those years. He expresses a quiet pride about his work and contributions, including his leadership of the building of a new Police Station (with \$350,000 in federal funding) during his tenure; this seemed to be affirmed in the way in which he was greeted by other drivers of all colors and ages as we toured the village. Now retired, he has a wealth of personal knowledge and has become a collector and cataloguer of records and photos. He described the experience of Cape Verdeans in Harwich, and the changes over the years.

His view of the Cape Verdean history and treatment in Harwich is quite different from that of his cousin Eugenia Fortes. He disagrees for example that the North Harwich school was set up precisely for Cape Verdeans, therefore a "Cape Verdean school". His view is that there were seven "neighborhood schools" and many children attended the North Harwich school because of their residence, but there were many Cape Verdean children who also attended other "neighborhood schools" and North Harwich was also attended by White students as well. (Fred Dunford, whom I met at Hope Morrill's office, grew up in North Harwich and "went to school with many Cape Verdeans"). The actual situation is probably a combination of factors. Historical and contemporary residential (predominantly ownership) patterns support the concentrated settlement and schooling patterns and purchase and ownership of house lots and land probably did follow kinship networks. At the same time, Cape Verdeans did in fact own land in other parts of Harwich and children attended school nearby. There seem to have been no official segregation policies or procedures.

Mr. Raneo remembers the density of participation in cranberries by Cape Verdeans in Harwich, both as laborers, some as foreman and a few growers. He also remembers persons travelling by train--there were four trains per day--to Provincetown to pick blueberries, and travelling to Falmouth to pick strawberries. (NPS Ranger Margie Hicks' 1979 interview of Lester Edward includes his recollections of travelling by train from Harwich to Truro and the Pamet Bog [1979:1].) He has recollections of shanties in the area, mostly housing Puerto Ricans, through the 1970's (Ms. Fortes remembered that there were no shanties in

⁸ *Combat Experiences of Captain John Stanley Raneo AUS, in the 370th Combat Team from July 15, 1944 until November 1945.*

the specific Harwich area). His recollection of the 1933 strike is vague although he remembers that a man was shot in Wareham and that the Harwich police were alerted because of the "fear of spreading".

Mr. Raneo's extensive albums illustrate the long-term and dense Cape Verdean/Cape Verdean-American life in Harwich. He had for example a picture of Cape Verdean women selling mayflowers to passengers at the train station--I have read about picking and selling mayflowers but had never seen any actual documentation. He has documented the existence of small (and not-so-small, for example a cement factory and a short-lived pearlmaking industry at Herring Run, where scales were used to make artificial pearls) businesses owned by Cape Verdeans, and the organizational life going back to the 1940's. His uncle had started the organization called the "Portuguese Men's Club" in 1942, which has functioned not only as a social club but also a "lobbying group". The group no longer has its own facility because the clubhouse burned down. The women's Portuguese Sewing Circle was founded in 1945 by six Cape Verdean women and is still active.

The albums and the personalized car tour of North Harwich also confirmed the extensive Cape Verdean ownership of land, homes, and small businesses including more than one "dance hall". Along with extensive ownership, which is confirmed by the deed copies cited by Jean Barker in her Masters Thesis (see Appendix e), Raneo also pointed out the emerging patterns of development and the fact that some Cape Verdeans have sold many acres, a strong concern of Eugenia Fortes who still maintains the family homestead in Harwich. In his words "Cape Verdeans could now own most of Harwich but for example my father didn't want to buy any land on the water--he always said 'you can't grow anything out there'". He related a story about another long-time Harwich Cape Verdean present at a Town Meeting debate about the town's purchase of a seashore property, part of which belonged to him. A woman resident apparently said "oh, it's just an old cranberry bog", to which he replied: "yes, but it's now also wonderful waterfront property".

John Raneo would be very happy to participate in the restoration/educational planning process for the Pamet project, and would be happy to have Mr. Texeira join him. He and others were instrumental in organizing the "Cranberry Room" in the Brooks Academy Museum, and many of the photos and implements apparently came from him and/or other Cape Verdean residents (see Appendix c for pictures of the Room).

G. Eugenio Texeira
473 Main Street, Harwich, MA 02645 508-430-1478
(April 3, April 25, May 1)

Eugenho Texeira was born in 1900 in São Domingo, a small village about 25 miles outside São Felipe, on the island of Fogo, Cape Verde. From his daughter Jane Texeira-Henry, I learned that he had been hospitalized with pneumonia just a couple of days before our scheduled April interview. After several unsuccessful calls, I was finally able to conduct a phone interview on May 1. Mr. Texeira lives alone and just recently surrendered his driver's license; however he is still active and outgoing and, as I learned from neighbor and friend John Raneo, is a prolific writer. (In the phone interview, he said he had just completed a eulogy for a 24-year old young man who just recently died.)

In regards to the Pamet Cranberry Bog, Mr. Texeira remembered that at least two good friends, Frank Monteiro (aka "Foot") and Manuel Vieira worked in Truro at bogs owned by "Crowell", probably between 1950-55. They had homes in Harwich and commuted everyday. He remembered also that Mr. Monteiro was "some kind of boss" and Mr. Vieira was a laborer, picking/sanding/digging ditches etc.. According to his recollections, 3-4 other men also travelled to Truro and worked on Crowell bogs, but he could not remember their names. He worked in Truro bogs also but not the Pamet bog; he remembers Truro as "very small, only a few houses". He himself did not know Crowell; when I brought up the possible Harwich connection (as cited in the 1933 Harwich Independent article about the cranberry workers' strike), he recalled that Crowell did own several bogs in either Harwich or Dennis. He also did not remember if Crowell was regarded as a comparatively "good" grower (i.e. in wages, as the news article suggested). He had no recollection of a Mr. Antone Sequeira. He was in Harwich at the time of the 1933 incipient strike but did not recall much about it--he worked for the Urann company⁹ and was "in charge of the bogs" at the time.

Mr. Texeira came to the United States in 1920 on the schooner William H. Draper¹⁰, the same schooner and trip that brought Alfred Amado to this country. He

⁹ *Marcus Urann (1873-1963) was one of the early and powerful founders of the commercial cranberry business. He formed the United Cape Cod Cranberry Company in 1906 and until 1930 owned his own canning plants, using Ocean Spray as his private brand. John C. Makepeace was his primary competition, and in 1930 they, along with Elizabeth Lee of New Jersey formed the Cranberry Cannery, Inc.--later changed to Ocean Spray in 1959.*

¹⁰ *Both the Draper and Melissa Trask schooners mentioned in this report came into the port of New Bedford and are part of the ship logs from 1860-1934 which have been analyzed by historian Marilyn Halter in her recently-published book Between Race and Ethnicity: Cape Verdean American Immigrants, 1860-1965. As Halter states in her introduction, the records (23,168 entries on 450 different voyages) provide "a solid demographic base from which to proceed" (1993:20). Halter's book makes a wonderful contribution to this field of study, identifying for example the significant involvement of women emigrants going back to at least*

had in fact played and gone to school with Mr. Amado; he himself had to walk two hours to school since his family lived "in the country". He was surprised to learn that Mr. Amado was still living, because he knew that he had been very ill. He indicated that his family home and any living relatives are far from the area affected by the recent volcano eruption in Fogo (which last erupted in 1951).

Mr. Texeira's early United States history reflects very much the kind of striving to make a living, searching for work and travelling to work opportunities that so many early immigrants experienced. When he arrived in 1920 "there were no jobs anywhere". For one year he "cooked for the boys" working on Carver bogs and living in a "shanty". He worked in Sagamore in a factory breaking up freight cars. In New Britain, CT he worked at a tool-making factory, Stanley Works, for 3 years. These jobs were followed by factory work in Waterbury CT, road construction in Port Chester, steel mills in Ohio (Mr. Amado also reported going to Ohio for steel mill work), and working on a Golf Course in Florida. He came to Harwich in 1930 and was married in 1934, at age 35. In Harwich there were "no factories" (although Raneo identified a Cape Verdean cement factory no longer active and a few other small businesses), so he picked cranberries, blueberries and strawberries. He last worked on bogs in approximately 1936.

Sometime after 1936 Mr. Texeira began work in road construction, retiring from that industry in 1965. He spent 12 years on roads from Wellfleet to Provincetown, and main roads throughout the Cape, then road construction in Provincetown itself. He had indeed known Manny Thimas, who died recently and whose widow still lives in their home in Wellfleet. (Mr. Fernandes of Hyannis had actually attended the Thimas funeral service, which he said was "filled to the rafters".) Mr. Texeira was familiar with how the Thimases had come to Wellfleet (Mr. Thimas was working on the roads, really liked the area and its people, liked also a particular house and the adjoining bog, moved there and never left) and also that the family was the only Cape Verdean family in the town. Texeira believes that many Cape Verdeans who settled in Provincetown, some coming "during whaling time" eventually moved to Harwich.

Mr. Texeira last visited Cape Verde in 1971. He very much likes living in Harwich, would "never move down to Washington" with his daughter (Jane). He knows everyone, the children and children's children and knows the town well. In terms of prejudice, Harwich is "not too bad", "nothing like Chatham". He does

1863. It should be noted, however, that even though New Bedford entry is probably dominant, her information base does not cover other ports of entry, including Providence and Ellis Island. (It should also be noted that the Barker thesis reports that Texeira came on the Coriolanus [1993:12], not the Draper schooner. Halter's listing of ship logs does not include Coriolanus among ships arriving in 1920.)

himself own about 3 bog acres (now overgrown) out of about 6 total acres, which he believes might be valuable to his children and grandchildren with the kind of development proceeding in Harwich. Mr. Texeira will help the Project any way that he can. He no longer drives but would surely accompany someone else who might become involved (I suggested for example John Raneo; Mr. Raneo agreed).

H. Alfred and Adelina Amado
 1039 County Road
 Cataumet MA 02534 508-563-6376
 (April 3)

Alfred Amado was born in 1903 in São Felipe, Fogo in Cape Verde (Brava and Fogo are the two islands which were the sources for most of the first phase of Cape Verdean emigration to the United States). He came to the U.S. in 1920 on the William H. Draper schooner and has been in Cataumet since the early 30's. He was referred by Lena Britto of Wareham as someone who was involved in the Cranberry Strike of 1933 and who might also have information about the commuting of Cape Verdeans to the "lower Cape".

Mr. Amado has been ill but was most attentive and gracious and his wife helped him to remember some of the things which he had apparently told her about but did not immediately recall. His own work travels typified the patterns of early immigrants. He recalled a "poultry farm job" on the /Cape and a 6-year stint in the Ohio steel mills (Mr. Texeira said later that "a lot of Cape Verdeans went to Ohio for work in the mills"). Then he worked for the Handy cranberry company ("Handy family") for 35 years. In his words: "I wish I had another 35 years on the bogs". He loved the work (see Appendix c for pictures of him with the Darlington picker c. 1960's). Their home is surrounded by bogs (see Appendix b) and even today he and his wife go out to watch the modern-day harvesting.

Mr. Amado confirmed that most Cape Verdeans he knew participated in cranberries, along with strawberry and blueberry picking. His memory regarding the Strike was hazy at first but he gradually recalled pieces, specifically that the Strike in the Harwich area was not so "violent" as the Wareham strike. He reasoned that this was because the Harwich "growers were different", they listened more to the complaints. The 1933 Harwich Independent article and the Barker research corroborated this perception. Barker in fact emphasized that a major difference between the two Strikes was the difference between "local" and "outside" growers. There may have been some difference between the ways in which growers responded

in both places but I am not sure that the "local-outside" distinction is totally accurate. In the Wareham area a Cape Verdean striker Alfred Gomes was shot by a grower who also was a Town Selectman, suggesting his town residence (Pires-Hester 1994).

It should be noted that the "Cranberry Strike of 1933" was primarily in the Wareham area. This strike is widely regarded as the nation's first strike by agricultural workers.

I. Elizabeth Allen, Assistant Curator (formerly Curator)
Truro Historical Society
P. O. Box 25
Truro MA 02666 508-349-2809
(April 4)

Elizabeth Allen was referred by Ms. Slade, who suggested that Madeline DeLuze might have been part of an Oral History Project carried out by the Society. Ms. Allen was serving as Assistant Curator while a replacement was being sought. The Society was officially closed for the winter but she offered to meet me there and retrieve some materials that might be useful to the research. Before my arrival she had gathered several files and we went to the Town Library for copying.

Ms. Allen did in fact know Ms. DeLuze and had never heard her talk about involvement in cranberries; she thought that her father had been a fisherman because Ms. DeLuze spoke so frequently about eating fish. This attribution is in fact included in the one-page summary about Ms. DeLuze which Ms. Allen mailed to me after our visit; still, Vital Records identified Mr. DeLuze's occupation as "Section Hand" for the New York New Haven Railroad. (It is quite possible that Mr. DeLuze did fish often enough to warrant this attribution, in the way in which many Cape Verdeans shared in many occupations simultaneously and sequentially.)

Ms. Allen stated that the Oral History Project had not included Ms. DeLuze, "unfortunately". However her archives did include a large photograph of her (see Appendix b) with a one-page text summary. I took pictures of this photo and Ms. Allen later mailed a copy of the text. The text describes Ms. DeLuze at "Portuguese"; as said before her death certificate used "Cape Verdean". Allen provided names and phone numbers of other DeLuze friends who might be helpful. Time did not permit follow-up with them.

J. Beverly and "Linc" Thacher (Beverly formerly Curator of Brooks Museum)
359 Main Street

North Harwich MA 02645 508-432-2931
(March 30, April 4, 8)

The scheduled appointment for April 4 with the Teachers was made on March 30; we were to meet at the Brooks Academy Museum with Jim Brown, the current Curator. Ms. Thacher's name had been provided by Frank Caruso. In our phone conversation she stated that I should also talk with her husband because he had actually worked for Louis A. Crowell at the Pamet Bog and has been a grower for many years. At the Museum I was informed by Mr. Brown that he had recently started as Curator. On April 4 he informed me that Ms. Thacher's father had died over the weekend in Florida and that she and her husband had gone down. Mr. and Mrs. Thacher and I talked by phone on April 8; both were very forthcoming.

Beverly Thacher indicated that the ~~Crowdies~~^{Crowells} were an "old Harwich family" but thought that bog ownership within the Harwich family was of recent vintage (I had asked her about the reference in the Harwich Independent article to a grower Louis Crowell who had apparently been more responsive to pickers demands for better wages in the 1933 strike). "Linc" Thacher stated that Louis Crowell lived in Dennis and had started the Cape Cod Canning Company. His daughter still lives in East Dennis and could probably be located through the Telephone Information system. (I did talk later with Ms. Crowell.)

Mr. Thacher also said that he had actually managed the Pamet bogs starting in 1958. The owner had been Dr. Butterfield then the bogs were taken over by Butterfield's daughter and son-in-law Tonda and Arturo Haynes. During that time he "did everything" on the bogs so no outside workers were involved. It should be noted that this chronology is incongruent with the chronology included in the Quarles report: "1958: The Pamet bogs were left unmaintained." and that the Crowell-to-Haynes sale occurred in 1947 (1995:5).

Mr. Thacher stated that he began his own cranberry career in 1952. By that time he was using Darlington pickers and the traditional "scoopers" (i.e. Cape Verdeans) did not want to pick for small growers because one could not make enough money doing so. Today he owns 20 acres, leases 10 and works another 15 with his son. Several years ago he sold 300 acres, to various persons. He loves the industry, "loves to grow things...always dreaming of the 'good crop'...it's kind of a challenge to 'beat nature, or rather to join it'". In regards to organic farming, he felt that the products would "not be accepted by the American public...we've been spoiled about color and shape etc....and you can't get that way without some fungicides". However "everyone's trying new things" and the industry is "using many fewer pesticides than in earlier years".

K. Shirley Gomes
 MA State Representative 508-432-1431 (H) 617-722-2060 (W)
 (March 30, May 2)

Shirley Gomes became State Representative in 1994 after several years of civic and elected office service in the Harwich area. (From John Raneo, I learned that Ms. Gomes is actually a registered Republican¹¹: he and several other Cape Verdeans worked very hard for her successful win (on the second try) but he pointed out that some "die-hard Democrat" Cape Verdeans would not bring themselves to support her.) Her success is further interesting in light of the Cape Cod demographics. As mentioned earlier, the official Cape Cod "Cape Verdean" count¹² for 1980 is 745 or 5.47% of the total population and her district is the lower Cape (Harwich to Provincetown).

Ms. Gomes and her husband are both Harwich natives, and both families have been involved with cranberries. She herself picked all through school. She was familiar with the Pamet Project and shared also that other bog growers in the Harwich area are "in the running" for federal support for restoration. In follow-up phone calls, she reiterated her strong interest in the Project and her willingness to involve herself and her office to assist the planning and implementation. I agreed to follow up.

L. Jim Brown, Curator, Brooks Academy Museum
 P. O. Box 5217
 Harwich MA 02645 508-432-8089
 (April 4, May 3)

¹¹ *In my own doctoral research in Wareham MA I found an unexpectedly significant pattern of Republican registration among the locality's Cape Verdeans, along with a very high locality-wide and Cape Verdean-specific Independent registration going back to the 1950's (Pires-Hester 1994).*

¹² *It should be noted that 1980 was the first year that respondents were asked to "self-identify" and also that the "Cape Verdean" designation as an option was the result of a campaign by the Cape Verdean Recognition Committee (subcommittee of the New Bedford Verdean Vets Association) to get this category included in the 1980 Census. The category was included in the 14% "long-form" sampling, and it is clear that it was not used by all persons with Cape Verdean ancestry nationwide. The 1984 Cape Cod Times article in which these figures appeared seemed not to be aware of this background while qualifying the data with the following statement:*

...the Census Bureau offers no explanation for the absence of Chatham, Provincetown, Sandwich, Truro, Wellfleet and Yarmouth from the listings".