National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior



Olmsted Center
for Landscape Preservation

Cultural Landscape Report for Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District

Cape Cod National Seashore



"They seemed to have come from the stars:
Like voyagers on the moon.
Down craters silvery-dusk
They drifted, dune over dune.
The beach plum blossoms, all-white,
With never a glimpse of green.
Like little ghosts in the dark
Beleaguered the moon-washed scene."

Harry Kemp, Poet of the Dunes

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE REPORT FOR DUNE SHACKS OF PEAKED HILL BARS HISTORIC DISTRICT

CAPE COD NATIONAL SEASHORE

PROVINCETOWN AND TRURO, MASSACHUSETTS

SITE HISTORY

EXISTING CONDITIONS

ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

TREATMENT

Prepared by
Emily Donaldson
Margie Coffin Brown
Gretchen Hilyard

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation
National Park Service, Boston, Massachusetts, 2011

The Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation promotes the stewardship of significant landscapes through research, planning, and sustainable preservation maintenance. The Center accomplishes its mission in collaboration with a network of partners including national parks, universities, government agencies, and private nonprofit organizations. Techniques and principles of preservation practice are made available through training and publications. The Center perpetuates the tradition of the Olmsted firms and Frederick Law Olmsted's lifelong commitment to people, parks, and public spaces.

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation
Boston National Historical Park
Charlestown Navy Yard, Quarters C
Boston, MA 02129
www.nps.gov/oclp/

Publication Credits: Graphics may not be reproduced without the permission of the owners noted in the captions. Other information in this publication may be copied and used with the condition that full credit be given to the authors and publisher. Appropriate citations and bibliographic credits should be made for each use.

National Park Service, Denver Technical Information Center, NPS 609/111486

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Donaldson, Emily.
Cultural landscape report for Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District : Cape Cod National Seashore, Provincetown and Truro, Massachusetts : site history, existing conditions, analysis and evaluation, treatment / prepared by Emily Donaldson, Margie Coffin Brown, Gretchen Hilyard. p. cm. Includes bibliographical references.

1. Dune Shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District (Mass.) 2. Cultural landscapes--Conservation and restoration--Massachusetts--Cape Cod National Seashore. 3. Landscape assessment--Massachusetts--Cape Cod National Seashore. 4. Historic buildings--Conservation and restoration--Massachusetts--Cape Cod National Seashore. 5. Historic buildings--Conservation and restoration--Massachusetts--Provincetown Region. 6. Historic buildings--Conservation and restoration--Massachusetts--Truro Region (Town) 7. Provincetown Region (Mass.)--Buildings, structures, etc. 8. Truro Region (Mass. : Town)--Buildings, structures, etc. I. Brown, Margie Coffin. II. Hilyard, Gretchen. III. Title.

F72.C3D58 2011 363.6'90974492--dc23 2011048190

Cover: Aerial photograph looking west, Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, October 2002. The Braaten shack is in the foreground. Further west is Werner (Thalassa) close to the outer edge of the foredune; Chanel, Fearing, and Fowler shacks on the far left; and the Kemp and Werner (Euphoria) shacks in the distance (Image by Pandion, Cape 1/13, Cape Cod NS Archives).

Title Page: Beach plum blossoms with Margo/Gelb shack in the distance, May 2011, Olmsted Center.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LISTS OF ILLUSTRATIONS v

FOREWORD xv

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS xvii

INTRODUCTION 1

Project Setting 1
Methodology and Scope of Work 3
Terminology 4
Site History Overview 5
Summary of Existing Conditions 7
Summary of Analysis and Evaluation 8
Summary of Treatment Guidelines 9

CHAPTER 1. SITE HISTORY 11

Contact Period, Pre-1620 11
European Settlement, Colonial, and Federal Periods, 1620 to 1830 16
Industrial Period and Life Saving, 1830 to 1919 23
Dune Shack Habitation, 1919 to 1961 48
Establishment of Cape Cod National Seashore, 1961 to 1991 77
National Park Service Management, 1991 to Present 93

CHAPTER 2. EXISTING CONDITIONS 103

Landscape Context 103

CHAPTER 3. ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION 117

National Register Status 117
Analysis of Landscape Characteristics and Features 129
Summary of Analysis and Evaluation 306

CHAPTER 4. TREATMENT 325

Framework for Treatment 326
Treatment Guidelines and Tasks 335
Summary of Treatment Guidelines and Tasks 345

REFERENCES 347

APPENDIX A: LANDSCAPE CHRONOLOGY 355

APPENDIX B: DUNE SHACK NAMES 363

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

1	Aerial photograph of Provincetown and dunes	1
2	Locator map, Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District	2
3	Diagram of dune morphology	3

1. SITE HISTORY

1.0.	Tourists exploring barren dune landscape, 1914	11
1.1.	Geological characteristics of Cape Cod	12
1.2.	Map of Cape Cod with Native American place names	14
1.3.	Samuel de Champlain's map of Nauset Harbor, 1605	15
1.4.	Map of Cape Cod with European place names, 1717	17
1.5.	Map of Provincetown, showing early development of the area, 1836	22
1.6.	Undated map of Provincetown structures and events, including a half-way house, twentieth century	25
1.7.	Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station surfmen with Captain Cook seated at center, 1902	27
1.8.	Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station, 1880s or 1890s	28
1.9.	Postcard of the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station, c. 1900	28
1.10.	Postcard of the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station, c. 1900	28
1.11.	Shore west of the Peaked Hill Bars, late nineteenth century	29
1.12.	Map of Provincetown, 1880	30
1.13.	Map of Cape Cod showing United States Life-Saving Stations, 1902	31
1.14.	USGS map of Provincetown railroad and life-saving stations, 1893	32
1.15.	Map of beach grass plantations for dune stabilization, 1904	33
1.16.	Horse and wagon crossing the dunes to the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station, late nineteenth century	33
1.17.	Likely the DePass horse and wagon, on the dunes at Race Point, 1901	34
1.18.	Undated postcard of wagon wheel ruts in the dunes	34
1.19.	Undated postcard of salt spray roses flowering in the dunes	34
1.20.	Race Point Light and associated buildings, 1901 or 1902	35
1.21.	Louis J. DePass posing in front of DePass shack at Race Point, 1901	39
1.22.	DePass family members by shack at Race Point, 1901	39
1.23.	View from the Pilgrim Monument, 1914	40
1.24.	View from the dunes to the Pilgrim Monument, 1914	40
1.25.	Photograph of tourist resting on wreck, 1914	40

1.26. Photograph of tourists atop a dune, 1914 41
1.27. Photograph of Snail Road, 1911 41
1.28. Photograph titled "Snail Road," 1911 41
1.29. Undated postcard of dunes and the outer beach 42
1.30. Postcard of dunes and the outer beach, 1919 42
1.31. Postcard of the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station, early 1920s 42
1.32. Postcard of the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station, early 1920s 43
1.33. Postcard of the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station, early 1920s 43
1.34. Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station staff, early 1920s 44
1.35. Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station staff and vehicle, early 1920s 44
1.36. Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station and outbuildings, c. 1930 44
1.37. Painting by Charles Hawthorne, founder of the Cape Cod School of Art, titled "Crew of the Philomena Manta," 1915 45
1.38. Painting of the dunes by Oliver Chaffee, 1904 45
1.39. Painting by dune dweller Ross Moffett, "Impressions of Spring" 46
1.40. Painting by Edwin Dickinson, "Back Beach Truro," 1930 47
1.41. Country Life magazine article, "A Home on the Dunes," on playwright Eugene O'Neill residing in Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station, 1923 49
1.42. Map of the Province Lands and the township of Provincetown, 1920 50
1.43. Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station, September 1921 50
1.44. Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station, falling into the ocean, 1931 51
1.45. Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station after storm, 1931 52
1.46. Remains of Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station, 1931 52
1.47. Building falling into the ocean, circa 1931 53
1.48. Sketch by Zara Malkin Ofsevit Jackson of shacks in central cluster 53
1.49. Dune erosion along the back shore, undated 54
1.50. Old fence posts and dune erosion along the back shore, undated 54
1.51. Painting of dune landscape by Heinrich Herman Pfeiffer, no date 57
1.52. Painting entitled "Hidden Lake" by Jeanette "Jan" Gelb, no date 57
1.53. Oil painting by Wolf Kahn titled "My Shack in the Dunes," c. 1948 58
1.54. Oil painting by Philip Malicoat titled "Back Shore," 1956 58
1.55. USGS topographic map of Provincetown showing dune shacks, vehicle trails and Snail Road, 1944 60
1.56. USGS topographic map of North Truro showing dune shacks, vehicle trails, High Head Coast Guard Station and Pilgrim Spring, 1944 60
1.57. High Head Coast Guard Station boat house, communications building, and utilities, 1940s 61
1.58. Relocated Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station, late 1940s 61
1.59. Relocated Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station and boathouse, late 1940s 61
1.60. Abandoned Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station, late 1940s 62
1.61. Fowler shack and Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station, late 1940s 62
1.62. David Armstrong repairing shack, 1948 62

1.63. Three shacks in the central cluster, 1946 63
1.64. Fearing shack repairs and clothesline, 1950 63
1.65. Fearing shack buried with sand, 1950 63
1.66. Fearing shack eroded beneath, 1950 64
1.67. Art and his dune taxi with Fearings and their shack, 1951 64
1.68. Aerial view of Fleurant, Adams Guest Cottage, Adams, Champlin, and Malicoat shacks, 1950 65
1.69. Stan Fowler walking on Snail Road, 1950 66
1.70. Jim Enos with bass on the back shore, 1951 66
1.71. Harry Kemp celebrating Pilgrim's landing, c. 1950s 67
1.72. USGS topographic map of Provincetown showing dune shacks, vehicle trails, and Snail Road, 1955 71
1.73. USGS topographic map of North Truro showing dune shacks, vehicle trails, and Pilgrim Spring State Park, 1955 71
1.74. Sketch by Hazel Hawthorne Werner recalling central cluster arrangement in the 1920s 72
1.75. Sketch by Hazel Hawthorne Werner recalling central cluster arrangement in 1933 72
1.76. Sketch by Hazel Hawthorne Werner recalling central cluster arrangement in 1939 72
1.77. Sketch by Hazel Hawthorne Werner recalling central cluster arrangement in 1946 73
1.78. Sketch by Hazel Hawthorne Werner recalling central cluster arrangement in 1950 73
1.79. Sketch by Hazel Hawthorne Werner recalling central cluster arrangement in 1960 73
1.80. Aerial photograph of western cluster of shacks, 1960 74
1.81. Aerial photograph of central cluster of shacks, 1960 74
1.82. Aerial photograph of eastern cluster of shacks, 1960 74
1.83. Map of the former Pilgrim Spring State Park in the 1960s, annotated By the Olmsted Center 79
1.84. View of beach buggies in the dunes of the back shore, as seen from above sometime around the mid-twentieth century 82
1.85. Vehicles and hikers in the dunes, c. 1960s 82
1.86. Tourists enjoying the dunes near Provincetown on foot, sometime in the mid- to late twentieth century 83
1.87. Sand dunes migrating over Route 6, c. 1960s 83
1.88. Winter view of sand fencing constructed to reinforce the dunes, likely sometime in the 1960s 84
1.89. Sand fencing in the dunes, circa 1960s 84
1.90. Sand fencing in the dunes, circa 1970s 85
1.91. Section of dunes on the back shore planted with beach grass, 1960s 85

1.92. Map of the "Over-Sand Vehicle Routes" described pamphlet of the Cape Cod National Seashore, 1968 86
1.93. Drifting Sands Dune Tours visiting the dunes of the back shore, 1979 88
1.94. Arts Dune Tours in the dunes, 1970s 88
1.95. Meadows Beach Taxi in the dunes, 1960s or 70s 89
1.96. Meadows Beach Taxi in the dunes, 1960s or 70s 89
1.97. Artist in the dunes, 1960s or 70s 90

2. EXISTING CONDITIONS

2.0. View southeast of the Armstrong shack, 2011 103

3. ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

3.0. Frenchie and guests at Chanel shack, 1950s 117
3.1. Shack cluster, 2011 132
3.2. Isolated shack, 2011 133
3.3. Dunes and dune hollow, 2011 135
3.4. Dune taxis at Sunset Hill, 2009 137
3.5. View of the original Cohen shack looking east, around 1945 141
3.6. View north of Cohen shack in its original location, 1976 142
3.7. View west of Cohen shack in its second location, 1978 143
3.8. View northeast of Cohen shack in its third and present location, 1978 144
3.9. Existing conditions map of Cohen shack, 2007 145
3.10. North elevation of Cohen shack, 2006 146
3.11. View north of Cohen shack, 2006 146
3.12. View northeast of Cohen shack driveway and foredune, 2006 146
3.13. View south of blowout dune south of Cohen shack, 2006 147
3.14. View northeast of Cohen shack, 2006 147
3.15. Aerial view of Cohen shack, 2011 147
3.16. Looking west at Fleurant shack in its original location, 1950 148
3.17. Looking northwest at Fleurant shack in its original location, 1950 148
3.18. Looking north at Fleurant in current location, 1989 149
3.19. Looking east at Fleurant in current location, 1989 150
3.20. Existing conditions map of Fleurant shack, 2007 151
3.21. View north of Fleurant shack, 2006 152
3.22. View northwest of Fleurant shack and driveway, 2006 152
3.23. View to Adams Guest Cottage from Fleurant shack, 2006 152
3.24. View north from east porch of Fleurant shack, 2006 153
3.25. View south from Fleurant shack to Pilgrim Monument, 2006 153
3.26. View northwest of Fleurant outdoor seating area, 2006 153
3.27. View southwest of Adams Guest Cottage, 1962 154
3.28. View west of Adams Guest Cottage, 1966 154
3.29. View east of Adams Guest Cottage, 1976 155
3.30. View southwest of Adams Guest Cottage, 1993 155

3.31. Existing conditions map of Adams Guest Cottage and Adams, 2007 156
3.32. View east of Adams Guest Cottage, 2006 158
3.33. View west of Adams Guest Cottage and temporary fencing, 2006 158
3.34. View east from Adams Guest Cottage driveway of Adams shack, 2006 158
3.35. View south from Adams Guest Cottage to Pilgrim Monument, 2006 159
3.36. View west from Adams Guest Cottage to Fleurant shack, 2006 159
3.37. Aeiral view of Adams Guest Cottage, 2011 159
3.38. Looking west at Adams shack in its original location, 1953 160
3.39. View east of Adams shack in its original location, 1962 160
3.40. View northeast of Adams shack, 1962 161
3.41. View southwest of Adams shack, 1978 161
3.42. View northeast of Adams shack, 2006 162
3.43. View southwest of Adams shack, 2006 163
3.44. View southwest of Adams dune and inner dune landscape, 2006 164
3.45. View northeast of Adams footpath to ocean, 2006 164
3.46. View east of footpath between Adams and Champlin shacks, 2006 164
3.47. View west of outdoor seating area north of Adams shack, 2006 165
3.48. View west of Adams footpath and plastic fencing, 2006 165
3.49. View east of planter filled with herbs by Adams shack, 2006 165
3.50. View east of the Champlin shack under construction, 1935 166
3.51. Looking southeast at the Champlin shack, following repairs, 1953 166
3.52. View southeast of the elevated Champlin shack, 1958 167
3.53. Champlin shack aerial view, 1970 168
3.54. Existing conditions map of the Champlin shack, 2007 170
3.55. View east of the Champlin shack, foredune, and ocean, 2006 172
3.56. View north of the Champlin shack, 2006 172
3.57. View west of the Champlin shack and foredune, 2006 173
3.58. View west along the main vehicle trail, 2006 173
3.59. View southeast of the Champlin shack yard, 2006 173
3.60. Champlin shack well pump and water line, 2006 174
3.61. View north of the Champlin shack birdbath and feeders, 2006 174
3.62. Aerial view of Champlin shack and mission bell frame 174
3.63. View southeast of the Werner (Euphoria) shack, 1966 177
3.64. View southwest of the Werner (Euphoria) shack and fencing, 1976 178
3.65. View southwest of the Werner (Euphoria) shack and fencing, 1993 179
3.66. View west of Werner (Euphoria) shack, birdhouses, fencing, 1993 180
3.67. Existing conditions map of Werner (Euphoria) shack, 2007 181
3.68. View northwest of the Werner (Euphoria) shack, 2006 183
3.69. View south of the Werner (Euphoria) shack, 2006 183
3.70. View east of the Werner (Euphoria) shack and sand fencing, 2006 183
3.71. View southeast of the Werner (Euphoria) shack and footpath, 2006 184
3.72. View northeast of Werner (Euphoria) footpath over the dune, 2006 184
3.73. View southwest of Sunset Hill from Werner (Euphoria) shack, 2006 184

3.74. View west of the Margo/Gelb shack, 1966 185
3.75. View northwest of the Margo/Gelb shack, 1976 186
3.76. View northwest of the Margo/Gelb shack, 1989 186
3.77. View northwest of the Margo/Gelb shack and outhouse, 1989 187
3.78. Existing conditions map of Margo/Gelb shack, 2007 188
3.79. View north of the Margo/Gelb shack and outhouse, 2006 189
3.80. View northwest of the Margo/Gelb shack and ocean view, 2006 189
3.81. View east along south deck of Margo/Gelb shack, 2006 190
3.82. View south of Margo/Gelb shack from well, 2006 190
3.83. View south of Margo/Gelb shack from footpath to ocean, 2006 190
3.84. View east of Margo/Gelb shack to nearby shacks, 2006 191
3.85. View east of sign to "beach" and stunted oak, 2006 191
3.86. View north of ocean from Margo/Gelb shack and artwork, 2006 191
3.87. Harry Kemp, 1950s 192
3.88. View north of the Kemp shack, 1966 192
3.89. View south of the Kemp shack, 1989 193
3.90. View west of the Kemp shack, 1989 193
3.91. Existing conditions map of Kemp shack, 2007 194
3.92. View south of Kemp shack and outdoor seating, 2006 195
3.93. View east of Kemp shack and vegetation, 2006 195
3.94. Vehicle trail terminus by Kemp shack, 2006 195
3.95. View north of ocean footpath from Kemp shack, 2006 196
3.96 View north of erosion by footpath near ocean, 2006 196
3.97. View southwest from Kemp shack, 2006 196
3.98. View southeast of Alice Malkin and shack, 1930s 197
3.99. View east of Malkin/Ofsevit shack in its original location, 1930s 199
3.100. Zara Ofsevit on swing by shack, 1935 200
3.101. Irving Ofsevit on porch of shack, c. 1940 201
3.102. Existing conditions map of Malkin/Ofsevit shack, 2007 202
3.103. View southeast of Malkin/Ofsevit shack, 2006 203
3.104. View northwest of Malkin/Ofsevit shack, 2006 203
3.105. View southwest of Malkin/Ofsevit shack footpath, 2006 203
3.106. View northeast of Malkin/Ofsevit outhouse, 2006 204
3.107 View northeast of Malkin/Ofsevit birdhouse, 2006 204
3.108. Wooden cross near Malkin/Ofsevit shack, 2006 204
3.109. Clothesline near Malkin/Ofsevit shack 205
3.110. Well for Malkin/Ofsevit shack 205
3.111. View southwest of Fowler shack, 1950s 206
3.112. View southwest of Fowler shack, 1960s 206
3.113. View southwest of Fowler shack, 1976 207
3.114. View northeast of Fowler shack, 1989 207
3.115. Existing conditions map of Fowler and Fearing shacks, 2007 208
3.116. View south of front porch of Fowler shack, 2006 210

3.117. East and north sides of Fowler shack, 2006 210
3.118. West side of Fowler shack, 2006 210
3.119. Fowler shack and parking area, 2006 211
3.120. Vehicle trail and footpath over foredune by Fowler shack, 2006 211
3.121. View north of Fowler shack seating area and birdhouse, 2006 211
3.122. View northwest of Alf Fearing and shack cluster, 1940s 212
3.123. View southwest of Fearing family by shack, 1945 213
3.124. View southwest of regrading by Fearing shack, 1951 213
3.125. Roofing repair at Fearing shack, 1970 214
3.126. West and south sides of Fearing shack, 2006 216
3.127. South and east sides of Fearing shack, 2006 216
3.128. North and west sides of Fearing shack, 2006 216
3.129. View southwest from foredune of Fearing and Fowler shacks, 2006 217
3.130. Fearing shack outdoor shower and well, 2006 217
3.131. Aerial view of Fearing outhouse, shack, studio, and Fowler, 2011 217
3.132. Painting by Frenchie of her shack, c. 1950 218
3.133. Partially buried Chanel shack, 1975 218
3.134. Construction on top of partially buried Chanel shack, 1976 219
3.135. Construction on top of partially buried Chanel shack, 1976 219
3.136. View south of Chanel shack, 1987 220
3.137. Existing conditions map of Chanel shack, 2007 221
3.138. North side of Chanel shack, 2006 222
3.139. North and east side of Chanel shack, 2006 222
3.140. West and south sides of Chanel shack, 2006 223
3.141. Southwest corner of the Chanel shack and salt spray roses, 2006 223
3.142. Vehicle trail from Chanel to Werner (Euphoria) shack, 2006 223
3.143. View from Chanel to Tasha (Harry Kemp) and Margo/Gelb, 2006 224
3.144. Chanel outhouse and sand fencing, 2006 224
3.145. View north from Chanel shack outdoor seating area, 2006 224
3.146. View west of Werner (Thalassa) shack in central cluster, 1946 225
3.147. Werner (Thalassa) shack in central cluster, around 1946 226
3.148. View northeast of relocated Werner (Thalassa) shack, 1976 227
3.149. View southwest of Werner (Thalassa) shack, 1976 227
3.150. Existing conditions map of Werner (Thalassa) shack, 2007 228
3.151. South and east sides of Werner (Thalassa) shack, 2006 229
3.152. East and north sides of Werner (Thalassa) shack, 2006 229
3.153. View southeast of Werner (Thalassa) shack and seating area, 2006 230
3.154. View south from Werner (Thalassa) of clothesline and horizon, 2006 230
3.155. View southeast of Werner (Thalassa) outhouse and foredune, 2006 230
3.156. Outdoor seating area to the north of Werner (Thalassa) shack, 2006 231
3.157. Birdbath and birdhouse in front of Werner (Thalassa) shack, 2006 231
3.158. Werner (Thalassa) seating area and birdhouse, 2006 231
3.159. View southwest of Braaten shack and clothesline, 1989 232

3.160. View east of Braaten shack, 1989 232
3.161. View southeast of Braaten shack, 1989 233
3.162. View southwest of Braaten shack, 1993 233
3.163. Existing conditions map of Braaten shack, 2007 234
3.164. North and west sides of Braaten shack, 2006 235
3.165. South side of Braaten shack and storage area, 2006 236
3.166. Parking area for Braaten shack and pulley up dune, 2006 236
3.167. View from parking area for Braaten shack of well, 2006 236
3.168. Outhouse for Braaten shack, 2006 237
3.169. Planters at Braaten shack, 2006 237
3.170. Planters at Braaten shack, 2006 237
3.171. View south of Watson shack, around 1980 238
3.172. View south of Watson shack, 1989 239
3.173. View west of Watson shack, 1989 339
3.174. View southeast of Watson shack with Wells shack in distance, 1989 340
3.175. Existing conditions map of Watson shack, 2007 341
3.176. View south of Watson shack and outhouse, 2006 342
3.177. North and west sides of Watson shack, 2006 342
3.178. South deck of Watson shack, 2006 343
3.179. Solar panel on south deck of Watson shack, 2006 343
3.180. Driveway terminus for Watson shack, 2006 343
3.181. View southeast from Watson shack and Japanese knotweed, 2006 344
3.182. Watson shack seating area and ocean view, 2006 344
3.183. Watson shack seating area and driveway, 2006 344
3.184. View southwest of Wells shack, around 1960 345
3.185. View southwest of Wells shack, 1976 346
3.186. West and south sides of Wells shack, 1989 347
3.187. North side of Wells shack, 1989 347
3.188. Existing conditions map of Wells shack, 2007 248
3.189. View south of Wells shack, 2006 249
3.190. View east of Wells shack, 2006 249
3.191. South side of Wells shack, 2006 249
3.192. View northwest of Wells shack driveway, 2006 250
3.193. View south of Wells shack outhouse, 2006 250
3.194. Pine tree near Wells shack deck, 2006 250
3.195. View northwest of Jones shack, 1976 251
3.196. View northwest of Jones shack, 1989 252
3.197. View southwest of Jones shack, 1989 252
3.198. View northwest of Jones shack, 1990s 253
3.199. Existing conditions map of Jones shack, 2007 254
3.200. Jones shack from driveway, 2006 255
3.201. North and west sides of Jones shack, 2006 255
3.202. South and east sides of Jones shack, 2006 255

3.203. West and south sides of Jones shack and upper seating area, 2006 256
3.204. Jones outhouse and footpath, 2006 256
3.205. Jones shack clothesline, 2006 256
3.206. View southwest of Armstrong shack, 1948 257
3.207. View west of Armstrong shack and dune erosion, 1983 258
3.208. View east of Armstrong shack and dune erosion, 1983 259
3.209. View southwest of Armstrong shack, 1989 260
3.210. Existing conditions map of Armstrong shack, 2007 261
3.211. View west of Armstrong shack and pallet steps, 2006 262
3.212. View south from Armstrong shack deck, 2006 262
3.213. Armstrong shack stairs, parking area, and sand fencing, 2006 262
3.214. View southwest of Armstrong shack from foredune, 2006 263
3.215. Armstrong shack well, 2006 263
3.216. Dune stabilization near the Armstrong shack, 2006 263
3.217. View of portion of Peaked Hill Bars boathouse, c. 1931 265
3.218. Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station, c. 1950 266
3.219. Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station foundation, 2006 266
3.220. Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station foundation, 2011 267
3.221. Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station boat house, no date 267
3.222. Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station boat house, 1966 268
3.223. Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station boat house, 1980 268
3.224. Hill trailer in West Roxbury, 1951 369
3.225. Ford trailer enroute to dunes, 1951 270
3.226. Ford trailer in the dunes, tent, and clothesline, 1951 270
3.227. Ford trailer and porch addition, 1951 270
3.228. Recently constructed Hill shack, 1952 271
3.229. Painted Hill shack with rear addition and outhouse, c. 1955 271
3.230. Hill shack with flagpole, 1958 271
3.231. Halfway House on Outer Beach, no date 272
3.232. Installing well near Bessay's small shack, 1952 274
3.233. View of vehicle trail and Bessay small shack, 1952 274
3.234. Bessay small shack, 1952 274
3.235. Bessay small shack and clothesline pole, 1952 275
3.236. Bessay small shack, 1952 275
3.237. Bessay small shack, 1952 275
3.238. View south of Joe Oliver's shack, 1967 276
3.239. View north of Joe Oliver's shack, 1967 276
3.240. View north of Joe Oliver's shack, 1982 277
3.241. Concrete shack and abandoned vehicle, 1964 277
3.242. Concrete shack, abandoned vehicle, and chimney, 1967 278
3.243. Concrete shack and stone chimney, 1982 278
3.244. Concrete shack, 1980 278
3.245. High Head Life-Saving Station 279

3.246. High Head Life-Saving Station 279
3.247. View northeast of the Red shack, 1940s 280
3.248. View west of the Red shack, 1940s 280
3.249. View southwest of Red shack, 1940s 281
3.250. View northwest of Red shack, 1956 281
3.251. View northwest of Red shack, 1959 281
3.252. Map showing the location of the Vevers-Pfeiffer-Giese shack, no date 283
3.253. Vevers-Pfeiffer-Giese shack, 1965 283
3.254. Inner Dune Route, 2011 285
3.255. Outer Dune Route, 2011 286
3.256. Snail Road near Route 6, 2011 287
3.257. Snail Road near Dune Ridge, 2011 287
3.258. High Head Road, 2011 288
3.259. Beach plum blossoms and Margo/Gelb shack, 2011 293
3.260. View of Provincetown Monument, 2011 297
3.261. Sign between driveway and path for Thalassa, 2011 304
3.262. Charlie Schmid's buried vehicle, 2011 305

4. TREATMENT

4.0. Painting of Tasha (Kemp) shack, 2008 325

TABLES

3. ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

3.1. Summary of Landscape Characteristics and Features 306

4. TREATMENT

4.1. Treatment Alternatives 331
4.2. Summary of Treatment Guidelines and Tasks 345

DRAWINGS

1. SITE HISTORY

1. Period Plan, 1932 55
2. Period Plan, 1961 75
3. Period Plan, 1991 91

2. EXISTING CONDITIONS

4. Existing Conditions, 2011 115

FOREWORD

Along the windswept backshore of Truro and Provincetown lies a remote place that has captured the hearts and minds of all who have spent time there. Long before the designation of this area as the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, people were attracted to its remarkable landscape for inspiration, contemplation, and solitude. Today, this 1900-acre historic district, with its 18 dune shacks and associated landscape are preserved within Cape Cod National Seashore. The district is recognized by the National Register of Historic Places for its significance in the areas of art, literature, entertainment and recreation, architecture, and archeology for the period of 1920 to 1991.

The dunes and the shacks serve as a cultural link between the rugged coastal setting of the Atlantic Ocean on one side, and the bustling summer community of Provincetown on the other. Perhaps nowhere else in the National Seashore can one be so physically close, yet so intellectually and emotionally distant from development as is the case with the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District.

The district has been well documented through historic structure and ethnographic reports and National Register documentation. Additionally, artists, writers, and people with enduring associations have left a legacy of paintings, poetry, journals, photographs, and oral histories that provide a context for understanding what this special place has meant to people over time.

This cultural landscape report captures the setting within which the dune shacks reside. It chronicles the changing dune landscape—a vast area of wind-blown sand, peaks, and valleys, and its diversity of vegetation. It describes the sand roads and footpaths that provide access to and between the shacks, and the outhouses, decks, outdoor seating and cooking areas, and birdhouses that provide a distinct domestic setting.

The National Seashore's 1961 legislation and the 1998 General Management state the dual goal of identifying all of the Park's significant cultural landscapes and historic structures and nominating them to the National Register of Historic Places; and also the importance of preserving the way of life or "culture" established and maintained by the people who have lived on the Outer Cape. The critical information from this report, along with other documentation, will help ensure that the historic district's landscape, buildings, and traditions are maintained in perpetuity for future generations to understand, appreciate, and enjoy.

George E. Price, Jr.
Superintendent
Cape Cod National Seashore

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report was a collaborative effort of the staff at the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, Cape Cod National Seashore, and the Northeast Historic Architecture Program. At the Olmsted Center, Emily Donaldson authored the introduction, site history, and analysis chapters. Gretchen Hilyard prepared the existing conditions chapter and gathered historical information on the dune shacks. Margie Coffin Brown served as project manager, authored the treatment chapter, and contributed to the existing conditions and analysis chapters. Michael Commisso assisted with the documentation of existing conditions and prepared a Cultural Landscape Inventory for the historic district in 2008. Laura Roberts and Rumika Chaudhry prepared the period plans and site maps, Stephen Carrolla assisted with the narrative, and Christopher Stevens assisted with the documentation of existing conditions and the collection of baseline information about the shacks. Director Robert Page provided overall project guidance.

At Cape Cod National Seashore, Bill Burke, Park Historian and Compliance Coordinator for Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, served as park lead, coordinated site visits, and assisted with gathering historical documentation. Curator Hope Morrill provided historic photographs and documents from the park archives. Geographic Information Specialist Mark Adams provided map data layers and assisted with the delineation of the boundary of the historic district. Chief of Interpretation and Cultural Resources Sue Moynihan and Superintendent George Price provided overall project guidance.

Staff from the National Park Service Northeast regional cultural resource programs also assisted with the report. At the Historic Architecture Program, Judith Quinn Sullivan, Architectural Historian, shared historic images and documents gathered as part of the concurrent study, *Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic Structure Report, Cape Cod National Seashore*. Chuck Smythe, Ethnographer provided review comments. Paul Weinbaum, former Lead Historian and Elizabeth Igleheart, National Register Coordinator reviewed draft reports and refined the statement of significance.

Several members of the Provincetown community and greater area provided invaluable assistance in locating historic documents and images. Several paintings in the report are from the collection at the Provincetown Art Association and Museum, where Chris McCarthy, Director and James Zimmerman, Photo Archivisit assisted with the selection of landscape paintings of the dunes and

dune shacks. Additional dune paintings are from the art collection at the Provincetown Library. Special thanks to Peter Clemons and Marianne Benson, David and Connie Armstrong, Nathaniel and Mildred Champlin, Marcia and David Adams, and Geraldine Hill Fraser who contributed narrative histories and images from their family collections. Also in Provincetown, Laurel Guadazno, Education and Program Manager at the Pilgrim Monument and Provincetown Museum, assisted with the use of the historic photograph, postcard, and map collection. Josephine Del Deo and Doug Johnstone assisted with archival research at the Provincetown History Project Archives. Paul Gavin, Provincetown Assessor, assisted with use of the map collection at the town hall.

Additional individuals who assisted with the project include James W. Claflin from Lighthouse Antiques in Worcester, who shared historic postcards from his collection. Martha Richardson and Samantha van Gerbig at the Harvard University Collection of Historical Scientific Instruments assisted with the study of early aerial photographs of the historic district. Thanks also to artist David Forest Thompson, who assisted with documentation of the ongoing use of the landscape as a source of artistic inspiration, and pilot Bart Bartelsman, who contributed recent aerial photographs of the historic district.

Information gathered from shack occupants as part of Dr. Robert Wolfe's 2005 study, *Dwelling in the Dunes: Traditional Use of the Dune Shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District* was very helpful in documenting the individual shack histories. Three concurrent studies also informed this report: the draft "Dune Shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic Structure Report" prepared by Judith Quinn Sullivan; the final draft of the National Register Documentation for "Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District" prepared by Jenny Fields Scofield, Kristen Heitert, Virginia Adams, and Stephen Olausen; and the "Dune Shack Historic District Preservation and Use Plan/Environmental Assessment/Assessment of Effect" prepared by Vanasse Hangen Brustlin, Inc., Cape Cod National Seashore staff, and National Park Service regional staff.

INTRODUCTION

A cultural landscape report is the primary document used by the National Park Service to guide the treatment and management of a cultural landscape. This Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) for Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District documents the physical development of the landscape and provides guidance and recommendations on preserving the landscape characteristics and features that help convey the significance of the historic district. This information will in turn assist the National Park Service with the long term stewardship, management, and interpretation of the landscape associated with the dune shacks. The report includes treatment guidance for the district to address issues associated with the shifting sand dunes, access and circulation, changes in vegetation, viewsheds, erosion, land use, and maintenance requirements.

PROJECT SETTING

The dune shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars are located on the tip of the Outer Cape, along the "back shore" of Provincetown and Truro in Barnstable County, Massachusetts (Figures 1 and 2). The dune shacks are rustic, small, and weathered buildings, many of which were originally associated with the old Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station and its stewards. Transient in character, the shacks are constructed on pilings in order to allow their occasional relocation, raising, or lowering in the ever shifting dune environment. The severity of the climate in this area accelerates the need for ongoing maintenance of the shacks and the management of sand around buildings.



Figure 1. Aerial photograph looking west of the Dune Shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District (Collection of the Pilgrim Monument and Provincetown Museum, hereafter Pilgrim Monument Archives).

A unique and fragile resource, the Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places determined the dune shacks and setting eligible for listing as a historic district in 1989. National Register documentation, prepared in 2011, recognizes the significance of the district in the areas of art, literature, entertainment and recreation, architecture, and archeology for the period of 1920 to 1991.[1] The Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District contains eighteen extant dune shacks, which are owned and managed by the National Park Service. One privately owned shack is located outside the district boundary.

Both dunes and shacks serve as a cultural link between the rugged coastal setting of the Atlantic Ocean on one side and the bustling summer community of Provincetown on the other. After the establishment of the National Seashore in 1961, most of the dunes of Provincetown and Truro and the shacks built upon them became the property of the National Park Service. The eastern and western

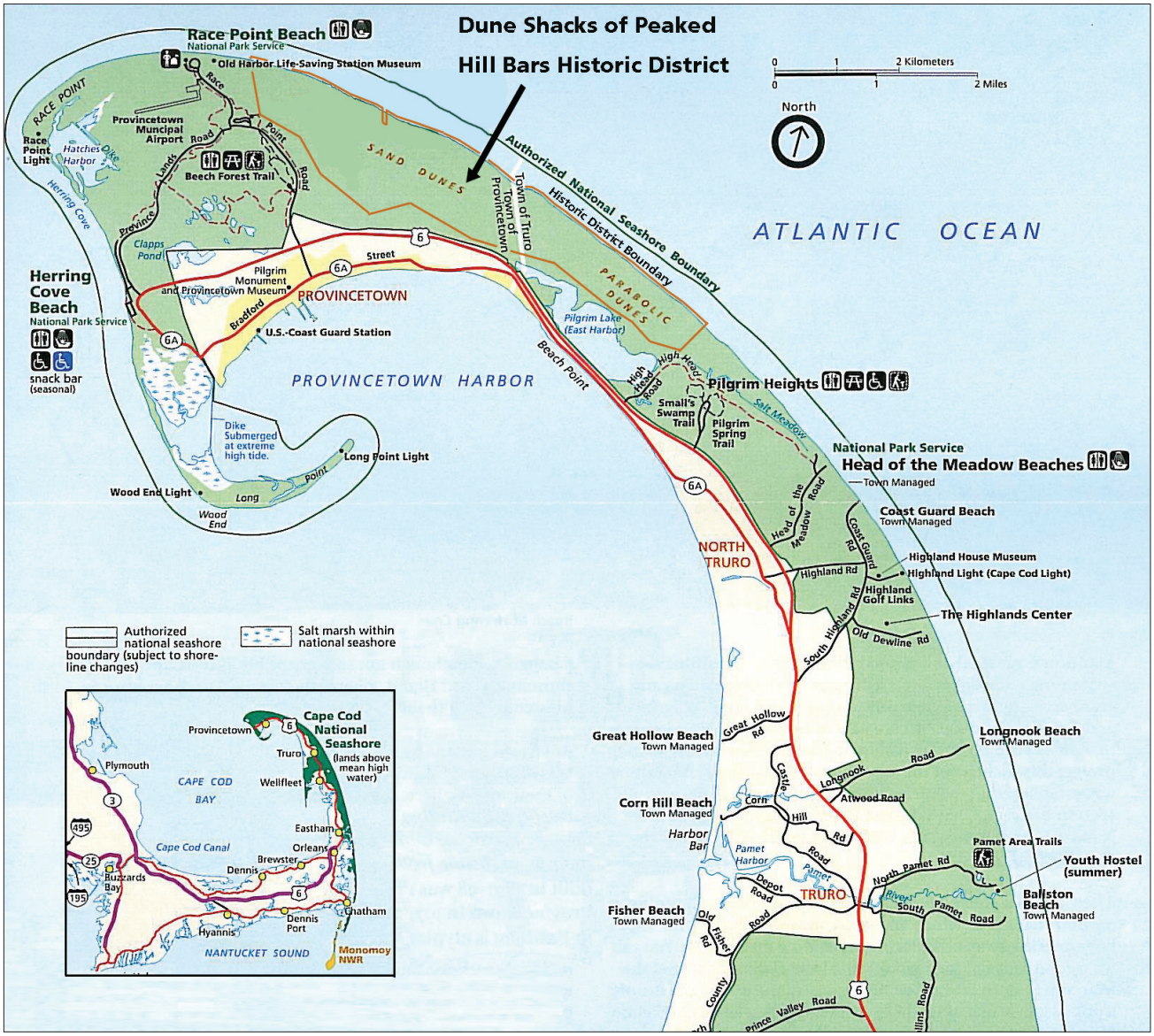


Figure 2. Location of the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District (Cape Cod National Seashore Brochure). The dune shacks are located in the areas labeled "sand dunes" and "parabolic dunes" in Provincetown and Truro.

ends of the district were previously state-owned as part of the Pilgrim Spring State Park and Province Lands State Reservation. The dune shacks are predominantly located on the foredune and inner dune along the outer beach (Figures 2 and 3). Some shacks were demolished under federal ownership prior to the historic district designation due to their deteriorating condition, as well as the park's opinion, prior to the National Register Determination of Eligibility, that they were not significant. Today, buildings owned by the National Park Service continue to be used as summer dwellings through reservations of use and occupancy, agreements, permits, and leases.

The boundary of the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District encompasses roughly 1,960 acres, including the high tide line of the shore to the north; the High Head Road the east; the crest of the upland dune to the south, termed the outer dune ridge; and the viewshed line to the west of the western cluster of shacks (see Figures 2 and 3).[2] This boundary includes both the dune shacks and the cultural landscape which surrounds them, as well as associated views as seen from the structures. Due to the shifting form and character of the dunes, these district limits are a close approximation and may move to various degrees in some locations. If necessary, the boundary line should be adjusted in order to encompass the dune shacks as well as the extent of the landscape to the crest of the outer dune ridge, wherever that may occur. The town of Provincetown is located to the southwest, the town of Truro to the southeast, the Atlantic Ocean to the north, and Race Point to the west. The district can be seen from the Provincetown Monument, the Province Lands Visitor Center, and from U.S. Route 6 looking north across Pilgrim Lake/East Harbor, where the highest dunes form the southern edge of the district.

METHODOLOGY AND SCOPE OF WORK

The cultural landscape report documents the physical history of the landscape, identifies significant defining landscape characteristics and features, and provides treatment guidance to the park, lessees, cooperators, and permittees. A companion report, "Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic Structure Report,"

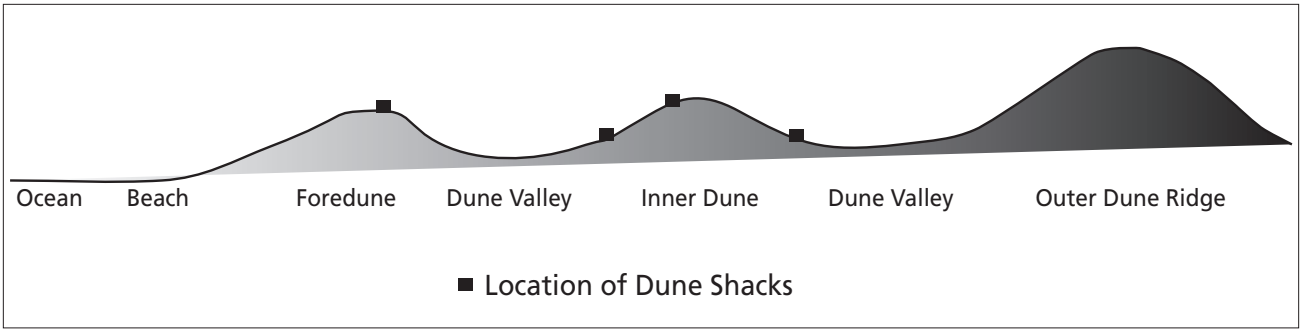


Figure 3. Dune morphology and location of the dune shacks on the foredune, inner dune, and dune valleys.

provides detail on the history, condition, and significance of the individual structures in the district. When appropriate, these two documents reference each other and use consistent nomenclature for the dune shack names.

The dune shack names are based on the occupants who historically used the shack for the longest period of time, rather than the original owners or builders. Further distinctions are included in parentheses. In some cases where dwellers overlapped or had extended associations, multiple names are ascribed. These names correspond with the contributing resources listed in the National Register documentation, "Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District," completed in 2011.

The CLR follows the guidelines established by the National Park Service *Management Policies* (2006), *Director's Order 28: Cultural Resource Management* (1998), *NPS 28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline* (1997), *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes* (1996), and *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques* (1998). The project team gathered historical information from the park archives and administrative files; the National Archives and Records Administration, Northeast Region located in Waltham, Massachusetts; and local historical repositories in Provincetown, Truro, and Wellfleet.

TERMINOLOGY

Some of the terminology commonly used in describing the Outer Cape requires clarification. Outer Cape is synonymous with Lower Cape, and the former term is used throughout this report unless specifically citing source material. The back shore is roughly defined as the dune area running along the east side of Cape Cod's outer arm, from Provincetown all the way to Monomoy in Chatham. The northern and westernmost portion of this area in Provincetown is called the Province Lands, some of which was once part of a state-owned reservation. At times it is also called the Provincelands. The Province Lands Hook is an area of marshes and dunes which composes the very northern tip of Cape Cod, formed over thousands of years by drifting sands, waves, and changing sea levels.[3]

A portion of this coast is marked by the Peaked Hill Bars, or a group of sand bars standing just off the coast of the back shore that reach around the east end of Provincetown to Truro. This name is also used to describe the shore area nearby, where the Peaked Hill used to stand on the location of the Margo/Gelb shack and close to the Kemp shack. Once the area's tallest barrier dune, the hill gradually blew away in the mid-twentieth century, a process most likely exacerbated by circulation routes over the dune.[4]

Numerous terms relate to the morphology of the dunes. The string of dunes closest to the beach is referred to as the foredune, while the next string or ridgeline inland is called the inner dune. Most of the shacks are located on the leeward slope of the foredune, in the valley between the foredune and inner dune, or they perch high on the side of the inner dune (see Figure 3). The inland and upland southern boundary of the historic district is referred to as the outer dune ridge. Some of the upland dunes are parabolic dunes, which are horseshoe-shaped mountains of sand shaped by the prevailing northwest wind. These mountains of sand rely upon a delicate balance between their two sides: the lee slope or slip face which collects blown sand, and the windward slope which shelters a fairly flat sand area and is gradually blown back in the direction of the wind.[5] A string of parabolic dunes lies north of East Harbor, which was formerly known as Pilgrim Lake or Inner Harbor.

SITE HISTORY OVERVIEW

The site history describes key developments, physical relationships, patterns, features, and important individuals and events relating to the changes that have taken place in the landscape. Specific characteristics documented include circulation systems, views, vegetation and cultivated areas, structures and utilities, building remnants, and small-scale features.

The authors draw from multiple primary and secondary sources including historic images and maps, aerial photographs, first hand accounts of dune shack dwellers, and correspondence. These accounts include Mary Heaton Vorse's *Time and the Town: A Provincetown Chronicle*; Josephine Del Deo's *The Dune Cottages of the Peaked Hill Bars: A Survey* and her *Compass Grass Anthology: A Collection of Provincetown Portraits;* as well as Clive Driver's *Looking Back*. The site history also builds on previous studies published by the National Park Service including *Historic Cultural Land Use Study of Lower Cape Cod* and *Dwelling in the Dunes*. Images were gathered from the park archives, the albums of dune shack occupants, online repositories, and the collection at the Provincetown Heritage Museum archives. Despite the wealth of information about the shacks, there are few records from the original dune dwellers that document their decisions on where to locate the shacks in the dunes.

Across its history, the landscape of the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District has been recognized as both unique and fragile. Native Americans used the back shore as a place to hunt and collect berries but did not actively cultivate its thin layer of fertile topsoil. One of the first Governors of Plymouth Colony, Thomas Prence, set aside the area for public use and put a tax on the fish caught there. Soon local fishermen were regularly using the back shore to dry their large

catches of fish, which swiftly began depleting the dunes of their meager vegetation. Escalating erosion issues subsequently resulted in Truro's measures against public grazing of animals, combined with requirements for annual planting of vegetation in the dunes. Yet despite these moves to preserve the landscape, the region's soil continued to erode. The stresses of the Revolutionary War aggravated the area's problems as British barricades blocked fishing and the land was strained to its furthest limits of production. By 1820 the towns of Truro and Provincetown were cleared of their woodlands, even as the fishing industry boomed. Between 1790 and 1837 Provincetown's fleet more than quadrupled, from a total of twenty fishing vessels to ninety-eight.

After over a century of exploitation the back shore had become a virtual desert of sand and wind, dramatically depicted by Henry David Thoreau in his 1865 account of hiking down the arm of the Cape. The landscape that he observed—an expanse only occasionally interrupted by a halfway house for shipwrecked sailors—underwent substantial alteration in the years that followed.

With the construction of the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station in 1872, the empty reaches of the Peaked Hill Bars area became an established site for human habitation. In these early years dune inhabitants reflected the creative pursuit of survival and contentment typical of the Outer Cape more broadly. Surfmen and their families were joined by casual hunters and fishermen. Starting in the early twentieth century, artists and other seekers of leisure began dwelling in the dunes as well.

In the first few decades of the twentieth century tourism thrived in the United States, and Cape Cod became a destination for diverse characters from around the world. With the completion of U.S. Route 6 in 1926, automobiles poured into Provincetown to absorb the quaint atmosphere of a fishing town with an unusual wealth of cultural activity. Among those drawn to the dunes in the first decades of the twentieth century were famous artists, writers and thinkers including Harry Kemp, John Reed, Mabel Dodge, Eugene O'Neill, Susan Glaspell, and Mary Heaton Vorse. Even as the local population dwindled with the fading maritime industry in Provincetown, tourism and art flourished. Eugene O'Neill established a summer home in the old Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station in 1919, and others soon followed him into the dunes.

Thus from the early twentieth century onward, a landscape recognized for centuries as desolate and fragile also became loved for its distinct character. Windswept structures popped up in the once deserted sands behind the foredune of the back shore, at first in association with the Life-Saving and Coast Guard Stations and later independently. Throughout the twentieth century these buildings have borne an ongoing struggle against the relentlessly moving dunes. The dune shacks themselves, most of which have been moved and many of which were built to sustain relocation, are a product of this harsh and dynamic environment.

From these shacks dune dwellers could enjoy views of the ocean or the Pilgrim Monument, or simply absorb the soft, uniquely rolling shapes of the surrounding dunes. They took advantage of fishing, hunting, and berry foraging opportunities on the back shore and collected building materials and natural curiosities from the beach. Some grew their own small gardens or built playground areas for their children, while others wandered the dunes, reveling in the surprisingly diverse array of wildlife found there. Many used their time on the back shore for contemplation, creative work, socializing, or pure relaxation.

Those fascinated by the dunes of Provincetown and Truro in the 1920s and subsequent years ultimately helped draw public attention to the unique dune landscape. In the mid-twentieth century, many of those who were attracted to the dunes joined political leaders and citizens across the Cape in efforts to establish Cape Cod National Seashore as a means to protect the Outer Cape from over-development. Preservation was recognized as a national priority, and in 1961 this area was delineated within the administrative boundary of the Cape Cod National Seashore. Dune shack dwellers, however, were concerned about federal acquisition of the dune shacks and formed the Great Beach Cottage Owners Association in 1962 to unite against National Park Service ownership. Faced with an adversarial relationship from the outset, the park negotiated acquisitions and lease agreements individually rather than as a class action. With long term lease agreements in place, most dune dwellers continued to maintain the structures and their surrounding environment. Relocations continued due to the constantly changing landscape. In some cases, shacks were lifted due to burying sands, or built on top off, as was done for the Chanel shack in 1976.

Dune shack preservationists formed additional organizations in the 1980s and 90s. The Peaked Hill Trust, founded in 1985, assumed an active role in the management and maintenance of the shacks. Most dwellers also supported the listing of the dune shacks on the National Register and supported the preparation of a Determination of Eligibility for a historic district in 1989. Most recently, the Peaked Hill Trust took a lead role in the reconstruction of the Malkin/Ofsevit shack in 1991 after the shack was destroyed by an accidental fire. Additional non-profit organizations formed in the 1990s assumed stewardship roles for the shacks including the Provincetown Community Compact, established in 1993, and the Outer Cape Artist in Residency Consortium founded in 1995.

SUMMARY OF EXISTING CONDITIONS

A team of landscape architects, architects, and historians from the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation documented the existing condition of the cultural landscape of the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District in 2006 and 2007, with additional documentation up through September 2011. Staff from the

Cape Cod National Seashore and Art's Dune Tours of Provincetown provided transportation throughout the dunes of Provincetown and Truro. Individual shacks were reached by hiking along the beach and on various footpaths and vehicle trails throughout the area, providing the recorders with a firsthand experience of the circulation routes utilized throughout the district.

Between the site visits, the amount of change in the landscape and the ongoing challenge of managing the moving sand around the shacks was clearly evident. Set in a vast area of wind-blown sand, the peaks and valleys of the dune landscape are covered with a diversity of vegetation while each shack has a distinct domestic setting that typically includes an outhouse, well, fuel storage, solar and/or wind-power, decks, outdoor seating and cooking areas, footpaths, benches, woodpiles, birdhouses, planters, signs, fencing, and sculptures made of found objects.

The project team used Global Positioning System (GPS) units in the field to document the boundary of the historic district. The team also used a current set of Geographic Information System (GIS) map layers to document shack locations and associated features. An overlay of aerial photographs from 1932, 1938, 1947, 1960, and 1991 aided in the identification of former sites of moved or removed shacks and outbuildings. In the future, GPS and GIS technology will be useful in documenting changes in the dune landscape.

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

The historic district was determined eligible by the Keeper of the National Register in 1989. The documentation was completed in 2011 for listing under National Register Criteria A, B, C, and D for the district's association with the historic development of American art and literature; association with the development of recreation on Cape Cod; architectural representation of a rare and fragile property type; association with the productive literary career of the poet, Harry Kemp, and its potential to yield prehistoric and historic archeological resources. The documentation recognizes the cultural landscape as the linchpin of its significance and lists the Peaked Hill Bars landscape as a contributing site. As part of the analysis chapter, this report articulates in greater detail the characteristics and features within the landscape that make the district significant. The period of significance, updated by the concurrent National Register documentation, spans from 1920 to 1991, encompassing the playwright Eugene O'Neill's residence in the dunes and the oldest extant shacks in the district, through the designation of the Cape Cod National Seashore, and up to the reconstruction of the Malkin/Ofsevit shack in 1991. This period includes the residence of poet Harry Kemp in the Kemp shack from the 1930s until his death in 1960.

While certain properties are not typically considered eligible for the National Register—including moved properties and reconstructed buildings—the dune shacks meet criteria considerations that allow them to be eligible. Several of the shacks have been moved away from the eroding shoreline but retain their setting within the dune landscape and remain within the proximity of other dune shacks in the historic district. For this reason they meet the requirements of National Register Criteria Consideration B, having preserved the architectural values, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association with the dune landscape.

Though several buildings were lost due to deterioration and erosion prior to historic district designation, the historic district retains the seven aspects defined by the National Register: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The shacks are located in the heart of the harsh, wind-swept dune landscape, far removed from the densely developed community of Provincetown. Unprotected from the natural elements, particularly wind and sun, the shacks retain their physical relationship of small clusters and isolated outposts, set at distances of 200 feet or more from each other, predominantly one-story in height and located on the sides and hollows of the dunes. The design, materials, and workmanship of the shacks is simple and vernacular, reflecting a close relationship with the surrounding landscape. Most shacks have decks, outdoor seating areas, and outhouses; utilize a network of footpaths; use recycled or found materials; and apply ingenious and simple strategies for managing the movement of sand, water, waste, heat, and electricity. The landscape is still devoid of forest cover, though National Park Service stabilization efforts and a reduction of the road and trail network in the dunes have resulted in an increase in woody vegetation. Through the efforts of the Peaked Hill Trust, Provincetown Community Compact, Outer Cape Artist in Residency Consortium, and some individual dune dwellers, there remains a strong association with artists, writers, and the Provincetown community.

SUMMARY OF TREATMENT GUIDELINES

The treatment chapter reviews the management directives outlined in *Forging a Collaborative Future: General Management Plan, Cape Cod National Seashore* (1998) and the recent draft "Dune Shack Historic District Preservation and Use Plan/Environmental Assessment/Assessment of Effect" (2011). The report then describes treatment issues, and presents treatment recommendations in accordance with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes* (1996).

A key management objective stated in the General Management Plan is to "encourage a commitment to the stewardship of the buildings, places, activities, and artifacts of Cape Cod that best exemplify its traditional character, and

conserve them to ensure their continuing contribution to the culture of Cape Cod, in collaboration with local communities." [6] The treatment approach recommended for the historic district is rehabilitation, which will allow the park to perpetuate use of the dune shacks as remote, inspirational retreats while managing the shacks and circulation system in a harsh, ever changing environment. The treatment principles focus on the protection of natural systems within the historic district and the continued access to, use, and maintenance of the existing shacks in their current isolated settings or cluster arrangements.

Specific treatment recommendations respond to existing or potential threats to the historic integrity of the district, including the management of shifting dunes and erosion, the protection of viewsheds, the removal of non-native invasive vegetation, the use of wood and native natural materials rather than plastic for erosion control, and the preservation of small-scale landscape features associated with the domestic setting of each shack. In combination with previous chapters, this documentation supports park consultation responsibilities under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act as well as the National Environmental Policy Act.

ENDNOTES

1 Jenny Fields Scofield, Kristen Heitert, Virginia Adams, and Stephen Olausen, "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District," (PAL, 2011) 25.

2 Elizabeth Igleheart, NPS NER National Register Coordinator, "Delineating the boundary of the Dune Shacks of the Peaked Hill Bar Historic District," (Meeting Notes, Boston, MA: National Park Service, February 4, 2011).

3 John M. Zeigler, Sherwood D. Tuttle, Herman J. Tasha and Graham S. Giese, "The Age and Development of the Provincelands Hook, Outer Cape Cod, Massachusetts," *Limnology and Oceanography* Vol. 10: 298-311, November 1965 (http://aslo.org/lo/toc/vol_10/supplement2/R0298.pdf).

4 Robert J. Wolfe, *Dwelling in the Dunes: Traditional Use of the Dune Shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, Cape Cod* (Boston, MA: National Park Service, 2005), 19, 145.

5 Regina T. Binder, "Comprehensive Conservation Treatment and Management Plan for the Dune Shacks of Provincetown, Massachusetts," (Columbia University, 1990), 14-6.

6 U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Forging a Collaborative Future: General Management Plan, Cape Cod National Seashore* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998), 18.



Figure 1.0 (above). Tourists exploring the barren dune landscape, 1914 (photo album, Cape Cod NS Archives).

CHAPTER 1. SITE HISTORY

This chapter details the history of the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District by period, from the area's early history to the present. The contact period describes the geological processes that formed the Outer Cape, the use of the area by Paleoindians and later the Pamets, and the arrival of European explorers. The second period, 1620 to 1830, chronicles the period of European settlement and land use patterns, which included widespread harvesting of the Outer Cape's natural resources. These early periods are similar to those presented in the *Historic Cultural Land Use Study of Lower Cape Cod* (1997).

The third period, 1830 to 1919, describes the effects of industrialization on the Outer Cape, most notably the introduction of the railroad, automobiles, and Route 6. On the back shore this period was punctuated by the construction of the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station in 1872 and the subsequent addition of various ancillary structures, some of which became the earliest dune shacks. The fourth period starts in 1919, when playwright Eugene O'Neill took up residence in the decommissioned Old Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station. His move signaled the beginning of dune shack use as a place for entertainment and artistic inspiration rather than the highly regimented responsibilities of a life-saving station. Occupants of the shack included poet Harry Kemp, who first stayed in the dunes in the mid 1920s and thereafter continued to dwell in the dunes until his death in 1960. The fourth period ends in 1961 with the designation of the Cape Cod National Seashore. The fifth period from 1961 to 1991 describes the role of the National Park Service in managing the dune landscape, the formation of local organizations to protect and manage the shacks, and increased tourism. The final period extends from 1991 to present and covers the recent history of the management and preservation of the shacks.

CONTACT PERIOD, PRE-1620

GEOLOGICAL HISTORY

Encompassing the area from Orleans to Provincetown, the Outer Cape was formed by streams of melt-water that drained westward from the South Channel Lobe into Glacial Lake Cape Cod, some 23,000 years ago.[1] This strip of land is a late Wisconsin glacial landform and a surviving fragment of the last great ice age, currently resting on Precambrian and Paleozoic crystalline basement rocks 50 to 275 meters below sea level.[2] As sea levels rose about 15,000 years ago, marine

erosion escalated and the area was gradually transformed into outwash plains composed of rocky continental debris.[3] In the words of Cape Cod devotee and writer Henry Beston:

> Moving down into the sea, later glaciations passed over the old beaches and the fragments of plain, and, stumbling over them, heaped upon these sills their accumulated drift of gravels, sand, and stones.[4]

As the glacier retreated it left the shifting sands of Provincetown behind, an undulating expanse that would remain devoid of any substantial soil buildup or vegetation for thousands of years. Even while the rest of the Cape stabilized under a cover of boreal forest, eroded sediments from the glacial drift travelled northward to create the Province Lands Hook around 6,000 years ago.[5] This area included the land north and west of High Head and was made up of sandy marine deposits covered with post-glacial deposits of unstabilized dune sands (Figure 1.1). In a process replicated throughout the back shore, the outer reaches of the arm of Cape Cod developed thus:

> Waves remove sand from the beach and currents carry it away. Some sand is deposited on the sea floor, while other material is added to landforms like the Provincelands Hook. The wind erodes sand from the unvegetated scarp face, and some of this sediment is deposited on top of the cliffs in wedge-shaped

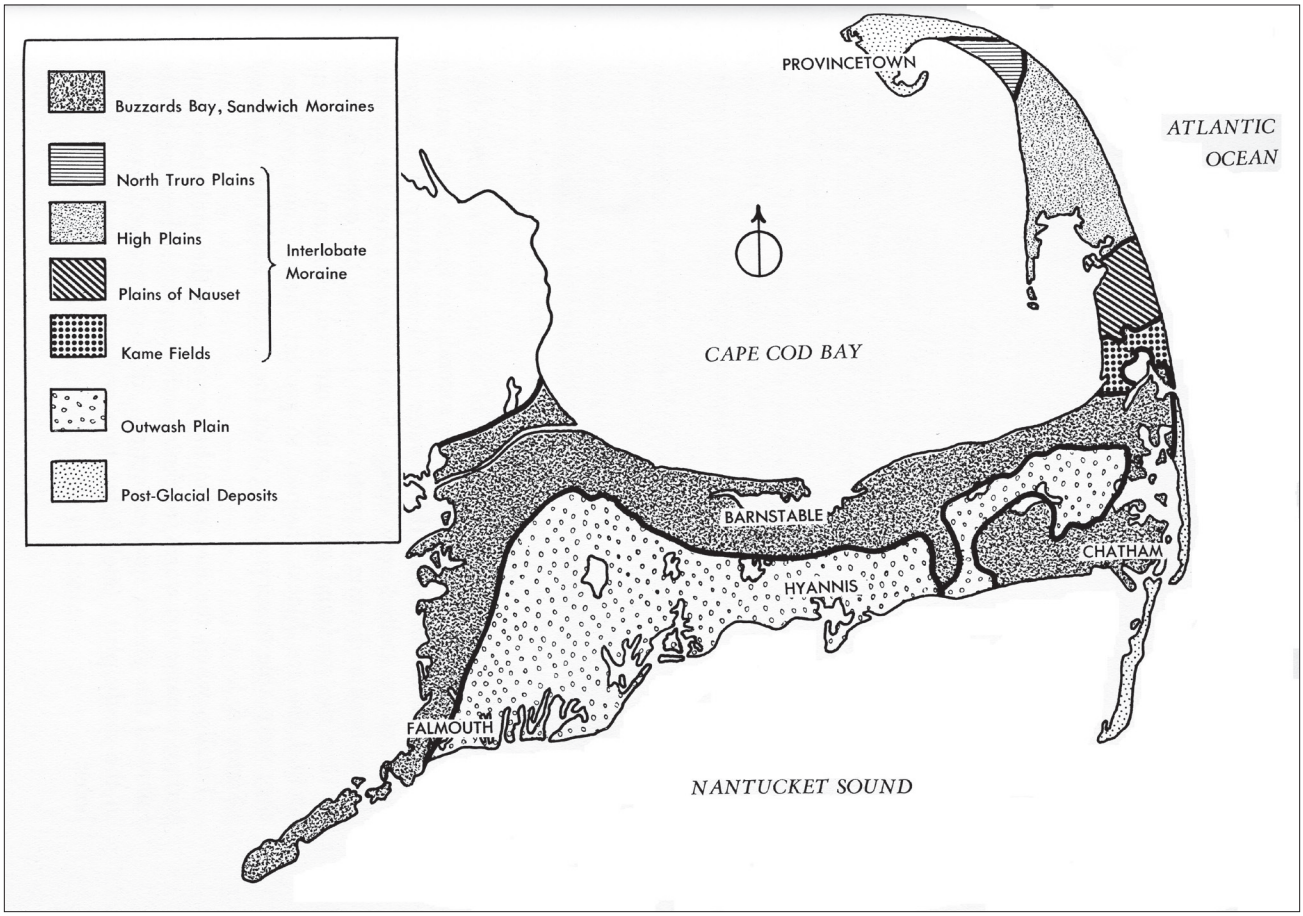


Figure 1.1. Diagram showing the geological characteristics of Cape Cod. Most of the Outer Beach area is a post-glacial deposit of sand (Chamberlain, 1964, 97).

> foredunes. These dunes advance inland as the cliff edge retreats. Foredune advance is rapid, and only pioneer plants like beach grass are able to maintain a foothold on them. The wind also shapes the unvegetated parts of the Province-lands into large parabolic dunes.[6]

These dunes existed not only in the Province Lands but to the east and south, in the Peaked Hill Bars area. Giant parabolic mounds of sand continue to be formed and reformed endlessly by the wind, growing to almost 100 feet in height. Indeed, in the shore zones such as the Peaked Hill Bars ocean waves and currents, wind, and sea level rise have been the major agents of change.[7] Although this area cannot be said to have cliffs, the same process of wear and movement can be witnessed today. Barrier foredunes shelter inner dunes where sediment deposits collect and foster stunted patches of vegetation which strive for some stability in the ever-shifting sand.[8]

The aeolian and marine deposits and other glacial drift material make the dunes highly permeable. Precipitation thus soaks easily through the soil to the water table, which stands just above sea level.[9] Of this land Henry David Thoreau wrote in the 1850s:

> For the first half of the Cape large blocks of stone are found, here and there, mixed with the sand, but for the last thirty miles boulders, or even gravel, are rarely met with. . .Above the sand, if the surface is subjected to agricultural tests, there is found to be a thin layer of soil gradually diminishing from Barnstable to Truro, where it ceases; but there are many holes and rents in this weather-beaten garment not likely to be stitched in time, which reveal the naked flesh of the Cape, and its extremity is completely bare.[10]

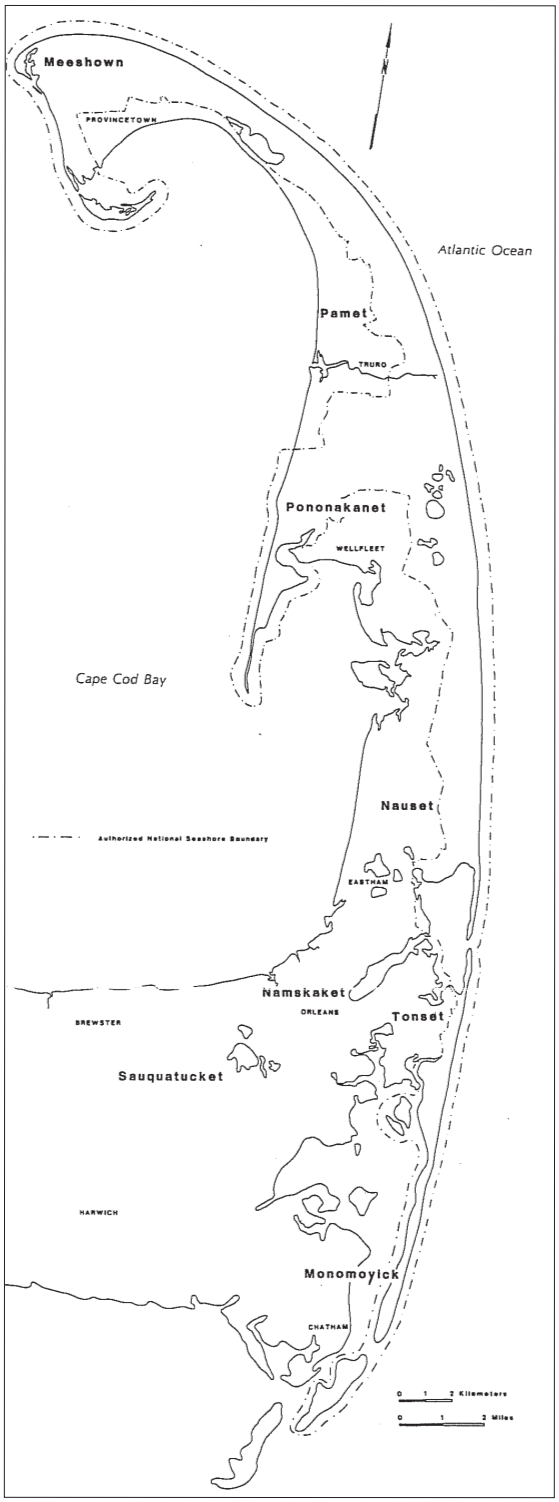
Similar to most of the non-wetland areas of the Outer Cape, the soils of Provincetown and North Truro are classified as Carver coarse sand, loamy sand, or loamy coarse sand which is deep, excessively drained, and acidic.[11]

NATIVE AMERICANS ON THE BACK SHORE

It is likely that even as the land continued to form, it was utilized and inhabited by humans. The presence of Paleoindians on Cape Cod dates to between 10,000 and 12,000 years ago.[12] Though rising sea levels and severe land erosion has probably destroyed much of the physical evidence for these early inhabitants, the local population appears to have increased during the Early and Middle Archaic Periods, around 6,000 to 8,000 years ago. The oldest pottery and arrowhead remains found on the Cape date to around this period, some 7,700 years ago.[13] From the subsequent Late Archaic Period, or between 3,000 and 6,000 years ago, two burial sites from the culturally distinct Susquehanna Tradition were found in Eastham and Orleans.[14] Indigenous sites have also been found in the nearby Province Lands.[15]

The Outer Cape was historically inhabited by a branch of the Wampanoag federation of tribes known as the Pamets (Figure 1.2).[16] The word "pamet" also referred to the local valleys that extend all the way from the ocean to Cape Cod Bay, whose more fertile soil and shelter from the wind proved optimal for early human settlement.[17] In areas with soil fit for cultivation, the Pamets planted corn (*Zea mays*), squash (*Cucurbita, sp.*), beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*), and tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*), which could then be used for consumption as well as trade goods.[18] The same inland regions also likely harbored game such as deer, rabbit, and fox, while the shoreline was used for clamming, fishing, and drift whaling.[19] The shoreline teamed seasonally with plovers, sand pipers, gulls, terns, herons, loons, grebes, cormorants, geese, and ducks.[20]

Figure 1.2. Map of Cape Cod with Native American place names (Holmes et al., n.d., 222).



In the deepest, most sheltered valleys of the dunes the water table is high enough to create small bogs with low nitrogen levels where cranberries (*Vaccinium macrocarpon*), club-mosses (*Lycopodium sp.*), and insect-eating sundews (*Drosera sp.*) grow. The Pamets made their pemmican, a food staple high in energy and easy to store, from a combination of dried cranberries, salted venison, and melted fat.[21] Cranberries were also used by the Native Americans as a food, fabric dye, and healing agent.[22]

Aside from berry picking it is unlikely that the Peaked Hill Bars area ever had much potential for the agricultural practices typical of the Pamets, due to the shallow, exceedingly fragile soil and shifting sand. In many areas of the Outer Cape, Native Americans periodically burned the understory vegetation in order to facilitate agriculture. This practice probably contributed to the establishment and enduring presence of the hardy pitch pine (*Pinus rigida*) throughout the region.[23]

The Pamets were among the first to utilize the unusually diverse environment of the Outer Cape. They would have quickly found the coastal, wetland, and upland resources of the area easily accessible from centrally located living areas.[24] Ready access to water was one convenience of the Peaked Hill Bars area, as iron stains still indicate where it stands just a few feet under the surface of the sand.[25] Near the height of the area's use by Native Americans, the Norse may have visited the area. Leif Ericson is said to have visited these shores in 1003 and remarked upon the "long and sandy strands" of land which made up the back shore of Outer Cape Cod, later described as the area between Race Point and the Truro town line.[26]

EUROPEAN EXPLORATION

In 1602 the British explorer Bartholomew Gosnold named the area Cape Cod, after observing an abundance of these fish in its cold waters. He also had one of the earliest encounters with a Native American in Provincetown Harbor, crossing paths with a young man who wore disks of copper in his ears and may have been staying there only seasonally.[27] In 1605 the French explorer Samuel de Champlain called the perilous waters of the Cape's outer shore "Mallebarre" (Figure 1.3).[28] Archeological evidence found in nearby Truro indicates intensive settlement of the area around this time, particularly along the shores of Cape Cod bay.[29] Visiting the area in 1614, Captain John Smith was the first to make an accurate and detailed map of Cape Cod. The same map later guided the Pilgrims in their investigation of the area.[30]

On the whole, little is known of how the landscape of the Peaked Hill Bars may have changed during the contact period. At the time of European contact, different pieces of land on the Outer Cape were cleared and cultivated on a rotating basis, which created a landscape of relatively open areas off-set by others with more dense vegetation.[31] Structures that existed during this period were probably temporary, and akin to the Wampanoag "wigwams" described by the Pilgrims in 1620.[32]

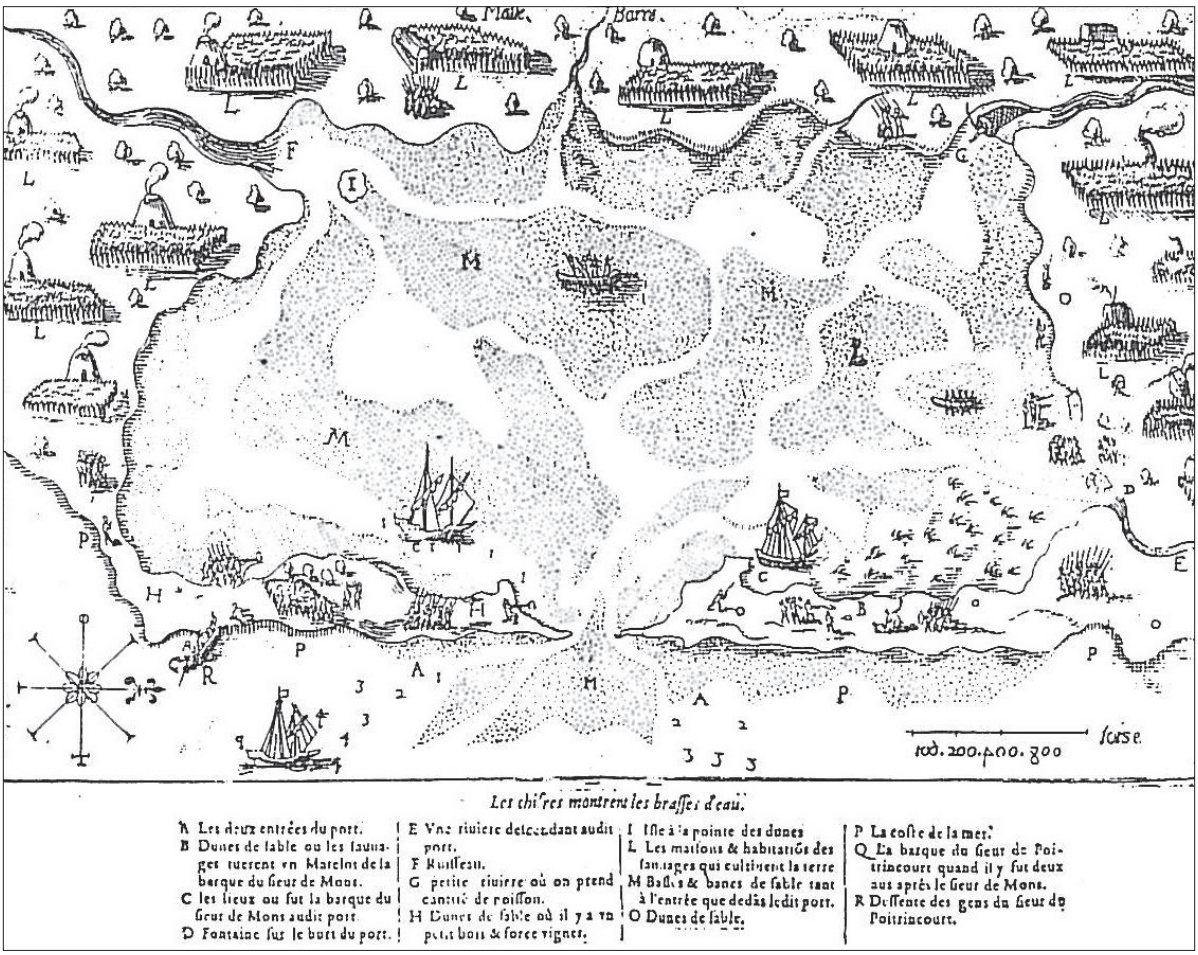


Figure 1.3. Samuel de Champlain's map of Nauset Harbor showing the Native American settlements that he encountered, from 1605 (Champlain, 1912 [1605]).

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT, COLONIAL, AND FEDERAL PERIODS, 1620 TO 1830

FIRST ENCOUNTER AND COLONIAL SETTLEMENT

The dunes of Provincetown and North Truro were likely one of the first landforms spotted by the Pilgrims when they reached Cape Cod in 1620. Their initial encounter with Native Americans, and the same spot where the *Mayflower Compact* was signed, took place on land which would afterwards compose a portion of Provincetown. The Pilgrims found the area fit for fishing mackerel, bass, and cod, but chose to settle across the bay, at Plymouth.[33] Upon exploring the nearby Truro area they found fields cleared by the Wampanoag and a cache of corn around the spot later dubbed Corn Hill. At the time the Pamets of Truro probably did not have concentrated villages, but were instead dispersed across a broad area and cultivated crops on a rotational basis. They gathered quahogs and clams, harvested oysters and scallops, hunted deer, and caught fish in weirs on the coastal flats of the bay.[34] At the outset of the seventeenth century, however, this way of life was already disappearing.

In 1629 a British royal patent granted the Plymouth Colony jurisdiction over the land from Cohasset to Narragansett Bay, including all of Cape Cod.[35] Before long this area was platted into towns, as settlers in the 1640s spread to the Outer Cape in search of new land for farming.[36] In 1654 the Governor of Plymouth Colony, Thomas Prence, bought a deed for an area including the dunes outside Provincetown from a Native American named Sampson, who claimed ownership of the parcel.[37] Thus with the arrival of European inhabitants on the Outer Cape, a landscape originally carpeted with a forest of diverse trees and shrubs rapidly gave way to open fields filled with corn and other crops, where the soil could provide the proper support. The strident clearing methods and intensive agricultural activities required to maintain this new life on the Cape nearly deforested the entire region, causing the limited fertility of its sandy soils to be all but lost.[38]

In response to the clearly fragile state of the area's natural resources, the Plymouth Colony established the Province Lands area as a fishing reserve, or common public lands for so-called "fishing improvements," in 1654.[39] Though the logging of the land itself did not cease until the dunes were entirely deforested, the Province Lands represent the first public lands of the United States. Activities therein were thus regulated by Governor Prence, whose laws aimed to benefit the local community. For example, his tax on the fish caught in the Province Lands helped increase revenue for the colony's public schools.[40] The eastern boundary of the Province Lands is east of the Cohen shack and just west of the Fleurant shack, thus the state's first reserve overlaps with the western end of the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District.

The first settlement of the Provincetown area took place in 1680, not far from the spot of the Pilgrim's first landing. By Mary Heaton Vorse's account this was no more than "a huddle of fishing shacks," yet "so roisterous were these first settlers that pernickety [sic] Truro petitioned 'to know if the Cape Cod was in their jurisdiction or not, so they could deal with some persons.'"[41] So the earliest seeds of tension between Provincetown and Truro took root. In 1684 the colonists of Eastham purchased much of what would become the town of Truro from the Pamets, though Europeans did not begin living there until 1700. With the merging of the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies in 1692, Cape Cod became part of the new Province of Massachusetts, and the public lands protected by Governor Prence were officially named the Province Lands.[42] By 1705 about 130 settlers inhabited the harbor area of the future town of Provincetown.[43] For the incorporation of Truro in 1709, the new Province Lands were used as a boundary reference.[44]

The northern portion of so-called "Truroe" was in 1714 identified as the Cape Cod Precinct.[45] Settlements were established at High Head and East Harbor, and before long had spread to Pond Village, Great Hollow, Truro Village, and South Truro (Figure 1.4).[46] Quickly recognizing the correlation between tree loss and dune destabilization, Truro's first laws from the same year mention the need to prevent further deforestation.[47] Evidently the popularity of the back shore among fishermen for drying fish had moreover caused the destruction of substantial amounts of dune grass and shrubs in the area, thus contributing to the issue of blowing sand. As a result, Chapter 3 of the Acts of 1714 specified that Cape Cod's harbor "is in danger of being damnified, if not made wholly unserviceable, by destroying the trees standing on the said cape (if not timely prevented), the trees and bushes being of great service to keep the sand from being driven into the harbor by the wind."[48]



Figure 1.4. Map of Cape Cod, showing European place names, a few structures and Provincetown's East Harbor in 1717 (Holmes et al. n.d., 224).

Inhabitants of the dunes outside Provincetown and Truro were initially assigned to this jurisdiction under Truro management, but this arrangement lasted only a short time. In 1727 the Cape Cod Precinct, which included those settlers living in the dunes, was incorporated as Provincetown. Yet oddly enough, the Act of Incorporation for the town did not relinquish rights of land ownership. Thus the land on which Provincetown currently stands remained under the jurisdiction

of the Province and later the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as the Province Lands until 1893, when the town finally established ownership of that portion of state land.[49]

Meanwhile the colonists were working to extend King's Highway, also known as County Road, out to the tip of Cape Cod. In 1720 it reached Truro, and only seven years later arrived at newly established Provincetown. Nonetheless, the consistently poor condition of this road meant that for years to come the easiest way to access the Outer Cape would be by water, despite the land route.[50] For over a century King's Highway was traveled by the Provincetown stagecoach, which stubbornly traversed a stretch of back shore along the north and east shore of East Harbor. The unpredictable nature of the surrounding dunes made this section of road perilously vulnerable to burial by displaced sand. Some stories even tell of "the stagecoach turning over, and dumping its passengers out into the sand. At any rate, in times of stormy weather and high winds, the stagecoach lumbered along, axle-deep in sand."[51] Considering these conditions, there is little wonder that nautical transportation persisted as the preferred method of travel to the Outer Cape.

The same soil erosion issues which aggravated land transport also buried local agricultural fields. The town meadows of Truro and Provincetown fell victim to the onslaught of sand in the 1730s, and threatened to disappear altogether. An act passed by the Massachusetts General Court in 1739 attempted to curb this trend by forbidding the grazing of animals on any affected areas. It also required residents to plant beach grass (*Ammophila breviligulata*) each year. Other vegetation planted in an effort to control the moving sand included Scotch broom (*Cytisus acoparius*), native pines (*Pinus sp.*), bayberries (*Myrica pensylvanica*), and buckwheat (*Fagopyrum esculentum*).[52]

In view of the land's limited production capacity, the early economies of Truro and Provincetown were driven to develop joint maritime and agricultural industries in order to survive. Whaling in particular became hugely popular as the common pilot whales, or blackfish, were highly valued for their blubber, bone, teeth, and oil. What began as a tradition of driving stray blackfish aground in the shallow waters of Cape Cod Bay swiftly grew into a full-blown industry, and when whales could no longer be found close at hand, Provincetown residents ventured out to sea in pursuit.[53] By 1737, so enticing were the benefits of the whaling trade that in some cases it left only twelve men at home.[54]

The fragile nature of Provincetown's fisheries and local environment influenced the economic security of its inhabitants, and in 1748 the town's population numbered only two or three families. Without any viable alternatives such as agriculture or animal husbandry, local residents relied heavily upon their continued success in the fluctuating industries of fishing and whaling. In 1755

Provincetown had three solitary homes, while failed to appear in the Provincial Census of 1765. Still, renewed maritime pursuits soon drew a fresh wave of residents to the small settlement.[55] By 1775 the number of houses in Provincetown had increased to twenty, with a total population of 205. The inhabitants of the nearby town of Truro had similarly swelled by 33 percent from 1765 to 1776, when the population hit a high of 1,227.[56] Here residents built whaling vessels in the Pamet River, while several wharves were established at Indian Neck and elsewhere for fishing and coastal trade. [57]

REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Yet even as they worked to establish themselves in this strange land, the colonists were forging a new future cradled by their wild surroundings and the republican ideals drifting in from France. After fifteen years of escalating tensions between the colonies and Great Britain the Revolutionary War finally erupted in 1775, breaking upon the shores of New England like a fierce, stormy sea.

As a solitary colonial outpost sticking out into the Atlantic, Cape Cod became particularly vulnerable to manipulation and attack. Thus no sooner had local fisheries finally begun to prosper than they were met with the obstacles of war. Nautical activities of every kind were severely curbed by the powerful and unyielding barricades of the British fleet, while fishing and deep-sea whaling throughout the Outer Cape came to an abrupt halt.[58]

Due to the persistence of British raids during the war, the outpost of Provincetown was temporarily abandoned, while other towns along the Outer Cape were thrown into various states of desperation.[59] Many local fishermen found themselves forced to farm, smuggle, or privateer in order to support their families. Despite the poor soil, Truro residents managed to keep cattle, pigs, sheep, horses, and oxen in addition to cultivating corn, rye, oats, barley, and wheat.[60] During the war Truro was also protected by a local militia, which successfully repulsed a British attack at Pond Village.[61] Independence soon granted to these early settlements of Cape Cod a whole new source of strength, spirit, and determination.

Though historic literature makes little mention of the land facing the Peaked Hill Bars during this era, attention is frequently paid to the bars themselves, which caused the demise of countless vessels. One of the most notorious of these was the frigate *Somerset*, a British man-of-war. This ship had stood in Boston Harbor on the night of Paul Revere's ride, just before the Battles of Lexington and Concord, and then gone on to storm Bunker Hill in the Battle of Bunker Hill during the Revolutionary War. Yet in early November of 1778 the same vessel was stranded helplessly on the Peaked Hill Bars, driven aground by a strong northeast gale. Residents of Provincetown and Truro watched the wreck wash ashore from up on

High Pole Hill, and summoned officials who took the British captain and other survivors prisoner.[62] The disaster was much celebrated on the Cape and in Boston, as one small victory in the struggle against British rule. Relic hunters carried off most of what remained of the wreck a century later, when shifting sands exposed a portion of its skeleton.[63]

POST-WAR RECOVERY AND GROWTH

Shipwrecks along the back shore continued to provide a valuable source of income for the struggling communities of the Outer Cape, particularly after the Revolutionary War. For instance, one English vessel destroyed between Race Point and the Peaked Hill Bars was dubbed a providential wreck, as it apparently carried "every imaginable necessity" in its hold.[64] The frequency of similar accidents on Cape Cod made beachcombing a legitimate source of income along the back shore. Indeed, according to Vorse:

> So profitable was wrecking, the stripping of ships, the beachcombing of wreckage on the back side, that the popular sentiment of the Cape was against making this coast safer.[65]

Years later, in 1854, the keeper of Nauset Light shared the same story with Ralph Waldo Emerson. According to Emerson, when the construction of this lighthouse was first proposed it was met with "obstinate resistance on Cape Cod. . .as it would injure the wrecking business."[66]

In spite of this almost barbaric attitude, wreckers can be counted among the first lifesavers on the Cape, as they occasionally found themselves drawn away from pillage to save imperiled human lives.[67] In the words of Thoreau from his book, *Cape Cod*,

> . . .we saw hardly a track to show that any had ever crossed this desert. Yet I was told that some are always out on the Back-side night and day in severe weather, looking for wrecks, in order that they may get the job of discharging the cargo, or the like, — and thus shipwrecked men are succored.[68]

Yet, even with help from the profits of beachcombing, inhabitants of the Outer Cape took a slow road to recovery following the Revolutionary War. Relations with Great Britain remained strained for some years. In an effort to stimulate the nation's ailing commercial fisheries, the federal government granted bounties in 1789 and 1792.[69]

In 1786 the Massachusetts Humane Society was founded, representing the first attempt to organize relief for shipwrecked seafarers in the United States and Cape Cod. Gradually maritime pursuits began to pick up again, and in 1797 the federal government built the first lighthouse on Cape Cod, Highland Light, which was not far from the village of Truro. In Provincetown the renewed success of the

fishing industry once again prompted local growth, and by 1800 the town had 144 dwellings, 90 stores, five shops, ten saltworks, and five herring smokehouses.[70]

Fishermen on Cape Cod also benefited from their location, as they were able to manage short voyages out to George's Bank despite the tight political circumstances.[71] After a brief lag in growth during the War of 1812, both Truro and Provincetown thrived. Echoing trends witnessed earlier during colonial settlement, the land in these towns was heavily exploited. By 1820 Truro had cleared all available woodlands, and was being forced to import wood for fuel and ship construction. While some residents of the town produced salt, most foodstuffs were brought in from other towns.[72] In Provincetown the fishing fleet increased from 20 ships in 1790 to 98 in 1837, and merchants maintained a healthy trade exporting cod to Europe (Figure 1.5). Vessels sailed from here all the way to Newfoundland and Labrador, and then lay their bounty of fish out to dry on flakes in Provincetown Harbor.[73]

Meanwhile, erosion continued in the dunes outside Provincetown and Truro.[74] The landscape at this time was likely similar to that described by visitor Henry David Thoreau, who wrote in 1849:

> In one place we saw numerous dead tops of trees projecting through the otherwise uninterrupted desert, where, as we afterward learned, thirty or forty years before a flourishing forest had stood, and now, as the trees were laid bare from year to year, the inhabitants cut off their tops for fuel.[75]

Thoreau regularly calls the back shore "the Deserts," a name which he evidently appreciated in both physical appearance and harsh reality. Writing of the walk along the Peaked Hill Bars area east to west toward Race Point, he complained that "all the while it was not so calm as the reader may suppose, but it was blow, blow, blow, — roar, roar, roar, — tramp, tramp, tramp, — without interruption."[76] Despite the region's early efforts to protect against deforestation, Thoreau's descriptions fitted the dunes of the back shore as well in the early nineteenth century as they do today. With the turn of the area's first farming settlers to maritime activities for survival the demand for salt works and giant wooden vessels rose, and the land continued to be depleted of woods and forests in the subsequent 150 years.[77]

In short, over the course of the European settlement of Cape Cod and the subsequent Colonial and Federal Periods, the cultural landscape of the Provincetown and Truro areas changed dramatically. Though natural systems and features remained largely the same, the once densely wooded areas of the Outer Cape had by the nineteenth century fallen victim to blowing sands and human exploitation. Whereas woodlands covered much of the region when it was first settled, before long Truro and Provincetown were characterized by sweeping vistas only occasionally dotted with stunted vegetation.

By the early 1800s the settlements of nearby Provincetown and Truro included private homes, wharves, some salt works, and even a lighthouse. European settlements clustered around the ocean, which sustained them, but avoided the harsh exposure of the back shore. Despite the construction of the Cape's first highway, circulation continued to be limited by the region's sandy soils and by residents' lack of interest in the land.

In the relative absence of any direct documentation of the Peaked Hill Bars during these years, a fairly consistent pattern of dune destabilization due to clearing can be surmised. Persisting attempts to cultivate crops and clear land, driven in many cases by desperation, quickly exhausted the limited productivity offered by the shallow topsoil throughout the Outer Cape. The area meanwhile continued to be utilized for other natural resources including cranberries, beach plum, and bayberry as well as whatever wildlife may have lived there. In the mid-nineteenth century Thoreau remarked on the presence of boxberry *(Gaultheria procumbens)*, bayberry, beach plum, huckleberry (*Gaylussacia sp.*), strawberry *(Fragaria sp.)*, shadbush (*Amelanchier canadensis*) fruits called "Josh-pears" by locals, and commercial "cranberry meadows" in addition to mink, muskrat, fox, raccoon, wild mice, and toads.[78]

Figure 1.5. Map of Provincetown, showing early development of the area in 1836. The map dates from before any life saving stations were constructed. East Harbor is shown at right as an inlet that had already begun to fill with sand blown from the nearby dunes (Graham, 1833–36).



INDUSTRIAL PERIOD AND LIFE SAVING, 1830 TO 1919

In the century spanning the mid 1800s to early 1900s, industrial innovations dramatically altered the character of the Outer Cape. At the same time, great strides were made in improving communication with ships, navigational aids, and lifesaving stations. On the back shore this period was punctuated by the construction of the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station in 1872 and the subsequent addition of various ancillary structures, some of which became the earliest dune shacks. Key sources for this period included early maps and photographs, the land use study noted above, James O'Connell's *Becoming Cape Cod* (2003), Henry David Thoreau's *Cape Cod,* penned in 1865, and Mary Heaton Vorse's *Time and the Town: A Provincetown Chronicle* (1942). Many details on the development of the Provincetown arts community are extracted from Vorse, who was a pivotal figure in the Provincetown community throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Both a writer and a journalist, Vorse moved to Provincetown from New York in 1907 and remained until her death in 1966, at age 92.[79] Her history of the town is both poetic and charming, and carries with it the insights of a Provincetown local.

INDUSTRY AND CIVIL WAR

As the nineteenth century began, industry took a brief hold in the towns of the Outer Cape. Truro's salt production peaked in 1831 with 39 salt works, before fishing became paramount and the town turned to importing salt from neighboring towns. The industry's decline was so swift that by 1865 Truro did not have a single surviving salt works. Agricultural practices had also disappeared from the region by this time, replaced by flourishing mackerel and cod fisheries. In 1837 Truro's catch was valued as second only to that of Provincetown. Between that year and the peak of the fishing industry in 1851, fifteen brigs and schooners were constructed on the Pamet River.[80]

Despite some small fluctuations in growth, the maritime industries of nearby Provincetown were similarly booming. When Truro's residents failed to save Pamet Harbor from silting over in the 1850s, the ensuing slack in the fishing market was smoothly assumed by Provincetown's fishermen.[81] Though the size of its fleet had recently shrunk by half, this town's harbor was restored in 1855 to its former might, or some 100 vessels. In describing his view of the Atlantic from the Peaked Hill Bars area in 1849, Thoreau remarked on the teaming fishing industry: "We counted about two hundred sail of mackerel fishers within one small arc of the horizon, and a nearly equal number had disappeared southward.[82]

With the onslaught of the Civil War in 1861, the demand for fish and other supplies escalated, even as raids of the area by Confederate privateers increased. Once again Cape Cod was a location vulnerable to attack, but also proved to be

a productive resource for the Union throughout the war. Funding poured into the town for new, larger ships equipped with steel hulls. In 1865 a full 36 percent of Provincetown's population worked in fishing, while still others engaged in the revived whaling industry. In 1845, only Nantucket boasted a higher number of whaling vessels in the Cape Cod area. Still more remarkable was that this magnitude of production was sustained throughout the Civil War. From 1837 to 1865 Provincetown's whale oil production increased from 21,420 gallons to 91,571 gallons. Profits eventually lagging only as a result of tough competition from Pennsylvania's coal mines and petroleum fields.[83]

Other local industries associated with maritime pursuits thrived as well. Although ship construction peaked in 1845, Provincetown also manufactured blocks, pumps, anchors, and chains. The town's sailmakers were moreover known as the premier manufacturers of sails on the Outer Cape. The thirty wharves of Provincetown Harbor teamed with activity due to these industries and the wealth of warehouses, stores, and private homes. In the 1850s the increasingly ambitious town decided to physically relocate the small fishing village at Long Point to Provincetown, in order to further local expansion. Over the next decade the old settlement area at Long Point was built up with two gun batteries to aid with Civil War defenses. Confident and secure in its industrial might, Provincetown's population soared from 1,710 in 1830 to 3,472 in 1865.[84]

As in earlier years, the back shore was a mere periphery to these industrial developments, though it showed certain evidence of the increased human habitation and transportation in the area. For the first time, the history of the Peaked Hill Bars becomes rich with the tangled tales of human and natural events during this era. Describing the disasters along the back shore, Henry Beston later wrote:

> To understand this great outer beach, to appreciate its atmosphere, its "feel," one must have a sense of it as the scene of wreck and elemental drama. Tales and legends of the great disasters fill no inconsiderable niche in the Cape mind. Older folk will tell you of the *Jason*, of how she struck near Pamet in a gale of winter rain, and of how the breakers flung the solitary survivor on the midnight beach; others will tell of the tragic *Castagna* and the frozen men who were taken off while the snow flurries obscured the February sun. Go about in the cottages, and you may sit in a chair taken from one great wreck and at a table taken from another; the cat purring at your feet may be himself a rescued mariner.[85]

The scene depicted by Beston was one shared by the entire back shore including Eastham, and particularly the preserved portions of the Provincetown and Truro dunes, throughout much of the nineteenth century.

EARLY LIFE SAVING

A benchmark in the prevention of maritime disasters was the establishment of the first life-saving stations along the beaches of the Outer Cape in 1840. That year the state legislature recognized the danger of this area, as well as the need for some organized method of safe-guarding human life, by awarding the Massachusetts Humane Society $500 to purchase eleven lifeboats. These vessels were housed in the earliest life-saving stations, which were hardy little shacks measuring 20 by 18.5 feet, each manned by ten men. With the help of an additional $1,350 awarded in 1841, the society established such stations at Race Point, Chatham, Nantucket, and the Boston Harbor area.[86] The Reverend James Freeman, one of the founders of the Humane Society, subsequently wrote a pamphlet detailing how to seek shelter and aid in the dunes. The huts or humane houses, also known as halfway houses for their position halfway between more permanent structures on the back shore, were according to Freeman furnished with firewood, stoves, and water (Figure 1.6).[87] Yet Thoreau later questioned this account, when he visited the dunes in 1849 and found one particularly depraved and inhospitable shelter. Describing this hut he wrote:

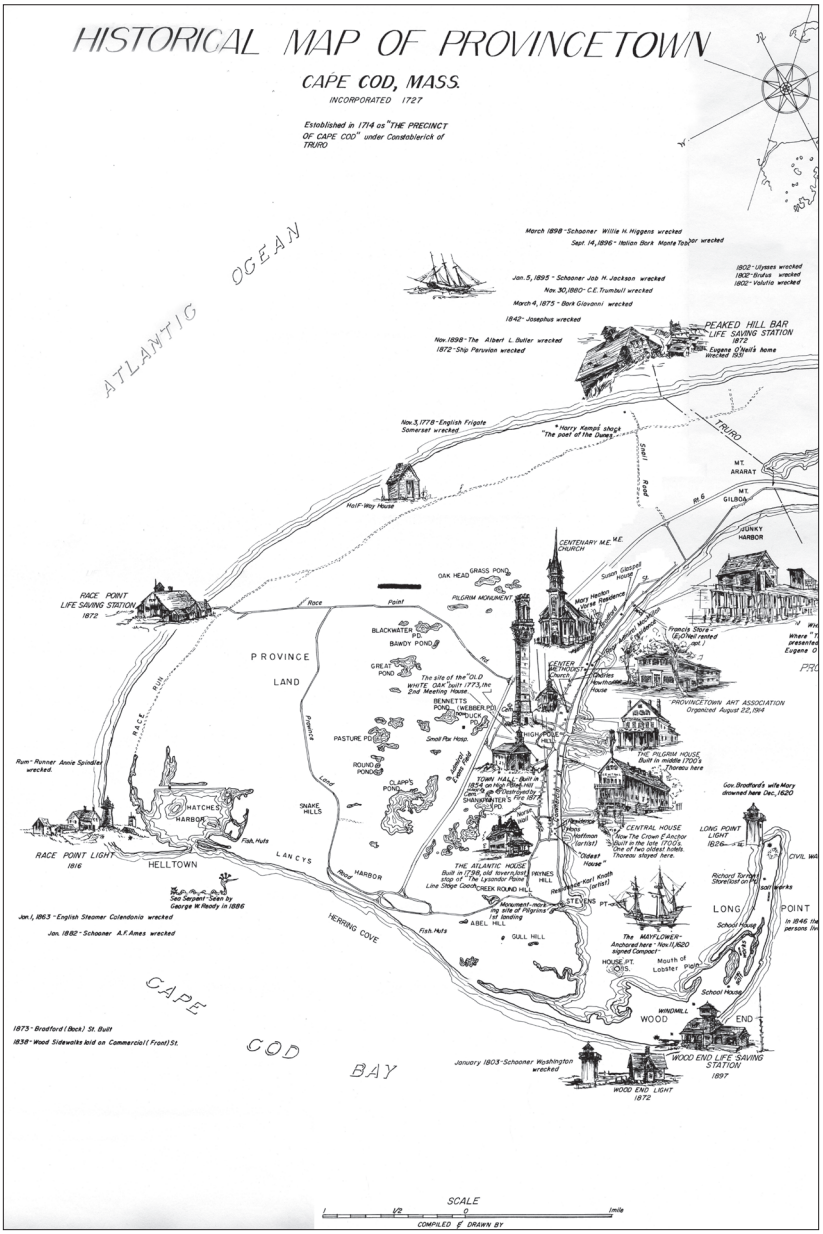


Figure 1.6. Undated twentieth century map of Provincetown by Ailene Kingsland illustrating structures and events, including a half-way house on the back shore and the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station built in 1872 (Pilgrim Monument Archives).

> In short, when our vision had grown familiar with the darkness, we discovered that there were some stones and some loose wads of wool on the floor, and an empty fireplace at the further end; but it *was not* supplied with matches, or straw, or hay, that we could see, nor "accommodated with a bench." Indeed, it was the wreck of all cosmical beauty there within.[88]

Meanwhile, casualties on the back shore continued. The British ship *Josephus* was wrecked on the Peaked Hill Bars in 1842. With her crew driven up into her rigging to escape the raging waves, the vessel was gradually torn to pieces and left behind only a few desperate survivors to witness the destruction from shore. Two sailors who tried to brave the surf and rescue their stranded companions tragically died in the attempt.[89] The repeated

disasters and loss of life on the back shore soon drew the attention of the United States government. Although it continued to fund the Humane Society until 1870, the government began building its own life-saving stations in 1847. At first these establishments were managed entirely by volunteer crews. Yet after much mismanagement and one particularly severe sea disaster off the coast of New Jersey, the program began providing keepers with full salaries in 1854.[90]

By 1869, all United States government station crew members were awarded full salaries, and the old Humane Society buildings were already beginning to fall out of use.[91] Although the society managed to maintain some of its old refuge huts into the twentieth century, by the late nineteenth century the government had taken primary responsibility for disasters on the back shore.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEAKED HILL BARS LIFE-SAVING STATION

The United States Life-Saving Service (USLSS) was created as a branch of the Marine Revenue Service in 1872, marking the first permanent development within the Peaked Hill Bars area (see Figure 1.6).[92] In order to maintain its new outposts the USLSS began offering near full-time paid employment to crew members.[93] Keepers and surfmen were mostly local men with long maritime histories, including a number of Portuguese immigrants. For ten months of the year, from August to June, these men spent all but one day a week living and working at the stations, taking on the additional responsibility of protecting any lost or wrecked property from the "wreckers" or beachcombers who constantly scoured the local beach for treasures. Walking beach patrols were set in place to locate new shipwrecks and people in distress, a measure which had the added benefit of discouraging smuggling.[94]

The Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station was one of nine USLSS installations constructed the year it was established in 1872, and quickly became known as one of the most dangerous. The new building looked out over a treacherous strip of coast where two lines of sand bars, or the Peaked Hill Bars, stretch beneath the surface of the water and run parallel to the shore for almost six miles (see Figures 1.6 to 1.12). In general the inner bars sit somewhere around six hundred yards from the beach, while the outer bars are roughly fourteen hundred yards out. However, the magnitude of their peril is largely owed to their constantly shifting nature and the unpredictable depths of the water covering them.[95] As described by Cape Cod writer Mary Heaton Vorse:

> It was almost impossible for a sailing vessel to clew off the lee shore from Race Point to Monomoy. A vicious current runs along this elbow of the Cape, making anchorage impossible in a wind. There is no cove or harbor on the shore for sixty miles where a vessel can take refuge. The process that originally made the Cape is still going on. Off Peaked Hill there is a treacherous outer bar and an inner bar. Charts help not at all, for the bars are constantly shifting and chang-

> ing their position. The space between the two bars is a practically sure death-trap, and vessels once caught there are pounded to match-wood. Vessels of all nationality, cargoes of every kind, and countless lives have been shattered on Peaked Hill Bars or the other Cape shoals from Race Point to Monomoy. Fishing vessels were the most unfortunate, for this dangerous coast was in the direct route to the Grand Banks.[96]

The surfmen of the Peaked Hill Bars station patrolled roughly two miles up and down this coast, walking the windswept beach in every kind of weather (see Figures 1.6 and 1.12). Their knowledge of the sea was thoroughly tested through years of experience, and their fearlessness in venturing out into the dangerous surf inspired decades of stories to enrich local lore. Over the years the windows of the life-saving station itself became entirely clouded from the blowing sands, so that they nearly shut out all daylight and looked "as if they had been dipped in acid."[97]

A few notorious Outer Cape wrecks of the mid 1800s include the brig *Cactus* in 1848; the *White Squall* in 1866; the *Aurora* (also known as the "Palm Oil Wreck" for the cargo she carried) around the same time; and the *Clara Belle,* which was laden with coal in 1872.[98] A total of 500 shipwrecks were officially recorded along the Cape shore from Monomoy to Race Point between 1843 and 1859; 540 more were noted from 1880 to 1903; and 156 were recorded between 1910 and 1917.[99] With an average of at least 23 shipwrecks a year, this coastline was known as the graveyard of the Atlantic (see Figures 1.11 and 1.13).[100]

In the Peaked Hill Bars area specifically, a string of ships were completely destroyed near the end of the nineteenth century including *Willie H. Higgins*, *Albert L. Butler*, *Cathie C. Berry*, *Kate L. Robinson*, and *Jennie C. May*. By 1902 the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station was equipped with two surf boats, two sets of beach apparatus, breeches-buoys, guns, and a practice boat (see Figures 1.9 and 1.10). The crew there managed to save all seven men aboard the schooner *Kate L. Robinson*, but many others were less fortunate.[101] Over the course of roughly twenty-five years in the first half of the twentieth century, surfmen rescued an estimated one thousand people along the Peaked Hill Bars.[102]

Figure 1.7. Peaked Hill Bar Life Saving Station in 1902, surfmen with Captain Cook seated at center (Dalton, 1902, 77).



The number of losses along the back shore over the years was further aggravated by the severity and frequency of New England storms. The same gale that destroyed the Minot's Ledge

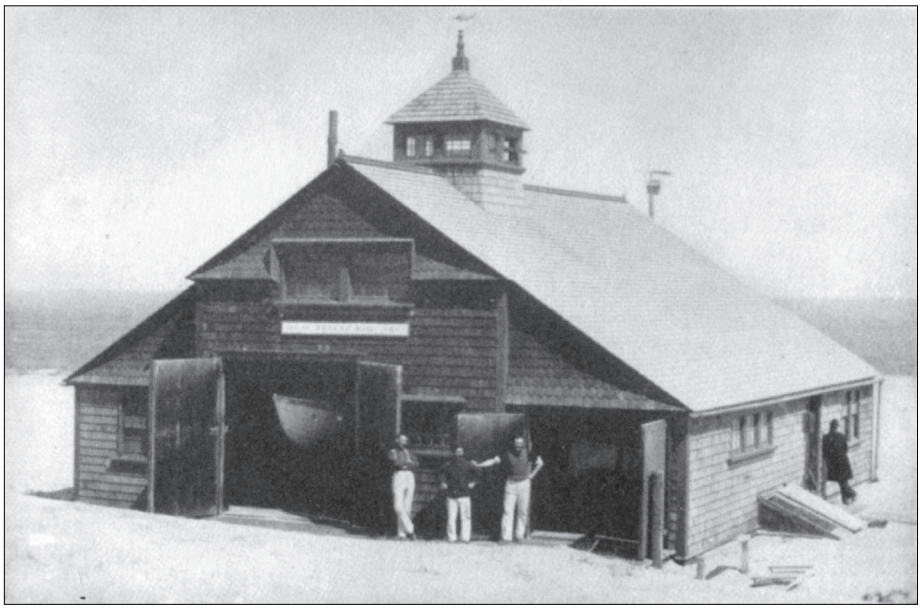


Figure 1.8. Historic photo of the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station sometime in the 1880s or 1890s. Note the proximity to the ocean and barren surroundings (Dalton, 1902, 73).

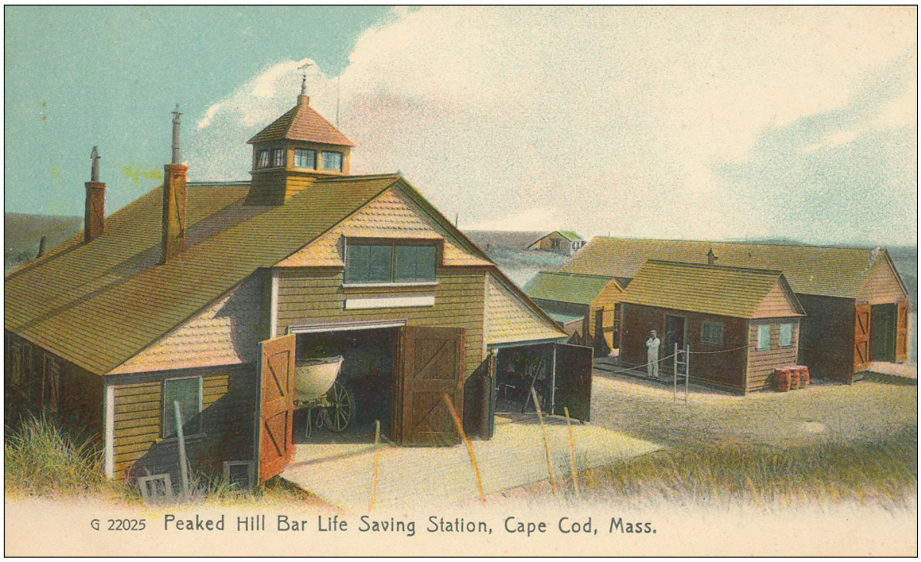


Figure 1.9. Postcard of the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station, c. 1900. Note the cluster of outbuildings adjacent to the station and on the dune beyond (Courtesy James W. Claflin Collection).



Figure 1.10. Postcard of the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station, c. 1900. Note the cluster of outbuildings adjacent to the station and the proximity of the ocean (Courtesy James W. Claflin Collection).

Lighthouse off of Cohasset in 1851 buried more than half of Provincetown's Beach Point, on the east edge of East Harbor, under water. Two additional historic storms have similarly broken through the back shore to the East Harbor area, temporarily transforming Provincetown into an island.[103] The famous Portland Gale struck on November 26, 1898, and is thought to have been the most severe storm to hit Cape Cod since European settlement of the area. It raged for a full 36 hours and was named after its merciless destruction of the paddle-wheel steamboat *Portland*. All 150 to 200 passengers aboard perished along with the boat, a loss recognized as one of Cape Cod's worst maritime disasters. The 100 mile per hour winds of the Portland Gale also destroyed Provincetown's Union and Central Wharves, and blew out the light and windows of the Highland Lighthouse.[104]

On the other hand, these giant storms were simple punctuation marks in the unrelenting wear that battered the dunes of the back shore. For instance, when the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station was first built it had a clear view down to the sea. Yet by the turn of the century the dunes had moved to block this path, and a view of the shore could only be gained from the station's lookout tower. In an effort to remedy this problem, by 1902 a small ancillary building had been constructed on the bluff overlooking the ocean as both a lookout and a spot for leisure activities (see Figure 1.9).[105] In this ever-changing landscape, the struggle to maintain water access for the station's boat houses while simultaneously avoiding destruction was ongoing. Other buildings present in the vicinity during this period were subject to the same challenges. A historic map from 1880 shows a group of fishing houses standing to the northwest of the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station (see Figure 1.12). The structures illustrated here likely included some of the original dune shacks, which resembled the Kemp shack.[106]



Figure 1.11. The remains of a ship wreck along the shore west of the Peaked Hill Bars, sometime at the end of the nineteenth century (Dalton, 1902, 78).

Evidence of the changing dune landscape was continually manifest at nearby East Harbor, where open water had once marked Provincetown's East Harbor, but was gradually transformed into an estuary bay and eventually termed Pilgrim Lake (see Figure 1.6). During its first years of existence the town could only be accessed by traversing the thin, sandy inner edge of this harbor, then called Beach Point. Over time as the trees on the so-called "back side" were cut down for fuel and ship-building the destabilized dunes began to move with the prevailing wind, hence the

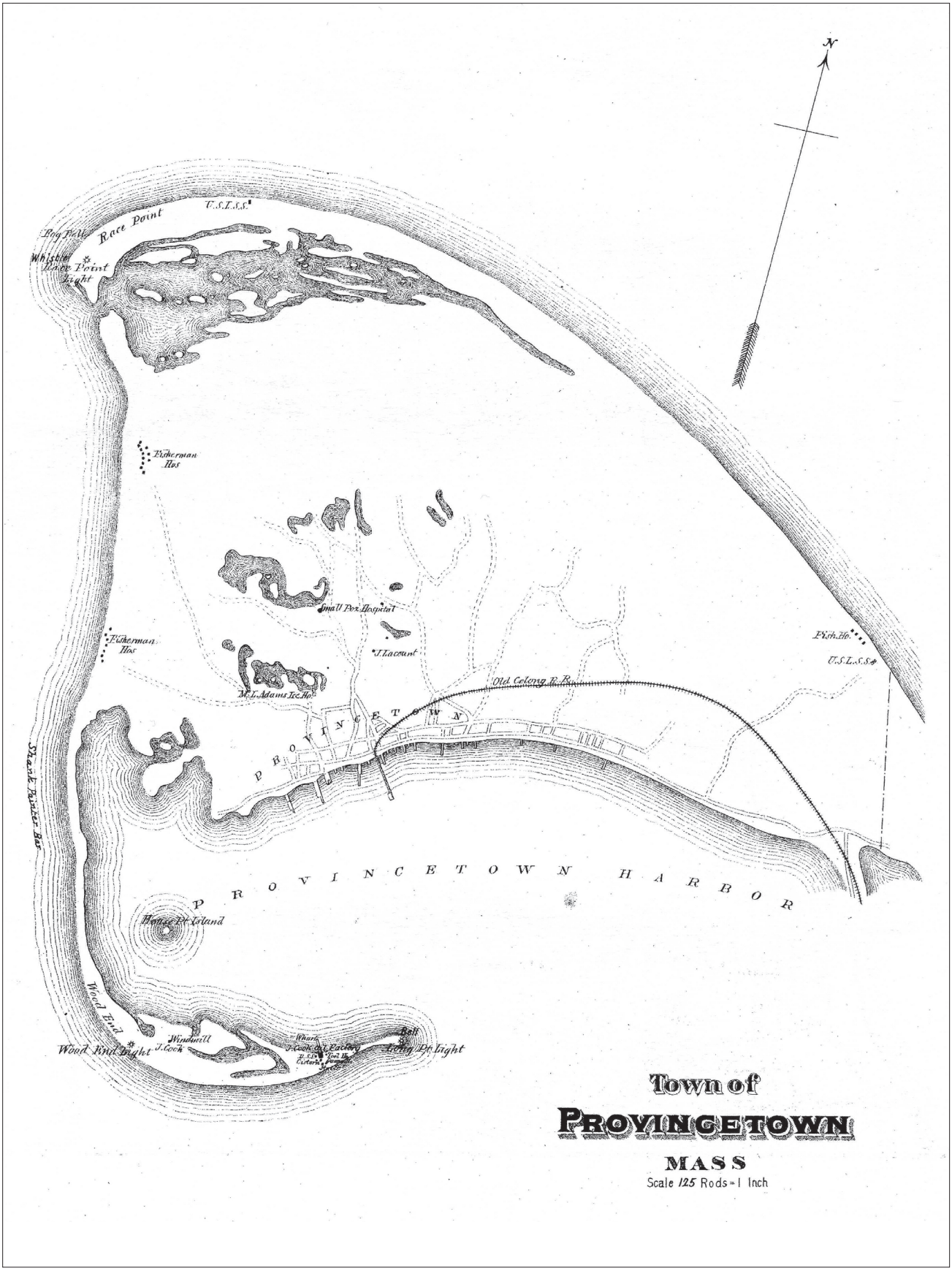


Figure 1.12. Map of Provincetown in 1880. Note the Truro town line and newly constructed bridge closing off East Harbor, at right. Just above it the Peaked Hill Bars Life Saving Station is marked "U.S.L.S.S." while a group of nearby fishing houses are labeled "Fish Ho." Also shown are access roads into the dunes (Walker, 1880).

term "walking dunes." These sands moved west into East Harbor and soon blew through the inlet to Provincetown Harbor, where they began to threaten the use of the entire area by increasingly sizeable ships in the mid-nineteenth century. In an effort to stem the flow of sand the town constructed a bridge across the inlet between the two harbors in 1855. Yet storms swiftly ravaged this frail structure, and in 1858 Provincetown made a second attempt to save its harbor by building a solid dike alongside the old bridge, thus transforming East Harbor into Pilgrim Lake. The 1,600 foot opening was traversed a second time in 1873, by a causeway



Figure 1.13. Map of Cape Cod showing the locations of the old United States Life-Saving Stations, from 1902. The circles off the coast mark the principal shipwrecks which took place during the preceding fifty years (Dalton, 1902, 6).

that carried the Old Colony Railroad and later U.S. Route 6 (see Figures 1.12 and 1.14).[107]

In the 1890s, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts escalated efforts to stabilize the shifting dune sands and reduce sand encroachment in Provincetown Harbor and East Harbor. In 1893, the state appointed James A. Small to develop a sand reclamation and binding program, which ultimately proved successful and became a model for other coastal communities. Under the direction of Small, crews planted over 200 acres of beach grass plantations and discovered that fall plantings were more successful. They inter-planted tree and shrub seedlings, such as pine and bayberry, which were initially protected by the grass and eventually formed a stronger vegetation layer. They also laid brush along roadways to hold the sand and protect plantings, including the new State road across the dunes from Provincetown to the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station (the initial Snail Road), which was initiated in 1894 and completed in 1901 (Figure 1.15).[108]

Even as access to Provincetown became increasingly secure and its population grew, life on the back shore remained remote. The only way to visit the dunes was by foot or by horse and wagon. Despite the construction of the new road to the station, the route was a laborious trek over miles of loose sand (Figures 1.16 to 1.19).

Captain Cook's horse, Daisy, wandered the dunes around the station, alternately charming and alarming visitors and helping herself to generous drinks from the



Figure 1.14. Map dated 1893 showing the railroad extending to the Provincetown pier and the three life-saving stations along the back shore (www.capecodhistory.us/maps, accessed 6/11/09).

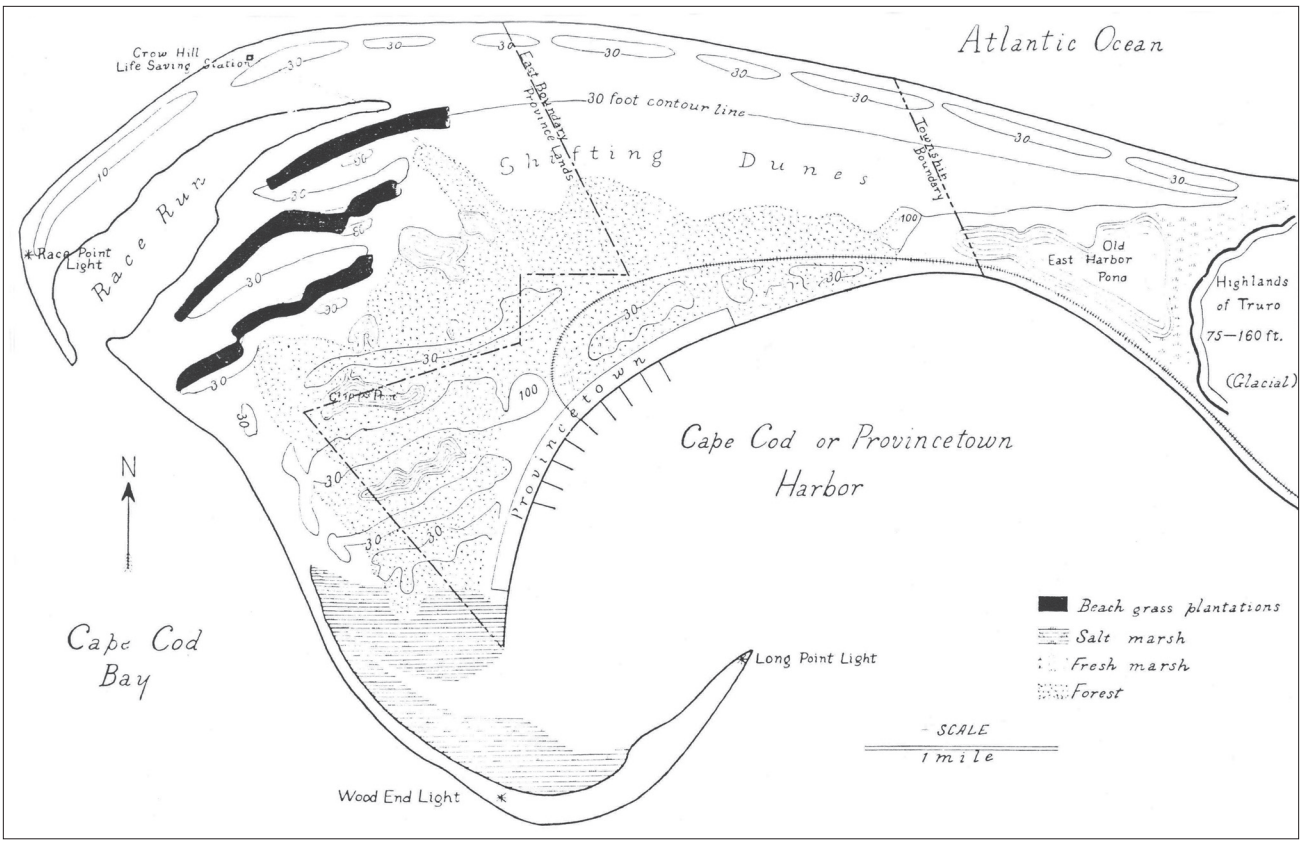


Figure 1.15. Map of sand areas enclosing Provincetown Harbor and beach grass plantations, from the pamphlet "Reclamation of Cape Cod Sand Dunes," prepared by J. M. Westgate, Asisstant in Sand-binding Work for the U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1904. The reclamation program installed beach grass plantations to prevent sand from blowing into the town and harbors to the south. The map also shows the boundary between Provincetown and the Province Lands established in 1893.



Figure 1.16. A horse and wagon crossing the dunes on the way to the Peaked Hill Bars Life Saving Station, sometime near the end of the nineteenth century. Note the lack of vegetation (Dalton, 1902, 74).

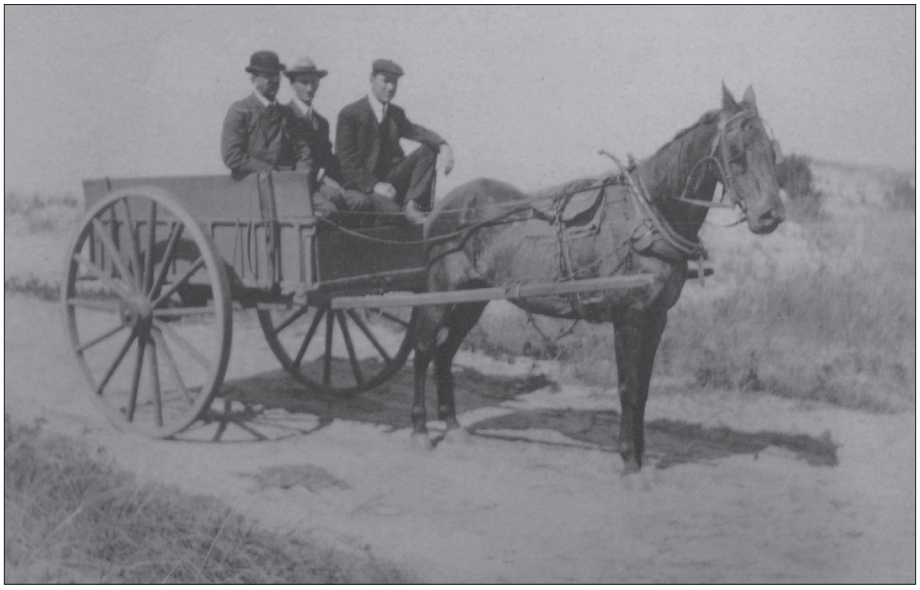


Figure 1.17. Likely the DePass horse and wagon, on the dunes at Race Point in 1901. The ride over the dunes from Provincetown to Race Point was five miles (Provincetown History Project Archives).



Figure 1.18. Undated color-enhanced postcard showing horse tracks and "wagon wheels on Cape Cod dunes" (Pilgrim Monument Archives).

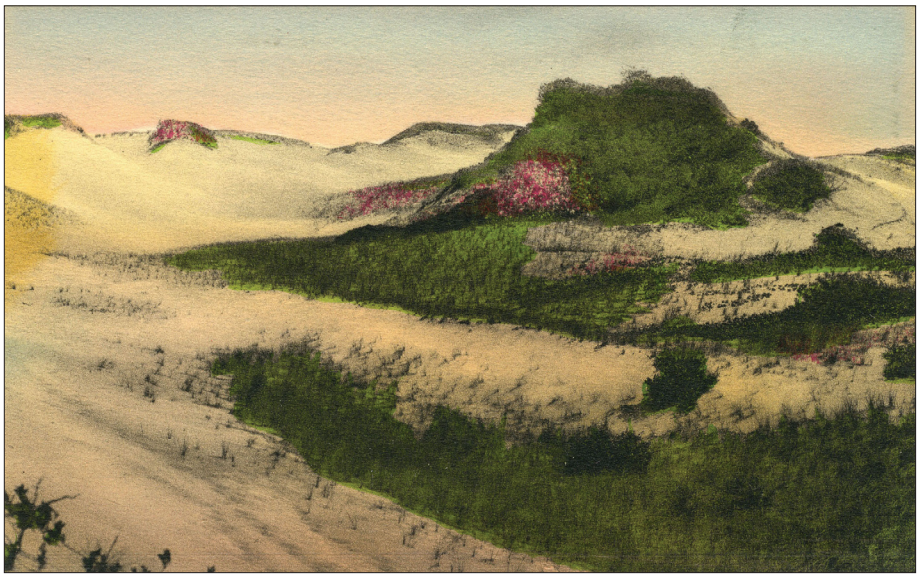


Figure 1.19. Undated color-enhanced postcard of salt spray roses in bloom and minimal vegetation on the dunes (Pilgrim Monument Archives).

fire buckets. The station also kept a hen coop, and other associated structures soon sprang up nearby. The Kemp shack is thought to have once served as a hen house, and similar establishments out in the dunes are known to have consisted of building clusters. For example, a chicken house in the style of other dune shacks can be seen standing next to the Race Point Light in a photo from 1901 or 1902 (Figure 1.20).[109]

Shipwrecks along the back shore not only influenced human activity in the Peaked Hill Bars, but they also contributed to the area's biological diversity. The various materials that washed ashore also brought change, in particular certain hardy seeds which managed to take root in the sandy soil and eventually spread. Thoreau mentions one such instance of introduced plants that he believed came from the *Franklin,* a ship that wrecked on the shore near Cahoon's Hollow in Wellfleet, roughly twelve miles south of the Peaked Hill Bars in 1849:[110]

> A man travelling by the shore…not long before us noticed something green growing in the pure sand of the beach, just at high-water mark, and on approaching found it to be a bed of beets flourishing vigorously, probably from seed washed out of the *Franklin*. Also beets and turnips came up in the seaweed used for manure in many parts of the Cape. This suggests how various plants may have been dispersed over the world to distant islands and continents. Vessels, with seeds in their cargoes, destined for particular ports, where perhaps they were not needed, have been cast away on desolate islands, and though their crews perished, some of their seeds have been preserved.[111]



Figure 1.20. The Race Point Light and associated buildings, around 1901 or 1902. Note the small shack, or chicken house, with chickens in the foreground (Provincetown History Project Archives).

According to Vorse, Captain Cook of the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station would sometimes pick what were called Japanese or salt spray rose out from a clump of bayberry to the northeast of the station. Rumored to have come from the wreck of a Chinese bark, these flowers soon appeared across the dunes and around town, as Coast Guardsmen transplanted them to the gardens of their family homes (see Figure 1.19).[112] Admiring the same roses throughout the dunes years later, Cynthia Huntington speculated that the plant's seeds were originally washed ashore "from some capsized Japanese freighter or fishing boat."[113]

As indicated by their gardens, the life-saving stations along the back shore were little pockets of humanity and culture, nestled in the desert landscape of the dunes. Distinct from the isolation around them, they were yet unable to escape its effects. Mary Heaton Vorse remarks upon dune life thus:

> There is a masculine monotony in a coast-guard station which reminds one of life aboard ship. Turn and turn about the men cook and clean and scrub and paint. There is a sense of spacious and leisured life, of time accurately spaced, ample for the specific duties of the station.[114]

Vorse goes on to reminisce, how "there was no finer way to spend an evening than to take a few lobsters across to Peaked Hill Bars, in time for supper, for the Captain dearly loved to pick a lobster" (see Figure 1.7).[115]

FISHERMEN, ARTISTS, AND TOURISTS

The isolated yet strangely social life of leisure found on the back shore soon began drawing the first few artists out into the dunes from Provincetown. Though it had long balanced at the edge of human survival with its landscape of stark colors and drifting sands, the back shore did not begin fully capturing the human imagination until this period of prolonged habitation. When not on the job life-saving staff used the dunes of the Peaked Hill Bars for contemplative solitude and inspiration. Vorse recounts how "in the old days at Peaked Hill station there would be always a group of the coast guard whittling, on a bench over by the sand bluff looking out to sea."[116] With nearby Provincetown continuing to grow in popularity, it would only be a matter of time before the artistic attraction of the dune landscape became one of its most important assets.

The early 1900s brought a massive transformation to the United States, in terms of both development and attitude. Alexander Graham Bell had no sooner created the telephone than the American Telephone and Telegraph Company had wired the world. South of Provincetown, in Wellfleet, the radio towers of Guglielmo Marconi dispatched the first two-way transatlantic wireless message from America to England in 1902.[117] It was these very towers which allowed the U.S. Navy to finally retire its homing pigeons, and made possible the saving of 712 lives from the wreck of the *Titanic* by the *Carpathia* in 1912.[118] Living spaces and

architecture were meanwhile revolutionized by the work of Frank Lloyd Wright. The appearance of Ford automobiles in mass numbers, and at more affordable prices, changed the way people perceived physical space and travel.[119]

Most importantly, this development finally brought the perceived isolation of Provincetown crumbling down. Indeed, one of the early and leading agents of change on the Outer Cape was transportation. In 1873 the Cape Cod Railroad reached Provincetown for the first time and introduced the convenience of shipping fresh fish directly to distant markets (see Figure 1.14). Truro opened several facilities to help accommodate this capability and the shift away from the old tradition of salting fish, including a fish canning plant and a freezing plant in 1893. The new methods for shipment and storage opened up the fishing industry, allowing the sale of many fish that had previously spoiled too quickly for transportation. Eels in particular became an important component of the Boston market, while weir fishing for herring, cod, whiting, mackerel, flounder, and squid rapidly rose in popularity during the 1870s and afterwards.[120] In 1893 Provincetown was highly prosperous and finally obtained from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a title to the portion of the Province Lands within the town center area, despite the fact that it had been incorporated as a town back in 1727 (see Figure 1.15). The division between town and state lands became roughly defined by the path of U.S. Route 6 in later years.[121]

In 1900 six fish processing and freezing plants were built along Provincetown Harbor, each with its own wharf for loading and unloading. Belching smoke high up into the sky from towering brick chimneys, these industrial giants dwarfed the town's other buildings, contrasting starkly with the architecture of what until then had been a simple fishing village.[122] The town was struggling valiantly to keep up with the industrial development occurring throughout the rest of the country. In addition to the Western Cold Storage, Cape Cod Cold Storage, Fisherman's Cold Storage, Colonial Cold Storage and the Consolidated Weir Company Cold Storage, there was the Puritan Shirt Factory, Pickert's Canning Factory and a factory for processing guano fertilizer.[123]

Despite Provincetown's success, many towns of the Outer Cape saw their prosperity flag and populations drop, in the final years of the nineteenth century. For example, between 1870 and 1910 Truro's numbers decreased by 48 percent, from 1,269 to a mere 655. Yet Provincetown managed to avoid a similar decline in its numbers and instead saw an increase, from 3,865 in 1870 to 4,369 in 1910. The town's continued success and immunity to the depression felt elsewhere on the Cape can be attributed largely to its burgeoning immigrant population. In 1875 Portuguese residents composed about thirteen percent of the town's total residents. By 1905 this number had grown to twenty-three percent, and people of Portuguese descent accounted for Cape Cod's largest single ethnic group. Particularly in the west end of Provincetown, a high concentration of Azorean

and Cape Verdean families settled.[124] Most immigrants came to work in the fishing or whaling industries, and continued to steadily flood the town between 1911 and 1920. Before long, they were responsible for an estimated ninety percent of Provincetown's fishing activities.[125] Around the same time mariners began using trawls to replace the older style of anchored fishing with a single line, and local productivity soared.[126]

Along the waterfront and on the back shore, fishermen used little sheds or "stores" as workshops to knot fishing nets, make small equipment repairs and keep their gear dry.[127] They also camped and built their own temporary structures in areas like Bill's Camp, which was located between the Malicoat shack and the site of the old Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station.[128] Already equipped with a rich knowledge of the ocean and its restless company, many Portuguese immigrants likely felt comfortable living off the unruly waters of the Peaked Hill Bars. Some, like Dominic Avila, built fishing shacks there along with other Provincetown residents, not only for work and storage but for entertainment. Shacks toward the northwest end of the back shore in particular were used for fishing purposes as well as surf casting from the beach, which was popular at the time.[129]

In addition, the back shore proved optimal for bird hunting. Thus some shacks were employed by hunters in search of birds or other game in the dunes. One of these structures, built primarily with the purpose of hunting in mind, can be seen in a collection of 1901 to 1902 of Race Point photographs (Figures 1.21 and 1.22). The shack pictured therein was built by Louis W. DePass, who is said to have constructed it using materials from the 1898 wreckage of the famous steamer, *Portland*. The DePass shack stood near the Race Point Light and was utilized for many years by Mr. DePass and his family, including his son Louis J. DePass.[130] The building seen in the background of Figure 1.22 is possibly an outbuilding associated with the Race Point Light.

By the late nineteenth century the scenic, peaceful landscape of the dunes was also beginning to attract curious visitors. Provincetown was one of the earliest towns on the Cape to have hotels, some of which were established in 1868. Its large Portuguese population lent the town a certain European air, which contributed to the tourist attraction.[131] So-called "accommodations" or "barges" were special wagons which brought visitors from their train or steamer to their hotel in town. Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Taft stayed at the upscale Gifford House, while boarding houses were popular among more regular travelers. The Highland Light overlooking the back shore became a main feature, and the Highland Links were constructed in 1892 to help attract guests to the nearby Highland House. In the 1890s the Commonwealth of Massachusetts also opened the Province Lands to public use, including twelve miles of roads connecting Provincetown to the outer beach, which were armored with branches as described earlier. The town drew still more tourists in 1892 with



Figure 1.21. Louis J. DePass posing in front of the DePass shack at Race Point, in 1901. Note the coastal inlet at right (Provincetown History Project Archives).



Figure 1.22. DePass family members standing in front of their shack at Race Point, in 1901. Note the neighboring outbuilding in the background (Provincetown History Project Archives).

the construction of the Pilgrim Monument, which celebrated Provincetown's association with the *Mayflower* (Figure 1.23). President Roosevelt himself officiated at the groundbreaking for this towering structure, which continues to dominate the landscape of the Cape's tip today and can be seen from many points in the dunes of Provincetown and Truro (Figure 1.24).[132]



Figure 1.23. Looking east from the top of the Pilgrim Monument in 1914. The dunes are visible in the distance. (photo album, Cape Cod NS Archives).

While tourists could see the dunes from the top of Pilgrim Monument, intrepid photographers ventured into the dunes to capture scenic spots on photographic postcards. These late nineteenth and early twentieth century postcards portrayed the beauty and vast spatial qualities of the dune landscape. Picturesque shots capturing a lightly trodden trail in the sand, colorful flowers, and a glimpse of the ocean offered enticing views of the ultimate destination on the Outer Cape, and engendered a sense of



Figure 1.24. Tourists in the dunes with the Pilgrim Monument in the distance, 1914 (photo album, Cape Cod NS Archives).



Figure 1.25. Tourist resting on a wreck on the outer beach in 1914 (photo album, Cape Cod NS Archives).

public ownership of the Province Lands (see Figures 1.18, 1.19, 1.25). Curious tourists soon followed, often accessing the dunes via Snail Road, picnicking atop the dunes, exploring the remains of shipwrecks, and photographing the Pilgrim Monument in the distance (Figures 1.26 to 1.30).



Figure 1.26. Tourists posing for a picture atop a dune in 1914 and contributing to erosion (photo album, Cape Cod NS Archives).

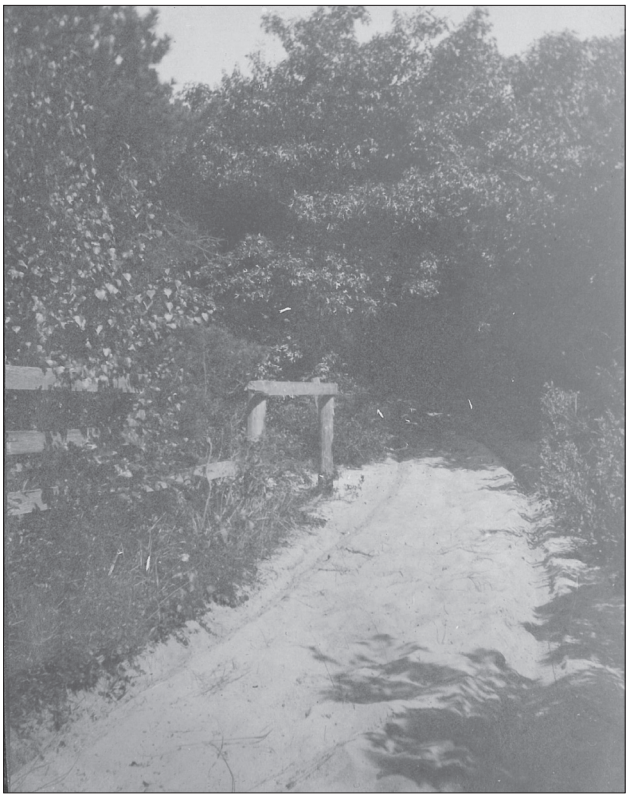


Figure 1.27. Photograph dated 1911, likely taken along Snail Road (photo album, Cape Cod NS Archives).



Figure 1.28. Photograph dated 1911 entitled "Snail Road" (photo album, Cape Cod NS Archives).

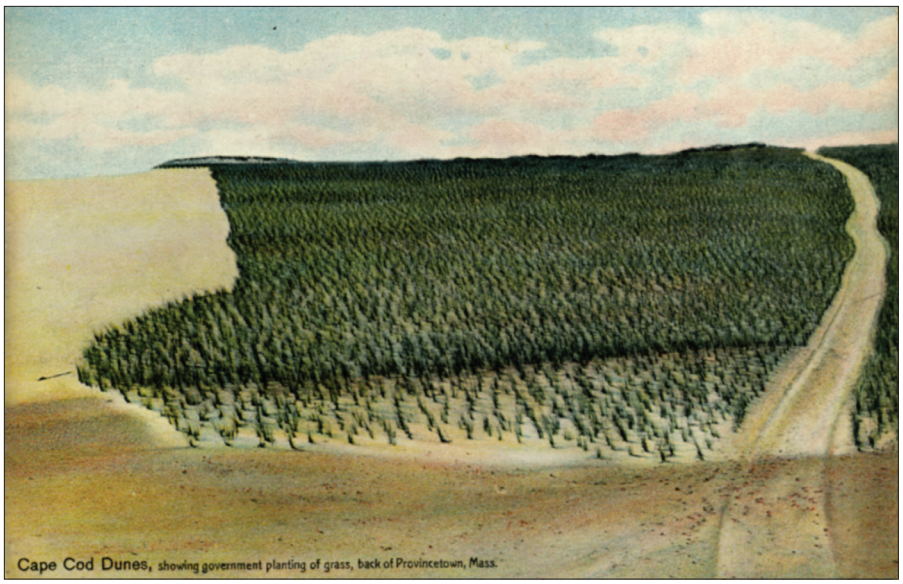


Figure 1.29. Postcard with one cent postage of Cape Cod dunes showing government plantings of grass, back of Provincetown in the early 1900s (Pilgrim Monument Archives, pc1126).



Figure 1.30. Postcard sketch of the dunes and outer beach in 1919, a remote area which was becoming an increasingly popular tourist destination (Pilgrim Monument Archives).

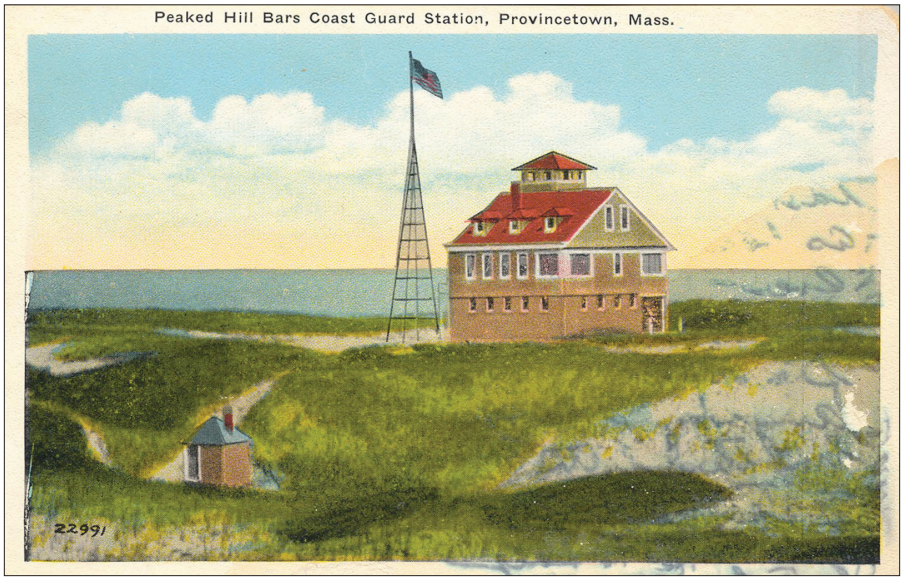


Figure 1.31. Postcard looking north at the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station in its original location, likely sometime in the early 1920s. This station replaced the original Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station. Note the large flagpole and small building, possibly a communications building (Courtesy of James M. Claflin Collection).

U.S. COAST GUARD AND ARTISTS IN THE DUNES

With the rising population of the Outer Cape and the growth of tourism, law enforcement increased and over time the surfmen's patrols of the back shore became a form of policing, in addition to life saving. In 1915 the U.S. Coast Guard adopted the USLSS and built the new Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station along the shore by 1918. The old Life-Saving Station was used as a summer residence until it was washed into the ocean in 1931. The new Coast Guard Station was a large three-story building with a viewing tower (Figures 1.31 through 1.35). To the west, a collection of small one-story cottages were clustered together not far from the beach. Coast Guardsmen built these small shacks to house their families and guests, but also rented and eventually sold the buildings (Figure 1.36).

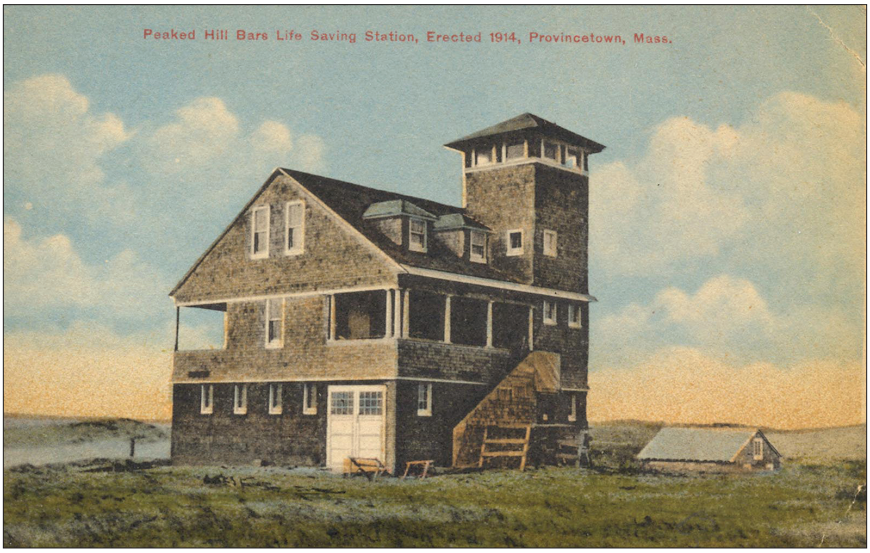


Figure 1.32. Postcard looking west at the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station and outbuilding, likely a boathouse, in their original locations, in the early 1920s (Courtesy of James M. Claflin Collection).

Meanwhile, in 1917 Europe was swept into World War I; and before long the United States was drawn into the conflict as well. Given the Cape's strategic location on the cusp of the Atlantic, both the Life-Saving and Coast Guard Stations



Figure 1.33. Postcard looking east at the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station in its original location, 1920s. Routine access to the boat house (right of the station) weakened the foredune (Courtesy of James M. Claflin Collection).



Figure 1.36. Looking east at the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station in its original location, c. 1930. This station replaced the original Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station. Coast Guardsmen built the cluster of associated buildings in the foreground, perched on the foredune, and used them as seasonal dwellings (Pilgrim Monument Archives, PA 0495).



Figure 1.35. View southeast of the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station, c. 1920. Note the vehicle parked at right (Pilgrim Monument Archives).



Figure 1.34. Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station, c. 1920 (Cape Cod NS Archives).

were used for military purposes.[133] During the war the population of Provincetown continued to diversify, as immigrants and refugees fled Europe. The town was even compared to an unspoiled European fishing village, with still only a small number of visitors and a wealth of cheap places for students to stay.[134] Paris in particular contributed to an influx of artists, due in part to local Provincetown resident Charles Hawthorne's visit to that city in 1914.[135]



Figure 1.37. Painting dated 1915 by Charles Hawthorne (1872–1930), founder of the Cape Cod School of Art, entitled "Crew of the Philomena Manta" (Courtesy of the Provincetown Library).

Many of the tourists drawn to Provincetown were artists who found the vast natural environment of the dunes particularly alluring. Painters began summering there in the 1890s, and in 1899 Charles Hawthorne founded the Cape Cod School of Art with a focus on the varying effects of the Cape's brilliant natural light (Figure 1.37). Ambrose Webster, a pioneer of Modernism, began his own Summer School of Painting in the town only a year later.[136]

In response to the rapidly growing art community, the Provincetown Art Association was founded in 1914 with a hefty 147 members in its first year. By 1916 Provincetown hosted five summer art schools and was attracting a variety of poets, novelists, journalists, and playwrights in addition to radicals, socialites, critics and bohemians, many of whom came from Greenwich Village in New York City. Local painters included Oliver Chaffee, Stuart Davis, Masden Hatley, Edward Hopper, Abraham Walkowitz, Dorothy Lake Gregory, Ross Moffett, Caleb Slade, and Marguerite and William Zorach (Figures 1.38 and 1.39). Provincetown's art colony was recognized as far superior to any other during the first half of the twentieth century. Contributing to the



Figure 1.38. Painting entitled "Dunes" painted in 1904 by Oliver N. Chaffee (1881–1944). Chaffee was an abstract figural painter who resided in Provincetown from 1913 to 1944 and studied at the Cape School of Art with Charles Hawthorne and others (Provincetown Art Association and Museum, 887.Pa86).



Figure 1.39. Ross E. Moffett (1888–1971) studied under Charles Hawthorne, was the husband of artist Dorothy Lane Gregory, and spent time in the dune shacks. A Provincetown local and widely recognized Modernist painter, Moffett's figures were often set in the vast dune landscape. Painting entitled "Impressions of Spring," no date (Courtesy of Provincetown Art Association and Museum, 1122. Pr91).

life of this community, among others, were playwrights Susan Glaspell and Eugene O'Neill, radical journalist John Reed, writers George Cram Cook and Mary Heaton Vorse, and socialite Mabel Dodge.[137] The Provincetown Players, established in 1915 by Susan Glaspell, Eugene O'Neill, and other Provincetown residents, quickly became a focus for the creative energy of countless locals. In addition the Beachcombers Club, founded a year later, and the Sixes and Sevens Coffeehouse that opened in 1920 served as popular hangouts.[138]

The Provincetown Players were soon attracting some of the nation's most talented and creative performers to their modest plays, the first of which were staged out of people's private homes. The group performed a variety of American pieces, most of which were composed by its own members.[139] Eugene O'Neill was among the most prolific of the players and has been described as one half of "the core around which the lesser talents revolved;" the other half being Susan Glaspell.[140] In 1916 the company moved into a building owned by Mary Heaton Vorse on a Provincetown wharf, and here O'Neill's first play, *Bound East for Cardiff*, was staged. The group's popularity soared and only a few years later was performing year-round in the newly established Playwright's Theater, in New York City.[141] In order to continue the town's performance tradition after the departure of the Provincetown Players, the Wharf Theater opened in one of the town's old fish houses in 1924.[142]

Town theatrical performances were not only enjoyed by the local artists, fishermen, and sailors, but by rising numbers of tourists. During the late 1910s waves of outsiders began making the overland trek to visit the Cape's tip.[143] While some came for a day, a week or a few months, others came to live. Among the visitors were famous writers Sinclair Lewis, Edna St. Vincent Millay, and e. e. cummings, as well as artists Edwin Dickinson, Ross Moffett, and Karl Knaths (see Figures 1.39 and 1.40). Even as World War I raged overseas and Cape Cod underwent thorough fortifications against attack, Provincetown seemed to have a life of its own. Naval ships anchored in Cape Cod Bay. The Cape Cod Canal, completed in 1916, provided a safer alternative to navigating the Peaked Hill Bars and the potential threat of German U-boats along the outer coast. Yet all the while Provincetown was a kind of foil to the troubled world, representing a

lively contradiction to the rest of the country's apprehensions about the political turmoil in Europe. In particular the summer of 1916 was noted as one of alcohol, sexual freedom, casual morals, and social anti-conformism. Almost overnight Provincetown's new bohemian flavor was popularized that summer, as flocks of motorists, thousands of sailors from the U.S. Navy, and the usual artistic crowd swarmed the town.[144]

Out on the back shore the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station quietly ceased operations in 1918, at the end of World War I. Yet, the buildings endured with a constancy only human care could provide. Hunting, fishing, and living in the dunes became a matter of pleasure and entertainment, rather than survival. Even as the migrating dunes continued to change the sandy landscape around them, structures in the dunes were maintained for the first time. Small clusters sprang up around the Race Point and Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Stations, as well as other spots along the back shore (see Figures 1.20 and 1.36). Many of these structures, like those which followed, were built close to the shore but behind the barrier dune, to increase their protection from the elements.

Nestled in a desert-like landscape scattered with only sparse vegetation, some surfmen and other dune inhabitants kept small gardens, chickens, or horses. Some fished, hunted, and gathered beach plums and cranberries from the bog areas of the dunes, as the Pamets had done before them. With the diking of old East Harbor and the creation of Pilgrim Lake, Provincetown became accessible by rail and road. High winds and coastal storms persistently reshaped the coastline and covered the roads with sand, while repairs to the roads and the relocation of buildings became routine. Before long the value of the dunes had shifted from life saving to inspiration and personal growth, a movement driven not only by an emergent artistic community but the boom of American tourism.



Figure 1.40. Edwin Dickinson (1888–1971) studied under Charles Hawthorne in the summers of 1912 and 1913 and later became a teacher himself. Noted for his hazy landscapes washed with light, Dickinson resided in Provincetown for many years and stayed in Hazel Hawthorne Werner's shacks. Painting dated 1930, entitled "Back Beach Truro" (Courtesy of Provincetown Library).

DUNE SHACK HABITATION, 1919 TO 1961

The use of lifesaving structures for seasonal retreats signaled the initial use of the dune area as a place for entertainment and artistic inspiration rather than the highly regimented responsibilities associated with life-saving operations. At the same time Coast Guard facilities shifted to a new structure further inland, which was actively managed until the late 1940s. A winter storm claimed the original life-saving station in 1931, but the shed-like ancillary structures were salvaged. Many of these small buildings were relocated, and most became summer dwellings for the families of some of the earliest coastguardsmen, as well as a growing number of artists, writers, actors, and others drawn to the dune landscape. These included poet Harry Kemp, who first occupied a shack in the mid 1920s and continued to dwell in the dunes until his death in 1960. A year later, the Cape Cod National Seashore was established, marking another major change in the ownership, management, and use of the shacks. In addition to the references used to describe earlier historical periods, records from dune dwellers and Robert J. Wolfe's *Dwelling in the Dunes* (2005) provided details on the use of the dunes during this period.

DUNE SHACKS AND DUNE DWELLERS

Having previously lived in a grass hut on the dunes, Eugene O'Neill took up summer residence in the old Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station in 1919. Each summer from that year until 1924, he helped to muster increasing enthusiasm for the unusual atmosphere and artistic value of the dune landscape.[145] At the start of the twentieth century the Peaked Hill Bars area had been mostly deserted, with the surfmen of the Life-Saving Station representing the area's only permanent residents. Yet O'Neill's many visitors appreciated the wonders of this natural landscape, and envied his home. As it grew in fame, rising numbers of artists and other creative minds from Provincetown, New York, and elsewhere were drawn to the distinctive dune landscape. O'Neill's residence at the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station marked the beginning of this era of popularity, featuring the dunes as a place for summer homes and entertainment (Figure 1.41).

Tourism served as one of the most powerful catalysts for Provincetown's heightened influence on the back shore. Whereas some shacks had originally been built specifically for use by the families of Coast Guardsmen, soon the demand for dune rentals was prompted the construction of new shacks or the renovation of old Life-Saving Station buildings, including the Malkin/Ofsevit and Kemp shacks, and the Armstrong shack further east.[146] Swallowed by a landscape of meager human company, howling winds and a gaping sky, human loneliness on the back shore was difficult to avoid in those early years. This made most company a welcome change. Peaked Hill Bars Station Coast Guardsmen who built shacks

A HOME on the DUNES

By
JESSIE MARTIN BREESE

FAR out on Cape Cod, on the farthest point that touches the ocean, is one of the most interesting houses I have ever seen. Houses have been made from barns, and from old mills, but I doubt if any more original home, from the standpoint of initial use and homelike—but never houselike—flavor exists in the world than this house on the dunes.

Once this house was the coastguard station, which is in itself enough to give it distinction. It was not satisfied with this, however, for it became the home of Eugene O'Neill, who is probably America's foremost dramatist today. His plays are apt ones to be written in such a house, since many of them are of the sea. The same lonely eminence that his plays have achieved, his house has also. No other houses are within miles of it, except the present-day coastguard station, which is some distance down the beach.

These are not ordinary miles, either, that separate this extraordinary house from the other houses in Provincetown. They are miles across slipping, sliding sand dunes—miles each one of which is worth at least three miles on hard ground. The dunes themselves offer nothing to the eye but desert grass, the sky, and the sand itself, burning as any desert, still, and unreal as these barren spots that are just off the beaten track always seem.

This is one side of the house that was once a coastguard station. The other side looks out on the ocean, blue, green, and purple always unless a dull day turns it many tones of gray. Ships pass along its horizon on their way to Europe and points along the coast. Almost at the very base of the house the sea rumbles and roars, and sometimes rages for admittance. The shifting sands change the landscape around the house from season to season much as the ocean changes its form and color ceaselessly from day to day. Except where the dune grass grows, the sand is never still. Ten years ago the Government abandoned this house as a station for its coastguard because the sea was making such inroads on the sands that they considered it unsafe. One is reminded of Edna St. Vincent Millay's joyous invitation, "Come and see my shining palace built upon the sand."

It is no palace, nor has it been furnished as such. Its charm lies in the fact that its furnishings have been kept as simple and as seamanly as possible without rank imitation of the sea. Few changes have been made in the house itself. The old boat room, long and of huge proportions, has been closed in at the end where the boats were brought out to the sea. A fireplace has been added at the end of this room, and it is now the living room. The dining room is the same old galley that the coastguards used for mess, and opens on an informal plank terrace on the dune side.

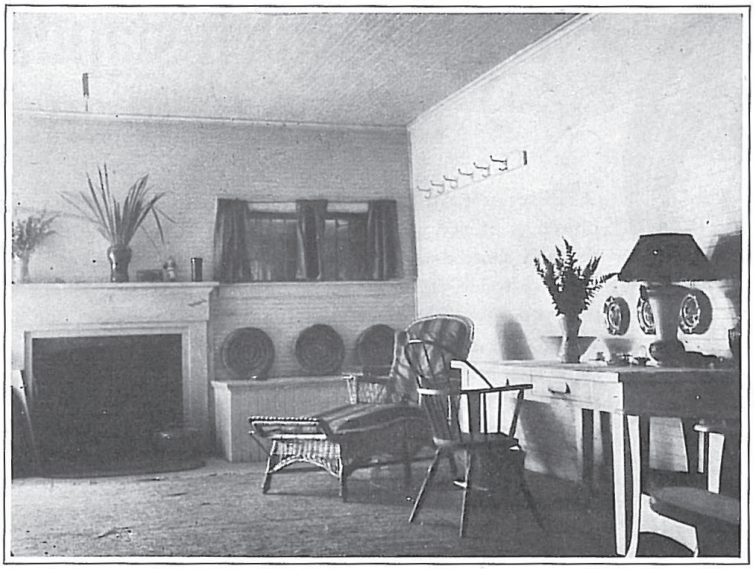
A roomy corner pantry is as large as any ordinary kitchen. Both this and the kitchen open to the sea, which they seem to have taken for their color scheme in part, for some of the furniture and the trim have been painted a Chinese blue. The china has its pattern in the same color. The house throughout is painted white, just as it always was in the days when the captain in charge of the station maintained a sailorly cleanliness that called for white paint which could be scrubbed. The floor throughout is the same light Chinese blue, making a most effective floor for such a house. Such a background may sound unreal for a living room, but it is suitable to this erstwhile station of the coastguard, as no other treatment could possibly have been. The same stark simplicity of form and color was carried out in the furnishing of the room. This room that was for thirty years the boat room of a station that saw many a wreck in the years of its Government existence would certainly give physical expression to its distaste were furnishings of any elaboration used in it. Such unsuitability would never make a livable room. The worst wreck this station ever saw left twenty-seven corpses stretched across its length, when the sea had calmed in the morning, and the work of the guards was done. That was more than a score of years ago, but a room that has seen such service will never accept gracefully a Gobelin tapestry of great worth and matchless beauty. Oriental rugs on that floor would be an unhappy anomaly.

Woven rag rugs of various sizes and woven rush rugs as well are more fittingly laid on its floors. Its walls are decorated colorfully with twelve-inch plates of Italian pottery. Two groups of three plates each are on either long side of the room. Over the fireplace is an enormous plate, three feet across, of the same sort, flanked on either side by two smaller ones, the same in size as those on the side walls. Each of these plates had a huge fish or two or three as its central decoration, and in color they are golden, yellow, and brown, with their decorations done in blues and reds typical of Italy. This color scheme is followed throughout the



Sheltered by miles of sand dunes, and facing the sea, is the old Peaked Hill Bars coastguard station, which is now the home of Eugene O'Neill, dramatist of the sea

THE name of Eugene O'Neill is synonymous with the best in contemporary American drama. In his charming little house among the sand dunes of Cape Cod the playwright busies himself turning out such masterpieces as "The Hairy Ape" and "Anna Christie." The simpleness and charm of his home, which Mrs. Breese describes in this article, are quite in keeping with the forceful simplicity of his plays.—THE EDITORS.



In the living room golden yellow and blue twelve-inch plates are hung on the wall, and round rush mats used as back rests on the chests carry out the scheme. Usually a three-foot plate, flanked by two smaller ones, hangs over the mantel

Figure 1.41. Article depicting the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station as the "Home in the Dunes" of playwright Eugene O'Neill (Country Life, November 1923).

in the area during the first half of the twentieth century included Captain Frank L. Mayo, Frank Cadose, Raymond Brown, Joe Madeiros and Louis "Spucky" Silva, among others (see Appendix B for complete list of shacks and construction dates).[147] Visitors, family, and friends from Provincetown walked out Snail Road to use the shacks, where they usually stayed a few days to relax and fish (Figure 1.42 and 1.43).



Figure 1.42. Photograph in September 1921 of the original Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station surrounded by small structures along the foredune, as seen from the vicinity of Snail Road (Cape Cod NS Archives).



Figure 1.43. Portion of a map of the Province Lands and the township of Provincetown, 1920. A popular route to the backshore, Snail Road is visible extending north from the town between the letters O and W in "Provincetown" on the map. Another road extends across the dunes from the northwest end of Pilgrim Lake to the approximate location of the halfway house (Cape Cod NS Archives).

A notable benchmark in the development of tourism throughout the Outer Cape was the extension of U.S. Route 6 to Provincetown in 1926, bringing drastic improvements to land transportation in the age of the automobile. Following its construction collections of summer cottages sprang up at Pilgrim Beach, North Truro, Pilgrim Heights, and Great Hollow.[148] A paved loop road through the Province Lands and an air strip at Race Point encouraged more visitors.

Rental properties became increasingly common as artists flooded the town's fish houses, sail lofts, and barns. Social and economic activity in the region underwent a substantial shift, as industrial and fishing pursuits faltered and the region's population of permanent residents plummeted. Notwithstanding the local economy still clung for a while to marine-related activities such as fish freezing, canning, and oil processing.[149] Some Portuguese residents of Provincetown began cultivating cranberries, even as weir fishing dwindled in popularity.[150] As Provincetown tourism proceeded to thrive throughout succeeding decades, the permanent population of neighboring Truro dipped to a low of 513 in 1930.[151]. Furthermore, Provincetown's liberal values allowed its ethnically diverse community to prosper.[152]

In the 1920s, a devoted following had formed by those using the buildings surrounding the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station. While O'Neill occupied the Life-Saving Station, he also occupied a nearby workshop, which had been built by John Francis in about 1921. To the east were cottages built and owned by Coastguardsmen Captain Mayo, Frank Cadose, and Provincetown Chief of Police Charles Roger. Further east, restaurant owner Pat Patrick built a new shack near the halfway house.[153]

An intense period of change and development ensued in the 1930s. In 1931 a coastal winter storm swept away the old Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station and several nearby buildings. Dune dwellers were forced to move salvaged structures inland and build new structures to replace those that were lost (Figures 1.44 to 1.47). Captain Mayo's shack was lost to erosion, while Charles Rogers



Figure 1.44. Looking northeast at the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station, falling into the ocean after a storm in 1931. Note the small cluster of associated buildings at right, some of the ancestors of today's dune shacks (Pilgrim Monument Archives).



Figure 1.45. View looking west of the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station falling into the ocean, after the winter storm of 1931 (Cape Cod NS Archives).

shack, then owned by Alice Malkin, was moved inland (Figure 1.48).[154] That same year the Coast Guard moved the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station and boathouse about 660 feet inland near the relocated Malkin/Ofsevit shack.[155] Upon reconstruction the building was placed on a concrete foundation, which still remains at the site today. Soon thereafter, the Coast Guard constructed a new metal watchtower along the coast between the current locations of the Werner (Thalassa) and Chanel shacks, so as to provide access to a sea view. Though fairly unstable, this tower could still be climbed by Paul Tasha around mid-century, when he was a child.[156]

The 1930s also witnessed the continued, unrelenting erosion of the coastline and an almost complete lack of vegetation throughout the inner dune landscape due in part to the increased use of the area. The severity of dune erosion in the early 1930s is recorded in an aerial photograph, taken in about 1932 (Drawing 1). Vast areas of the dune landscape are blanketed with windblown sand (Figure 1.49). Photographs from the 1920s and 30s show no efforts to stabilize the sand surrounding the buildings by using the techniques promoted in the nineteenth century to protect the harbors—beach grass, tree, and shrub plantings and the laying of brush. The use of wood-slat sand fencing does not appear until the late 1950s.[157] Fence posts dotted the landscape, but were most likely associated with property lines (Figure 1.50).[158]



Figure 1.46. View looking west after the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station fell into the ocean in 1931. Only the chimney and outbuildings remain (Pilgrim Monument Archives).



Figure 1.47. View looking south at a building falling into the ocean, c. 1931. This is likely one of the buildings associated with the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station, possibly Frank Mayo's shack or the Braaten shack before it was moved from the beach and reconstructed around 1931 (Pilgrim Monument Archives).

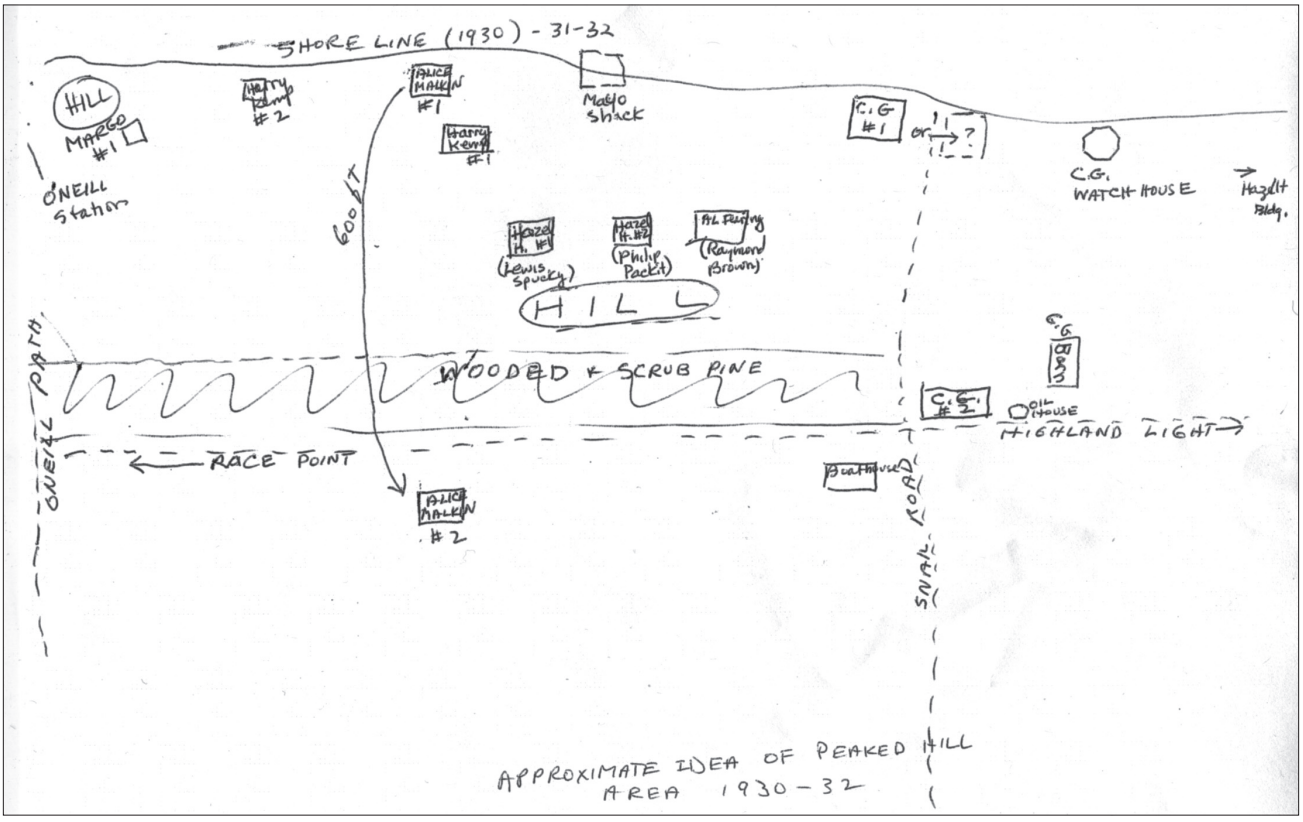


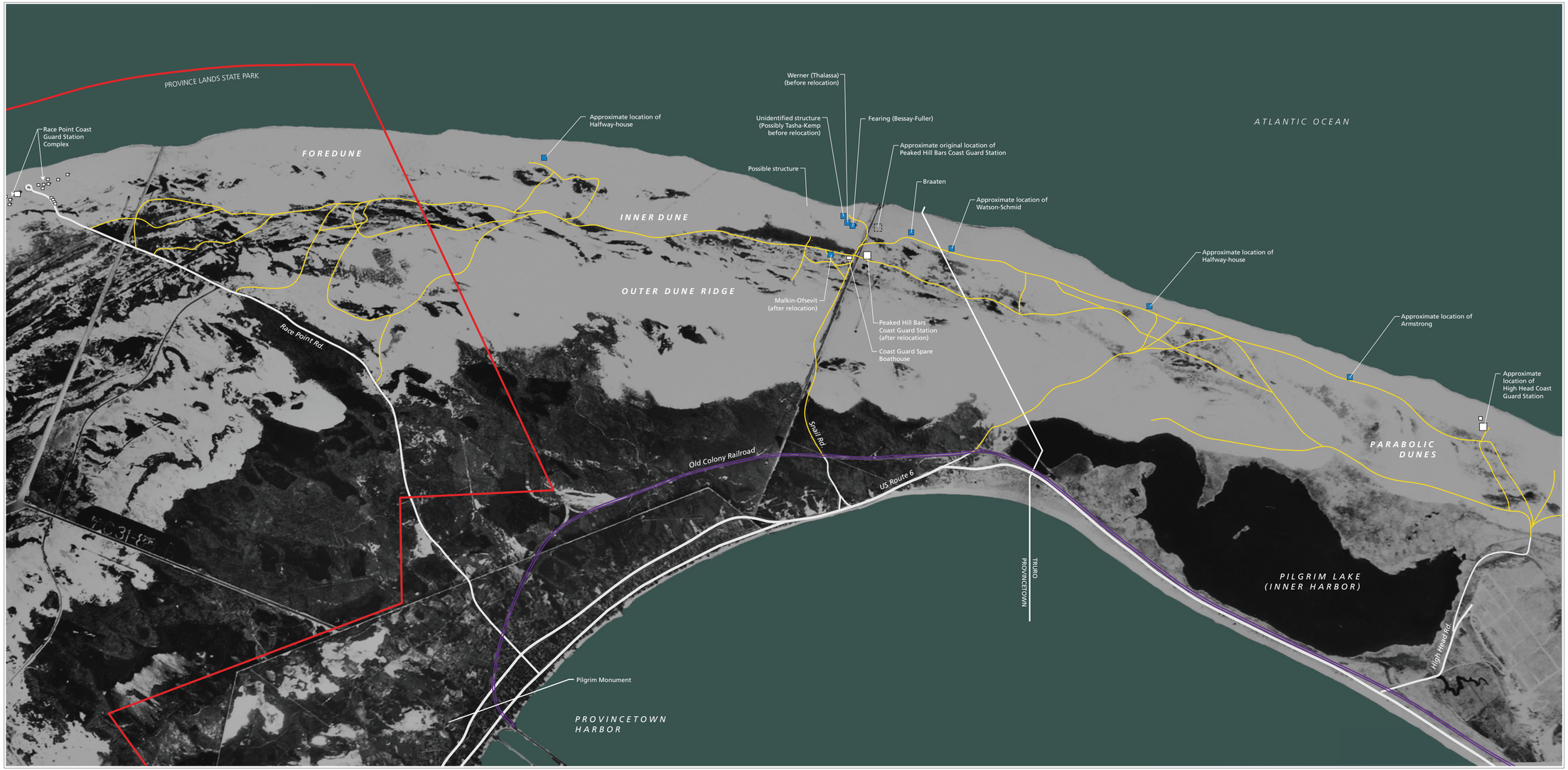
Figure 1.48. Sketch by Zara Malkin Ofsevit Jackson recalling the arrangement of the shacks in the central cluster by the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station in the early 1930s, when several buildings toppled over the eroding cliff including the O'Neill (Life-Saving) Station and Mayo shack (Courtesy of Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).



Figure 1.49. Undated photograph of dune erosion along the backshore (Pilgrim Monument Archives).



Figure 1.50. Undated photograph of old fence posts and dune erosion along the backshore (Pilgrim Monument Archives).



Cultural Landscape Report

Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District

Cape Cod National Seashore

Barnstable County, MA

Period Plan c. 1932

National Park Service

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation

www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

1. Circa 1932 aerial photograph from the Fairchild Aerial Camera Corporation, The Fairchild Model T-3A Five Lens Aerial Cameral and Model B-7 Transforming Printer, New York, 1932,(Inventory #. RS1514) © Collection of Historical Scientific Instruments, Department of the History of Science, President and Fellows of Harvard College

2. Province Lands and the Town of Provincetown, MA Dept. of Public Works map, 1920 (Cape Cod NS Archives)

3. Sketch by Hazel Hawthorne Werner of the structures in the central cluster in 1933 as recalled in 1971 (Fearing Bessay Clemons Collection)

4. Approximate Idea of Peaked Hill Area 1930-1932, Sketch by Zara Malkin Ofsevit Jackson (Fearing Bessay Clemons Collection)

DRAWN BY

Laura Roberts,
ArcMap 9.3, Adobe Illustrator CS3, 2011

LEGEND

- State lands boundary
- Dune route
- Dune shack location
- Ruins or remnants

NOTES

1. All features are shown at approximate scale and location.

0 500 1,000 2,000 Feet

Drawing #1



Figure 1.51. Untitled dune landscape by impressionist painter Heinrich Herman Pfeiffer (1874-1956). Pfeiffer worked in Provincetown and was known for his landscapes and urban coastal scenes (Provincetown Library).



SHACK BUILDERS AND DUNE ARTISTS

The fragility of the landscape did not discourage others from building additional shacks. At least thirteen new shacks were built in the 1930s by coastguardsmen and locals, including those now known as the Fleurant, Adams Guest Cottage, Adams, Champlin, Euphoria, Fearing, Thalassa, Braaten, Watson, Wells, and Jones shacks. Two additional shacks built in the 1930s are no longer extant—the Red Shack and Vevers-Pfeiffer-Giese shack stood along the back shore to the east in Truro.

Many of the new dune dwellers in the 1930s and 40s were artists, including John Grillo, Philip Malicoat, Jan Gelb, Boris Margo, Blanche Lazell, Bruce McKain, Ross Moffett, Frederick J. Waugh, Caleb Slade, and Ben Shahn. Some spent most of the summer in the shacks while other visiting artists such as Wolf Kahn and Heinrich Pfeiffer found the shacks to be compelling subjects for their work (Figures 1.51 to 1.54). Collectively, the artists transformed the back shore into a cradle of creativity.

Figure 1.52. Painting entitled "Hidden Lake" (no date) by Jeanette "Jan" Gelb (1906-1978), who worked in Provincetown from 1935 to 1978 and resided seasonally in the Margo-Gelb shack. A noted social realist painter in the 1930s, her style shifted toward surrealism and abstraction after she married surrealist artist, Boris Margo (Courtesy of Provincetown Art Association and Museum, 162).

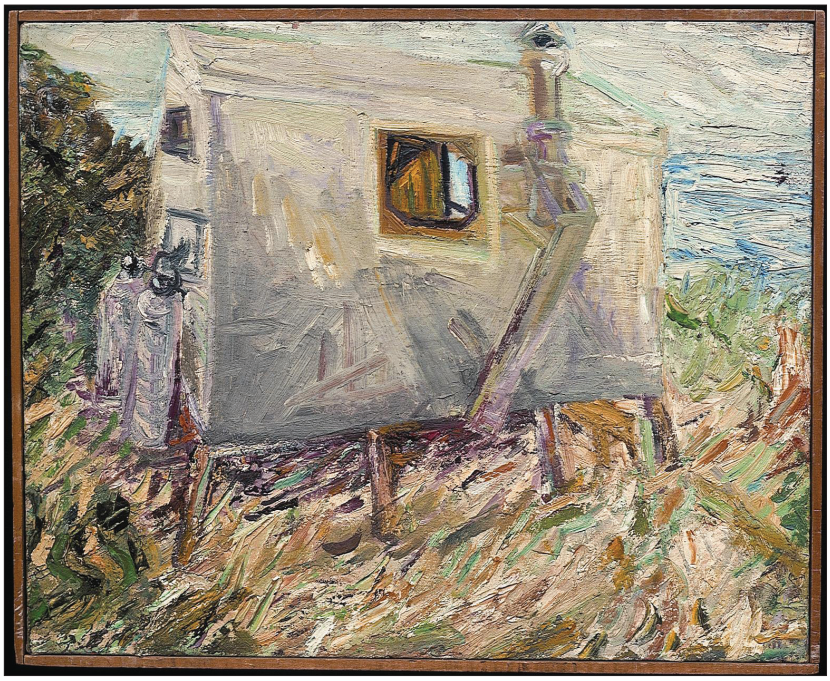


Figure 1.53. Oil painting, c. 1948, entitled "My Shack in the Dunes" by Wolf Kahn (1927-), who is widely recognized for his landscapes in oil and pastel and for his combination of realism and color field. An early work, Kahn worked in Provincetown and in the dunes in 1948, 1953-54, and 1956 (Courtesy of Provincetown Art Association and Museum, Gift of the Artist, 566)

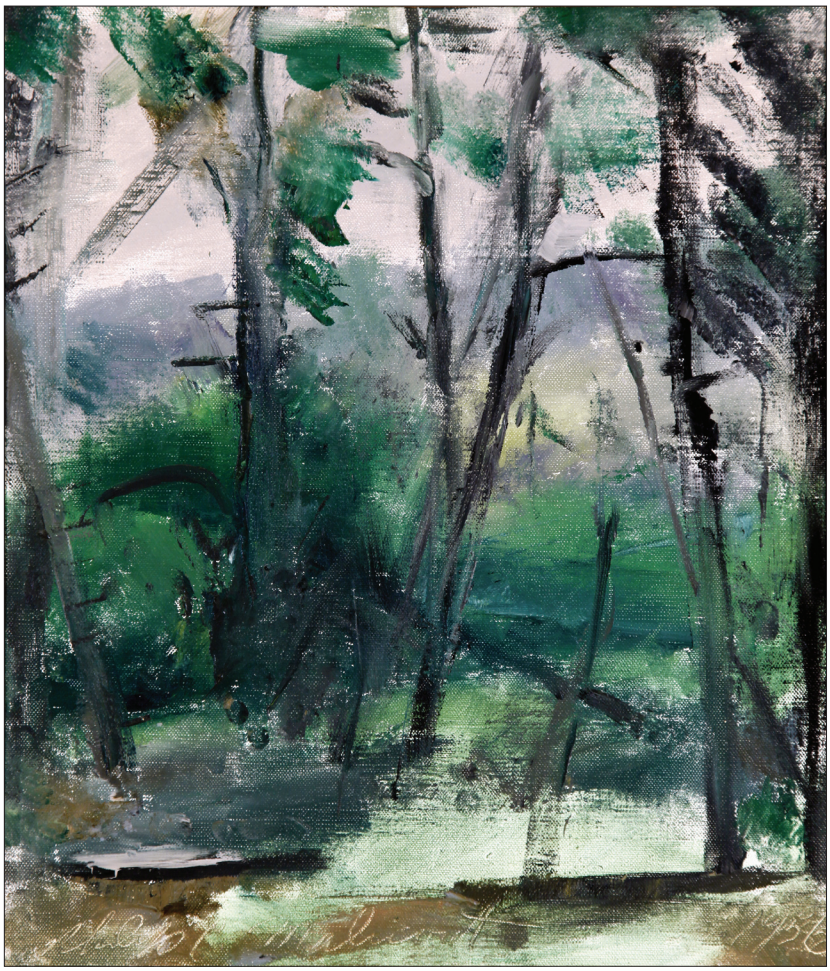


Figure 1.54. Noted for his highly atmospheric landscape paintings, Philip Malicoat (1908-1981) was a representational artist who began studying with Charles Hawthorne in 1929. Malicoat painted this oil on canvas, "Back Shore" in 1956 (Courtesy of Provincetown Art Association & Museum, 332.Pa78).

Shack construction slowed in the early 1940s, most likely due to the outbreak of World War II. During the war, the Peaked Hill Bars area once again served as a strategic location for use by the military. The recently decommissioned Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station, in its inland location near the Malkin/Ofsevit shack, was reclaimed by the Coast Guard to be used as a lookout. At the same time, the Braaten family leased their shack to the United States government for use as a mine testing station.[159]

Though the tip of the Cape acted like a shield for the safe passage of vessels through the Cape Cod Canal and Cape Cod Bay, it remained relatively immune to the coastal fortification and industrial development witnessed elsewhere during these years. United States Geological Survey maps from 1944 show 23 structures as dots, plus the Coast Guard Station and boathouse, almost evenly spaced along the outer beach (Figures 1.55 and 1.56). Photographs from the 1940s show the relocated Coast Guard Station, the introduction of electrical lines and telephone to the station, and its abandonment by the late 1940s (Figures 1.57 through 1.60).

Shacks constructed during the 1940s included the Cohen, Malicoat, Margo/Gelb, Chanel, and Fowler shacks. An additional shack built in the 1940s is no longer extant, the Quonset shack near the Jones shack to the east in Truro. All of the shacks currently in the district were built by the 1940s, the last being the Fowler shack, which was constructed in 1949 (Figure 1.61) Another shack, no longer extant, appeared in the early 1950s near the Fearing and Fowler shacks. Esther Hill and her husband Gerald Hill, neighbors of the Fowlers in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, towed a trailer to the dunes in 1950. The following summer, they constructed a porch alongside the trailer, and in 1952 constructed a prefabricated cottage, assembled by a builder from Hyannis, in place of the trailer. Esther Hill later sold the cottage to Josephine Ford.[160]

The dynamic dune environment necessitated repairs due to winter storms or vandalism, movement of shacks due to sand and erosion, reconstruction after fire, or in some cases, additions to accommodate more family members (Figures 1.62 through 1.64). In the late 1940s, the Fearing shack was almost buried on one side and the pilings completely exposed at the other end (Figures 1.65 and 1.66). A bulldozer operated by Jim Enos regraded the area to liberate the shack and reconfigure the adjacent dune. Jean Cohen relocated the Cohen shack further east, though it was later moved again further inland. Several other shacks were moved inland in the 1940s and 50s including the Adams Guest Cottage, Euphoria, Margo/Gelb, Malkin/Ofsevit, Thalassa, Braaten, and Wells shacks. While some were moved short distances, others were moved onto tracts held by different owners.[161]

In many cases those who originally rented structures from Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guardsmen eventually became primary dune shack caretakers. Otherwise most structures were transferred through family lines, by way of close relatives, while



Figure 1.55 and 1.56. Map (above) of Provincetown showing dune shacks, vehicle trails, and Snail Road. Map (below) of North Truro showing dune shacks, vehicle trails, High Head Coast Guard Station and the location of Pilgrim Spring, 1944 (USGS 1944).



Figure 1.57. High Head Life-Saving Station, which later became a U.S. Coast Guard Station boat storage and communications buildings in the 1940s, with a pole supporting electric and telephone lines (Cape Cod NS archives, Gushee Collection).



Figure 1.58. View south of the relocated Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station in the late 1940s (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

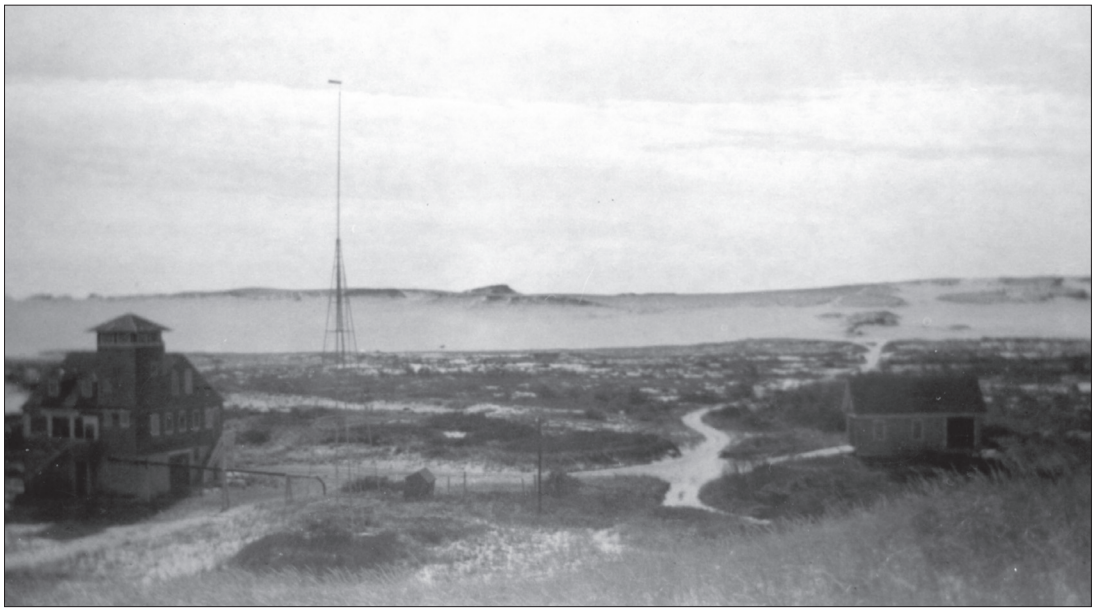


Figure 1.59. View south of Snail Road, the relocated Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station, tower, and boathouse, decommissioned in the late 1940s (Fowler Album, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).



Figure 1.60. View east Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station, decommissioned and abandoned in the late 1940s (Cape Cod NS Archives).



Figure 1.61. View southeast of the relocated Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station at right and the Fowler shack at center in the late 1940s (Fowler Album, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).



Figure 1.62. David Armstrong repairing a window of the Armstrong shack in its original location in 1948 (David and Connie Armstrong Collection).



Figure 1.63. View southwest of three shacks in the central cluster, 1946. The shack at left is the Fearing shack in its current and original location with Al Fearing on the roof. The shack at center is Thalassa in its original location. The shack at right collapsed in the late 1940s or early 1950s (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).



Figure 1.64. Shack repairs and clothesline at the Fearing Shack, 1950s. Jim Enos, Al Jr. (or Alfee), Al, and Dorothy (or Doe) Fearing (Fowler album, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).



Figure 1.65. View west of the Fearing shack in 1950. One end of the shack is buried in sand, while the other is eroded (Fowler album, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

some buildings constructed in the 1930s came to be cared for by close friends of the original users, as in the cases of Harry Kemp, Ray Wells, and Hazel Hawthorne Werner.[162] The Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station was abandoned in the 1940s and burned in the mid 1950s.

Other structures that had disappeared by the end of the 1940s were the Coast Guard watch tower and the third shack that stood by the Fearing shack, most likely a shack built by Coast Guardsman Joe Madieros (see Figure 1.63).



Figure 1.66. View north of the Fearing shack in 1950. The west side is severely eroded while the other end is buried in sand (Fowler album, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).



Figure 1.67. View northeast of Art's Dune Taxi and Fearing shack, 1952. Al Fearing is standing by vehicle and Doe Fearing is standing next to taxi owner Arthur Costa (Fowler album, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

Following World War II the area's focus on tourism intensified and Provincetown's artist population steadily grew. Arthur Costa, a local Ford dealership employee, established a dune taxi service in 1946 (Figure 1.67). Costa's service was at first a modest enterprise, and he greatly improved access for dune dwellers as well as tourists. When the tourist boom hit in the 1950s demand soared and Costa expanded his business accordingly. Before long he was buying more automobiles and hiring additional drivers. At one point his tours were even featured on national television.

As the popularity of automobiles soared, railroad service to the Outer Cape declined and finally went out of service in 1959.[163] Industrial activities also dwindled in favor of roadside shops, motels, and restaurants. Provincetown's giant plants fell out of use and were either demolished or converted to other uses. For example, the Consolidated Weir Company Cold Storage was converted into apartments in the 1960s and 1970s before becoming the current Ice House Condominiums complex.[164] A network of roads cut through the dune landscape allowing shack owners access to the beach and other dwellings (Figure 1.68). Snail Road remained a popular corridor for pedestrian access from Provincetown (Figure 1.69).

Figure 1.68. Aerial view looking southeast, showing (from the foreground receding into the distance) the Fleurant shack, Adams-Guest Cottage and the Adams, Champlin, and Malicoat shacks, in 1950 (NPS NER Archives).



DUNE ENVIRONMENT AND DUNE WRITERS

Annabelle Jones, who began summering in the dunes with her husband in the 1940s, wrote of the pleasures found in "an environment that appears barren but which is actually rich."[165] Her meaning implied not only a wealth of living things but of interesting and often foreign objects. By her own estimate Annabelle Jones's collection of beach stones weighed around 200 pounds, and she and her husband also discovered Native American artifacts in the dunes. Using lumber found on the beach, they constructed a dry well food refrigerator dug a full six feet into the ground. In addition, Annabelle and her husband enjoyed "what is edible on the dunes such as: wild peas, beach plums, cranberries, rose haws, blueberries and raspberries."[166] In the reliably strong wind they flew kites on the back shore, and made candles from bayberry wax. Once a week she and her husband would go to Provincetown for mail and supplies, and occasionally engaged in largely unsuccessful fishing attempts.[167] By comparison, photographs from the Fowler family album attest to other, more successful fishing expeditions along the back shore (Figure 1.70).

As hinted by the Jones's experience, the charming dune landscape and the buildings in it were put to many uses over the years, from revelry to solitude and artistic inspiration. The large number of famous American artists and creative thinkers who have visited the Peaked Hill Bars area over the years stands as a testament to the unique nature of this environment. In addition to those already mentioned, playwright Tennessee Williams often visited Provincetown and is said to have "put the final touches" on his play *A Streetcar Named Desire* while living in a dune shack, around 1950.

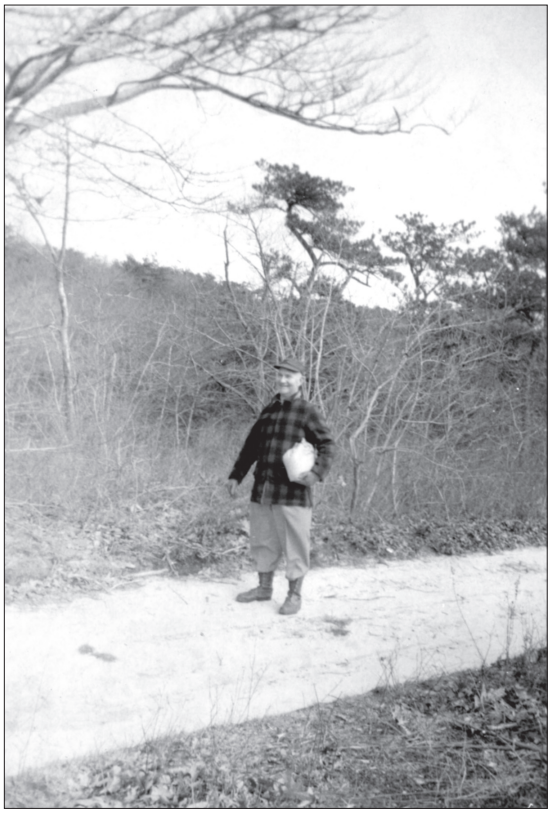


Figure 1.69. Stan Fowler walking on Snail Road in 1950, which was lined with young pines and maples (Fowler album, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

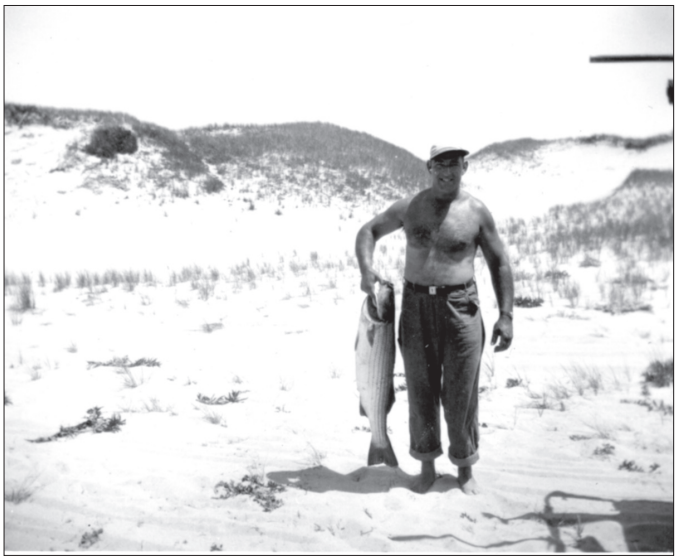


Figure 1.70. Jim Enos with bass while fishing on the backshore with Charlie, Lou, and Stan Fowler, 1951 (Fowler album, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

Apparently Marlon Brando also made his way to Provincetown, possibly by hitch-hiking, and was drawn all the way out onto the dunes to visit Williams and audition for a lead role in the Broadway play. Another well-known American author, Jack Kerouac, spent time in the Werner (Euphoria) shack in 1950 and there wrote some of his book, *On the Road*.[168]

Over the second half of the twentieth century the artist, singer, and actress "Frenchie" Chanel used the dunes as a source of inspiration. Josephine Del Deo remembers how Frenchie

> often sat on the main wharf in summer to hawk her charming dune scenes and harbor vistas that graced a delicate sea scallop shell or a sturdy clam shell ashtray. More often, she saved her delightful interpretations of Provincetown to display at appointed hours outside her dune shack when her loyal friend, Art Costa, brought his dune buggy customers to see a "real dune artist" and take home a souvenir.[169]

Other regular dune dwellers had their own particular patterns for using this unique landscape. From mid-century on the cranberry bogs tucked between the dunes were regularly picked of their fruit by shack users, an enterprise often led by Leo Fleurant, who for a long time kept a horse on the dunes.[170] Locals also picked the beach plums growing along the back shore, went fishing and hunting, and collected sea clams from the ocean.[171] Some dune dwellers entertained themselves by celebrating the Pilgrim's arrival at Provincetown with a "wash day every year for many years" (Figure 1.71). Likely conceived sometime around



Figure 1.71. Harry Kemp theatrically celebrating the Pilgrim's landing in Provincetown, c. 1950s (Driver 2004: 16).

mid-century by Harry Kemp, this custom was remembered rather humorously by Josephine Del Deo:

> Sunny Tasha pinned them all in and sent them off in the biting November winds to record a remembered moment of history, her huge iron wash pot drawing up the rear guard of the little column of celebrants.[172]

For others, the simple act of wandering the dunes was the most meaningful part of their life in the dunes. Miriam Hapgood DeWitt, among others, strode and painted in the dunes and said: "The dunes have thrilled me, held me in their spell. Countless times have I walked them, drawn and painted their wind-sculptured shapes, and felt transported into another world."[173] Similarly local Dan Lewis, who worked at the Provincetown public library for fifteen years, "spent as much time as possible wandering in the dunes."[174]

Countless other Provincetown residents and artists have similarly frequented the dunes on foot, each for their own reasons, and some out of simple necessity.[175] For years most dune dwellers were forced to walk both short and long distances across the back shore in order to reach the shacks, or at least until dune taxis and buggies became more common in the 1950s and 1960s. Anne Arsenault fondly remembered her own trek out to the Red shack, when she was a child:

> We, of course, felt that dragging everything across the sand in blankets, pillow-cases, or sheets was quite difficult, especially for small children. But we were on an adventure, visiting the wilderness where we rarely saw anyone.[176]

However, it was not long before increased levels of human use and traffic on the back shore began making a mark on the natural landscape. The Peaked Hill, after which the area and its coastal sandbars were named, was itself gradually eroded away to nothing as a result of human use. Once the area's tallest barrier dune which towered over the Kemp and Margo/Gelb shacks, this mass of sand was split in two by a single footpath sometime in the 1960s. As this track deepened the dune on either side eroded away, until the hill disappeared. In the process, sand blown from its peak and sides buried a nearby wetland.[177]

LAND OWNERSHIP AND TOURISM

Many of the shacks stood on a single 251-acre parcel of land in Provincetown, or Tract 08-1036, which was originally owned by E. Bennett Beede.[178] Among these were the Werner (Euphoria), Margo/Gelb, Malkin/Ofsevit, Fowler, Fearing/Fuller/Bessay, Kemp, Chanel, Werner (Thalassa), and former Hill/Ford shacks. For many years Beede allowed shack users to squat on his land, but began charging them rent when his taxes rose around 1947.[179] Another privately owned parcel of land squatted upon by dune dwellers was that of Edwin J. and Junia M. Hannah, in Truro. The Hannahs had inherited this portion of the back shore, which was originally awarded to the family through a royal grant from the British Crown back

in the eighteenth century. Residents of Sandwich, Massachusetts, they negotiated with the users of the Jones and Armstrong shacks for taxes and lease fees during the 1950s but apparently did not collect from the three additional buildings on their property, the Watson, Wells, and former Schmid shacks.[180] Coastal storms continually reshaped the back shore and required shack relocations.

As tourism in the nearby towns thrived, the value of the dune shacks rose. During the 1950s and 1960s Provincetown's art community grew and changed with the times, as a renewed wave of painters and writers lent the town a beatnik atmosphere. Previous to World War II, the Provincetown Art Association had been the only institutional setting for the exhibition of art in the region. After the war the Association continued to mount noted exhibitions of abstract art, some of which were compared to those of New York City, and touched off a new movement of commercial art and display in Provincetown. By the late 1950s the town had more than two dozen galleries and craft shops. The cultural vibrancy of the 1910s was remade in the image of the sixties, as Provincetown's streets thronged with "beards, thonged sandals, tattered blue jeans, black peasant skirts, and shoulder-length haircuts."[181] The town also swarmed with intellectuals such as Edmund Wilson, Alfred Kazin, Philip Roth, Daniel Aaron, and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., some of whom frequented the dunes as a place to escape from the constant bustle.[182]

During these years the back shore continued to be a kind of foil to Provincetown, and a strong contributing force to the town's growth and success. Due largely to the landscape and natural beauty represented by the nearby dunes, the town rose to become a leading icon of American art. Ronald A. Kuchta supports this idea in his description of Provincetown's popularity:

> As an historic old fishing village at the end of a long peninsula surrounded by blue sky and a wild desert-like landscape of dunes, it offered brilliant light, fresh air and the drama of weather and sea. It especially appealed to the romantic nature and free spirit of artists. . .Something about the intense sunlight reflected off the sea and the dunes for the impressionists; the fraternity of artists and the "picturesque" subject matter for the realists; the energy of nature and existential apartness for the abstract expressionists, seemingly had much to do with their vitality in this venerable New England town.[183]

The boom of tourism throughout the nation during the early twentieth century meant that Cape Cod's Great Beach, or the roughly 30 miles of shoreline along the Cape's outer arm, had by the 1950s become one of the East Coast's last untouched beach areas. During the preceding few decades "almost every attractive seashore area" along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts had been "pre-empted for commercial or private development. The Outer Cape remained a final New England outpost of the "outstanding values desirable and suitable for extensive seashore recreation."[184]

Recognizing its value, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts took additional measures to protect the dune landscape. Between 1955 and 1956, Pilgrim Spring State Park and Reservation was established in Truro. Shacks within the reservation were condemned, but the Commonwealth did not actively remove them. Meanwhile at a national level, conservationists were tackling how to protect the fragile Cape Cod landscapes and the region's quaint maritime way of life.

THE DUNE LANDSCAPE IN 1961

USGS maps from the mid 1950s, sketches by Hazel Hawthorne Werner in 1971, and aerial photographs illustrate the changes that took place in the central cluster of dune shacks between the 1920s and 1960s (Figures 1.72 through 1.82 and Drawing 2). Two state park properties, the Province Lands and Pilgrim Spring State Park respectively covered the western and eastern portions of the Outer Dunes. The central portion included the remains of the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station. The open expanse of the Peaked Hill Bars, initially marked by a single Life-Saving Station, was dotted with a string of shacks clustered behind the barrier dune. Though originally inhabited by surfmen and their families, a growing number of structures came to host casual hunters, fishermen, artists, and other seekers of leisure and solitude. The Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving and Coast Guard Stations initially stood out as substantial structures in this setting, but were gone by mid century. For a time the telephone and electrical poles associated with the Coast Guard Station traversed the dunes from Provincetown.

The isolated and barren atmosphere of the back shore remained largely unchanged. From the dune shacks visitors and artists enjoyed views of the ocean or the Provincetown Monument, or simply appreciated the soft and ever-changing shapes of the surrounding dunes. The mostly seasonal population of dune dwellers also continued to collect berries from the bogs, and natural curiosities from the beach. Small gardens or playground areas appeared in the vicinity of structures along with clotheslines, birdhouses, pumps, and outhouses (see Figure 1.64). Marked by footprints left in the sand, visitors wandered the dunes, typically hiking up to high points to appreciate the scenery and observe wildlife. The open vistas across the back shore and out over the Atlantic were interrupted only by the Pilgrim Monument in Provincetown and later the round shape of the Truro water tower to the south.

Harry Kemp's death in 1960 marked the loss of the "Poet of the Dunes" and a cultural icon, having lived on the back shore since the 1920s (see Figure 1.71). Similarly, other dune dwellers were reaching an age where they could no longer stay in the dunes. Some passed their shacks on to friends and relatives, while other shacks were abandoned and quickly deteriorated in the harsh elements. Several locals became caretakers for multiple shacks, deterring vandals and carrying out shack repairs.





Figures 1.72 and 1.73. Map (above) of Provincetown showing dune shacks in the western and central portions of the historic district. Map (below) of North Truro showing dune shacks in the eastern portion of the historic district, vehicle trails, High Head Coast Guard Station, and the location of the newly established Pilgrim Spring State Park (USGS 1955).

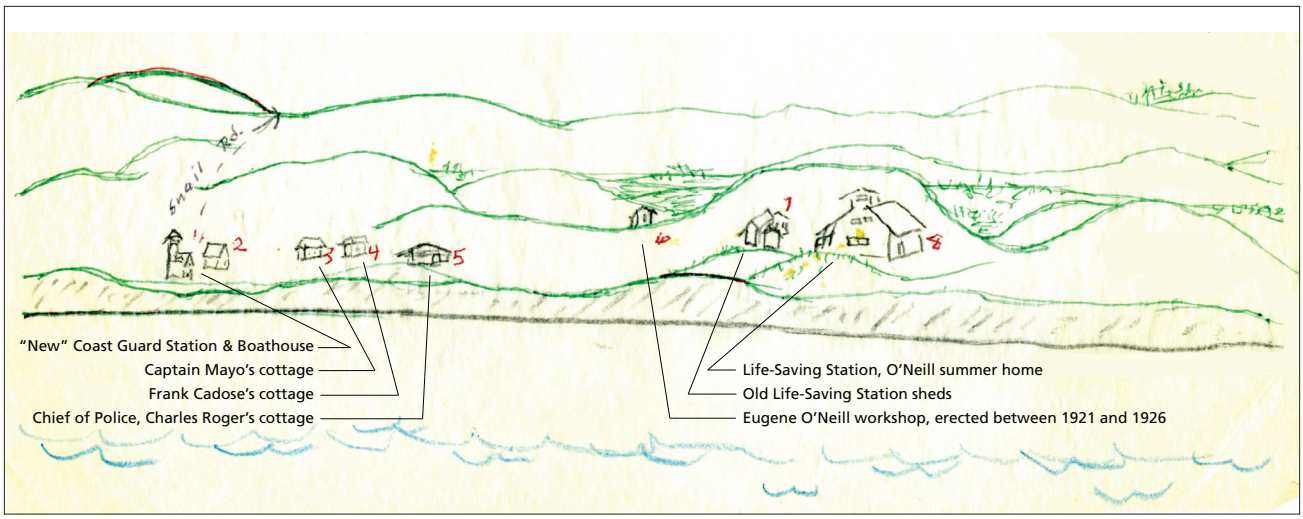


Figure 1.74. Sketch by Hazel Hawthorne Werner showing the structures in the central dune shack cluster in the 1920s as recalled in 1971, annotated by Olmsted Center using Werner's notes (Courtesy of Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

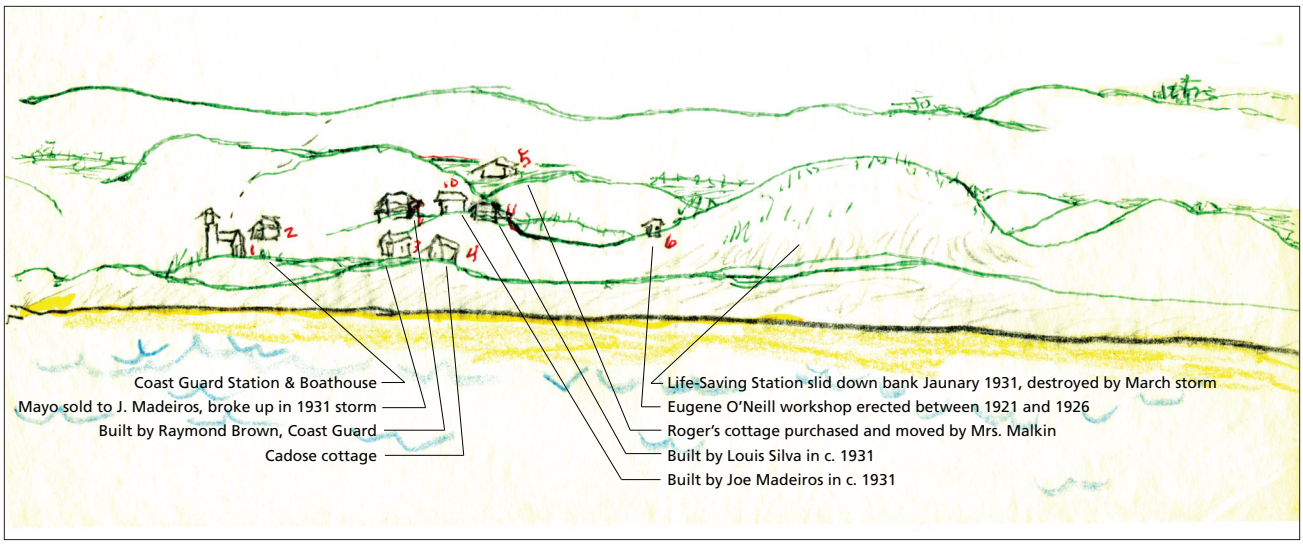


Figure 1.75. Sketch by Hazel Hawthorne Werner of the structures in the central cluster in 1933 as recalled in 1971, annotated by Olmsted Center using Werner's notes (Courtesy of Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

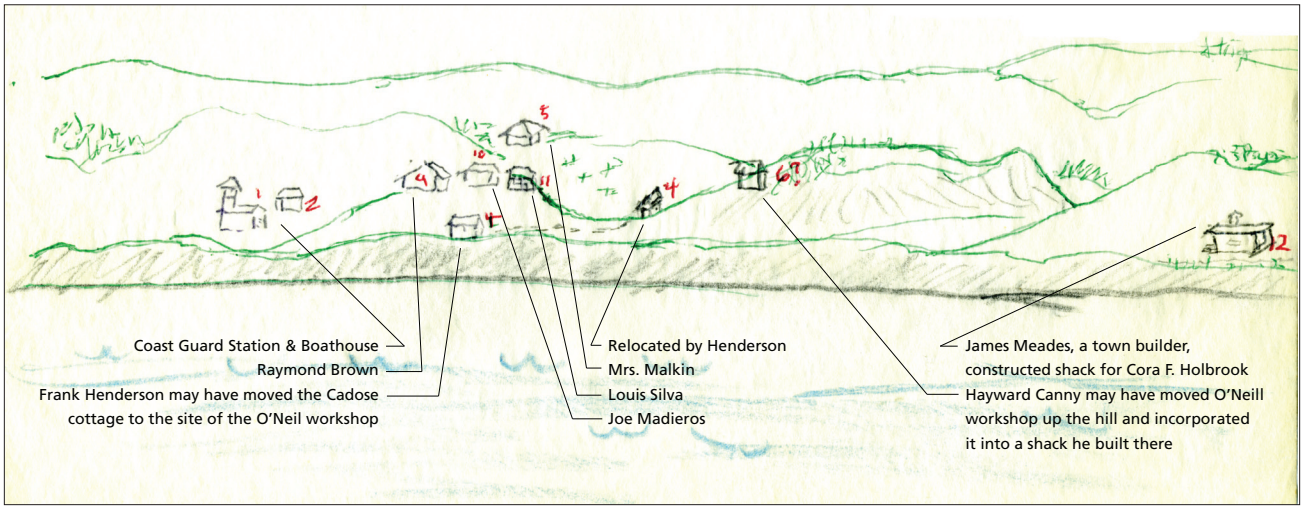


Figure 1.76. Sketch by Hazel Hawthorne Werner of the structures in the central cluster in 1939 as recalled in 1971, annotated by Olmsted Center using Werner's notes (Courtesy of Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

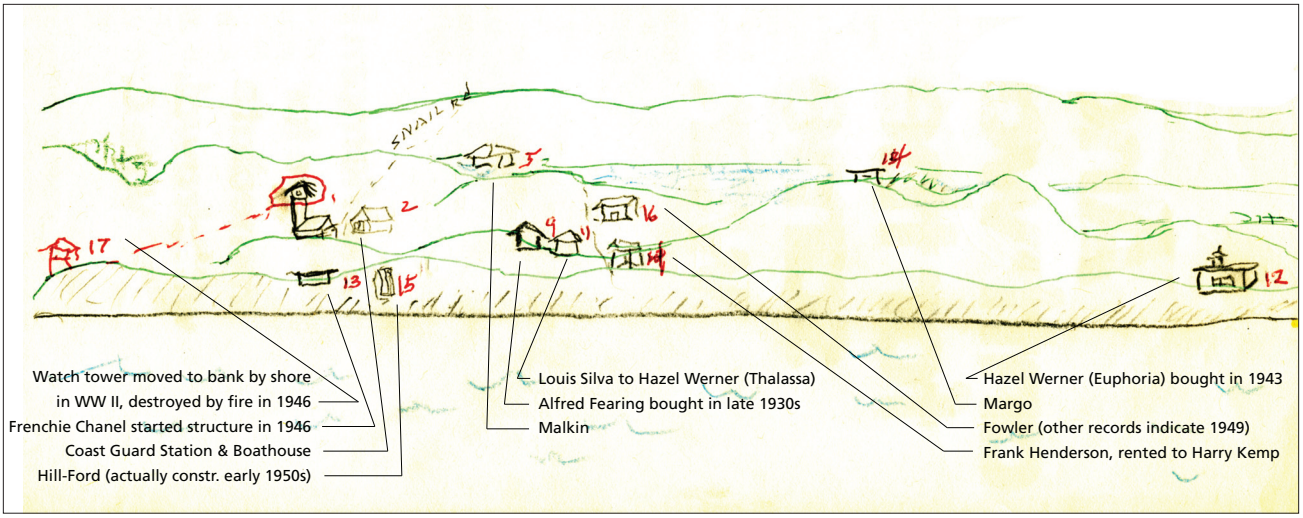


Figure 1.77. Sketch by Hazel Hawthorne Werner of the structures in the central cluster in the 1946 as recalled in 1971, annotated by Olmsted Center using Werner's notes (Courtesy of Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

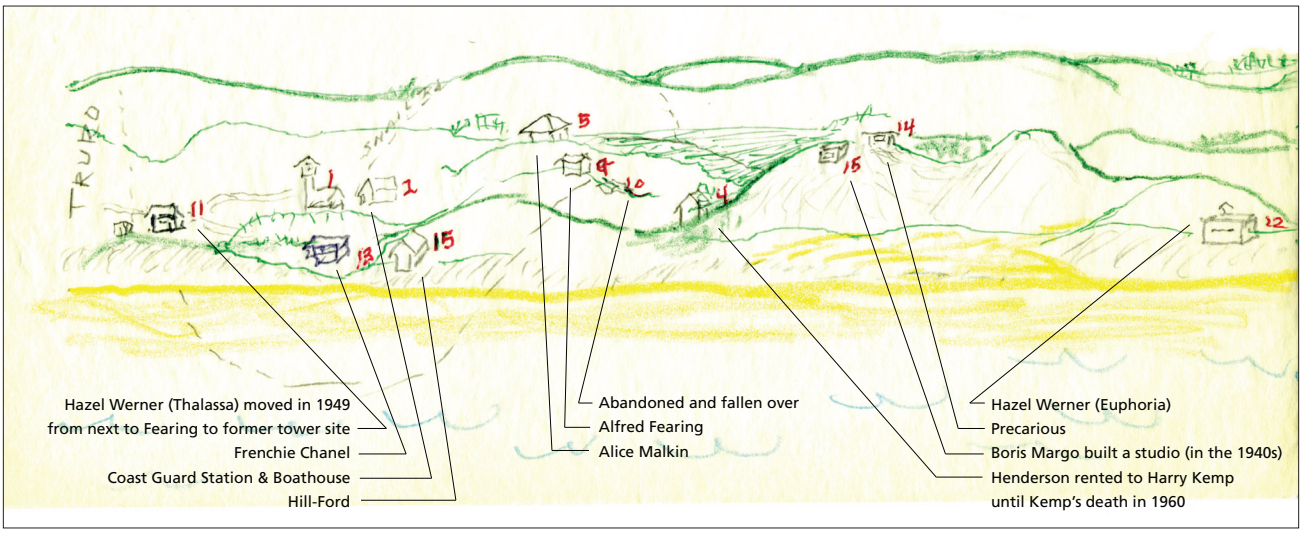


Figure 1.78. Sketch by Hazel Hawthorne Werner of the structures in the central cluster in 1950 as recalled in 1971, annotated by Olmsted Center using Werner's notes (Courtesy of Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

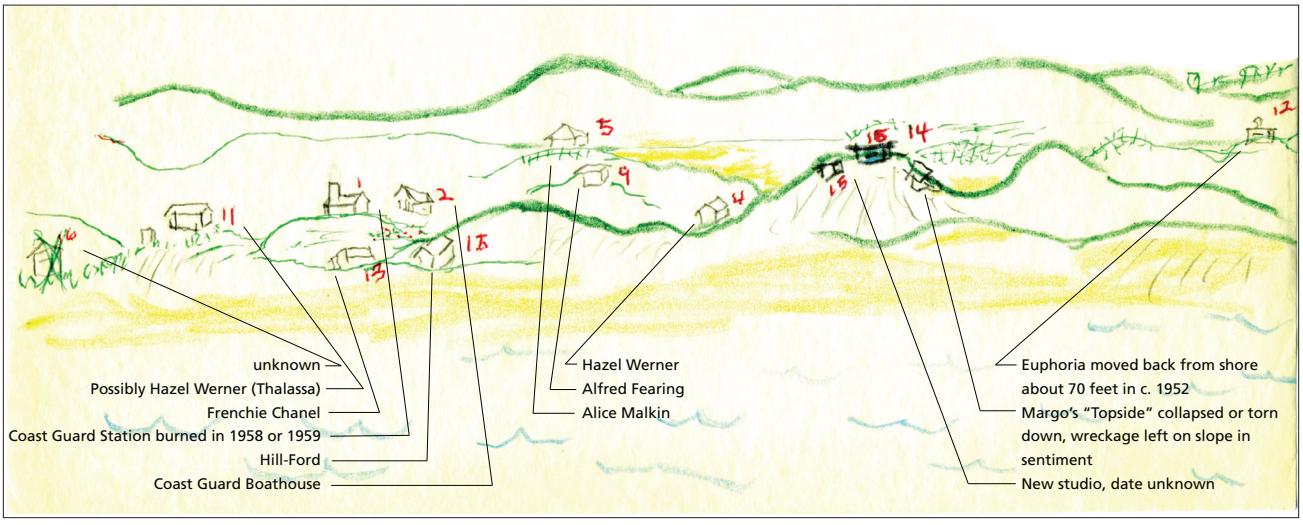


Figure 1.79. Sketch by Hazel Hawthorne Werner of the structures in the central cluster in 1960 as recalled in 1971, annotated by Olmsted Center using Werner's notes (Courtesy of Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

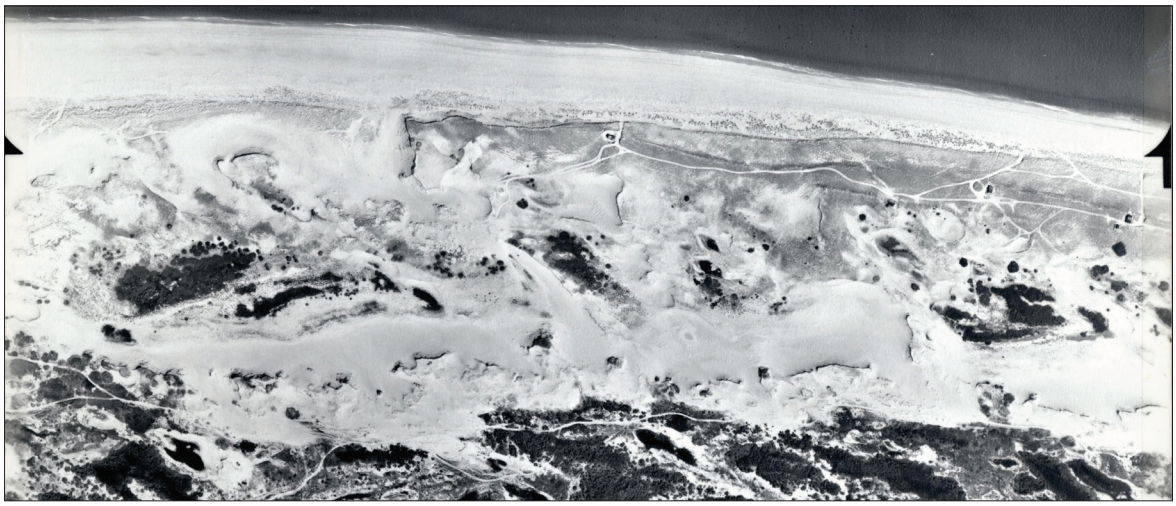


Figure 1.80. Section of 1960 aerial photograph showing the western cluster of shacks and sand drives. The Cohen shack in its 1960s location is at the upper center of image (Cape Cod NS Park Files, 1960).

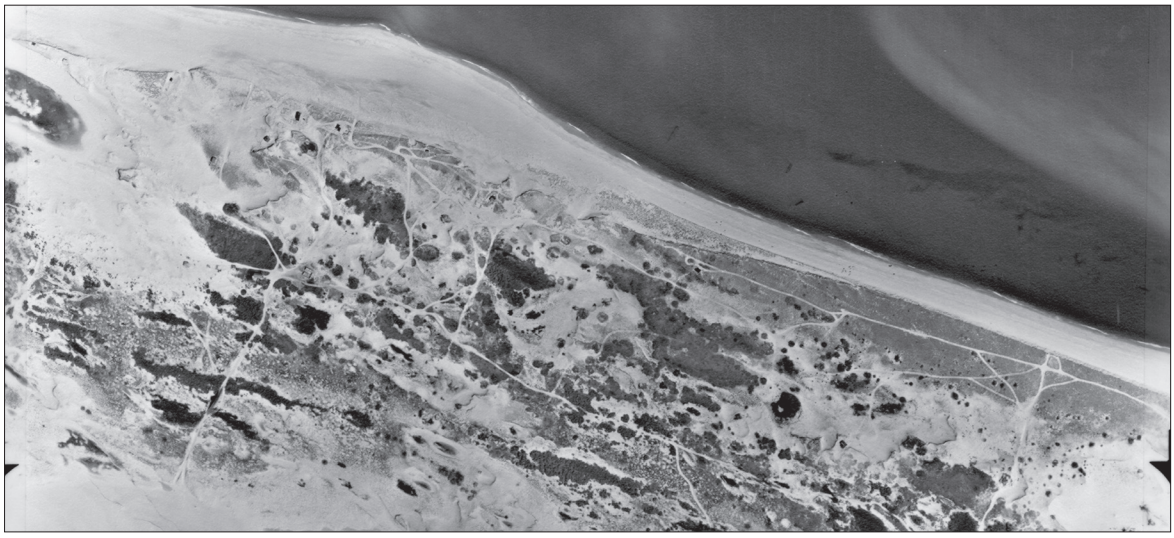


Figure 1.81. Section of 1960 aerial photograph showing the central cluster of shacks and sand drives. The Braaten shack in its 1960s location is at the upper center of image (Cape Cod NS Park Files, 1960).

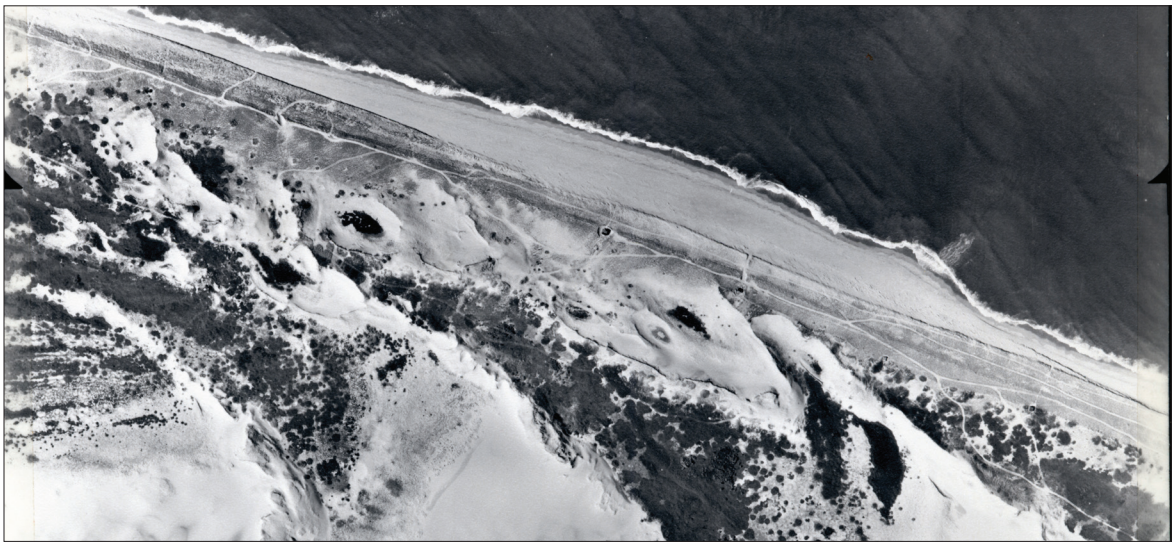
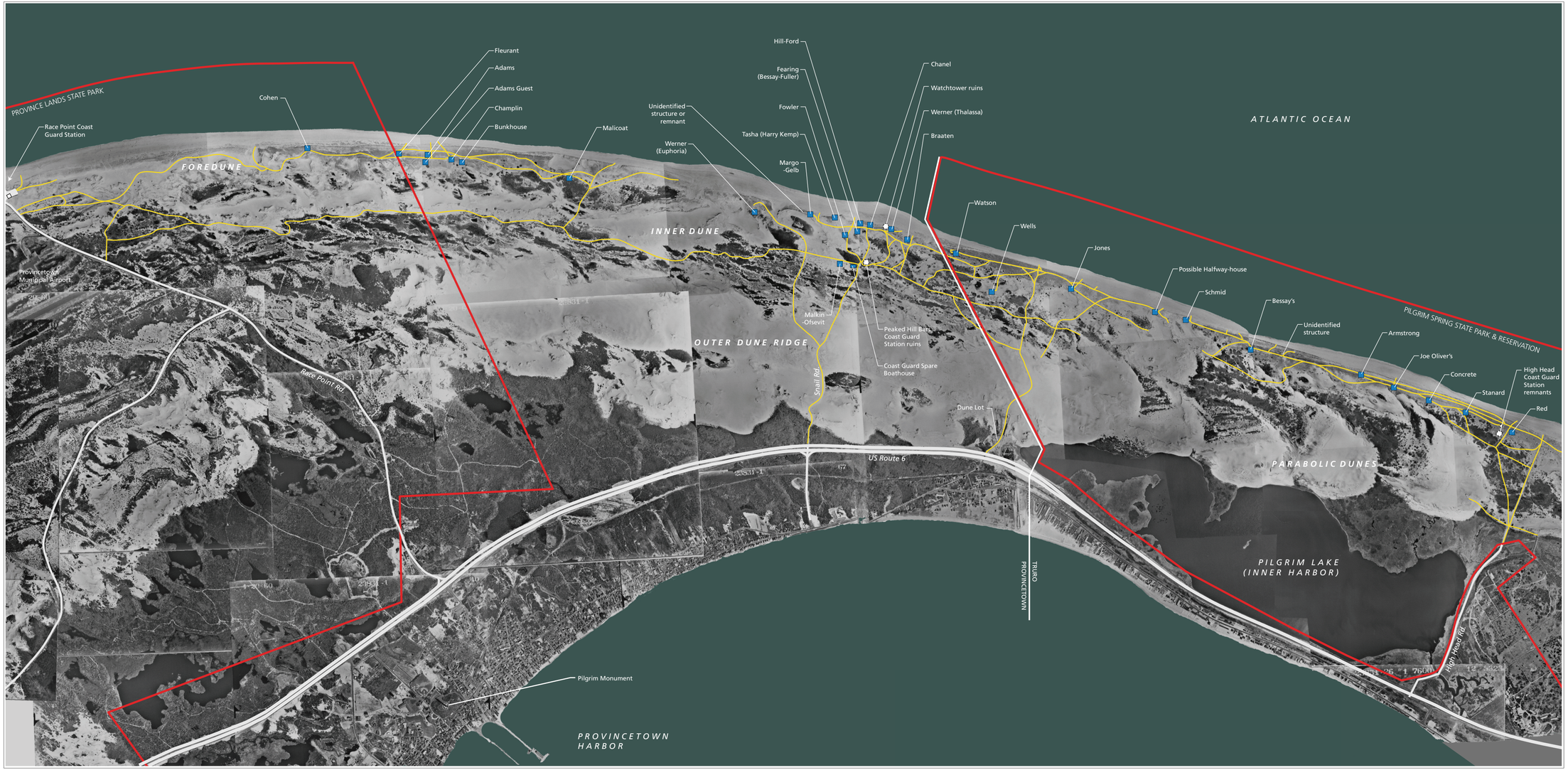


Figure 1.82. Section of 1960 aerial photograph showing the eastern cluster of shacks and sand drives. The Armstrong shack in its original location is at the upper center of image (Cape Cod NS Park Files, 1960).



Cultural Landscape Report

Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District

Cape Cod National Seashore

Barnstable County, MA

Period Plan 1961

National Park Service

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation

www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

1. Aerial photographs, 1960
2. USGS Quad map, 1955
3. Map of "Over-Sand Vehicle Routes," 1968

DRAWN BY

Laura Roberts,
ArcMap 9.3, Adobe Illustrator CS3, 2011

LEGEND

- State lands boundary
- Dune route
- Dune shack location
- Ruins or remnants

NOTES

1. All features are shown at approximate scale and location.

0 250 500 1,000 1,500 2,000 Feet

Drawing #2

ESTABLISHMENT OF CAPE COD NATIONAL SEASHORE, 1961 TO 1991

After the establishment of Cape Cod National Seashore in 1961, the National Park Service assumed responsibility for managing the dune landscape. The reluctance of dune dwellers to relinquish rights to the shacks combined with an increase in tourism, resulted in decades of turmoil surrounding the dune's fragile natural and cultural resources. Sources for this period include photographs, maps, National Park Service correspondence files, Candice Reffe's *From the Peaked Hills* (1988), Josephine Del Deo's *Compass Grass Anthology* (1983), and her survey "The Dune Cottages of the Peaked Hill Bars," completed in 1986. Photographs and correspondence from private collections provide information on individual shacks, though detailed histories are included in the Analysis and Evaluation chapter.

MANAGEMENT OF THE DUNES BY THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

As a result of increased tourism and commercial development, a growing interest in preserving the Outer Cape as a national treasure resulted in the establishment of the Cape Cod National Seashore in 1961. Cape Cod National Seashore was officially signed into law by President John F. Kennedy on August 7, 1961, as Public Law 87-126. Its stated purpose was in part to

> preserve the nationally significant and special cultural and natural features, distinctive patterns of human activity, and ambience that characterize the Outer Cape, along with the associated scenic, cultural, historic, scientific and recreational values.[185]

Creating the Cape Cod National Seashore required a new approach. The lands identified for protection were knit into the existing communities. A strong connection between these areas and the local communities would be disrupted by the federal government assuming complete ownership and control. The act to establish the National Seashore, drafted in 1959 and enacted on August 7, 1961, allowed the National Park Service to adopt an innovative approach for land preservation. Applying what became known as the "Cape Cod Model," the National Park Service defined park boundaries, but did not acquire all of the private land within the boundaries.

The act included provisions for local businesses to continue operating and for towns to continue managing some beaches, providing local revenue.[186] The act also contained a provision that allowed for continued hunting, fishing, and berry picking on federal lands. [187] In essence, the intent of the bill was to show a "concern for Cape Cod and its people" while making the park a reality.[188]

The Cape Cod Model engaged towns through a National Seashore Advisory Commission and entrusted town governments to enact zoning ordinances that would restrict development and maintain current uses within the park boundaries.[189] Sixteen million dollars of federal funds were allocated for land acquisition through condemnation, but with options and with flexibility to enact over a number of years, so as to be less disruptive to the local economy.[190] The owners of "improved properties" constructed before September 1, 1959 where the land was held in the same ownership as the dwelling had the following options. They could sell their property outright to the federal government, sell with the right to retain occupancy for twenty-five years or for life, or with an option to pass the property to an heir or other buyer if the property met the zoning or other requirements of the act.[191] In short, properties needed to meet specific criteria in order to be exempt from condemnation: predate 1959, possess a deed for the structure and land, and be improved. The dune shacks, however, presented an immediate challenge. Without plumbing or electricity, they were not considered improved property. Furthermore, deeds needed to show that the dune shack occupants owned both the structure and the land beneath it, which was not the case for most shacks, particularly those that had been moved.

Creating the park required 3,600 separate land transactions, with some parcels as small as one half acre in size. Many private inholdings, 660 in total, were retained with the park. By 1981, the federal government authorized and expended an additional 24 million dollars for land purchases, resulting in a park covering 27,000 acres, of which thirty percent remained in state, town, and private ownership.[192]

LAND OWNERSHIP IN THE DUNES

The Province Lands of Provincetown and Pilgrim Spring State Park in Truro were authorized to become part of the emergent Cape Cod National Seashore in 1962. The title to the Province Lands State Reservation was conveyed on April 2, 1963 and the Pilgrim Spring State Park parcel was transferred to the United States government in 1966.[193] Only the Cohen shack is currently located in the former Province Lands, but the Watson, Wells, Jones, Armstrong, and former Schmid, little Bessay, Oliver, Concrete, Stanard, and Red shacks all once stood in Pilgrim Spring State Park (Figure 1.83). The land for this park had been acquired by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts from Edwin J. and Junia M. Hannah back in 1955, pursuant to Chapter 523 of the Acts of 1955. Upon the establishment of the state park in 1956, the state ordered the removal of structures from the property, but apparently made no further attempts to enforce the removal as shacks within the park continued to be seasonally occupied. Similarly, as the back shore land in Truro and Provincetown passed over to federal management, most of the existing and now lost shacks were actively used.

Although public use of the dune landscape was popular from the very beginning, it took the National Park Service several years before any attempt was made to address treatment and use of the dune shacks. Discussion among dune dwellers over the transfer of the back shore to Cape Cod National Seashore management thus did not pick up until the late 1960s. Almost immediately it was a contentious issue, in no small part because of a general discontent among many Cape Cod residents about the extensive development of local beach areas in the form of cottage colonies at this time.

Established to preserve the natural landscape for public recreation and use, the National Seashore had a difficult time dealing with private ownership of seasonal cottages, which they deemed to be unimproved properties. In particular, the park did not at first recognize any remarkable difference between the shacks in the dunes of Provincetown and Truro and the countless other clusters of commercial cottages springing up by the dozens along the Cape Cod coast. Indicative of some opinions on the subject were the words of State Commissioner Charles H.W. Foster, who in 1962 said of the Peaked Hill Bars dune shacks: "In our judgement, the buildings are not suitable for year-round habitation, are lacking in sanitary facilities, and are so unsightly that they should be removed in advance of any public usage of the property."[194] So the long debate over dune shack use within Cape Cod National Seashore began.

A series of lawsuits against the National Park Service began in the late 1960s and continued through the 1970s and even into the 1980s. Many of the most serious

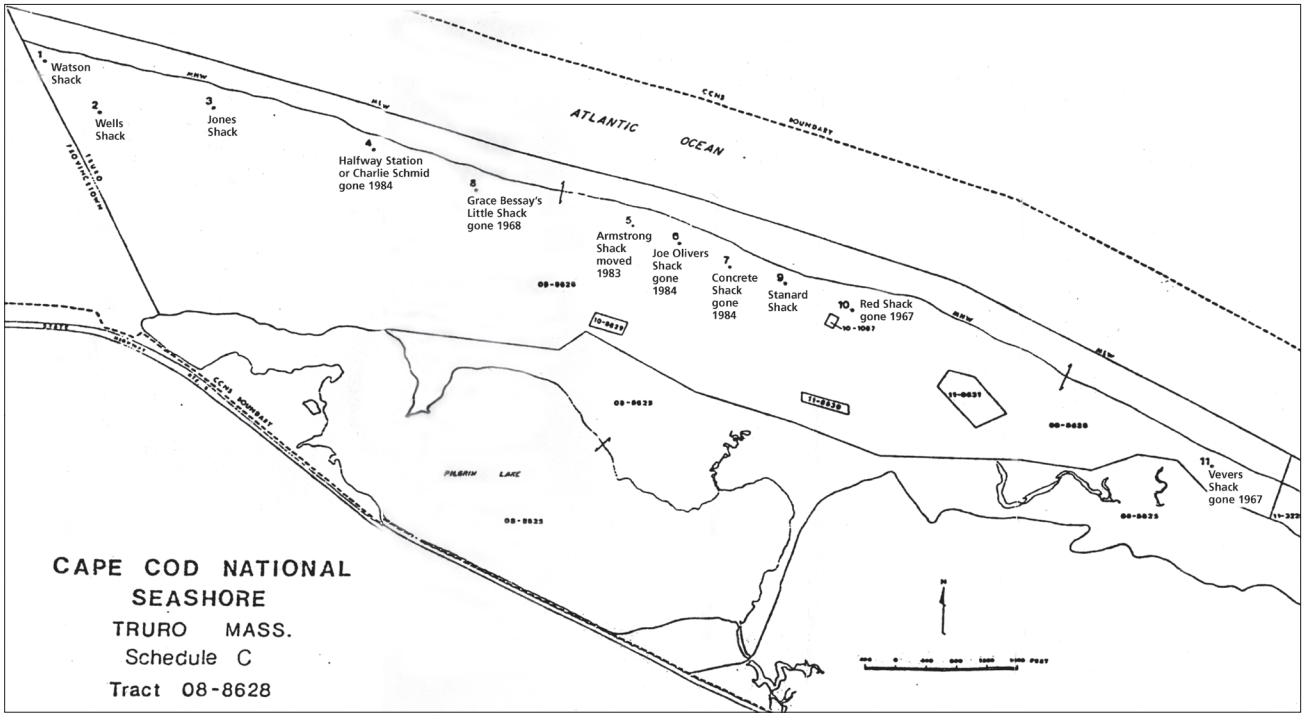


Figure 1.83. Map of the former Pilgrim Spring State Park in the 1960s with possible dune shack locations. The High Head Coast Guard Station was located near the Red Shack (Base map and initial notes from Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection, annotations added by the Olmsted Center).

issues surrounding the shacks stemmed from land ownership and rights of use. Since the construction of the early fishing shacks, squatting in the dunes had long been a common practice. In contrast to previous owners, the National Park Service took a much more proactive approach to the use of its land. Thus Charles H.W. Foster recounted in 1962 how the property surrounding a shack was

> taken by eminent domain in 1956 under the provisions of Chapter 523 of the Acts of 1955. As a courtesy to the occupants, the order of taking specifically exempted any structures located thereon and provided a period of six months during which time the buildings could be removed or relocated by the owners. To the best of my knowledge, the buildings have not yet been removed, and in the past we have informed the property owners that their occupancy of these structures would have to cease when steps were taken to utilize and develop Pilgrim Spring State Park for conservation and recreation purposes.[195]

GREAT BEACH COTTAGE OWNERS ASSOCIATION

In 1962 dune occupants and their supporters formed the Great Beach Cottage Owners Association with the goal of preventing the federal government's acquisition of the dune shacks along the back shore.[196] Ironically united in their love of the isolation offered by the dunes, inhabitants came together in support of their common cause, to affirm their shack rights and their right to be alone.[197] In a bulletin circulated by the Great Beach Cottage Owners Association sometime in the 1960s, the association's lawyer advised dune dwellers carefully on how to proceed:

> Conversations with "friendly" park officials or letters to Park authorities invariably contain unwitting statements which tend to jeopardize owners' rights. The only safe rule is to make no statements, answer no questions – merely say pleasantly: "My lawyer is handling all this. You will have to talk with him."[198]

Even with the recommendation for cautious restraint, an outpouring of impassioned action to defend life on the dunes rapidly ensued. Pleas came from all directions, and in a cacophony of diverse voices, to defend the value of the shacks in the Peaked Hill Bars area. In a 1965 letter to Secretary of the Interior Stuart Udall, artist Marcia Marcus expressed her concern for the rights of shack users and the importance of the dune landscape thus:

> The effect of renewal and identification with nature that takes place in this very private situation is a real necessity for those, who constitute a large percentage of dune dwellers, who often perform their intellectual or artistic work under great pressure.[199]

Having rented the Werner (Euphoria) shack on the dunes in 1961, writer Norman Mailer agreed:

> The way of the artist is curious and can never be determined, but is [sic.] is a fact that many need solitude and some of the greatest work done in America,

> notably the early plays of Eugene O'Neill, have come from living in solitude in the dunes and shacks on the Back Shore of Cape Cod.[200]

Yet as unique and essential as they were, the dune shacks and the lifestyle associated with them proved difficult to fit into the vision of Cape Cod National Seashore. In a 1967 National Park Service appraisal, no less than twelve squatters were found living on the acres contained within the Beede tract. None of the shacks being used by them achieved the status of "improved property" because they failed to meet the existing habitation guidelines, meaning that they had no running water, plumbing, indoor bathroom, electricity or insulation. Civil Action CA 67-988-N of 1967 was completed for all land tracts tied to dune shacks, and the appraised values for each shack were set while dune dwellers' cases were settled.[201] In the end each situation was unique, as users strove with varying determination to provide the necessary ownership documentation. On the whole, most dune dwellers settled quickly with whatever use and occupancy reservation the government offered. In the end, the Malicoat family was the only dune dweller to retain ownership of a shack deemed improved property and the land beneath the shack. The National Park Service allowed them to retain a deed for their shack and the surrounding three acres of land, in addition to Snail Road access rights in 1971.[202] The Malicoats also sold an additional seventeen acres of land near the Malicoat shack to the Cape Cod National Seashore that same year. Today this structure is the only surviving dune shack within the Peaked Hill Bars area that continues to stand on private land.[203]

TOURISTS, BEACH BUGGIES, AND DUNE STABILIZATION

In an effort to define the unique qualities of the shacks, artists and writers published numerous works on their unique sense of place. In 1983 Josephine Del Deo wrote of one such setting:

> Outside, by the broken step, the silver blades of compass grass reflected the metal light of morning. Down in the hollow, the softest grey lifted slightly from the bearberry. Moss green and mahogany beach plums settled against the sheltering hill mixed with the bayberry and sumac. Chicadees [sic.], barely audible, greeted the sunrise, and beyond their cloistered bush, the dunes stretched out limitlessly pure without the shadow of a single, civilized sin.[204]

That same year, Del Deo wrote of a pair of arctic terns that raised their young in front of the Chanel shack during the nesting season, while sparrows sang from the rose hips by the door.[205]

At the time the Cape Cod National Seashore was created, the landscape in the Peaked Hill Bars area was suffering from a relatively high level of human use and abuse. Beach buggies and other vehicles swarmed over pristine sands, destroying trails and generating an endless maze of new dune routes (Figures 1.84 and 1.85).

The impact of tourism was most evident in the dunes along Route 6. A large dune near the Dune Lot Entrance Gate along Route 6 and northwest of East Harbor, was a particularly popular spot for families to visit around mid-century. Easily accessible from the main highway, the giant hill of sand provided hours of entertainment to a generation of children who slid down its side on jackets and sleds, only to clamber up to the top for yet another go (Figure 1.86). This spot came to be known as the Sand Bowl. The intense use of the area destabilized the dune, causing the sand to blow onto Route 6 and into East Harbor. The park eventually closed the area to the public sometime in the 1960s. The effect of tourism on the dunes was most visible along the Route 6, where loose sand blew onto the road corridor (Figure 1.87).

Beginning in the 1960s the National Park Service launched a series of dune stabilization efforts. In 1963 they purchased 30,000 linear feet of sand fence, and



Figure 1.84. View of beach buggies in the dunes on the back shore, as seen from above, c. 1960s (Pilgrim Monument Archives, pc 4167).



Figure 1.85. Vehicles and people in the dunes in about the 1960s (Pilgrim Monument Archives).



Figure 1.86. Postcard view of tourists enjoying "New Dunes Walk, Parking Area, Provincetown," on foot, c. 1970 (Pilgrim Monument Archives, pc 0110).

installed 7,000 linear feet in the nearby Province Lands "for dune building." The wood slat fence slowed the wind and captured the wind-blown sand (Figures 1.88 through 1.90). Ten acres of beach grass were also planted by hand (Figure 1.91). Damaged dunes were repaired "by bulldozing sand fill approximately 500 cubic yards."[206] In October of 1964 the dunes of Race Point were sewn with about 650 plants, consisting primarily of salt spray rose (*Rosa rugosa*) and beach plum as well as some inkberry (*Ilex glabra*), blueberry (*Vaccinium angustifolium*), arrowwood (*Viburnum dentatum*), and shadbush.[207] From 1964 to 1966 the National Park Service continued to plant American beach grass and install fencing to rebuild the dunes in Provincetown and Truro.[208]

Although the Cohen shack is the only Peaked Hill Bars dune shack that stands within the revegetated portion of the Cape Cod National Seashore, these planting activities manifest a general shift in attitude on the back shore, toward active stabilization of the dunes. Among dune dwellers, the ongoing maintenance of buildings was a familiar refrain, necessitated by the ever-shifting sands and constant exposure to weather. For instance, in 1963 Frank Henderson wrote of how a storm had

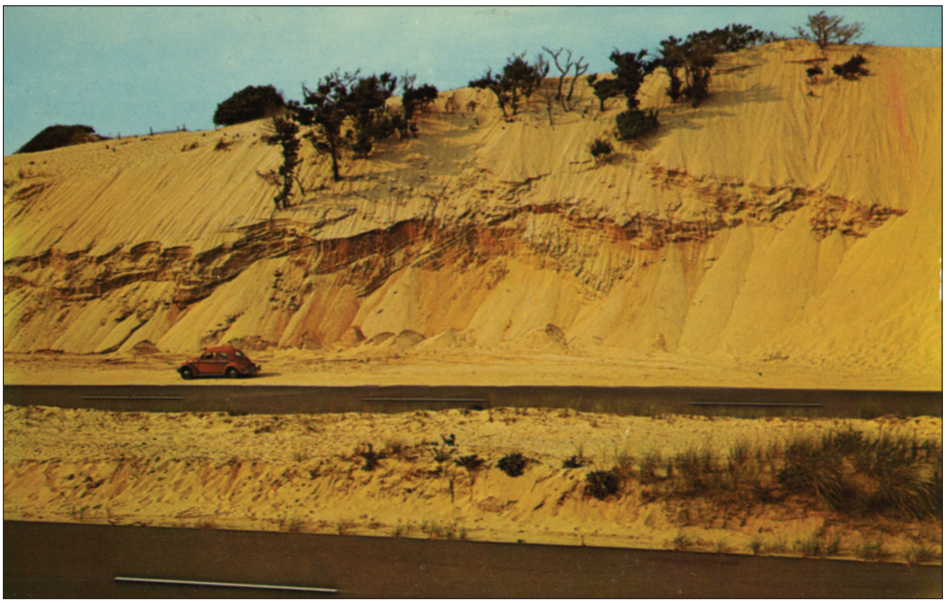


Figure 1.87. Sand accumulation along Route 6 in about the 1960s (Pilgrim Monument Archives).



Figure 1.88. Winter view of sand fencing constructed to reinforce the dunes, likely sometime in the 1960s (Pilgrim Monument Archives).

moved much of the sand near the Jones shack during his absence of only a few months:

> Boy, what sand had moved about during those gusts of 60, 70, 80 and 100 mph – the entire section had changed, but, to my delight, the old backhouse, plus its connecting structure, had done a good job, in holding that hill. . .[209]

The return of seasonal visitors to the beach each summer always meant repairs from the damages wrought by winter storms and unrelenting sand. Many shack users employed innovative techniques to monitor sand erosion. For example, Annabelle Jones and her husband stacked fish netting they found on the beach on top of piles of weeds and brush. At one point they covered about an acre using this technique, and reported that after the period of about three years the sand had begun to stabilize.[210]

The creative initiatives of dune dwellers often complemented ongoing efforts by the National Park Service, who by 1965 was training employees from around the country on the maintenance of sand dune landscapes. One such "Dune Stabilization Session" was held in Georgetown, Delaware in September 1966. Having had experience with this issue the foreman of the Cape Cod National Seashore, Joseph Stephens, contributed to this meeting.[211] By the 1960s wood slat sand fencing extended across eroded sections of the foredune and surrounded many of the shacks.



Figure 1.89. Postcard view looking south over Pilgrim Lake of sand fencing in the dunes, circa 1960s (Pilgrim Monument Archives, pc 1353).

Despite efforts to manage sand, shacks were susceptible to being buried, and sometimes quite quickly. The dunes near the Fearing shack, which had grown in the 1950s, continued to collect sand. The Chanel



Figure 1.90. Sand fencing in the dunes, circa 1970s (Pilgrim Monument Archives).

shack was buried in the 1970s, and was subsequently built on top of in 1976.

Persistent issues with blowing sand and the near burial of Route 6 in the 1980s prompted the National Park Service to continue its stabilization efforts by planting large areas of the Peaked Hill Bars vicinity and the dunes around Pilgrim Lake with beach grass.[212]

PROVINCE LANDS VISITOR CENTER, VEHICLE ROUTES, AND VISITORS

The dedication of the new Province Lands Visitor Center near Race Point took place on May 25, 1969, before an audience of some 500 people. The center helped draw additional attention to the dunes and their fragile ecosystem, educating the public about the natural landscape and its history.[213] It also raised awareness of back shore wildlife, including sea birds, ducks, coyotes, rabbits, and deer. Water holes dug by coyotes could be found among the dunes.[214]

The surge of tourists to the back shore was facilitated by cars and beach buggies, whose tires coursed through miles of dune area previously navigated exclusively by foot, horse or wagon. From January 1968 through September of that year, the National Park Service recorded a full 15 percent increase in visitors to Cape Cod National Seashore, or a total of 3,194,600 people. In its first year of service alone the new Province Lands Visitor Center drew over 210,000 visitors.[215] These unfamiliar numbers resulted in an over-taxation of park resources such as transportation routes and parking areas. For instance, the recorded use of beach buggies in 1967 increased



Figure 1.91. Section of dunes on the back shore recently planted with beach grass, likely sometime in the 1960s (Pilgrim Monument Archives).

by 22 percent (see Figures 1.84 and 1.85). In subsequent years, their popularity continued to rise.[216]

Recognizing these effects, a 1968 letter to dune dwellers from National Park Service Superintendent Stanley C. Joseph addressed concerns about the preservation of the delicate dune landscape by outlining new regulations for navigating the area. Not only was an over-sand vehicle permit now required of all vehicle operators, but only certain mapped routes of access were allowed.[217] In order to more closely guide and control dune circulation, a pamphlet was issued called "Over-Sand Vehicle Routes." The map included therein identifies six different vehicle paths traversing the back shore between Race Point and the edge of Truro and known as the Inner Dune Route, Beach Top Route, Beach Route, Beach Taxi Route, East Harbor/Pilgrim Lake Section of Inner Dune Route, and Snail Road (Figure 1.92). These routes were distinguished by wooden markers standing three feet high above the sand.[218] With all automobile traffic in the dunes restricted to permit use only, Art's Dune Tours, Drifting Sands Dune Tours, and the Meadows Beach Taxi became the only way for tourists to visit the Peaked Hill Bars area by car (Figures 1.93 through 1.96). Art's single taxi or two were eventually replaced by six 4 x 4 vehicles carrying out multiple dune trips per day, bringing thousands of tourists to appreciate the natural beauty of the back shore each month.[219]

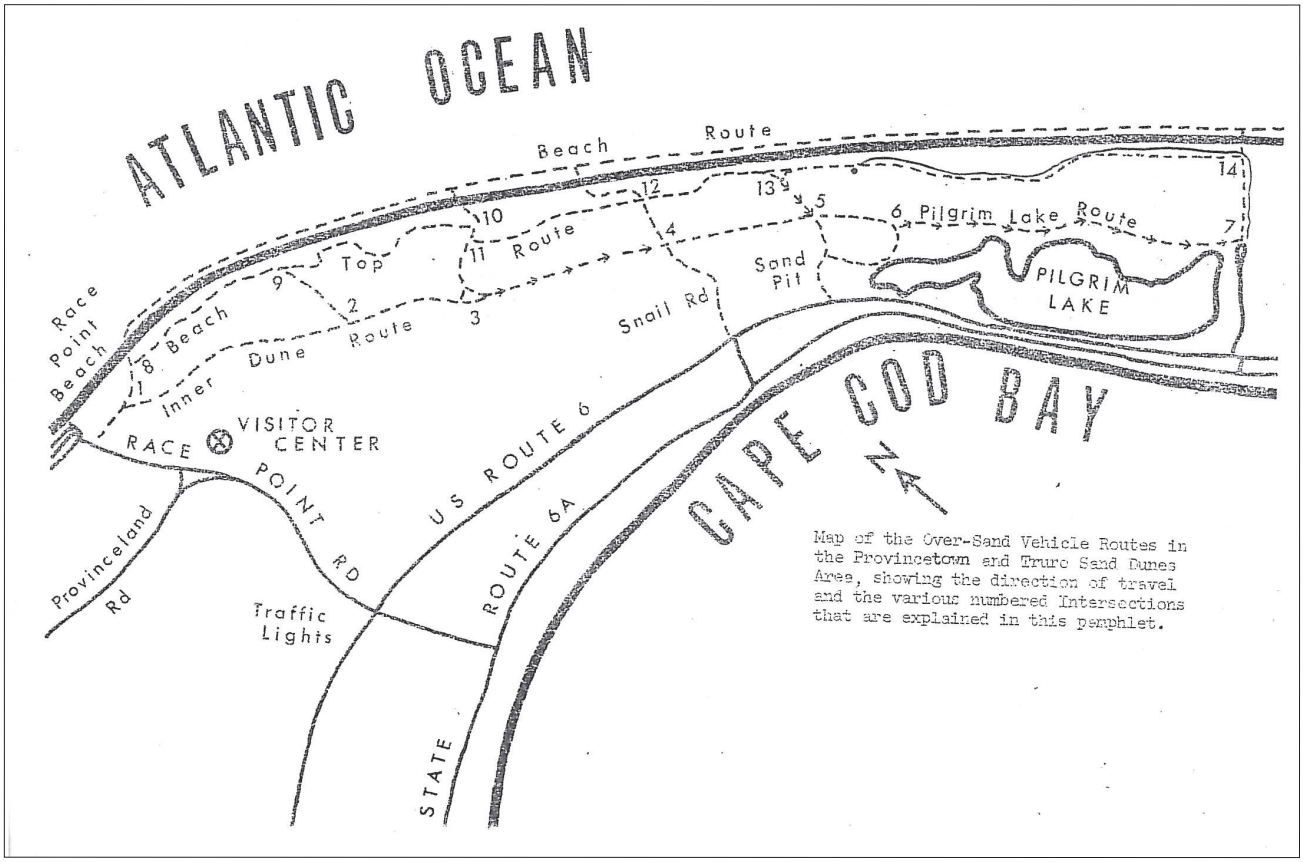


Figure 1.92. Map of the "Over-Sand Vehicle Routes" described in a 1968 pamphlet of the Cape Cod National Seashore (Provincetown History Project Archives).

In addition to providing a map of established dune routes, the 1968 pamphlet includes tips for use and recommendations for proper behavior in the dunes.[220] Indeed, despite changes in access policies tourists and residents of nearby Provincetown regularly continued to make their way out to the dunes on foot. In the so-called "peak of hippiedom" in the late 1960s, "Provincetown was full of psychedelic drugs, hard drinking, and promiscuous sex" and at one point was even referred to as a circus.[221] The peaceful and secluded atmosphere of the dunes naturally served as a magnet for activities on the peripheries of this movement. For instance on July 3, 1967 District Ranger Strange reported that there had been a "Love-In" or "Be-In" "held in the dune area [outside Provincetown] recently. He said while there were a lot of unusual looking people, there were no problems."[222] The same welcoming attitude, so strongly associated with Provincetown, continued to influence the perception and use of the back shore through the 1970s and 1980s, when Rupert Holmes mentioned it in his hit song "Escape."[223] Still more recently in 2001 the town created a nudist shorefront in the middle of the Peaked Hill Bars area, measuring 100 feet by 50 feet and locally known as the Spaghetti Strip.[224] It soon became a topic of some debate since nearby dune dwellers objected to the presence of visiting naturists.[225] Shortly thereafter, promotion of the nudist shorefront ceased.

DUNE SHACK VANDALISM, LOSS, AND PROTECTION

Increased public use of the back shore caused several dune shacks to become targets for break-ins and vandalism, starting in the 1960s. In 1963 Frank Henderson described how he kept the Jones shack secure from "a couple of intruders, who boldly told me they had purchased the place from a friend in N.Y. Blarsted liers [sic.], and 'pimps' of deception!"[226] Similarly, one summer morning in 1966 Charlie Schmid found that someone had broken through a window into the Jones shack. Nothing appeared to have been stolen.[227] Another group of three kids were caught trying to break into the Jones shack in the late summer of 1967. Though they broke off the lock on the front door they did not steal anything. Around the same time these three boys also attempted to break into the Armstrong shack.[228] In a letter written in 1969, Tony Vevers, who assumed ownership of the Pfieffer shack in Truro, describes vandalism to be such a perpetual problem that his family removed all of their belongings, including kitchen utensils, before boarding up the shack at the end of the summer. Yet, this apparent abandonment of the structure led the park service to classify the structure as unoccupied and demolish it in the winter of 1966 to 67.[229] Other family members claim the shack was not abandoned and was destroyed by the park service with their belongings inside. [230]

Indicative of efforts to protect the dunes and heighten security along the back shore, mounted National Park Service Rangers or "mounties" began patrolling the



Figure 1.93. Drifting Sands Dune Tours visiting the dunes of the back shore in 1979 (Pilgrim Monument Archives).

area in the late 1960s, to reach the more remote locations inaccessible to dune buggies. The first horse utilized for this purpose, named Domino, was "used extensively to find lost children, [chase] beatnik characters from parked cars and generally lend assistance in remote regions."[231] Year-round dune resident Charlie Schmid meanwhile offered his maintenance and surveillance services throughout the 1960s to interested shack users. In their absence during the winter season he visited the shacks at least once a week for a fee, checking in on things and making any necessary repairs to keep the structures secure. Some of the buildings cared for by Schmid over the years were the Braaten, Wells, Watson, and Jones shacks.[232] Schmid was also known for his affinity for birds and his large collection of bird houses. Other dwellers adopted bird houses as well, and many can still be found in the vicinity of extant shacks.[233]

Meanwhile, in the 1980s all but one of the Cape Cod National Seashore lands cases had been settled. Reservations of use and occupancy had been signed, thus establishing minimal guidelines for managing the structures and the landscape.[234] Each land acquisition case was different; some were straightforward, while others involved serious debates and lengthy court battles. In 1991 the last case, that of the Bessay property, was settled. Determined to preserve her rights to the Fearing/Fuller/Bessay shack, Bessay undertook what is said to be the longest lawsuit ever brought against the United States government in the history of American law.[235]



Figure 1.94. Arts Dune Tours in the dunes, circa 1970 (Pilgrim Monument Archives).

Local support for the preservation of the shacks as a group did not gather strength until the mid-1980s. Dune shack caretaker Charlie Schmid died in 1982 and in 1984 the National Park

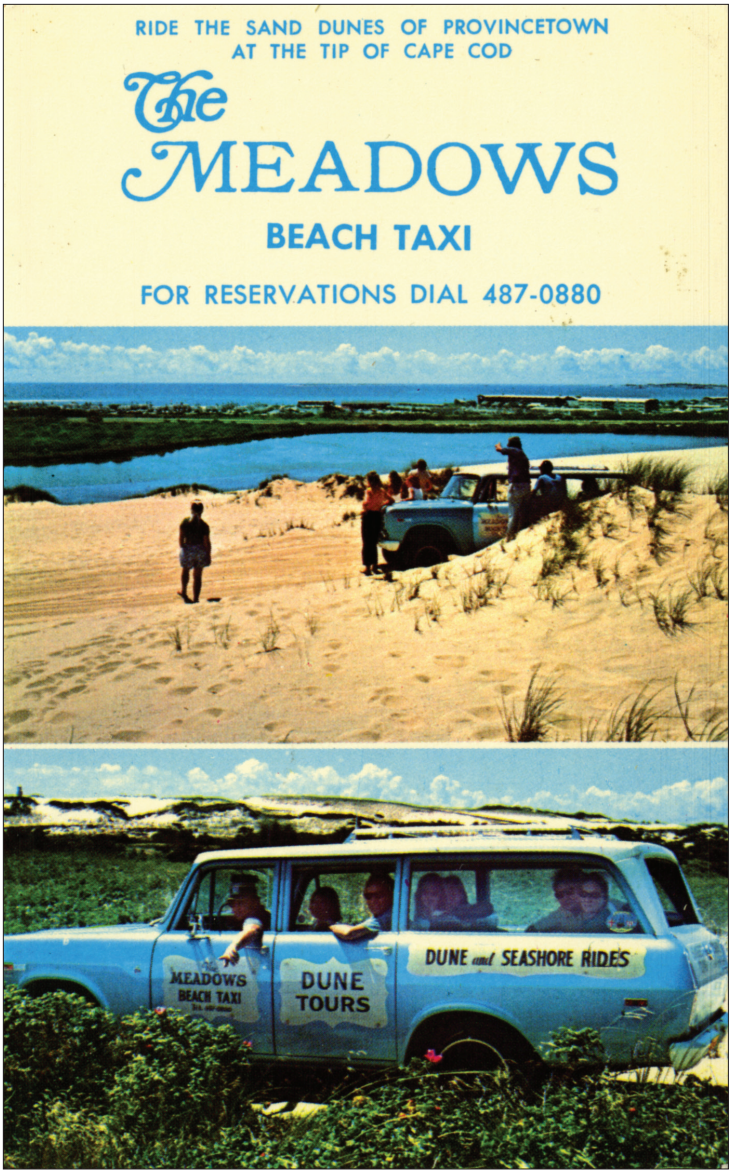


Figure 1.95. Postcard showing the Meadows Beach Taxi visiting the dunes of the back shore, in the 1960s or 70s (Pilgrim Monument Archives).

Service demolished his shack. This action was the catalyst needed to unite shack users behind a common cause. A letter in 1985 to the Massachusetts Historical Commission from Barbara Meade, Chairman of the Truro Historical Commission states their intention to protect the remaining dune shacks from destruction. The same year, the Peaked Hill Trust was founded with the express purpose of protecting the remaining shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars. The Trust was composed of a core twelve member board and soon managed the use of the two Werner shacks, as well as assistance with several others.[236]

The earliest efforts of the Peaked Hill Trust were the first concrete step in the protection of the dune shacks. In May 1989, despite an argument by the National Park Service against it, the majority of the park-owned structures were determined eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, having qualified under Criteria A, B, and C in the areas of art, architecture, and for the literary association with poet Harry Kemp.[237] The involvement of dune shack users in this process played a fundamental role in convincing the park and others that the structures should be preserved, and in

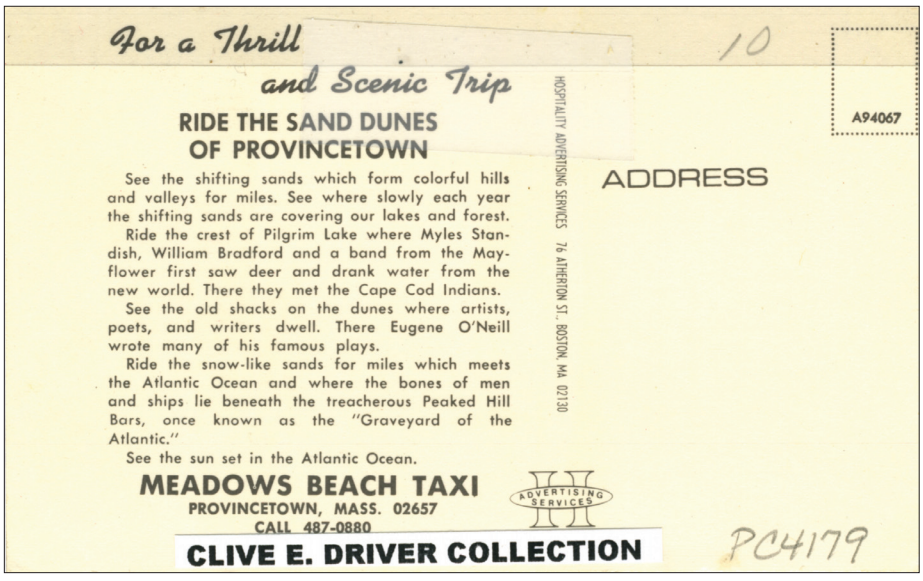


Figure 1.96. Reverse side of the promotional postcard for the Meadows Beach Taxi service in the 1960s or 70s (Pilgrim Monument Archives).



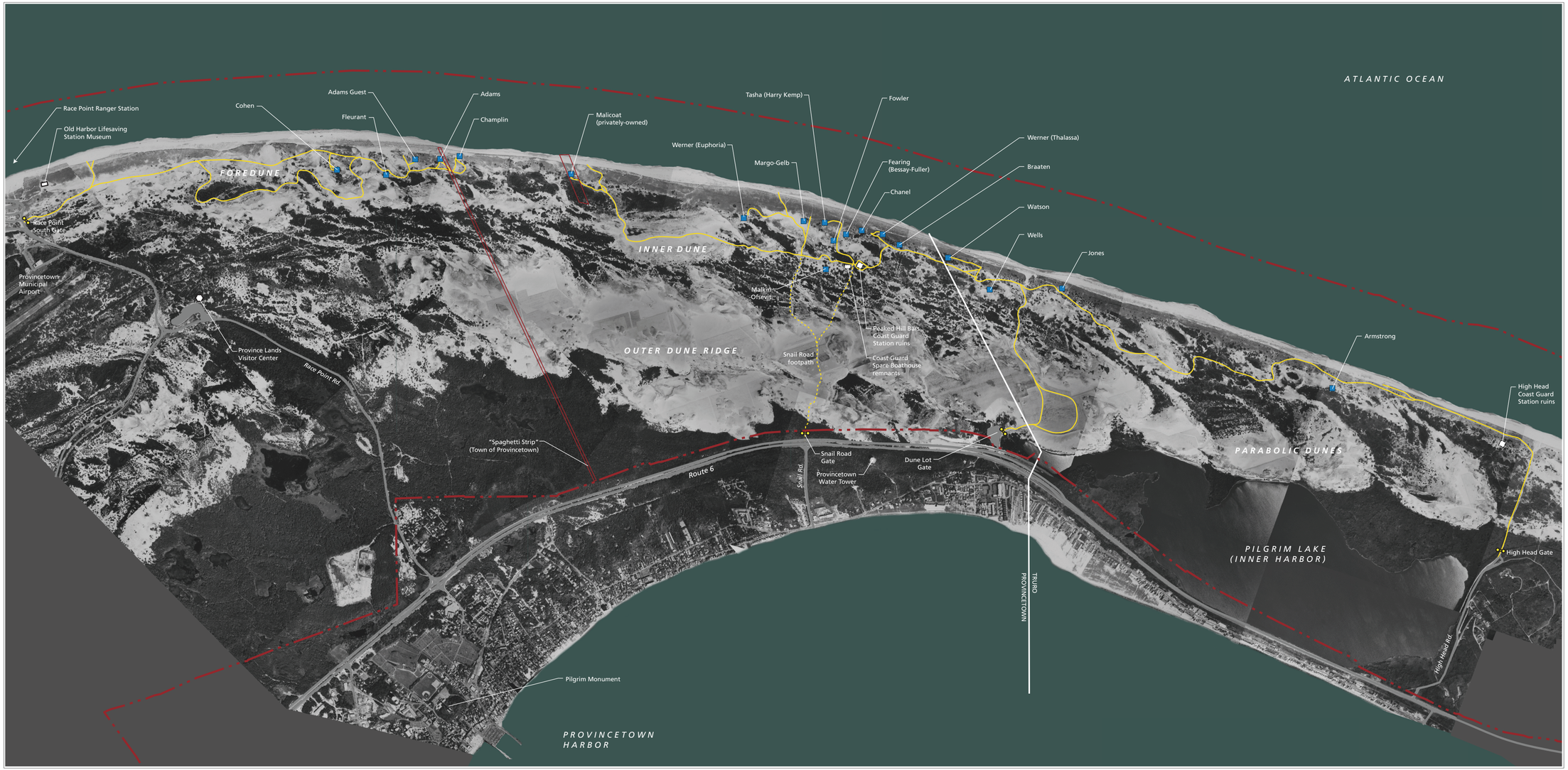
Figure 1.97. Postcard of artist painting on the back shore in the 1960s or 70s (Pilgrim Monument Archives).

their eventual recognition as historically significant buildings. The same individuals were also strong advocates for the dune landscape, which continued to be a topic of interest.

Several months after the National Register determination of eligibility, the Malkin/Ofsevit shack was lost by an accidental fire and burned to the ground in April 1990. The following year, the Peaked Hill Trust rebuilt the Malkin/Ofsevit shack using photographs of the 1930s structure before it was modified in the 1960s and 70s. The rebuilding of the shack was a community effort, reflecting the vital role of local organizations in the ongoing management of the shacks. Drawing 3 represents the dune shack area as it appeared in 1991 after the rebuilding of the Malkin/Ofsevit shack.

Over the course of the twentieth century the dune landscape changed to reflect human intentions and use, a process which eventually brought its condition as well as that of the dune shacks to assume new importance. Although the tourists who flocked to the area throughout this period had a much different vision for use than earlier settlers and surfmen, the wear caused by their cars and feet attacked the dunes in the same way that European axes had the local woodlands.[238]

The landscape continued to draw tourists and artists, while the sandy shifting landscape remained vulnerable to dramatic change (Figure 1.97). Preservation had not yet caught up to the rising levels of use. In these years the ongoing formation of the curved parabolic dunes that characterized the back shore was for the first time interrupted by human admiration, prompting extensive planting efforts later launched by the National Park Service. In the final decades of the century scattered patches of beach grass once again marked these mountains of sand, along with stretches of sand fencing.



Cultural Landscape Report

Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District

Cape Cod National Seashore

Barnstable County, MA

Period Plan 1991

National Park Service

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation

www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

1. NPS GIS data
2. Aerial photographs, 1991

DRAWN BY

Laura Roberts, ArcMap 9.3, Adobe Illustrator CS3, 2011

LEGEND

- Cape Cod NS legislative boundary
- Dune route
- Dune shack location
- Park gate
- Ruins or remnants
- Non-NPS parcel within legislative boundary

NOTES

1. All features are shown at approximate scale and location.

0 250 500 1,000 1,500 2,000 Feet

Drawing #3

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE MANAGEMENT, 1991 TO PRESENT

COLLABORATION IN DUNE SHACK STEWARDSHIP

Following the reconstruction of the Malkin/Ofsevit shack in 1991, the park and dune dwellers sought better guidelines for the management of the shacks. The park prepared a general management plan in 1998, which provided an overall management philosophy for the dune area. The park also supported the roles of additional local organizations formed in the early 1990s. The Provincetown Community Compact (PCC) was founded in 1993 by Jay Critchley, with the mission to "advance the cultural well-being of Provincetown, its people, and the natural environment of the Lower Cape, and to act as a catalyst for collaborative projects."[239] The Compact assumed management of the Cohen shack in the 1990s and began managing the Fowler shack in 2007, after the death of Laura Fowler in 2006. A third organization with a similar purpose was the Outer Cape Artist in Residency Consortium (OCARC), which was founded in 1995 and recognized the enduring artistic value of the dunes by establishing a formal artist-in-residence program in the dune shacks of Cape Cod National Seashore. After the death of Boris Margo in 1995, the Consortium formed an agreement with the National Park Service specifically to manage the use of the Margo/Gelb shack. It consists of four local non-profit organizations including the Provincetown Art Association and Museum, the Fine Arts Work Center in Provincetown, Truro Center for the Arts at Castle Hill, and the Peaked Hill Trust, which is its managing body.[240]

CONTINUING CHANGE IN THE DUNE LANDSCAPE

At the close of the twentieth century, literary and visual artists continued to describe and paint the beauty of the landforms, vegetation, and wildlife of the back shore. In 1999 Cynthia Huntington described an area filled with greenery running along the path followed by Art's Dune Tours, parallel to the shore and behind the outermost line of dunes. Her words gracefully depict the scraggly vegetation typical of the dune landscape:

> Woody shrubs of bayberry, rose, and beach plum form little thickets on the lee slope, and along the marsh floor meadowsweet, steepletop, and sheep laurel rise to audacious heights of two or three feet, launching themselves into space. To my right, along the slope of the second dune, bearberry spreads an evergreen carpet across the sand. Lichens and poverty grass form little mounds, and the warm dusty scent of the pitch pines lifts up out of the valley.[241]

Observing the scraggly yet steady plant and wildlife of the back shore continued to be an important component in gaining a knowledge of nature in this environment, which upon first inspection felt so windswept and devoid of life. Among dune dwellers the joys of discovery were seemingly endless, just as they had been for Henry David Thoreau in 1849 and Henry Beston in the 1920s.

On average, the shoreline of the back shore outside Truro and Provincetown has grown over the last century, meaning that some structures built close to the ocean now sit further inland. Most dune shacks are located between belts, or lines, of sand dunes, where dune dwellers fend off the danger of a sand burial in exchange for protection from the relentless wind. As a result, it is difficult to see more than three or four shacks in any view looking up or down the coast, and these are frequently visible only as roof gables poking over the distant hills of sand. Some of the highest points in the dunes, such as the Peaked Hill, have meanwhile disappeared and subsequently altered lower bog areas in their surroundings with greater sand movement and even burial. Thus, the struggle between sand and life on the dunes continues.

ENDNOTES

1 Donna Newman, *Geologic History of Cape Cod, Massachusetts* (http://pubs.usgs.gov/gip/capecod/glacial.html: U.S. Department of the Interior, U.S. Geological Survey, 2001).

2 Francis P. McManamon and Christopher L. Borstel. "The Natural Environment and Natural Resources." In *Chapters in the Archaeology of Cape Cod I, Results of the Cape Cod National Seashore Archaeological Survey, 1979-1981, Vol. 1.* (Boston, MA: National Park Service, 1984), 96.

3 Ibid., 96.

4 Henry Beston, *The Outermost House* (New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company, 1988), 3.

5 McManamon, 96.

6 Ibid., 99.

7 Ibid., 99.

8 Ibid., 98.

9 Ibid., 97.

10 Henry David Thoreau, *Cape Cod* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1987), 22.

11 McManamon, 97.

12 Mary Lee York, Sandra C. Krein, and Mark Wamsley. *People and Places on the Outer Cape: A Landscape Character Study* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts and National Park Service, 2004), 70.

13 York, 70.

14 Richard D. Holmes, Carolyn D. Hertz and Mitchell T. Mulholland, *Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey of the Atwood-Higgins Complex, Cape Cod National Seashore, Wellfleet, Massachusetts* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts, 1995), 9.

15 Holmes, 42.

16 Ibid., 48.

17 Ibid., 41.

18 York, 70.

19 Holmes, 48.

20 McManamon, 106.

21 Lynn Kerrigan, "Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Cranberries." (www.globalgourmet.com/food/sleuth/1298/intro.html, accessed November 2007).

22 "History of Cranberries" (www.cranberries.org/cranberries/history/html, accessed November 2007).

23 McManamon, 100.

24 Ibid., 109.

25 McManamon, 97; Robert J. Wolfe, *Dwelling in the Dunes: Traditional Use of the Dune Shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, Cape Cod* (Boston, MA: National Park Service, 2005), 127.

26 Mary Heaton Vorse, *Time and the Town: A Provincetown Chronicle* (New York, NY: The Dial Press, 1942), 62; Josephine C. Del Deo, "The Dune Cottages of the Peaked Hill Bars: A Survey" (Provincetown, MA, 1986), i.

27 Clive Driver, *Looking Back* (Provincetown, MA: Pilgrim Monument and Provincetown Museum, 2004), 187; Holmes, 23, 42.

28 Vorse, 52.

29 Holmes, 49.

30 Driver, 165.

31 McManamon, 100.

32 Susan A. Chase, "The Ethnohistory of Outer Cape Cod" in *Chapters in the Archaeology of Cape Cod I, Results of the Cape Cod National Seashore Archaeological Survey, 1979-1981* Vol. 1 (Boston, MA: National Park Service, 1984), 173.

33 Holmes, 43.

34 Ibid., 49.

35 Driver, 55.

36 Holmes, 15.

37 U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Forging a Collaborative Future: General Management Plan, Cape Cod National Seashore, Barnstable County, Massachusetts* (Washington, DC: United States Department of the Interior, 1998), 13.

38 Holmes, 16.

39 U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *General Management Plan*, 13.

40 Driver, 55-6.

41 Vorse, 66.

42 Driver, 55-6.

43 Holmes, 40-2.

44 Driver, 55-6.

45 Hillary Quarles, Cultural Landscape Inventory Summary Report Province Lands Dune Shacks (Boston, MA: National Park Service, 1995), 11.

46 Holmes, 50.

47 Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Department of Public Works, "Province Lands," Boston, MA, n.d., Cape Cod NS archives; Quarles, 11.

48 Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Department of Public Works, "Province Lands."

49 Holmes, 40; Driver, 56.

50 Holmes, 42.

51 Driver, 176.

52 Holmes, 17.

53 Ibid., 19.

54 Ibid., 42.

55 Ibid., 50.

56 Ibid., 50.

57 Ibid., 50, 53.

58 Ibid., 20.

59 Ibid., 53.

60 Ibid., 20, 50.

61 Ibid., 50.

62 Ibid., 41; J. W. Dalton, *The Life Savers of Cape Cod* (Boston, MA: Barta Press, 1902), 9-10.

63 Dalton, 9-10.

64 Vorse, 59.

65 Ibid., 60.

66 Ibid., 60.

67 Ibid., 60.

68 Thoreau, 237.

69 Holmes, 20.

70 Ibid., 50.

71 Ibid., 20.

72 Ibid., 50.

73 Ibid., 53.

74 Ibid., 16.

75 Thoreau, 237.

76 Ibid., 225.

77 Holmes, 17.

78 Ibid, 227, 236.

79 Laurie Kaiser, "Literary Provincetown," *Cape Cod Travel Guide* (http://www.capecodtravelguide.com/literay-province-town.php, 2007).

80 Holmes, 51.

81 Ibid., 51, 53.

82 Thoreau, 221.

83 Holmes, 53-4.

84 Ibid., 54.

85 Beston, 121.

86 Holmes, 80.

87 Vorse, 60-1.

88 Thoreau, 89.

89 Dalton, 10-11.

90 Holmes, 80, 82.

91 Ibid., 82.

92 Ibid., 83.

93 Ibid., 83.

94 Ibid., 83.

95 Dalton, 72-3.

96 Vorse,, 52-3.

97 Dalton, 73.

98 Ibid., 11-3.

99 Vorse, 52.

100 Ibid., 52.

101 Dalton, 74.

102 Vorse, 53.

103 Driver, 114.

104 Ibid., 205.

105 Dalton, 73.

106 G.H. Walker, *Atlas of Barnstable County* (Boston, MA: George H. Walker, 1880).

107 Driver, 114.

108 J. M. Westgate, *Reclamation of Cape Cod Sand Dunes* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, US Department of Agriculture Bureau of Plant Industry, Bulletin No. 65, 1904).

109 Vorse, 57.

110 Dalton, 11.

111 Thoreau, 193.

112 Vorse, 57.

113 Cynthia Huntington, *The Salt House: A Summer on the Dunes of Cape Cod* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999), 60.

114 Vorse, 53.

115 Ibid., 54-5.

116 Ibid., 55.

117 Daniel Lombardo, *Wellfleet: A Cape Cod Village* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2000), 99, 103.

118 Ibid., 99.

119 Vorse, 116.

120 Holmes, 1994, 51-2; Richard D. Holmes, Carolyn D. Hertz and Mitchell T. Mulholland, *Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey of Higgins Hollow, Cape Cod National Seashore, Truro, Massachusetts* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts, 1995), 21.

121 Driver, 55-6.

122 Ibid., 115.

123 Ibid., 115.

124 Holmes, 1994, 51, 54.

125 Vorse, 162-3.

126 Ibid., 170-1.

127 Ibid., 165.

128 Wolfe, 23.

129 Ibid., 23.

130 Dan Towler, "Series of 10 Pictures Showing 'Hunting on the Back Shore,'" 1901, Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 148, Article 815, Sheet 521.

131 James C. O'Connell, *Becoming Cape Cod: Creating a Seaside Resort* (Hanover, NH: University of New Hampshire, 2003), 81.

132 O'Connell, 80-1.

133 Richard D. Holmes, Carolyn D. Hertz and Mitchell T. Mulholland, *Historic Cultural Land Use Study of Lower Cape Cod: A Study of the Historical Archaeology and History of the Cape Cod National Seashore and the Surrounding Region* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts, n.d.), 83.

134 O'Connell, 81.

135 Ibid., 84.

136 Michael Steinitz, message to Betsy Friedberg, National Register Director, "Cape Cod Dune Shacks, Historic and Cultural Associations," c. 1989, Cape Cod NS archives; O'Connell, 81.

137 Michael Steinitz, message to Betsy Friedberg, National Register Director, "Cape Cod Dune Shacks, Historic and Cultural Associations," c. 1989, Cape Cod NS archives; O'Connell, 84.

138 Michael Steinitz, message to Betsy Friedberg, National Register Director, "Cape Cod Dune Shacks, Historic and Cultural Associations," c. 1989, Cape Cod NS archives.

139 Vorse, 122.

140 Ibid., 123.

141 Ibid., 125; O'Connell, 87.

142 O'Connell, 84.

143 Ibid., 47.

144 Ibid., 86-7.

145 Michael Steinitz, message to Betsy Friedberg, National Register Director, "Cape Cod Dune Shacks, Historic and Cultural Associations," c. 1989, Cape Cod NS archives.

146 Michael Steinitz, message to Betsy Friedberg, National Register Director, "Cape Cod Dune Shacks, Historic and Cultural Associations," c. 1989, Cape Cod NS archives; Wolfe, 16.

147 Wolfe, 18.

148 Driver, 115.

149 Holmes, 1994, 55.

150 Ibid., 1994, 52.

151 Driver, 115.

152 Other activities meanwhile mirrored those of the nation as a whole. During the 1920s Provincetown's sizeable Portuguese population became a target of the Ku Klux Klan. Yet members of the immigrant community were not only cognizant of this group's injustice but proactive in their response, and quickly became active in local politics. Portuguese residents soon held a majority of the elected positions in town offices, and Provincetown has generally been known for its liberal values and accepting attitude ever since. Holmes, 1994, 55.

153 While dune shack lore indicates that the halfway house became the Armstrong shack, the Schmid shack was closer to the halfway point between the Peaked Hill Bars and High Head life-saving stations.

154 Michael Steinitz, message to Betsy Friedberg, National Register Director, "Cape Cod Dune Shacks, Historic and Cultural Associations," c. 1989, Cape Cod NS archives and .Judith Q. Sullivan, *Dune Shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic Structure Report, Cape Cod National Seashore, Wellfleet Massachusetts* (Lowell, MA: National Park Service, 2007).

155 Josephine C. Del Deo, "The Dune Cottages of the Peaked Hill Bars: A Survey" (Provincetown, MA, 1986), 7.

156 Wolfe, 150, 145.

157 Wood slat sand fencing is seen along the pilings below the Champlin shack in a 1958 photograph.

158 A quitclaim deed for the Ford shack transfer to the National Park Service in 1971 describes the parcel bounds predominantly along fence lines and corner posts. Document in Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection.

159 United States Department of the Interior, 1987); Sullivan, 396.

160 Geraldine Hill Fraser, Dennisport, MA (daughter of Gerald Hill), letter to authors, July 21, 2011.

161 Michael Steinitz, message to Betsy Friedberg, National Register Director, "Cape Cod Dune Shacks, Historic and Cultural Associations," c. 1989, Cape Cod NS archives.

162 Wolfe, 18, 123.

163 O'Connell, 53.

164 Driver, 115.

165 Annabelle Jones, n.d., Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

166 Ibid.

167 Ibid.

168 Josephine C. Del Deo, "The Dune Cottages of the Peaked Hill Bars: A Survey" (Provincetown, MA, 1986), 4; Don Wilding, "Dune Shacks: The Temples Rise on the Dunes," *Barnstable Patriot* (www.barnstablepatriot.com/webtest/SummerScape/Dunes.htm, 2004).

169 Josephine C. Del Deo, *Compass Grass Anthology: A Collection of Provincetown Portraits* (Provincetown, MA: "Three Dunes" Press, 1983), 82.

170 Ibid., 35-7.

171 Candice Reffe, ed., *From the Peaked Hills: A Collection of Writing and Drawing* (Provincetown, MA: Peaked Hill Trust, 1988), 56, 94.

172 Josephine C. Del Deo, *Compass Grass Anthology: A Collection of Provincetown Portraits* (Provincetown, MA: "Three Dunes" Press, 1983), 4.

173 Candice Reffe, ed., *From the Peaked Hills: A Collection of Writing and Drawing* (Provincetown, MA: Peaked Hill Trust, 1988), 101.

174 Ibid., 102.

175 Ibid., 102-3.

176 Anne G. Arsenault, letter from Palm Bay, FL on January 30, 2007, Cape Cod NS archives.

177 Wolfe, 202, 145.

178 David Jenkins, "Brief History of Bessay Tract 08-1045: Land Acquisition Files and Others," n.d., NARC Waltham.

179 Ibid.

180 Sullivan, 416, 494, 476.

181 O'Connell, 90.

182 Ibid., 90.

183 Ronald A. Kuchta, "Foreword," *Provincetown Painters: 1890s-1970s* (Syracuse, NY: Everson Museum of Art, 1977).

184 Earl Banner, "Keeping Massachusetts' Shorelines Attractive: Too Many Beach Cottage Colonies," *The Boston Sunday Globe*, July 22, 1956, Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

185 U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *General Management Plan*, 9.

186 Some stakeholders in Provincetown sought to retain areas around the edges of the town for future development. Countering this position, a group of conservationists formed an "Emergency Committee for the Province Lands," which included some of the well-known dune dwellers and artists including Josephine Del Deo, Ross Moffett, and Charles Mayo. When the issue came to a town meeting, the development proposal was dropped. Francis P. Burling, The Birth of the Cape Cod National Seashore (Plymouth, MA: Leyden Press, second printing, April 1979), 23.

187 Francis P. Burling, *The Birth of the Cape Cod National Seashore* (Plymouth, MA: Leyden Press, second printing, April 1979), 52.

188 Ibid., 21.

189 Ibid., 20, 54.

190 Ibid., 20, 51.

191 Ibid., 20.

192 Correspondence from Bill Burke to Margie Coffin Brown, April 6, 2010.

193 Correspondence from Bill Burke to Margie Coffin Brown, April 6, 2010; Sullivan, 416, 494, 476.

194 Charles H.W. Foster, letter to Allan F. Jones, August 29, 1962, Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

195 Charles H.W. Foster, letter to Allan F. Jones, August 29, 1962, Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

196 Wolfe, 35.

197 Roger Hawthorne, "Cape Cod Beach Owners Have a Problem," *Sunday Standard Times*, October 14, 1962, Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

198 Great Beach Cottage Owners Association, "Bulletin Report #1," n.d., Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

199 Marcia Marcus, letter to Stuart Udall, Secretary of the Interior, Provincetown, MA, September 1, 1965, NARC Waltham, RG 79, Box 1.

200 "Need to Preserve 'Shacks' Defended," April 4, 1963, Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

201 David Jenkins, "Brief History of Bessay Tract 08-1045: Land Acquisition Files and Others," n.d., NARC Waltham.

202 David Jenkins, "Dune Shack: A Description and Assessment of the Land Acquisition Files, Cape Cod National Seashore," (Typescript for National Park Service, 2004), 31.

203 Barnstable County Registry of Deeds, November 29, 1971, Book 1575, Page 182, NARC Waltham.

204 Josephine C. Del Deo, *Compass Grass Anthology: A Collection of Provincetown Portraits* (Provincetown, MA: "Three Dunes" Press, 1983), 1.

205 Josephine C. Del Deo, *Compass Grass Anthology: A Collection of Provincetown Portraits* (Provincetown, MA: "Three Dunes" Press, 1983), 83.

206 James H. Bowman, "Face Sheet for Completion Report: Stabilization of Sand Dunes," March 16, 1964, NARC Waltham, RG 79, Box 11.

207 James H. Bowman, "Face Sheet for Completion Report: Demolition and Grounds Improvement Planting, Race Point," September 21, 1965, NARC Waltham, RG 79, Box 11.

208 James H. Bowman, "Face Sheet for Completion Report: Sand Dune Stabilization," April 13, 1966, NARC Waltham, RG 79, Box 11.

209 Frank Henderson, letter to Randolph and Annabelle Jones, January 16, 1963, Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

210 Annabelle Jones, n.d., Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

211 Stanley C. Joseph, "Dune Stabilization Session" memorandum to the Regional Director, August 16, 1966, NARC Waltham, RG 79, Box 6.

212 Bill Burke, Cultural Resource Manager, Cape Cod National Seashore, National Park Service, personal communication September 26, 2007.

213 Lyle Jamison, "Minutes of Cape Cod National Seashore Staff Meeting," June 4, 1969, NARC Waltham, RG 79, Box 3.

214 Wolfe, 128.

215 Leslie P. Arnberger, "Minutes of Cape Cod National Seashore Staff Meeting," November 5, 1969, NARC Waltham, RG 79, Box 3.

216 Grace DesChamps, "Truro Tales and Trails: Millions Visited National Seashore in 1968 – and Towns Felt Impact," *Provincetown Banner*, October 31, 1968, Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

217 Stanley C. Joseph, letter to Mr. and Mrs. Randolph Jones, April 23, 1968, Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

218 National Park Service, "Over-Sand Vehicle Routes," n.d., Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

219 Adam Lambert, "Art's Dune Tours of Provincetown: Celebrating Fifty Years of Kennedy, Chrysler, Kemp and Mailer" in *Cape Cod Life Magazine* (Hyannis, MA: Cape Cod Life Publications, 1996), 50-2.

220 Ibid.

221 O'Connell, 91.

222 Norten M. Bean, "Minutes of Cape Cod National Seashore Staff Meeting," July 3, 1967, NARC Waltham, RG 79, Box 3.

223 The lyrics to Rupert Holmes' "Escape" (The Pina Colada Song), 1979.

224 "Residents Vote to Establish a 'Clothing Optional' Beach" (Associated Press: April 12, 2001).

225 Ron's Log (www.rbgilbert.com/log/ronslog016.html, accessed November 2007).

226 Frank Henderson, letter to Randolph and Annabelle Jones, January 16, 1963, Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

227 Charlie Schmid, letter to Randolph Armstrong, June 29, 1966, Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

228 Richard N. Strange, letter to Randolph Jones, September 10, 1967, Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

229 Correspondence from Tony Vevers to Mr. Angoff (and Andrew Fuller, Jr.), December 14, 1969, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA.

230 "Subcommittee's Report on the Preservation and Use Plan/Environmental Assessment for the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, for the Cape Cod National Seashore Advisory Commission," Cape Cod NS, July 19, 2010, 17.

231 Frank Falacci, "Cape Cod Mounties," *Sunday Herald Traveler*, July 14, 1968, Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

232 Charlie Schmid, letter to Randolph Jones, August 16, 1965, Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

233 Josephine C. Del Deo, *Compass Grass Anthology: A Collection of Provincetown Portraits* (Provincetown, MA: "Three Dunes" Press, 1983), 43.

234 Bill Burke, Cultural Resource Manager, Cape Cod National Seashore, National Park Service, personal communication September 26, 2007.

235 Wolfe, 30.

236 "Subcommittee's Report on the Preservation and Use Plan/Environmental Assessment for the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, for the Cape Cod National Seashore Advisory Commission," Cape Cod NS, July 19, 2010, 9; Wolfe, 65.

237 National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, "Determination of Eligibility Notification, National Register of Historic Places: Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District," May 12, 1989, Cape Cod NS archives.

238 O'Connell, 87, 91; Holmes, 1994, 55. While the Outer Cape's traditional fishing industries declined over the course of this century the permanent population of Provincetown also dropped, from 4,246 in 1920 to 3,536 in 1980.

239 The Provincetown Community Compact (www.thecompact.org, accessed November 2007).

240 Sullivan, 212.

241 Cynthia Huntington, *The Salt House: A Summer on the Dunes of Cape Cod* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999), 59.



Figure 2.0 (above). Armstrong shack (OCLP, August 2011).

CHAPTER 2. EXISTING CONDITIONS

This chapter includes a description of the overall landscape context for the dune shacks. The project team recorded the existing conditions of the shacks on between June 2006 and October 2007, with subsequent visits up through September 2011. The twelve landscape characteristics documented include: spatial organization, cluster arrangement, land use, cultural traditions, topography, natural systems, views and vistas, buildings and structures, circulation, vegetation, small-scale features, and archeology. These landscape characteristics are defined in the National Park Service publication, *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques* (1998). More detailed information on the structures is provided in the companion "Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic Structure Report."

The district boundary includes the foredune and the crest of the second or outer dune ridge. The shacks are dispersed between the foredune and inner dune, which are the first two dunes from the ocean, along six miles of shoreline extending from Race Point Ranger Station to Pilgrim Lake, also known as Inner Harbor or East Harbor. The National Park Service owns the land on which the eighteen dune shacks surveyed are located. Four of the dune shacks are located within the political boundaries of Truro and fourteen are within the political boundaries of Provincetown. The district does not include a privately owned shack and its associated parcel in Provincetown.

LANDSCAPE CONTEXT

The following describes the general landscape characteristics of the district, noting exceptions where applicable. Detailed existing conditions descriptions for each of the eighteen dune shacks under the jurisdiction of the Cape Cod National Seashore are presented in the Analysis and Evaluation chapter.

SPATIAL ORGANIZATION AND CLUSTER ARRANGEMENT

The dune landscape of Provincetown and Truro along the back shore of the Outer Cape is a vast space. When viewed from the crest of a dune, the landscape of some 1,960 acres unfolds as row upon row of parabolic dunes, some barren, some covered in soft beach grass, and others etched with stunted trees and shrubs. To enter the dunes from Route 6 or nearby Provincetown, a bustling community with 25,000 summer residents, is to experience a dramatic contrast, as one is quickly

transported into a place of beauty and solitude. The lack of paved roads, the difficulty of walking in loose sand, and topography that requires one to drop into and climb out of dune bowls of sand, quickly envelops the mind, body and soul of the walker, detaching them from the outside world as they are surrounded by the dune experience.

This sense of uniqueness is heightened by the deafening quiet or whisper of sand blowing through beach grass, the faint smells and sounds of the ocean and aromatic plants such as artemesia and bayberry. The full impact of the weather is inescapable, whether it is the blazing sun, driving rain, or a cooling, chilling wind. On exposed ridges on windy days, the blowing sand feels much like sleet. Visually, the brightness of the sand and the colors created by the combination of vegetation, ocean, and sky set the landscape apart from other places. The colors and quality of light in this physical landscape are extolled in artist's circles around the world as being unmatched anywhere.

As one enters the dune landscape, it appears unsettled and barren, bounded only by the ocean. Traveling onward through the dunes, however, the faint outlines of the dune shacks appear, their natural hues difficult to discern in the mottled landscape. This camouflage is part of the character of the district, and the natural, weathered appearance of the shacks, their diminutive size and nestled placement are only revealed as one travels further, deep into the dunes landscape and the center of the historic district.

The shacks are arranged from west to east as follows: the Cohen, Fleurant, Adams Guest Cottage, Adams, Champlin, Malicoat (privately owned), Werner (Euphoria), Margo/Gelb, Kemp, Malkin/Ofsevit, Fowler, Fearing/Fuller/Bessay, Chanel, Werner (Thalassa), Braaten, Watson, Wells, Jones, and Armstrong shacks (See Appendix B).

Vehicle entry into the district is controlled by locked entrance gates adjacent to surrounding roads, which are maintained by the National Park Service. Beach access for off-road vehicles is provided at several points into the dunes.[1] Pedestrians frequently access the district by a trailhead at the intersection of U.S. Route 6 and Snail Road in Provincetown. From each of the access gates, as noted above, the landscape changes from heavily trafficked areas to a place of seclusion.

Located near the main vehicle trail through the historic district are the cement foundation ruins of the Peaked Hill Coast Guard Station, which was built in about 1918 to replace the original lifesaving station and was moved to its present location in 1931. The foundation, some cement walls, and the ruins of a metal tower are all that remain after the structure was lost to fire. Also, the old wreck pole lies on the ground near the Malkin/Ofsevit shack. The vehicle trail near the ruins has fairly recently been re-routed to protect a small wetland area located directly east of the station. The ruins of the station are covered in graffiti, yet the

structure remains a reminder of the historic association of the life saving station with the nearby dune shacks.

The dune shacks are situated along a system of vehicular access trails and footpaths that provide a framework for movement in and between the shacks in the district. The majority of the shacks are located on the north side of the main vehicle trail, sometimes referred to as the Inner Dune Route, in close proximity to the ocean. Though there is little documentation on the original selection of sites for the shacks, it appears that each was situated so as to optimize sun exposure, views, and a favorable microclimate, which for most shacks includes some protection from northeast and northwest winds. Over the years some shacks have been relocated, elevated, rebuilt or demolished due to dune accretion or erosion.

Though initially clustered near the life-saving stations, several of the shacks are presently located in isolation from each other. The management of sand by fencing to foster dune accretion has created a greater sense of privacy in the district, despite many instances of close physical proximity. The feeling of separation between shacks is often not obtained by distance from other shacks but instead by the location of the buildings amongst the dunes.

While historically there were three clusters of shacks in the district, two clusters remain based upon the proximity of the shacks. One of these clusters includes the Fleurant, Adams, and Champlin shacks as well as the Adams Guest Cottage. This cluster is located in the western section of the district and shares a system of vehicle trails and pedestrian pathways leading to and between the four shacks. The other cluster includes the Kemp, Fearing/Fuller/Bessay, Fowler, Chanel, Margo/Gelb, Malkin/Ofsevit, and Werner (Thalassa) shacks. This group is located roughly in the center of the district, and also features a shared system of vehicle trails and footpaths to and between shacks. A third, more dispersed, eastern group is no longer intact and included the Schmid, small Bessay, Armstrong, Joe Oliver, concrete, and red shacks. Only the Armstrong shack remains and was relocated inland in 1983.

LAND USE AND CULTURAL TRADITIONS

The landscape of the Outer Cape has not only been shaped by natural forces, but by a long tradition of human occupation and development that has influenced the patterns of dune destruction, stabilization, and reclamation. The dune shacks themselves are one of many cultural resources located within the Cape Cod National Seashore. Here the juxtaposition of natural and historic resources in the relatively barren landscape of the Outer Cape has inspired artists and writers for centuries.

Originally associated with the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station as havens for shipwrecked sailors or housing for the families of Coast Guardsmen, the shacks

still tend to appear over the crests of dunes as warm pockets of humanity in a sea of inhospitable sand. In keeping with this custom the Kemp shack and Watson shack have maintained an open door policy, allowing persons in need to utilize the shack even when the owner is not on site. However, the primary use for the district today is as private recreational purposes for individuals and their family and friends.

The affect of weather on the dune landscape contributes to the seasonality of use, as the proximity to the Atlantic Ocean creates an extremely harsh environment in the winter. High winds, wind-driven rain and occasional snow, extended ocean storms, and blowing sand drive most residents away during the winter. The blowing sand blasts windows, vehicles, and wood shingles. Moving sand can also bury vehicle trails, making them impassable. Each winter the landscape is reconfigured by the wind and sand and the shacks subjected to intense weathering. Most shack dwellers board up the buildings in the fall for the harsh winter and return to open them in the late spring. A few individuals have lived in the dunes year round and these shacks are typically more sturdy and protected from high winds. Less than a mile away, the community of Provincetown remains vibrant throughout the four seasons, with residences clustered along the town's sheltered, south-facing harbor.

Most shacks are occupied by individuals through reservations of use and occupancy, leases, and special use permits. When the shacks were acquired following the establishment of the park, most former owners entered into legal stipulations with the federal government for use of the property for a term of years, or for the life of the owner (and in one case, for the life of the children). As terms expire and reservation holders pass on, management of the shacks has become the responsibility of the National Park Service.

Community and arts organizations in Provincetown use some of the shacks for artist-in-residence, writer-in-residence, and community residence programs, thereby affording some level of public access. Several of the shacks are currently used by non-profit organizations to run these programs. Current organizations are the Peaked Hill Trust, Provincetown Community Compact, and Outer Cape Artist in Residency Consortium, which offer two-week stays in the shacks throughout the summer season to artists and writers, as well as the public. This partnership is meant to encourage the connection between the Provincetown arts community and the scenic natural resources of the dunes of Provincetown and Truro, as well as reflect the relationship between the historic district and the development of art and literature in America as described in the National Register nomination.

The public and dune shack residents alike are allowed to harvest the district's natural resources for their own use such as cranberries, blueberries, beach plums, rose hips, and various fish from the ocean. The Park Superintendent's Compendium lists the limits and types of natural resources that can be harvested

from park lands. Although residents have historically dug for fresh water in the dunes, most of the shacks today have associated wells. The water drawn from these wells is rich in iron and typically used for bathing and washing rather than as drinking water. The Kemp shack does not have an associated well.

The beachfront between the foredune and the Atlantic Ocean is part of the National Park Service oversand corridor, an off-road vehicle access route for permitted private vehicles during certain times of the year. In addition, dune taxi companies with concession permits offer vehicle tours through the historic district, frequently along the vehicle route that runs through the district and connects the shacks. Thus accessibility of the historic district as part of the Cape Cod National Seashore has made this area a tourist destination, altering the traditionally isolated nature of both dunes and shacks.

TOPOGRAPHY AND NATURAL SYSTEMS

The Great Beach extends for forty miles along the Atlantic Ocean, the longest stretch of uninterrupted sandy shore on the East Coast. As a result of its exposure to the full force of the sea, the landscape of the Outer Cape is constantly shifting in response to the tides, waves, wind and rain.[2] Protected by the outer dunes are a variety of natural land types, including salt marshes, freshwater kettle ponds, pine and oak forests, heathlands, open meadows and cranberry bogs.[3]

Crafted by glacial movement and the wearing sea, the overall topography of the rolling parabolic dunes in the Peaked Hills constantly shifts as the mountains of sand drift, creep and occasionally blow away entirely. The “arrow” at the crest of the parabolic dune indicates the direction of the predominant wind shaping the dune while the dune ridgeline undulates, forming flat peaks and shallow basins or depressions. From this depression, sand is blown by a process called deflation, up to the dune crest. Sand blown over the dune crest is deposited on the leeward slope or “slip face,” which is typically steep and smooth with an angle of about thirty-four degrees from the horizontal. Arthur Strahler in *A Geologist’s View of Cape Cod* describes the parabolic dunes as follows.

> As the slip face advances, it may encroach upon a forest, killing trees, whose bare trunks and branches protrude grotesquely through the sand. If the pattern of the parabolic dunes of the Provincelands is examined, using the rule of the bow and arrow, it is seen that the prevailing winds which have formed these dunes blow from the northwest, which is not at right angles to the shoreline but instead rather obliquely to the shoreline. The dunes run in belts, and it is supposed that each belt has been formed from the sand of a former beach.[4]

Dunes that are blown away, called “blowouts,” are usually characterized as deep depressions devoid of vegetation. Shaped by the wind off of the ocean, the dunes run in long ridges parallel to the shore. The basic foredune and inner dune

relationship remains constant, although the shifting sand alters the topographical configuration of the dunes around the shacks each year (see Figure 3).

The shacks themselves are relatively small and close to the ground, constructed to be moveable as the dune topography shifts. All of the shacks are moreover located with careful attention to their position among the dunes, situated so as to minimize their exposure to the wind as well as optimize views. Thus shacks are sited on the leeward side of the foredune, on the inner dune, or in the valleys on either side of the inner dune. More specifically, twelve shacks are sited in the foredune, two are in the valley between the foredune and inner dune, two are on the inner dune, and two stand in the valley south of the inner dune.

The twelve shacks in the foredune are the Fleurant, Adams Guest Cottage, Adams, Champlin, Werner (Euphoria), Margo/Gelb, Kemp, Fearing/Bessay/Fuller, Chanel, Werner (Thalassa), Braaten, and Watson shacks. These shacks sited in the foredune tend to be more exposed to the wind and weather, and as a result many of them have serious sand erosion and deposition problems. The occupants of these shacks employ various erosion control techniques, including the use of snow fencing and plants to stabilize the blowing sand. Several structures are set on tall pilings and can be lifted as needed. For example, the Watson shack was raised in 2004 because it was being buried by sand. All of these shacks have decks or rooftop-seating to optimize ocean views, and many also have separate associated outdoor seating areas.

The two shacks located between the foredune and inner dune, the Fowler and Armstrong shacks, must continually address both the loss and deposition of sand near their foundations. The Armstrong shack, which is located atop a solitary dune peak within the dune valley, has an extensive collection of wood pallets, wood-slat fencing, hay bales and plantings installed to collect sand as it blows away and exposes the foundation. These valley shacks utilize decks to obtain views of the surrounding landscape, including the Pilgrim Monument to the south and various dune valley areas of mixed vegetation such as cranberry bogs and scrub pine forests.

The two shacks situated on the inner dune, the Jones and Wells shacks, are both raised on pilings to optimize views across the dunes and mitigate the effects of dune erosion. Although the location of these shacks further away from the ocean might be assumed to decrease the effects of wind and weather erosion associated with shorefront locations, they have nonetheless sustained many of the same erosion problems as their shoreward neighbors. The Jones shack is set into the northern slope of the inner dune, at a location where the foredune and inner dune are very steep and close together. Although the foredune provides protection from the wind on the northern side, sand continues to erode from beneath the shack. The Wells shack is set in an area of dunes that are less steep and further apart,

leaving the shack in a flatter and more open area that provides little protection from the wind.

The two shacks set in the valley south of the inner dune, the Cohen and Malkin/Ofsevit shacks, are faced with their own set of erosion issues. At the Cohen shack, vegetation surrounding most of the shack is well established, yet a large blow out area to the southwest of the shack still causes sand movement around the structure. The Malkin/Ofsevit shack is positioned in an area of heavy vegetation which serves as a protective barrier against the wind, yet accumulating sand nonetheless threatens the shack, stubbornly encroaching on all sides. The decks of these shacks do not provide views and therefore are not set as high off the ground, instead serving solely as porch entryways.

CIRCULATION

A system of vehicle trails, driveways, and footpaths allow shack occupants, park rangers and tourists to move through the district. Vehicle access is by permit with three locked entrance gates as well as off-road vehicle access from four points along the dunes. The gates include the Dune Lot gate along Route 6 in Provincetown, which is used by the dune tour concession and most shack occupants in the center of the historic district; Race Point South gate at the western end of the historic district, which allows access from the Race Point Beach area; and the High Head gate at the eastern end of the historic district, in Truro at the terminus of High Head Road. Two other gates are the Race Point Beach North gate and Head of the Meadow gate, but these are predominantly used for beach access. The four access points from the beach to the shacks include the Race Point North Access Point, Race Point South Access Point, High Head Off-Road Vehicle Access Point, and the Head of the Meadow Access Point.[5]

Within the historic district, the sections of the Inner Dune Route or main vehicle trail are utilized by dune occupants and dune tour vehicles. Although the Inner Dune Route once extended from one end of the district to the other, sections are now abandoned and serve as pedestrian footpaths. Another entrance point into the dunes is the Route 6, Exit 9/Snail Road gate and footpath, which was formerly a vehicle trail. This footpath extends to the Outer Beach and provides the most direct connection to Provincetown. Another vehicle trail runs along the Outer Beach, though sections of this road are closed to protect nesting habitat for piping plovers.

Driveways off of the Inner Dune Route provide access to individual shacks and clusters of shacks. A network of footpaths also extends from the vehicle trails to the shacks, between the shacks, to the ocean, to cranberry bogs and to other nearby sites. A few footpaths meander through the dunes to scenic areas and vantage points.

The Inner Dune Route runs parallel to the shore and south of the inner dune. Most of the dune shacks are located on the north side of this trail; however the Armstrong, Wells and Malkin/Ofsevit shacks are sited south of the vehicle trail. Most of the shacks are accessed by steep driveways that extend from the northern edge of the main vehicle trail and often terminate before reaching the shacks. A footpath typically leads from the drive to each shack.

The pedestrian circulation around the shacks consists of several footpaths between the structures, ocean and other nearby sites. Most of the shacks have their own footpaths to provide access to the ocean, although a few clustered shacks share these routes. Historically, footpaths and vehicle trails to the ocean have contributed to erosion, most notably where traffic over the Peaked Hill resulted in its disappearance due to erosion. The number of paths has since been reduced, and those that exist often include wood-slat fencing to stabilize the sand. In some areas dune dwellers and the park service have placed signs to direct foot traffic. Due to the changing nature of the landscape, routine monitoring is necessary to ensure that vehicular and pedestrian routes are not causing excessive erosion.

With the exception of the Kemp shack, all of the shacks contain footpaths to nearby low spots in the dunes where their wells are located. Water is extracted by a hand pump, or by an electric pump attached to a water line leading into the shack.

Since the establishment of the park in 1961, the National Park Service has attempted to minimize the effects of dune erosion resulting from vehicle access and over-used footpaths by limiting entry into the district. The park planted large areas with beach grass in the late 1980s in an effort to stabilize sand in the vicinity of Pilgrim Lake and to decrease the amount of sand blowing onto Route 6. Though much of the grass died, the surviving plants have stabilized the dunes and prompted further succession of vegetation. An area of pitch pine installed by the park service to stabilize sand along the Inner Dune Route in the 1970s is also thriving. However its rapid success has also raised questions about how pitch pine forest, while stabilizing the dunes, simultaneously impacts the open character of the historic district.

An abandoned parking lot is located along the southern boundary of the historic district and adjacent to the High Head Off-Road Vehicle Access Point. This parking lot once served the park attraction called the “Sand Bowl,” the site of an abandoned sand mining operation that left a huge bowl devoid of vegetation. The park encouraged the public to come here to slide down the dunes, while staying off of the other dunes. The park closed the area in the 1980s because it was too popular and people were wandering off and despoiling other dunes and today it is gradually re-vegetating. The associated parking lot is abandoned, though still used

as an air station for re-inflating vehicle tires. This access point is used by the dune occupants in the center of the district as well as the dune taxi concession.

VIEWS

Prominent views within the historic district include the ocean, undulating dune landscape, Pilgrim Monument, Province Lands Visitor Center, the water tower, and in some locations, neighboring shacks. At the western end of the district, the Race Point Light and Race Point Ranger Station are visible in the distance. While some of the shacks are concealed behind the dunes, others stand out as visual markers in the otherwise austere dune landscape. The most openly visible shacks are those in the cluster including the Kemp, Fearing/Fuller/Bessay, Fowler, Chanel and Margo/Gelb shacks. This is mainly due to the group's central location within the district and the relatively open placement of the shacks on the foredune.

Only eight of the shacks have unobstructed views to the ocean from the shack level. These include the Fleurant, Champlin, Harry Kemp, Margo/Gelb, Fearing/Fuller/Bessay, Wells, and Werner (Euphoria) shacks and the Adams Guest Cottage. The best ocean views are from the Margo/Gelb, Kemp and Werner (Euphoria) shacks. The Adams shack also has views from a roof deck carefully constructed to provide a direct line over the foredune to the water beyond, while the same aspect can be achieved from a chair mounted to the roof of the Braaten shack. The remaining eight shacks do not have ocean views from the shack level, although most of them have associated footpaths that lead to the water. Most of the structures have views to their neighbor's shacks, although these are on occasion obscured by the dune topography and surrounding vegetation.

VEGETATION

The dunes of Provincetown and Truro have seen drastic patterns of dune destruction and reclamation over the years. As the object of long-term replanting and stabilization efforts, the expanse of sand dunes that has long inspired artists and writers for a century is slowly reverting to forest.

The limited palette of vegetation reflects the harsh conditions of the dune habitat. Predominant in the dunes are American beach grass (*Ammophila breviligulata*) and wavy hairgrass (*Deschampsia flexuosa*), bearberry (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*), golden heather (*Hudsonia ericoides*), American cranberry (*Vaccinium macrocarpon*), bayberry (*Myrica pensylvanica*), shadbush (*Amelanchier canadensis*), poison ivy (*Toxiocodendron radicans*) salt spray and Virginia roses (*Rosa rugosa* and *Rosa virginiana*, respectively), beach plum (*Prunus maritima*), scrub oak (*Quercus ilicifolia*) and pitch pine (*Pinus rigida*). There are several areas that are classified as heathland, a nutrient-poor rare ecosystem unique to the sandy areas of the Outer Cape that typically includes bearberry, golden heather,

broom crowberry (*Corema conradii*), black huckleberry (*Gaylussacia baccata*), Common's panic grass (*Dichanthelium ovale*), purple needle grass (*Aristida purpurascens*), and bushy rockrose (*Helianthemum dumosum*).

Cranberry bogs are usually located just beyond the inner dune to the south of the shacks and are accessible from the buildings by footpaths. The bogs have high iron levels, evidenced by the rust colored stains often visible in the sand surrounding them. The long-standing tradition of cranberry harvesting makes this species especially important to the historic district.

Cultivated species found in the dunes include stands of trees and beach grasses planted by conservation efforts over the decades, such as white pine (*Pinus alba*), scotch pine (*Pinus sylvestris*), pitch pine and salt spray roses. Some pine, white and black or red oak (*Quercus alba* and *Quercus velutina* or *Quercus rubra*) trees are used as foundation plantings and a few domesticated garden plants are grown in planters and maintained by shack residents. One non-native invasive species, Japanese knotweed (*Polygonum cuspidatum*), can be found near the Watson shack. As noted in the park's *Management Plan and Environmental Assessment for Invasive Exotic Plant Species Control at Cape Cod National Seashore* (2003), this plant is typically transported to new sites in fill dirt, and can be carried to a lesser extent by the wind. In 2003 Japanese knotweed was also found at the Race Point Beach and Provincetown's Old Dump.

BUILDINGS, STRUCTURES AND UTILITIES

Currently, eighteen of the extant nineteen dune shacks are owned by the National Park Service. Most shacks are simple wood frame buildings with rectangular plans and minimal amenities. Some shack occupants have added amenities to make their buildings more like homes. Some lack indoor plumbing, and instead have associated outhouses. Due to the harsh environment they are mostly built low to the ground, with foundations which can be moved in case conditions necessitate relocation. These include seating areas, solar panels, planter gardens and indoor plumbing. The majority of the shacks are clad with wooden shingles and supported by raised foundations and pilings. The largest shack is the Champlin shack, which has several rooms, decks and storage areas, while the smallest is the one-room Kemp shack. The arrangement of the shacks recognizes such factors as sun exposure and the ocean. Many of the front doors face north towards the ocean and include decks and screen porches that offer shade in the summer. Others have doors facing east, with wrap around decks or outdoor seating areas. Though these orientations contradict the traditional south-facing Cape house, their unique configurations speak to the seasonal nature of the shacks and their unique relationship with the surrounding landscape and ocean.[6] Here desire to gain expansive views is tempered with the harsh reality of the transient dune landscape. Many shacks have been moved due to sand erosion or accretion. Most

shacks are tucked into pockets in the leeward side of the foredune or inner dune for protection from high winds, where views are somewhat compromised.

All but three of the structures have decks or entry porches, which serve multiple purposes by expanding the living areas—providing a place for outdoor seating areas with a view, outdoor showers, collecting rain water, or covered storage areas. The Braaten, Kemp and Chanel shacks do not have true decks or porches. However, most of the shacks include decks on more than one side in order to provide seating in either sun or shade. The deck areas range from single-sided platforms without railings to extensive wrap around porches, while some feature ornamental driftwood sculptures, planters, benches, shower areas, clotheslines, storage coolers, and bins. Other shacks, such as the Champlin and Armstrong shacks, contain ample space beneath their floors for outdoor storage.

With the exception of the Kemp shack, all of the buildings have associated wells, or in a few instances share a well with a neighbor. Fresh water is available in the valleys between the dunes, and many of the wells are located near the main vehicle trail between the foredune and inner dune. The average distance from well to shack is about 300 feet, and many wells include pumping mechanisms or pipes to aid in transporting water from well to shack. For example, the Braaten shack has an interesting system that includes a pump and winch for transporting gallon jugs of water up the steep slope of the leeward side of the foredune to the shack. Most shacks are equipped with a nearby outhouse or with a privy attached to the outside of the shack. Indoor plumbing is found in seven shacks within the historic district, including Fleurant, Adams, Champlin, Fowler, Wells, and Armstrong shacks and the Adams Guest Cottage.

Meanwhile the dune shack outhouses exhibit several styles, the most recent type of which is the boat hull-shaped building designed by William Fitts, who is associated with the Peaked Hill Trust. Fitts designed and constructed five of these outhouses at the Margo/Gelb, Werner (Thalassa), Werner (Euphoria), Malkin/ Ofsevit, and Wells shacks. Vernacular, rustic outhouses stand at a distance from the Fearing, Chanel, Braaten, and Jones shacks. The Watson outhouse is simple in design, but distinguished by the reuse of mahogany flooring salvaged from the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station boat house. Other outhouses vary in accessibility and design, ranging from a gravity-fed toilet built in the utility room below the Armstrong shack to the attached privy at the Cohen shack.

An array of utilities is associated with each shack. The most basic and prevalent source of power is a portable propane tank. However, many shacks use more elaborate systems, such as the small wind-powered generator next to the Braaten shack or the portable solar unit mounted on a trailer near the Adam's shack, which is brought seasonally into the dunes. The Champlin shack appears to use a gas-powered generator, while several other shacks have solar panels.

SMALL-SCALE FEATURES

A few small-scale features are commonly associated with the dune shacks, such as birdhouses, picnic tables, benches, clotheslines, flagpoles, art objects, outhouses, and various types of fencing and ornamental planters. Examples of unique features at individual shacks include a birdbath sculpture at the Werner (Thalassa) shack, the large collection of lobster buoys at the Jones shack, a driftwood banister at the Werner (Euphoria) shack, the assortment of window boxes and planters with garden vegetables at the Braaten shack, and the extensive network of wooden pallets and fencing at the Armstrong shack. An assortment of art objects found on the dunes and carved name signs can also be found around the shacks

Many of these small-scale features serve specific purposes, and reflect the dune shack lifestyle. For example, clotheslines are necessary since many of the shacks lack running water and washing/drying facilities; tables and benches serve a social purpose for residents and guests; and birdhouses are not just decorative objects, but help attract swallows to consume the abundant population of biting insects.

ARCHEOLOGY

Archeological features were not documented as part of this report. However, discussions with shack dwellers revealed that there are abandoned well pipes, shack foundations and an abandoned vehicle near the site of the former Charlie Schmid shack. Also, some prehistoric sites that might still exist in the district were noted in a memorandum between the Massachusetts Historical Commission and National Register staff in 1988.[7] This correspondence notes a lack of prehistoric sites recorded in Provincetown, and the presence of a few sites in Truro, including a harpoon find in the offshore Peaked Hill Bay area. The Province Lands region was not geologically formed until a few thousand years ago, thus the area would not likely contain sites earlier than the Late Archaic Period (6,000 to 3,000 B.P.), and would more likely contain sites from the Woodland Period (3,000 to 400 B.P).

ENDNOTES

1 Mary Lee York, Sandra C. Krein and Mark Wamsley, 104.

2 General Management Plan for Cape Cod National Seashore, 1998.

3 Cape Cod National Seashore website, Available online, http://www.nps.gov/caco/naturescience/index.htm.

4 Arthur A. Strahler, *A Geologist's View of Cape Cod*. (New York: Natural History Press. 1961)

5 Mary Lee York, Sandra C. Krein and Mark Wamsley, 104.

6 Doris Doane, "Atwood-Higgins House" (Typescript, n.d.), 3.

7 Betsy Friedberg, Massachusetts Historical Commission National Register Director, to Herbert S. Cables, Jr., National Park Service, September 22, 1988, Memorandum in the National Register files of the National Park Service, Northeast Regional Office, History Program.



Cultural Landscape Report

Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District

Cape Cod National Seashore

Barnstable County, MA

Existing Conditions 2011

National Park Service

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation

www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

1. NPS GIS data
2. Aerial photographs, 2009

DRAWN BY

Laura Roberts,
ArcMap 9.3, Adobe Illustrator CS3, 2011

LEGEND

- Cape Cod NS legislative boundary
- National Register historic district boundary
- Dune route (existing)
- Dune route (not maintained)
- Footpath
- Dune shack location
- Park gate
- Ruins or remnants
- Non-NPS parcel within legislative boundary

NOTES

1. All features shown at approximate scale and location.
2. National Register northern boundary follows the high tide line except at the boundary of a private parcel.

0 250 500 1,000 1,500 2,000 Feet

Drawing #4



CHAPTER 3. ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

The following chapter reviews the historical significance and integrity of the cultural landscape surrounding the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars based on the National Register documentation prepared in 2011. The first section describes the significance of the landscape of the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District according to the criteria developed by the National Register of Historic Places, whose purpose is to identify properties significant to our country's pre and post-contact history. The second section examines landscape characteristics and identifies those which contribute to the property's historical significance. Based on this evaluation, the report assesses the overall historical integrity of the landscape as well as issues that threaten or potentially threaten the historical integrity of the property.[1]

NATIONAL REGISTER STATUS

The National Register recognizes properties that are: (A) Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of history; (B) Associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; (C) Embody the distinctive characteristics of a type period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or (D) Yield or may be likely to yield information in pre or post-contact history.

SUMMARY OF EXISTING NATIONAL REGISTER DOCUMENTATION

The Keeper of the National Register determined the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District eligible on May 19, 1989. Documentation for the district, in final draft in 2011, recognizes the significance of the district under National Register Criteria A, B, C, and D at a national level for its association with the historic development of American art and literature; for the development of recreation on Cape Cod as an isolated, coastal retreat that attracted prominent artists and literary figures; for architecture as a representation of a rare and fragile property type; and for historic associations with the productive life of the poet Harry Kemp. The district is also significant under Criterion D for its potential to yield information that is important in the pre and post-contact history of the area.[2]

Figure 3.0 (above). Gerry Hill, Jeanne "Frenchie" Chanel, and Gerry's friend, Elvy in front of Frenchie's shack, 1950s (GH Fraser Collection).

The National Register documentation defines the period of significance as 1920 to 1991. The year 1920 is the approximate construction date of the oldest extant shack, the Kemp shack. The end date of 1991 marks the rebuilding of the Malkin/Ofsevit shack by the Peaked Hill Trust after a fire destroyed the original structure in 1990.[3] This period of significance encompasses the area's transition from a life-saving outpost to a recreational and artistic retreat in a unique landscape setting—set apart from, but culturally linked to the growing literary and artistic community of Provincetown. The period includes American poet Harry Kemp's association with the dunes, known as the "Poet of the Dunes," and his seasonal residence in the shacks that began in the 1920s and continued until his death in 1960. The period also spans the establishment of Cape Cod National Seashore, which resulted in the tumultuous transfer of ownership of most of the shacks and the resultant formation of community groups to protect the dune shacks, including the Great Beach Cottage Owners Association in 1962 and the Peaked Hill Trust in 1985. Through the actions of these groups and local historical commissions, the shacks were determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places in 1989.

Based on the 2011 National Register documentation, the district includes eighteen contributing buildings and one contributing site, comprised of wood shacks and the surrounding dune landscape. All of the shacks were initially built between 1920 and the early 1950s, but some were rebuilt in the late twentieth century. Eleven non-contributing buildings in the district include ten outhouses and one studio erected between 1988 and 2009. These ancillary buildings were recently designed and are not reconstructions of earlier resources, but do not detract from the scenic or historic character of the district.[4]

The historic district meets National Register Criteria Consideration G for its inclusion of two contributing buildings that are less than fifty years old, but share important elements of the district's historical and architectural significance with earlier contributing buildings. The end date of the district's period of significance extends to 1991 specifically to encompass the rebuilding of the Chanel shack in 1976, on top of the original buried structure, and the Malkin/Ofsevit shack in 1991, after the original shack burned down. The Chanel and Malkin/Ofsevit shacks contribute to the district because they represent the continued adaptation to a harsh and remote environment.[5]

Acknowledging its location in an ever-changing environment, the relocation of buildings within the district does not detract from the significance of the district. At least ten shacks have been relocated inland and two additional shacks moved and rebuilt.[6] Relocation represents a historic method of saving structures from the changing coastline while raising and lowering structures represents a method of adapting to the migrating dune formations.

BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION

The boundary of the historic district is located in the sand dunes of the Provincetown and Truro, within the boundaries of the Cape Cod National Seashore. The boundary begins at a point approximately 1,500 feet east of Race Point Beach in Provincetown and extends east for 5.40 miles along the coastal high tide line until it reaches High Head Road. The boundary follows the west edge of High Head Road to a point 0.63 miles to the south, then follows an uneven line of convenience drawn along the high upland ridge of the outermost (south) dunes for 5.07 miles west to a point near Race Point Road. The boundary continues 0.35 miles north in a line of convenience to the point of beginning. The district boundary includes a town-owned strip of land 500 feet wide and approximately 7,350 feet in length stretching from Route 6 to the ocean, known as Provincetown's "Spaghetti Strip."[7] The boundary excludes a three-acre property along the Provincetown shore, on which stands the Malicoat shack.

Spatially, the boundaries of the historic district encompass the associated viewsheds from eighteen shacks, and the cultural landscape setting and circulation routes within the dune shack area. The boundary was initially defined in a September 1990 report entitled "Boundary Analysis of the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, Cape Cod, Massachusetts."[8] This study generated a boundary using a viewshed composite map generated by Geographic Information System (GIS) analysis.[9] The study identified the relatively stable high dune, furthest from the shore, which rises in elevation to 120 feet and generally coincides with the southern boundary of the district. The 1990 study also recognized the instability of the dunes within the district, noting that their ongoing movement could ultimately have an impact on the viewsheds within the district.[10] Boundary criteria included encompassing the viewsheds from seventeen individual shacks (the Adams Guest Cottage and Malicoat shacks were not included in the 1989 documentation). Areas not to be included were visible "islands" or high land areas outside of the district boundaries that did not contain shacks as well as the area visible through a gap in the dunes of Provincetown Harbor, a singular view from the easternmost shack in the district.[11] The study however concluded that the shacks were included in the viewshed from the Province Lands Visitor Center, whereas three or four shacks can be seen from the viewing deck.[12]

Park staff and the project team further defined the boundary in the field in October 2007, using Global Positioning System technology, and following the ridge surrounding the viewable area of the dune shacks. Based on the field documentation, the boundary was extended further west to the Province Lands Visitor Center as a tangible point within the viewshed from the shacks; farther north in an area northeast of the Beech Forest, narrowing the width of the district in this area; and farther south to the east of the Spaghetti Strip and west of Snail Road to stay on the upland outer dune ridge, widening the district at its center.

The 2007 boundary enlarged the district from 1,500-acres to a 1,960-acre area. The shifting characteristics of the dune landscape may require the redefinition of the boundary in the future.

TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTY EVALUATION

The Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District was evaluated in 2006 and 2007 to establish whether the district was significant as a Traditional Cultural Property (TCP). On May 24, 2007, the district was determined ineligible as a TCP by the Keeper of the National Register pursuant to 36 CFR § 63.2 (Determination of Eligibility).[13] Prior to reaching this conclusion, the NPS sponsored a study to provide detailed documentation of the district and contracted Robert J. Wolfe, PhD, who completed the ethnographic study, *Dwelling in the Dunes: Traditional Use of the Dune Shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, Cape Cod* in August 2005. Based on the findings of the study, the NPS further contracted the author and another expert to conduct an assessment of the district as a TCP, which recommended that the district met the criteria for designation as a TCP on May 3, 2006. The National Park Service Northeast Regional Office did not concur with the recommendation and indicated that the district was ineligible as a TCP. The Massachusetts State Historic Preservation Officer disagreed with the Regional Office's finding and recommended that the Region request a formal determination from the Keeper of the National Register. On May 24, 2007, the Keeper determined that the historic district did not meet the National Register Criteria as a TCP because of the multiple groups that claim traditional association with the district, practicing similar lifestyles, and it cannot be established that the associated community that existed historically is the same community/group which continues to the present.

SUMMARY OF AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

The sections that follow summarize each area and level of significance for which the property is significant. Each area of significance is described in greater detail in the National Register documentation.

National Register Criterion A: American Art and Literature

The Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District is nationally significant for its association with American art and literature in the twentieth century. The dune environment has drawn artists to Provincetown for over a hundred years, beginning with the early art schools of Charles Hawthorne and Ambrose Webster in 1899 and 1900, respectively. A pulsing community of artists, actors, writers, socialites, and bohemians was centered in Provincetown during the 1920s and came to be identified with the neighboring dunes and dune shacks, as the isolated landscape found there became home to new trends and ideologies. While

Provincetown itself was compared with a quaint European fishing village in these early decades of the twentieth century, its association with the freedom of the dunes anchored it firmly in American culture.

Since the early twentieth century the solitude of this environment has provided isolation for not only individuals but small groups in need of a place to gather beyond the reach of society. Artists have in many cases been among the most prominent of these, as they gleaned inspiration from the dunes. A few mentioned in the chronicles of critic Edmund Wilson in the 1930s are John Dos Passos and his wife, Katy; founders of the Provincetown Players George Cram Cook and Susan Glaspell; artist Niles Spencer; watercolorists William and Lucy L'Engle; writer Mary Heaton Vorse; and local bookseller and publisher Frank Shay.[14] Russian sculptor Peter Blume, engraver Claire Leighton, and painter Loren MacIver and her husband and poet Lloyd Frankenberg also spent time living in the dunes. Surrealist Marcia Marcus and abstract expressionists John Grillo and Jan Muller spent time living and painting in the Cohen (C-scape) shack, which was also used by painter and muralist Jean Cohen. Surrealist and abstract painters Boris Margo and Jan Gelb lived seasonally in the Werner (Euphoria) and Margo/Gelb (Zimilies) shacks for over thirty years. Works by many of these artists are in the collections of institutions such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of Modern Art, the Whitney Museum, the Hirschorn, and the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art.[15]

After about 1920, Hazel Hawthorne Werner (1901–2000) was part of a circle of well-known artists and writers in Provincetown, many of whom she welcomed to one of her two dune shacks. She was related to Romantic Movement American novelist Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–1864) and related to the accomplished Impressionist style painter Charles W. Hawthorne (1872–1930), who opened an art school in Provincetown in 1899.[16] Werner's guests included realist painter Edwin Dickinson, abstract impressionist painter Franz Kline, and the writer and Provincetown resident Norman Mailer. Poet Harry Kemp resided and worked in the dunes as detailed below in the discussion of a significant individual associated with the dune shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars.[17]

Various artists who frequented the dunes were members of the Provincetown Art Association formed in 1914. The same individuals also convened at such local places as the Beachcombers Club (formed in about 1920) and the Sixes and Sevens Coffeehouse to discuss art, life, and politics in the 1920s and 1930s.[18] Many members of the same circle also performed regularly with the Provincetown Players, a group founded in 1916 by Eugene O'Neill, Susan Glaspell, and others that later became a Broadway theater company.

Actor and playwright Eugene O'Neill was an early twentieth century fixture of the dunes, who lived in a grass hut on the back shore before taking up residence in the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station in 1919. While there he wrote such works

as *Anna Christie* (1920), *The Emperor Jones* (1920), *Diff'rent* (1920), *The Fountain* (1921), *The Hairy Ape* (1921), *Marco Millions* (1923), and *All God's Chillun Got Wings* (1923). Long after his departure from the dunes the trend of living and writing in the dune shacks continued. American literary icon Jack Kerouac spent time at the Werner (Euphoria) shack in 1950, and is said to have there composed part of his famous novel, *On the Road* (1957). Around the same time famous playwright Tennessee Williams also wrote part of his play *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951) while living in the dunes.[19]

The atmosphere of the dunes has itself been a subject of literary description over the years, as well. The utilitarian attitude of many dune dwellers today reflects a feeling first described by Henry David Thoreau's *Cape Cod* (1865) and Henry Beston's *The Outermost House* (1928). Since then both Hazel Hawthorne Werner and Cynthia Huntington have written about life in the Werner (Euphoria) shack on the back shore, in *Salt House* (1929) and *The Salt House: A Summer on the Dunes of Cape Cod* (1999), respectively. Josephine Del Deo's *Compass Grass Anthology: A Collection of Provincetown Portraits* (1983) and Edmund Wilson's *The Thirties* feature some of the characters of the dunes, and once more touch on the artistic inspiration found there.[20]

National Register Criterion A: Recreation and Leisure

The Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District is significant at a local level for its association with the historic development of recreation and leisure on Cape Cod, in Provincetown, and along the back shore. It was here the Pilgrims first landed in 1620 and not long afterwards the fragility of this landscape prompted its preservation and the dedication of the first public lands in America, the Province Lands, by Governor Thomas Prence in 1654. In later years it came to embody the wild and treacherous character of the northeast coast, as numerous ships were wrecked upon the Peaked Hill Bars. The hardened, fearless character of the surfmen from the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station exemplified the atmosphere cultivated by Provincetown throughout the nineteenth century, when it thrived as one of the region's most productive fishing villages. Provincetown's wild landscapes and maritime folklore was subsequently romanticized in travel guides and drew a multitude of visitors in the early twentieth century. The travel guides provided guidance on how and where to experience the quaint character of the Outer Cape. Similarly, local writer Mary Heaton Vorse remarked on the "sense of spacious and leisured life, of time accurately spaced" that characterized the back shore.[21]

Buoyed by the formation of art and literary groups, recreational use of the back shore and dune landscape paralleled a national rise in tourism. Provincetown's large Portuguese population and European flavor attracted a variety of notable tourists in the 1910s, transforming the little fishing village into a literary hub for

recreational boaters, fishermen, poets, novelists, journalists, noted bohemians, socialites, radicals, critics, and dilettantes many of whom came north from Greenwich Village in New York.[22]

At the same, during the early twentieth century Americans became increasingly aware of wilderness areas as a place of attraction and escape. Even as Provincetown's popularity grew, inhabitants and visitors alike were drawn with greater frequency out into the wild, untouched landscape of its surroundings where light and life took on ne w meanings. In the years that followed, human use of the dunes came to reflect the movements of the greater world. During the 1920s and 1930s the back shore of Provincetown was a favorite spot for recreation, leisure, artists and socialites; in the 1950s beatniks; and in the 1960s and 1970s, hippies.

Due in large part to the automobile boom, Provincetown was a budding tourist destination by the 1930s. Americans drove freely out into the dunes in their family automobiles, exploring the barren expanses of sand or coasting down the endless, windswept beach of the back shore. For many motorists, its allure lay as much in the bustle of town as in the quiet, remote atmosphere of the Peaked Hill Bars area.[23] Lifetime Provincetown resident Arthur J. Costa (1922-2006) founded Art's Dune Tours in 1946 to bring tourists and dune dwellers into the dunes.[24]

The welcoming, liberal atmosphere exemplified by Provincetown paralleled the open, accepting emptiness of the dunes. [25] Local builders constructed shacks, which were used as fishing camps, for family and social group gatherings, and for rentals. This atmosphere endures in some form to the present day, as both dunes and dune shacks continue to be a draw for recreation and leisure, and the local tourist economy thrives.

National Register Criterion B: Poet Harry Kemp

Under National Register Criterion B, the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District is nationally significant for its association with Harry Kemp, a well known poet and writer who lived on the Outer Cape. Kemp resided in the Kemp shack year round for over thirty years, beginning sometime in the 1930s. A prolific writer, he composed a myriad of works including plays, poetry, autobiographies, and fiction; and published more than twenty volumes between 1913 and 1954. In his biography of Kemp, entitled *Harry Kemp: The Last Bohemian* (1986), William Brevda depicts the personal connection the poet cultivated between himself and the dune landscape. This link is evident throughout Kemp's writings, which included *Love Among the Cape Enders*, *Tramping on Life*, *More Miles*, "Great Night," "Poet's Song," "Aurian Dunes," "Dune-Revenant," and the collection *Poet of the Dunes: Songs of the Dunes and the Outer Shore, with Others in Varying Modes and Moods*. Half of the poet's ashes were spread across the back shore upon his death in 1960.[26]

National Register Criterion C: Architecture

The Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District is significant at the state level under National Register Criterion C as a regional, waterfront representation of a rare, fragile property type. The spartan and utilitarian form of the shacks, their unique relationship with the harsh dune environment, and their lack of high artistic values, craftsmanship, or design, all exemplify a vernacular architectural style that has evolved in response to environmental conditions. Through the use of reused and salvaged materials, the simple rustic form and function of the dune shacks are directly related to survival in the harsh and changing natural barrier dune environment. In response to shifting sands, the shacks are built on pilings and lack hardened infrastructures, which enable them to be relocated when necessary.[27]

For over a century, the rustic shelters have been associated with survival in one of the region's harshest environments. In 1849, Henry David Thoreau visited the dunes and described the life-saving shelters, which by his standards were inadequate and inhospitable. In the 1920s, Henry Beston wrote of his "Outermost House" located along the back shore in Eastham and described the vulnerable coastal structure as a "refuge." The extant dune shacks in Truro and Provincetown are set in the longest stretch of continuous sand dunes on the East Coast. Captured on postcards and in paintings, the simple dune shacks set in a vast coastal landscape are recognized as a physical icon of the national seashore.[28]

National Register Criterion D: Archeology

The Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District is significant under National Register Criterion D for its potential to yield further information about regarding the pre- and post-contact history of the area. Potential sites include those occupied by aboriginal groups, sites associated with life-saving operations, shipwreck remains, and former shack materials.

EVALUATION OF LANDSCAPE INTEGRITY

The National Register identifies seven aspects of integrity. Retention of these qualities is essential for a property to convey its significance; however, not all seven qualities of integrity need to be present to suggest a sense of past time and place. The physical integrity of the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District is evaluated by comparing landscape characteristics and features present during the period of significance (1920–1991) with current conditions. Of the landscape characteristics identified in the district, the most important are natural features, topography, land use, circulation, vegetation, buildings and structures, and views. Overall, the cultural landscape of the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District retains integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

Despite modifications and the loss of some buildings in the 1960s through 1990s, the historic district has remained relatively intact since the peak of development in the 1950s, prior to the establishment of the National Seashore in 1961. The natural systems and topography that define the landscape are essentially unchanged. The dune shacks are located in the heart of the harsh, wind-swept dune landscape, far removed from the densely developed community of Provincetown. Unprotected from the natural elements, particularly wind and sun, the shacks retain their physical relationship of small clusters and isolated outposts, set at distance of 200 to 400 feet or more from each other, predominantly one-story in height and located on the sides and hollows of the dunes. The design, materials, and workmanship of the shacks are simple and vernacular, reflecting a close relationship with the surrounding landscape. Most shacks have decks, outdoor seating areas, and outhouses; utilize a network of footpaths; use recycled or found materials; and rely on simple strategies for managing the movement of sand, obtaining fresh water, managing waste, and generating heat and electricity. The landscape remains predominantly devoid of forest cover, allowing for uninterrupted views to the Atlantic Ocean, Race Point Coast Guard Station, and the Pilgrim Monument. However, National Park Service stabilization efforts and a reduction in the road and trail network in the dunes have resulted in an increase in woody vegetation. Vegetation found within the district includes scrub pine, wild cherry, beach plum, bayberry, beach grass, scotch broom, buckwheat, and salt spray rose. Through the efforts of the Peaked Hill Trust, Provincetown Community Compact, and Outer Cape Artist in Residency Consortium, there remains a strong association with artists, writers, and the Provincetown community.

Location

Location is the place where the cultural landscape was constructed. Although the exact location of eleven out of the eighteen shacks has changed, their position in the heart of the dune landscape and their physical relation to each other has stayed basically the same since their construction. Shacks that have been moved include: Cohen, Fleurant, Adams Guest, Adams, Werner (Euphoria), Werner (Thalassa), Braaten, Jones, Wells, and Armstrong. In addition, the Margo/Gelb and Ofsevit shacks have been moved and rebuilt, while the Chanel shack was built on top of. The close proximity of the Adams shack, Adams Guest Cottage, and Champlin shack has remained unchanged, despite the moving of the Adams Guest Cottage and Adams shack from the edge of the beach after the Blizzard of 1978. Clusters of more social shacks have essentially remained constant, while buildings like the Cohen shack, which has been relocated twice, have always been isolated in spite of their movements. Resting on wooden pilings or piers, the dune shacks are designed to be moved if necessary. The very shifting of these buildings strengthens their integrity to the surrounding landscape, as each relocation has been

necessitated by the endlessly changing sand and erosion natural to the barren back shore. As exemplified by the walking dunes, locations on the back shore are never entirely constant.

Design

Design is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a cultural landscape. The design associated with the dune shacks has centered on the practical aspects of dune stability. Shacks have been constructed in at least partially sheltered spots, or relocated in cases where the sand has eroded out from beneath them. The close proximity of cranberry bogs and clusters of beach plum to many of the shacks is an additional feature of the landscape that remains unchanged today.

Eleven of the eighteen dune shacks were designed and built by Peaked Hill Bars surfmen or Coast Guardsmen including Fleurant, Adams Guest Cottage, Adams, Champlin, Kemp, Fearing, Werner (Thalassa), Braaten, Watson, Wells, and Jones. They exhibit a style typical of local building tradition, characterized by simple gable forms, often with small shed roof extensions. Most of the renovations and other repairs made to the buildings have followed the original designs, often reusing materials or salvaging items from the beach to use for improvements. When new materials have been introduced, they are typically simple and functional. According to historic documentation, thirteen out of the eighteen dune shacks have been expanded from their original form, including Cohen, Fleurant, Adams Guest Cottage, Adams, Champlin, Malkin/Ofsevit, Fowler, Fearing, Chanel, Braaten, Watson, Wells, and Armstrong. The great majority of these additions have reflected the evolving use of the buildings, such as decks and indoor bathrooms. Other alterations have been required by the surrounding environment, such as repairs to windows, roofs and support beams. Sand fencing was also documented in the vicinity of many of the shacks. As noted in the Determination of Eligibility, “buildings are distinguished more by uniformity of scale, plan, and setting than by variety or presence of high style features.” Indeed, the relationship of the dune shacks to the landscape around them served as a primary component of their design and character.

Some of the shacks have running water, supplied by a nearby well, or use electricity, which is generated by wind or solar power or by a generator. None of the shacks however are tied to municipal utilities. In this respect the inhabitants have a direct connection to their natural surroundings.

Although Snail Road is now closed to public automobile traffic and little of the outer dune route remains, the majority of circulation patterns found within the historic remain since the historic period. The inner dune route acts as the primary vehicular route to the dune shacks and High Head Road continues to connect the

eastern end of the district to Route 6 and the outer world. Similar to the historic period, a network of footpaths link dune shacks with outdoor seating areas, associated outhouses, and other shacks.

Setting

Setting is the physical environment of the cultural landscape. Over the course of their existence the setting for the dune shacks has remained largely unchanged. Built long after the back shore had been deforested by European settlement, these structures have always been fully exposed to the unforgiving elements of the dunes. The natural beauty of dune landscape is central to the district's cultural importance. The dune shacks provided shelter while minimally intruding into the contemplative solitude of the environment that provided the impetus to an abundance of artistic and literary work.[29]

Construction of the shacks in small hollows or more often on the sides of dune faces has provided minimal shelter, frequently at the expense of an ocean view. Those structures built with a view of the ocean have in most cases retained that view but are more exposed to coastal storms, as in the cases of the Champlin and Fleurant shacks, as well as the Adams Guest Cottage.

The immediate surrounding of each shack typically contains elements that reflect the ongoing use of the shacks, including birdhouses and outhouses. Like some of the Coast Guardsmen who lived on the dunes in earlier years, Lawrence Schuster (Braaten shack) and the Joneses have kept gardens in containers, while other dune dwellers have grown herbs or berries. For example, the Adams Guest Cottage has remnants of a small fenced herb garden near their wellhead and the Adams shack has a planter full of herbs. Many dune dwellers forage in the dunes as well.

Materials

Materials are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during the period of significance in a particular pattern or configuration to form the cultural landscape. Integrity of material is a difficult element to maintain on the back shore. In general there has been a strong preference for found and recycled materials, with attention to functionality and simplicity. Many shacks have integrated pieces of other structures or similar salvaged materials from the beach into their composition. For instance, the outhouse of the Watson shack has a mahogany floor taken from the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station spare boat house that once stood near the Malkin/Ofsevit shack. Decks and railings often incorporate driftwood, such as at the Euphoria and Watson shacks. Though little documented, it can be assumed that other built elements such as retaining walls, fencerows, and birdhouses have been buried or moved since their installation. Alternatively, their grouping around many of the shacks has likely remained a consistent trend since the period of significance.

Since the historic period, open areas have acquired more vegetation. However, the plant material found within the district has remained relatively the same. The wooded inner dune areas consist of scrub pine, red maples, wild cherry, beach plum, and bayberry. Bog areas contain similar plants to the ones that existed in the past. The planted areas include beach grass, beach plum, scotch broom, buckwheat, inkberry, shadblow, arrowwood, and salt spray rose. Many shacks are set among mature clusters of salt spray rose. A non-native plant, the introduction of this flower to the Cape Cod area is thought to be from seeds or roots cast off from the shipwrecks that littered the back shore throughout the nineteenth century.

Workmanship

Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during the period of significance. The isolated location of the Peaked Hill Bars has contributed to a certain consistency in the workmanship of the structures and landscape, and helped to ensure its integrity in this respect. Most of the shacks were constructed by one or two individuals using simple materials and utilitarian techniques meant to endure the passage of years in a harsh environment. A few of the structures were built by the same people, such as the Cohen and Fleurant (Beebe-Simon) shacks or the Adams and Champlin (Mission Bell) shacks. More recently many of the buildings have been repaired with assistance or guidance from the Peaked Hill Trust. Yet the lack of ornamentation and simple layout are characteristics shared among all the buildings. Similarly, the physical evidence of efforts to retain stability in the shifting sands of the dunes is a common trend among shack sites. Wood-slat sand fencing is a regular sight in the vicinity of structures to hold or trap shifting sand. Installation of slatted wooden fences has continued by the National Park Service in more recent years, both in order to control erosion and to dictate human use of the dunes, and in adjacent beach areas to fence off piping plover nesting areas. Birdhouses and found object artwork are another common element among many of the shacks.

Feeling

Feeling is a cultural landscape's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of the period of significance. The landscape within the Historic District still retains the feeling it possessed historically, namely the shacks are still the same tiny outposts of human activity adrift in a landscape of sand and wind. Lonely sand drives lead out to what are still small structures clinging to the side of a dune or nestled in a valley. Some, like the Kemp and Champlin shacks, continue to peak over the barrier dune at the ocean, as did the buildings of the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station in the final years of the nineteenth century. The Kemp shack is among the last shacks to maintain an open-door policy, a remnant from the days of the old half-way houses once spread along the back shore to shelter the shipwrecked.

Views looking out across the open dunes, off toward neighboring shacks, or to the distant Pilgrim Monument for the most part remain unchanged from the time when the majority of the shacks were constructed in the first half of the twentieth century. Perhaps more importantly, the salty wind still whips with the same voracious force over the dune tops, blowing sand in relentless pursuit of the lowest point. It is difficult to reach the shacks, whether by car or foot, without being stung by this onslaught or blinded by the glaring sun's reflection off the pale sand. Indeed, to visit the dunes of the Peaked Hill Bars today is to taste the environment that inspired Henry David Thoreau and Henry Beston to write their famous accounts of Cape Cod's back shore. The difficult task of maintaining this feeling without actively deforesting the dunes is a delicate one, requiring careful consideration of historic character. If forest and heath areas were to continue growing and trees revegetate the open dunes, the character of the historic district would be altered. As will be discussed in greater detail in the treatment chapter, revegetation of the dunes is a slow process that will need to be monitored to strike a balance between the historic feeling of the area and the natural resource objectives to stabilize the landscape.

Association

Association is the direct link between the important historic event or person and the cultural landscape. The cultural landscape of the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District retains its integrity of association through its continual use by artists, writers, and tourists. The shacks still serve as places of solitude and artistic inspiration. The Provincetown Community Compact, Peaked Hill Trust, Outer Cape Artist in Residency Consortium, and several dune dwellers not associated with the arts organizations, have made substantial contributions to this effort as well as to the ongoing maintenance of shacks for habitation. The Kemp shack remains much as Harry Kemp found it back in the 1930s, the door open with a few necessary items waiting on the shelf.

ANALYSIS OF LANDSCAPE CHARACTERISTICS AND FEATURES

The following section analyzes the extant condition of landscape feature types by comparing their historic and existing conditions, and providing an evaluation of the significance of each individual feature type. Each landscape feature has a section on historic condition (outlining a brief history), existing condition (a short description of its physical state), and an evaluation determining whether the feature contributes or does not contribute to the significance of the landscape. Features are determined to be contributing if they were present during the period of significance (1920–1991) and are associated with each of the areas of historic significance. A feature is non-contributing if it was not present during the period

of significance, or if it does not contribute to the significance of the area. Lastly, a feature type is identified as undetermined if its exact history is unknown.

SPATIAL ORGANIZATION AND CLUSTER ARRANGEMENT

Peaked Hill Bars Landscape

Historic Condition: The Peaked Hill Bars landscape consists of approximately 1,960 acres and contains all of the contributing resources within the district as well as the natural and man-made historic landscape features that contribute to the district's significance. The most prominent natural feature is the sand dune terrain, which is shaped by the intense wind along the coast. The unique landform juxtaposed with the ocean, sky, and patches of vegetation have been a source of inspiration for artists, poets, and writers for over a century. Sweeping views of the ocean and dunes are integral to the inspirational, pristine character of the district. The dunes are sparsely covered with predominantly indigenous northern climate coastal vegetation. Grasses, forbs, shrubs, and stunted trees stabilize the dunes and animate the landscape with movement in the wind, seasonal color variation, and an assortment of flowers and berries. Notable species include pitch pine, beach grass, and salt-spray rose—all of which have been planted and naturalized in the dunes, and bearberry and cranberry, which thrive in moist pockets in the dunes. Limited access contributes to the undisturbed quality of the district landscape. The circulation network of vehicle trails, foot paths, and driveways is minimal and utilitarian, and is marked by the depressions in the loose sand. Footpaths lead to outhouses, which are typically obscured, or outdoor seating areas, which are typically set in shack yards or on scenic overlooks. The outdoor seating areas typically consist of found driftwood and other materials arranged to form tables and seats. The informal, camp-like aesthetic surrounding each shack is reinforced by the presence of bird houses, used to attract mosquito eating birds, and found object ornamentation, such as sculptures or decorative displays of lobster buoys. Utilitarian features include hand pumps, wells, and in some cases, outhouses.[30]

Existing Condition: The landscape features are extant.

Evaluation: Contributing Site. Features that contribute to the Peaked Hill Bars landscape include the sand dunes, views of the ocean and dunes, coastal vegetation, the circulation network of sand vehicle drives and foot paths and driveways, outdoor seating areas, bird houses, found object ornamentation, and wells and hand pumps. Due to the recent construction of most outhouses, they are non-contributing.

Clustered Shacks

Historic Condition: The original clustering of dune structures on the back shore was associated with the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station, and later the

Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station (see Figures 1.9, 1.10, 1.36 and 1.44). The clusters can be traced back to the need for easy waterfront access and ocean views for some station buildings. The proximity of these buildings to each other in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a matter of necessity for the functional capacity of the stations. When the shacks were adapted for summer dwellings, the clusters became either a social convenience or a nuisance, depending on the dune dweller.

Dune shack clusters sometimes housed friends and relatives who came to the back shore together, as was the case with the Adams, Champlin, and Hubby-Fearing families. Likewise, associated yet sizeable buildings like the Adams Guest Cottage or the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station spare boat house were used to host friends of the Adams and Malkin/Ofsevit families, respectively (see Figure 1.68).

Throughout much of the twentieth century there were three primary clusters of dune shacks, or what have been generally called the east, central, and west clusters. Many of the buildings are built just below the crest of barrier dunes, so as to take advantage of the sheltering properties of the sand hill but also maintain some views of the ocean. As a result the peaks of their roofs can often be seen from some distance away, peaking out from over the crest of a dune.

The west cluster includes the Fleurant shack, Adams Guest Cottage, Adams, and Champlin shacks. All four of these shacks are hunched by the crest of the barrier dune at the east end of the Peaked Hill Bars, arranged in a linear pattern with sheltered ocean views. The central cluster includes the Margo/Gelb, Kemp, Fearing, Fowler, and Chanel shacks (Figure 3.1). Several lost structures and the Werner (Thalassa) shack were once part of this cluster. The hollow which contains the Fearing and Fowler shacks not only shelters but naturally groups these two buildings, while from here the Margo/Gelb and Kemp shacks are clearly visible to the west, arranged on the barrier dune in a linear pattern looking out over the ocean. The east-central cluster includes the Werner (Thalassa) and Braaten shacks, both of which similarly perch by the crest of the barrier dune and look out over the ocean.

After the late 1940s the Jones shack stood in a pair cluster with the Quonset shack, which then disappeared. The Armstrong shack also once stood in a row of shacks in the east cluster including the Schmid, Little Bessay, Joe Oliver's, Concrete, and Stanard shacks, and Red shacks, and further east, the Vevers/Pfeiffer/Geise shack. With the exception of the Vevers/Pfeiffer/Geise shack, the shacks were almost equally spaced along the foredune, yet in partial view of each other (see Figure 1.83).

Existing Condition: Today the same clusters of shacks which existed during the period of significance still stand in the west and central portions of the Peaked Hill Bars (Figure 3.1). Thus the Fleurant shack, Adams Guest Cottage, Adams shack,

and Champlin shack are still a cluster; the Margo/Gelb, Kemp, Fearing, Fowler, and Chanel shacks are another cluster; and the Werner (Thalassa) and Braaten shacks are still a paired cluster (Drawing 4).

Evaluation: Contributing. Clustered shacks contribute to the character of the Historic District. The original shack clusters have remained more or less intact over years of maintenance, repairs and a number of shack relocations to protect them from erosion. Exceptions to this rule include those shacks whose cluster companions no longer exist. For example the Malkin/Ofsevit shack became isolated after the disappearance of the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station boat house and removal of the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station. The Jones and Armstrong shacks are also currently isolated from other buildings, though they were once included in a pair and a cluster, respectively. These buildings became insular when the Armstrong shack was relocated away from the ocean, but also as a result of the disappearance of other shacks around them. The remaining clusters of shacks constitute an important contribution to the significance of the historic district—the western cluster of the Fleurant, Adams Guest Cottage, Adams, and Champlin shacks; the central cluster of Margo/Gelb, Kemp, Fearing, Fowler, and Chanel shacks; and east of the central cluster, the nearby Werner (Thalassa) and Braaten shacks.

Isolated Shacks

Historic Condition: Buildings historically built in isolation or moved away from clusters of other dune shacks include the Cohen, Werner (Euphoria), Malkin/



Figure 3.1. View east of shacks in the central cluster, the roofs of the Chanel and Werner (Thalassa) shacks are barely visible at left, the Fearing shack and recently constructed studio at center, and the Fowler shack at right (OCLP, May 2011).

Ofsevit, Watson, Wells, and Armstrong shacks (Figure 3.2). Many of these shacks were constructed after 1930 and were therefore associated with use of the dunes as a place of escape, artistic creation, and leisure. According to historic evidence, the Cohen shack has been relocated twice and once stood closer to Race Point Coast Guard Station than it does today. The Malicoat shack was moved once in the past, to where it currently stands around 600 feet from its original location. The Malkin/Ofsevit shack historically stood in a south-central cluster with several other shacks and the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station. Due to coastal erosion, the Malkin/Ofsevit shack was subsequently removed from the cluster and nestled behind the second barrier dune. Though the Coast Guard Station and boathouse were subsequently relocated to the same area, they were abandoned in the late 1950s and 1980s respectively, leaving the Malkin/Ofsevit shack in isolation. The Werner (Euphoria) shack has always been set apart to the east of the central cluster. The Watson and Wells shacks were built in close proximity to each other, each on the foredune, while the Wells shack subsequently moved inland. The Armstrong shack was originally one of several shacks strung along the Truro shorline. While other shacks were lost due to arson or demolition, the Armstrong shack was moved inland and stands alone (see Figure 3.2).

Existing Condition: The shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars that stand in isolation today include the Cohen, Werner (Euphoria), Malkin/Ofsevit, Watson, Wells, Jones, and Armstrong shacks.

Evaluation: Contributing. The existence of isolated shacks contributes to the character of the Historic District. The Cohen, Malkin/Ofsevit, Watson, and Wells



Figure 3.2. View southeast of the Armstrong shack in the eastern end of the Historic District. The shack was once one of several shacks that were strung along the beach. The shack was subsequently moved inland and stands in isolation (OCLP, August 2011).

shacks, which were isolated during the period of significance, have remained so to the present day. Additional shacks since isolated due to the loss of other structures in their original clusters or due to relocation include the Malkin/Ofsevit, Jones, and Armstrong shacks. The current isolation of these structures does not detract from their historic significance.

TOPOGRAPHY AND NATURAL SYSTEMS

Sand Dunes

Historic Condition: Following the deforestation of the back shore in the eighteenth century, all that remained were the unstable barrier dunes and dune hollows. On the leeward side of the barrier dunes there is always a hollow where the wind scoops out the sand. The edges of these hollows have historically been a popular place to build dune shacks, while the hollow bottoms have been used for trails and later dune vehicle routes. Due to the shelter provided by the neighboring barrier dune, the hollows are among the more stable locations in the dunes, though even the tallest dunes can disappear with time. For example the Peaked Hill was once the tallest barrier dune in the area, but sometime after 1950 it eroded away due to increased foot traffic over its crest. A neighboring lowland, or wetland, was filled in by the sand blown from the Peaked Hill as it disappeared.[31]

The largest lowlands of the dunes are frequently found close to the biggest barrier dunes, where some moisture is allowed to collect. These moist areas support beach plums and cranberries, as recounted by dune dwellers' stories.[32] The dunes on either side also sheltered these hollows from much of the wind and blowing sand, making them hospitable to scrub pine and other stunted trees (see Figures 1.42 and1.69). Various forms of wildlife occupied these areas, such as the rabbits and deer, and some dune dwellers hunted in these areas. Coyotes prowl the dune hollows in pursuit of available wildlife. Coyotes obtain water just below the surface of the sand in many spots, as evidenced by their excavated water holes.[34]

The dunes on the southeastern edge of the historic district, along the north side of Pilgrim Lake are large parabolic dunes (see Drawings 1, 2, 3, and 4). The prevailing northwest wind of the back shore scoops out rows of curved u-shaped dunes that are maintained by a balance between two sides. The lee slope, or slip face, is the side away from the wind. It collects sand blown from the windward slope, which faces the wind and shelters a fairly flat sand area that is gradually blown back in the direction of the wind. Thus, parabolic dunes can be compared to bows whose arrows of sand let fly in the same direction the wind is blowing.[33] For centuries the back shore has been known for these walking mountains of sand.

Existing Condition: The barrier dunes, dune hollows, and parabolic dunes in the historic district are somewhat stabilized today by the increased vegetation in



Figure 3.3. Dunes and dune hollow with cranberry bog to the east of the Jones shack. The foredune is at left and the parabolic dunes are visible in the distance at right (OCLP, August 2011).

the lowlands and beach grass in exposed areas (Figure 3.3). The National Park Service's fencing and planting efforts of the 1960s likely continue to minimize dune movement, as have other efforts such as the decrease in vehicular traffic (see Figures 1.88 through1.91). Many of the dune shacks also have extensive sand fencing around them to help anchor the surrounding sand, such as can be found at the Adams Guest Cottage, Wells, and Armstrong shacks.

Evaluation: Contributing Feature. The sand dunes contribute to the character of the Historic District. Though somewhat more stable today than they were in 1872, the dunes continue to shift with the wind as they have for centuries.

LAND USE AND CULTURAL TRADITIONS

Development of the Arts

Historic Condition: Development of the arts has been a strong cultural tradition and use pattern in the dunes of the Peaked Hill Bars, since the last decade of the nineteenth century. Beginning with Charles Hawthorne's Cape Cod School of Art in 1899, the effect of natural light on the dunes outside Provincetown became an increasingly popular subject for painters and other artists. By 1916 the town was home to no less than five summer art schools, and a crowd of socialites and writers were flocking to the tip of the Cape from such places as Paris, France and Greenwich, New York. This circle of artists associated themselves strongly with the dunes of the Peaked Hill Bars, where Mabel Dodge, Eugene O'Neill, and Hazel Hawthorne Werner began using dune shacks in the 1920s (see Figure 1.41). Other writers and artists soon sought the solitude and inspiration offered by the dunes, and the creative legacy of the dune shacks thrived throughout the second

half of the twentieth century. Harry Kemp, Jan Gelb, Boris Margo, and Philip Malicoat were a few long-term dune dwellers, while visitors included Tennessee Williams, Jack Kerouac, and Norman Mailer (see Figures 1.51 to 1.54 and 1.71).

Existing Condition: The Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars remain a place of isolation and peace, separated from the rest of the world and Provincetown by seemingly endless and rolling hills of sand. The Peaked Hill Trust, Provincetown Community Compact, and Outer Cape Artist in Residency Consortium help to continue the legacy of artists in the dunes through their artist-in-residence program, while other shacks are still used by families such as the Malicoats and Tashas. Paintings and other media portraying the dunes are found throughout Provincetown today, in art galleries and elsewhere, and continue to celebrate this unique feature of the Outer Cape.

Evaluation: Contributing. Development of the arts contributes to the character of the Historic District. The strong association of the dune shacks and their surroundings with artists and creative thinkers throughout the twentieth century is a key characteristic of the wild, barren back shore whose care and preservation is owed in part to those same minds.

Recreation and Leisure

Historic Condition: The use of the Peaked Hill Bars area as a destination for recreation and leisure roughly correlates with the establishment of the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station. Starting in 1872, lonely surfmen and later Coast Guardsmen began building small structures to house their visiting wives and families, or in some cases used one of the various buildings associated with the station for the same purposes.

Use of the dunes on the back shore was meanwhile closely tied to the recreational development of Provincetown. By the late 1910s and 1920s the town was becoming an increasingly popular destination for people seeking an escape from the lives they led elsewhere (see Figures 1.23 through 1.30). As the culture of tourism grew throughout the United States, U.S. Route 6 provided reliable road access to the tip of Cape Cod for the first time ever, in 1926. Automobiles began pouring down the newly paved road to Provincetown, and Art's Dune Taxi gave its first rides to dune dwellers and other visitors in the 1940s (see Figure 1.67). As tourism escalated in the nearby town foot traffic on the back shore also increased, and before long beach buggies could be seen coasting down the sandy shore and across the dunes (see Figure 1.84).

Existing Condition: A visit to the Provincetown dunes today is one of the great tourist attractions of the area, a novel experience that exposes another world just outside the swarming streets of town. Vehicle access has been carefully restricted by the National Park Service in order to preserve the dunes, while the



Figure 3.4. Dune taxis bring visitors to a vantage point along the along the inner dune route known as "Sunset Hill" near the Werner (Euphoria) shack (OCLP, July 2009).

once popular Sand Lot, or old parking lot directly off of Route 6, has long since been closed to the public. The only way for visitors to gain access to this area and the back shore itself is either by foot, or by way of the dune tour concession. The dunes are also a popular place to observe birds and other wildlife. Visitors willing to hike out on foot can park at Race Point Light, High Head Road or Snail Road and walk to the back shore over worn old sand paths. Dune taxis carry large numbers of tourists through the dune landscape throughout the summer (Figure 3.4).

Evaluation: Contributing. Use of the back shore for recreation and leisure contributes to the character of the Historic District, and helps account for ongoing public interest in the preservation of this unique landscape. As they continue to inspire, excite and awe, the dunes of today provide similar opportunities for entertainment and relaxation as have been enjoyed by dune dwellers since the first decades of the twentieth century.

Hunting

Historic Condition: The establishment of a small hunting camp around 1900 by the DePass family at nearby Race Point indicates that hunting activities took place along the Peaked Hill Bars (see Figure 1.21). Areas with heath provided ideal habitat for quail. When established in 1961, the park allowed hunting seasonally in accordance with state and federal regulations for deer, upland game, and migratory waterfowl.[35]

Existing Condition: Hunting is still allowed on the back shore and elsewhere in the park. The 2007 Hunting Environmental Impact Statement and Record of Decision outlines the hunting regulations, hunting season, and permissible hunting areas.

Hunting is prohibited within 500 feet of any structure except as authorized by the owner/occupant thereof.

Evaluation: Contributing. Hunting is practiced on the back shore and contributes to the character and significance of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District.

Fishing

Historic Condition: The use of the Peaked Hill Bars area for fishing has long been a tradition, starting with the collection of beached whales by Native Americans and early settlers' use of the dunes to dry fish in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In its first days of settlement Provincetown itself was described simply as a huddle of fishing shacks.[36] The close proximity of the back shore to the open Atlantic Ocean made it a convenient spot to store fishing gear, while Portuguese newcomers to the area found it easy to establish a spot for themselves among the open dunes. Several of the first structures clustered on the back shore were fishing shacks (see Figure 1.12). During the historic period, shack dwellers, their guests, and other anglers enjoyed fishing along the back shore (see Figure 1.70).

Existing Condition: Fishing is still allowed on the back shore by the Peaked Hill Bars, under the discretionary authority of the park's enabling legislation.

Evaluation: Contributing. Fishing is practiced on the back shore and contributes to the character and significance of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District.

Foraging

Historic Condition: It is likely that for as long as humans have frequented the dunes of the back shore, they have been used for foraging purposes. During the period of significance certain dune dwellers were well known for leading expeditions down into nearby cranberry bogs, in the autumn season. The Champlin family recalled how foraging for various sea treasures, sea clams, and other items along the beach was a common practice that began with the earliest of Cape Cod's wreckers in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Dune dwellers such as Annabelle Jones, Leo Fleurant, Charlie Schmid, and Nat Champlin also amassed collections of beach stones, rare bottles, and other natural objects of curiosity. Writing of the back shore in the 1920s, Henry Beston mentioned the frequent use of objects found on the beach to decorate: "Go about in the cottages, and you may sit in a chair taken from one great wreck and at a table taken from another."[37]

Existing Condition: The dunes of the Peaked Hill Bars are still used for foraging purposes such as collecting cranberries and beach plums. Dune shack users also regularly collect items from the beach and surrounding dunes. These found objects are often incorporated into artwork, such as a tree trunk which stands outside the Champlin shack or the lobster buoys ornamenting the Jones shack.

Evaluation: Contributing. Foraging among the dunes of the back shore contributes to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District.

Life Saving

Historic Condition: Life saving practices among the dunes date back to the wrecks of early vessels along the windswept beach, in the late eighteenth century. With the vote of the state legislature to award $500 to the Massachusetts Humane Society, the region's first eleven life saving boats were put into action along the back shore in 1840. The United States Life Saving Service established nine stations in 1872 including Race Point, Peaked Hill Bars, Highlands, and Pamet River, bringing surfmen to live on the backshore. Shortly thereafter the High Head station was established in 1883 (see Figure 1.13).

Eleven out of the eighteen dune shacks standing today derived in some respect or another from the historic life saving activities that took place on the back shore. Some, like the Kemp shack and possibly others, originally stood among the cluster of buildings that comprised the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station. In addition to Kemp other shacks constructed by Coast Guardsmen, such as Fleurant, Adams Guest Cottage, Adams, Champlin, Fearing, Werner (Thalassa), Braaten, Watson, Wells, and Jones shacks.

In the old seaman's spirit of waste not, want not, improvements to several shacks have involved the incorporation of salvage materials from the ruins of others, and in some cases the ruins of the Life-Saving or Coast Guard Stations. For example, the Chanel shack was originally constructed around 1946 using portions of the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station (see Figure 1.44 through 1.47). Parts from the same station were also used by Louis Silva to build the Werner (Thalassa) shack in its original location in 1931 (see Figure 1.75).

Existing Condition: A number of the dune shacks of today have grown considerably and to some extent left the spirit of the old one-room life saving structures and half-way houses behind. Yet even these windswept structures continue to capture the hardy flavor of the larger life-saving stations that once towered over the beach. Meanwhile, glints of the sparse attitude cultivated by the life savers themselves can easily be spotted in the dune dwellers of today. For instance, sometime in the 1990s improvements were made to the Watson shack using material from the ruins of the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station boat house. The Kemp shack still has an open-door policy for marooned sailors.

The tradition of life saving on the dunes died out with the technological advances made in transportation, detection, and navigation over the course of the twentieth century. Use of the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station to save imperiled lives on the back shore ended in 1938. Only the foundation of the station, the ruins of a metal tower, and the old wreck pole from the station remain.

Evaluation: Contributing. The remaining physical evidence of lifesaving—the foundation of the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station and nearby ruins—contribute to the significance of the Historic District. Practices such as the open door policy of the Kemp shack further perpetuates the tradition of offering assistance to shipwreck survivors.

BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES: DUNE SHACKS

Most of the shacks were built as, and remain, modest one or two room buildings with rectangular floor plans and minimal amenities. Few have indoor plumbing, as inhabitants use associated outhouses instead. The list below is organized by number, roughly according to the buildings' locations from west to east. As can be seen in Drawing 4, the shacks are arranged into three general groups: the western group in Provincetown, including the Cohen, Fleurant, Adams, Adams Guest Cottage, and Champlin shacks and the privately owned Malicoat shack; the central group of the Margo/Gelb, Werner (Euphoria), Werner (Thalassa), Fowler, Fearing, Kemp, Chanel, Braaten, Watson, Wells, Jones and Malkin/Ofsevit shacks; and the eastern group in Truro, of which only the Armstrong shack remains standing today. The Cohen shack is currently the only shack standing within the boundaries of the former Province Lands. For a complete, summary list of all shacks see Appendix B.

A brief account follows of both the dune shacks and the people who have used and cared for them over the years, organized by shack. The historic condition summaries below describe when each shack was built, on which tract of land, whether the shack has been moved or rebuilt, and other major physical changes. Until relatively recently very little outside attention was paid to the structures on the dunes, and so the consistency of historical data for many of them is severely lacking. These brief histories contain all relevant and available information accessible to the authors at the time the report was written, and are unfortunately unable to provide equal detail for each structure and its surroundings.

The existing condition of each shack is described according to the users, spatial organization—including location and setting—of each shack within the district and cluster arrangements where applicable; topography and associated natural features; circulation routes for vehicle trails and footpaths; prominent views to and from the shack; vegetation surrounding each shack; architectural descriptions of each shack and any associated structures and utilities on the site; small-scale features associated with each shack; and archeological information, where appropriate. The assessment of the shack's condition is based on List of Classified Structures condition criteria, which assess the overall structural stability. More detailed architectural descriptions are found in the Historic Structure Report.

Under the evaluation heading, each shack is described as a contributing or non-contributing resource in the historic district. As noted in the Determination of Eligibility for the historic district, the shacks generally retain their unpretentious, predominantly one-room appearance, their simple materials and craftsmanship, their mobility, and limited amenities such as electricity and running water. These characteristic continue to enable their inhabitants to experience a survivalist relationship with nature.

Many of the shacks have been moved including the Cohen, Fleurant, Adams Guest Cottage, Adams, Malkin/Ofsevit, Werner (Euphoria), Margo/Gelb, Werner (Thalassa), Braaten, Jones, and Armstrong shacks. Several shacks were also rebuilt including the privately owned Malicoat shack, rebuilt in the 1960s after a fire; the Malkin/Ofsevit shack, rebuilt in 1991 after a fire; the Margo/Gelb shack, rebuilt in 1967 after dune erosion; and the Chanel shack, reconstructed in 1976 after it was buried with sand and became substantially deteriorated.

Jean Miller/Cohen Shack (#1)

Historic Condition: Located in the former Province Lands, the Cohen shack was built by brothers Edward A., or "Eddie," and Albert Noons (Nunes) in 1940 under the permission of the Massachusetts Department of Public Works (Figure 3.5).[38] The shack was given the name "C-Scape" (Seascape) by Eddie Noons and his wife Mary, who lived in Provincetown and owned the local Ford dealership.[39] According to current dune dweller Emily Beebe, wood was so scarce at the time the structure was built that it was actually made from two different sheds relocated from Provincetown.[40] Upon the shack's construction Edward Noons occupied an area of 12 feet by 20 feet in order to run a summer camp.[41] The structure's original location was somewhere in the vicinity of the current Race Point Ranger Station.[42] Unused during and after World War II, the condition of the shack soon deteriorated.

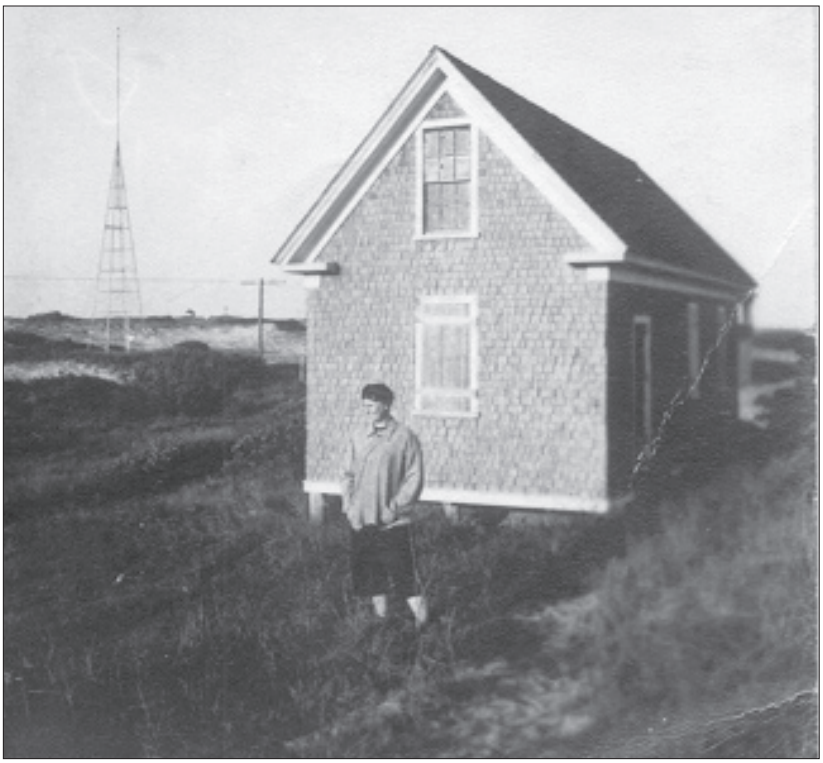


Figure 3.5. View of the original Cohen shack looking east, around 1945, when the shack was located by the Race Point Ranger Station. Note the electrical tower at left, likely associated with the U.S. Coast Guard (Cape Cod NS Archives).

In 1944 Eddie Noons held a permit from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts which required the payment of $20 annual rent to continue his tenancy. In 1950 he sold the shack for $100 to Howard Lewis, an upholsterer who lived in Provincetown.[43] The shack was subsequently used by Jean Cohen,



Figure 3.6. South elevation of the Cohen shack looking northwest, 1976 (Cape Cod NS Archives).

an artist who became active locally after 1955 and later became Jean Cohen Burns when she married Donald Burns. [44] By this time, the shack included a one-story addition. Jean Cohen was friends with abstract expressionist painter John Grillo, who was a local artist of Provincetown during the 1950s and 1960s and a student of Hans Hofmann.[47] The shack was also popular among other painters, including the surrealist Marcia Marcus and abstract expressionist Jan Muller. Other renters in the 1950s included Otto and Dottie Krash and their two children, who were friends with the Adamses and Champlins. On September 25, 1958, Jean Cohen and John Grillo purchased the shack from Howard Lewis, and later Cohen and Burns purchased Grillo's share for $500.[48]

Residents of New York, Jean Cohen and Donald Burns stayed in the shack and kept the structure in good condition.[45] In 1969 the couple was awarded a special use permit for the structure by the National Park Service, or what amounted to a lifetime contract renewable at the end of each five year period. With Jean Cohen Burns' marriage to Michael Miller sometime afterwards, this lease was transferred to their names.[46]

At some point after the 1940s the Cohen shack was moved a mile northeast of where it originally stood at Race Point, to a new location where it remained until 1978 (Figure 3.6). In 1977, the Chicago Title Insurance Company provided a certificate stating that Jean Cohen was the owner of the Cohen shack. Yet by 1978 the shack was in danger of collapse due to severe sand erosion, and partly driven by her eagerness to move the structure away from the shore Cohen signed a quitclaim deed to make the United States government the new owner.[49] Settled out of court, this deed permitted the relocation of the structure roughly 500 feet further away from the beach, out of reach of the ocean and fragile barrier dune (Figure 3.7). [50] From then on construction of any additional facilities on the property without permission was prohibited, and in the event of the shack's destruction by fire, storm, other natural cause or vandalism its replacement or reconstruction were not allowed.[51] Jean Cohen was awarded a building permit by the Town of Provincetown in May, and the shack was moved to its current inland location in August of 1978 (Figure 3.8). In about the same year Cohen transferred her shack rights to her tenants Lawrence E. McCready, a well-known psychiatrist, and Robert Abramson. After signing an agreement with the National Park



Figure 3.7. View west of the Cohen shack in its second location, just prior to moving inland in 1978. Note the proximity of the ocean (Champlin Family Photograph Collection).

Service to use the building and surrounding land for a duration of fifteen years, McCready and Abramson were involved in the relocation of the structure.[52]

In the process of reconstruction the shack was raised up considerably, while the National Park Service permitted the addition of a new porch deck.[53] The land on which the Cohen shack is currently situated, or Tract 04-8713, was owned by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as part of the Province Lands State Reservation before it was acquired by the United States government in 1978.[54]

During 1973 or 74 one of the most dramatic events of recent Provincetown dune history took place not far from the Cohen shack, in what became known as "No Hands Valley." The story and location of the murder have since become part of local dune lore.[55]

In 1991 the Cohen shack was repaired for wind damages. Further safety and weather repairs were then made to the structure in 1992, when it had apparently been lifted off its supports and thrown twelve feet across the sand. With the expiration of the fifteen year use agreement in 1993, McCready and Abramson vacated the shack and the National Park Service negotiated a one-year renewable Cooperative Agreement with the Provincetown Community Compact.[56] Due to a terminal illness Larry McCready was allowed tenancy during the following year, upon request.[57]

Use of the Cohen shack is currently managed by the Provincetown Community Compact, which uses it for an artist-in-residence program in addition to offering other types of short-term stays to the public.[58] The Compact currently has a Memorandum of Agreement with the National Park Service. Improvements in 1996 included the addition of a composting toilet and solar shower to the building's south side as well as a new well, propane refrigerator, and stove.[59]

Existing Condition: The Jean Miller Cohen shack, also known as "C-Scape," is the furthest west of any of the dune shacks in the district, and sits on a low dune ridge 400 feet south of the ocean and at a distance from the foredune. It stands south of a branch of the main vehicle trail and is secluded from neighboring shacks (Figures 3.9 through 3.15). The Cohen shack driveway branches off of the main

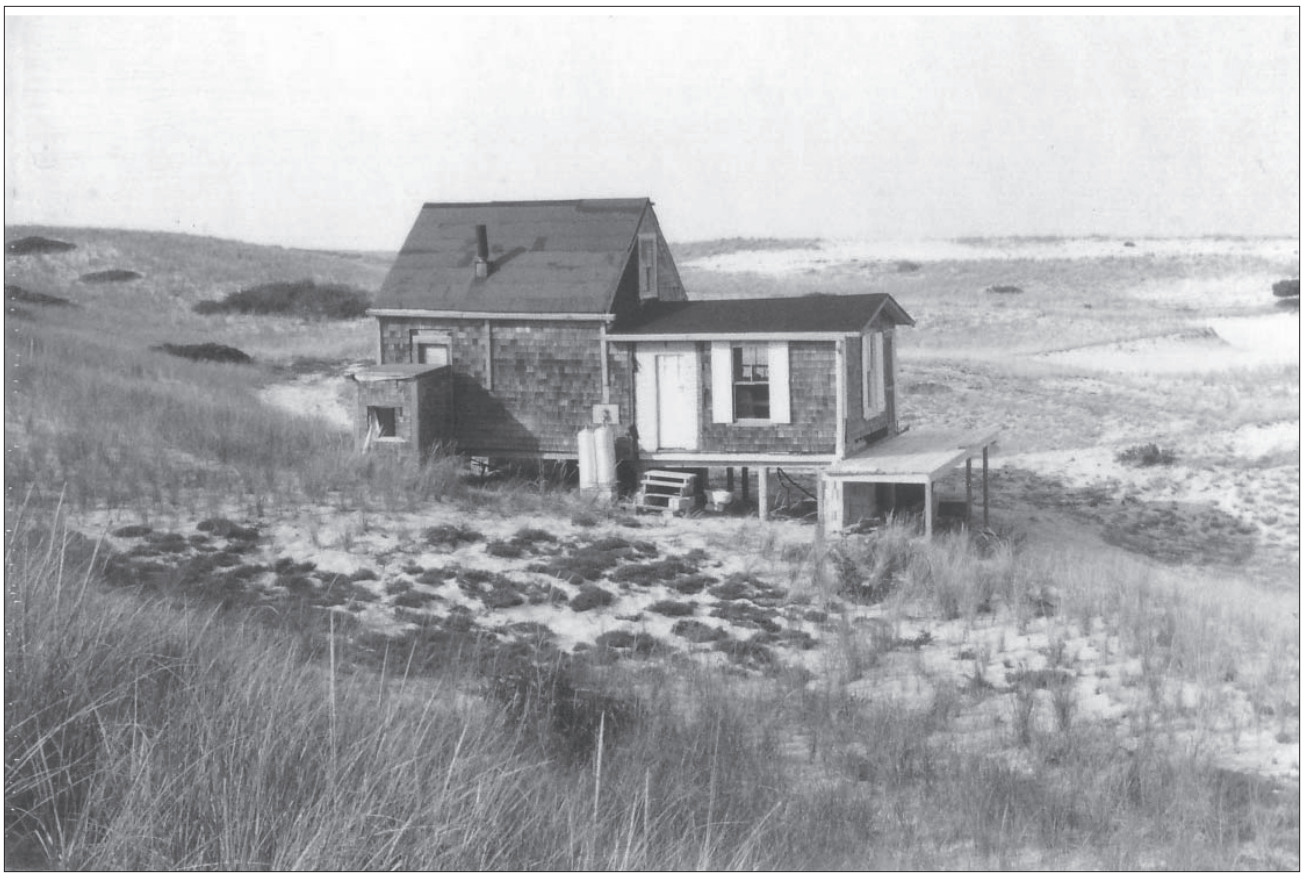


Figure 3.8. Looking northeast at the Cohen shack in its third and present location, in 1978. Note the new deck and relatively flat surroundings (Champlin Family Photograph Collection).

vehicle trail approximately 250 feet from the shack. The driveway cuts through the low, hilly dune ridge to the northwest of the structure, ending in a circle on the north side of the building. A patch of beach grass, shrubs and the shack's well are located within this circular loop of the drive to the north of the shack (see Figure 3.12). Footpaths extend from the driveway to the northwest and southwest of the structure, leading along the low dune ridge and to a deep blowout area to the south of the shack (see Figure 3.13 and 3.14).

Partial views extend from the Cohen shack to the Pilgrim Monument and water tower to the south (see Figure 3.13). The distant roof of the Fleurant shack is visible from the dune just north of the Cohen shack, but not from the shack. Several patches of white and pink salt spray roses stand around the shack and along the dune to the northwest. The number of roses in the vicinity of the shack suggests that they may have been planted. A partially buried scrub oak is located just to the north of the circular end of the driveway (see Figure 3.12). A dense cluster of beach plum grows to the southeast of the shack (see Figure 3.15). In good condition, the Cohen shack is a two-bay, one-story building with a half-story loft space above the western bay, set on wooden posts. It is clad in wooden shingles and topped by a steeply pitched roof that runs east to west (see Figures 3.6 and 3.14). The front door faces east while decks extend along the east and a portion of the west side of the building. A set of steps leads from the front door to



Figure 3.9. Existing conditions map of Cohen shack, 2007 (OCLP).

the driveway on the northeast corner of the shack. The Cohen shack formerly had a well that allowed water to be pumped by hand directly into the kitchen sink. A new well dug in 1996 requires water to be carried to the shack (see Figure 3.10). A composting toilet is attached to the south elevation of the shack (see Figure 3.14). The shack has no visible gutters or rain water collection system.

A birdhouse is built into the façade of the shack just above the carved "C-Scape" sign over the front door. Other small-scale features on the site include sand fencing by the southwest corner of the shack and a piece of temporary art constructed from found objects, located southwest of the shack along the footpath that leads to the dune blowout to the south.

Evaluation: Contributing. The Cohen shack is a contributing resource in the historic district.



Figure 3.10. North elevation of Cohen shack from the circular driveway, with well in the foreground, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.11. View north from blowout dune of the Cohen shack south elevation with attached privy, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.12. View northeast of Cohen shack circular driveway and well in center of driveway circle (not visible), with the foredune in the distance. A stunted scrub oak at far left grows along the driveway, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.13. View south from footpath over blowout dune south of the Cohen shack, with view to Pilgrim Monument in the distance, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.14 . West and south elevations of Cohen shack, showing sand fencing along southwest corner of shack, deck on southeast corner, and attached privy, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.15. Aerial view looking southeast of Cohen shack and vehicle trail (Courtesy of Bart Bartelsman, 2011).

Leo Fleurant Shack (#2)

Historic Condition: The Leo Fleurant shack was constructed as a fishing camp by locals Eddie and Albert Noons (Nunes) as well as Coast Guardsman Edward "Jake" Loring in 1935, according to later tenant Leo Fleurant, and certainly by 1938 (Figures 3.16 and 3.17).[60] Originally built for use by Albert Noons, the Fleurant shack was very close in plan and scale to two other shacks built by Jake Loring, the Adams and Champlin shacks. When first constructed the Fleurant shack stood closer to the shore than it does today, though the structure has likely always had an ocean view.[61]



Figure 3.16. Looking east at the Fleurant shack in its original location, 1950 (Champlin Family Photograph Collection).

By 1950 the north porch of the building had been enclosed and the southern wing added, along with a wooden deck on the west side and an associated outhouse to the southeast (see Figure 1.68).[62] Sometime that year or in 1951 the Fleurant shack was transferred to the care of Provincetown antique dealer Howard Lewis and his wife Emma R. Lewis, and became known as "Lewis Camp."[63] During this time the shack was also used by the Lewis heirs, Paul, Susan, and Hannah Dyer.[64] Leo Fleurant began living there around 1960, and assumed care of the building from Howard Lewis in 1963.[65] By 1966 Fleurant had made several renovations, including the addition of a brick chimney on its north end and a new wooden deck with a railing on the shack's west side. Photographs from 1968 illustrate the replacement of an external outhouse with an indoor bathroom, which remains part of the shack today.[66]

Figure 3.17. Looking northwest at the south and east facing elevations of the Fleurant shack in its original location with drifing sand in the foreground, 1950 (Champlin Family Photograph Collection).



Leo Fleurant rented the shack for the summer in the early 1960s and bought it from Howard Lewis in about 1967, when he began living in the dunes year round. He continued to reside in the shack until his death on April 4, 1984, at the age of 75. During that time he and



Figure 3.18. Looking north at the Fleurant shack in its current location, 1989 (Cape Cod NS Archives).

Charlie Schmid were the two most reliably permanent dwellers of the dunes, staying put when everyone else abandoned the area for the winter season. Leo Fleurant was one of the dunes' most familiar characters, and was described by Josephine Del Deo as a devoted cranberry picker and tireless collector.[67]

A title search conducted by the Chicago Title Insurance Company in 1967 indicated that Leo Fleurant had no insurable title to the Fleurant shack, which then stood on land formerly owned by the Susan Dyer heirs, or Tract 04-1070. No record of land transfer was found in the Grantee Index of the Barnstable County Registry of Deeds between 1930 and 1967.[68] Unable to prove ownership, Fleurant signed a lifetime use permit for the shack with the Cape Cod National Seashore in 1971. [69] He subsequently continued with improvements to the shack, adding a new roof in 1976 and then relocating the entire shack to its current site, on Tract 04-1051, in 1978. This move was necessitated by the rapid erosion that threatened the building at its original location, and by a stroke of providence took place only a month before the Blizzard of 1978 washed away twenty to thirty feet of sand where the shack had previously stood.[70]

Upon Fleurant's death in 1984, his lifetime permit for use of the shack expired and the building passed to the Cape Cod National Seashore.[71] A period of neglect followed, lasting until 1994 when Emily Beebe and Evelyn Simon were awarded a 25-year lease with the National Park Service, through the historic leasing program with the Cape Cod National Seashore (Figures 3.18 and 3.19).[72] Following the transfer of its care to Beebe in 1994 the Fleurant shack saw an intensive series of rehabilitation and restoration efforts, all sorely needed by the severely deteriorated and partially buried building. In 1995 the shack was renovated and the garage was removed, along with the jeep inside. In 1997 the building was anchored on eight wooden pilings sunk deep in the sand, and a new deck was added on its west side the following year. [73]

Existing Condition: The Fleurant shack is located on the leeward side of a break in the foredune, which then slopes southward toward the inner dune (Figures 3.20, 3.21, and 3.22). The Fleurant shack is the furthest west in the dune shack cluster



Figure 3.19. Looking east at the Fleurant shack in its current location, with the Adams shack in the distance at right, 1989 (Cape Cod NS Archives).

composed of the Adams Guest Cottage, Adams and Champlin shacks. The Adams Guest Cottage stands about 425 feet to the east, while the Fleurant shack sits approximately 150 feet from the ocean.

The Fleurant shack is approached from a driveway extending northwest from the main vehicle trail, which terminates on the building's eastern side (Figures 3.22 and 3.23). A footpath from the main vehicle trail also leads directly south up the steep leeward side of the foredune to the shack. This footpath then continues from the middle of an outdoor seating area with picnic tables through a break in the foredune just north of the shack and from there leads down to the ocean (Figure 3.24).

Views from the Fleurant shack include the ocean to the north, the Adams Guest Cottage and Adams shack to the east, the Province Lands Visitor Center to the southwest and the tops of the Pilgrim Monument and water tower to the southeast (Figures 3.25). Beach grass is the predominant vegetation surrounding the shack. The lack of other types of vegetation is indicative of the harsh, wind-swept location of this shack, which is set in the foredune.

In good condition, the shack itself is one story with a central gable flanked on the north and south by shed roofed additions. The ridge is oriented east to west and the front door faces east. The shack is clad with wooden shingles and supported on a system of pilings which serve to raise it slightly off the ground and hold up two small platform decks on east and west sides of the building (see Figures 3.21 and 3.22). On its south side a brick chimney stack extends from the roof, evidence of the shack's sturdy construction. A toilet is located within the shack and it appears that water is pumped directly into the kitchen and bathroom. A well located approximately 150 feet southwest of the shack, down the leeward slope of the foredune, appears to be abandoned. About 100 feet east of the well is the footpath to the shack, while 200 feet to the east is the main vehicle trail.

Just north of the Fleurant shack is a large seating area bounded by sections of three-foot high wood-slat sand fencing on its north, west and southeast sides. Enclosed by the fencing are several picnic tables and log benches (see Figures 3.24

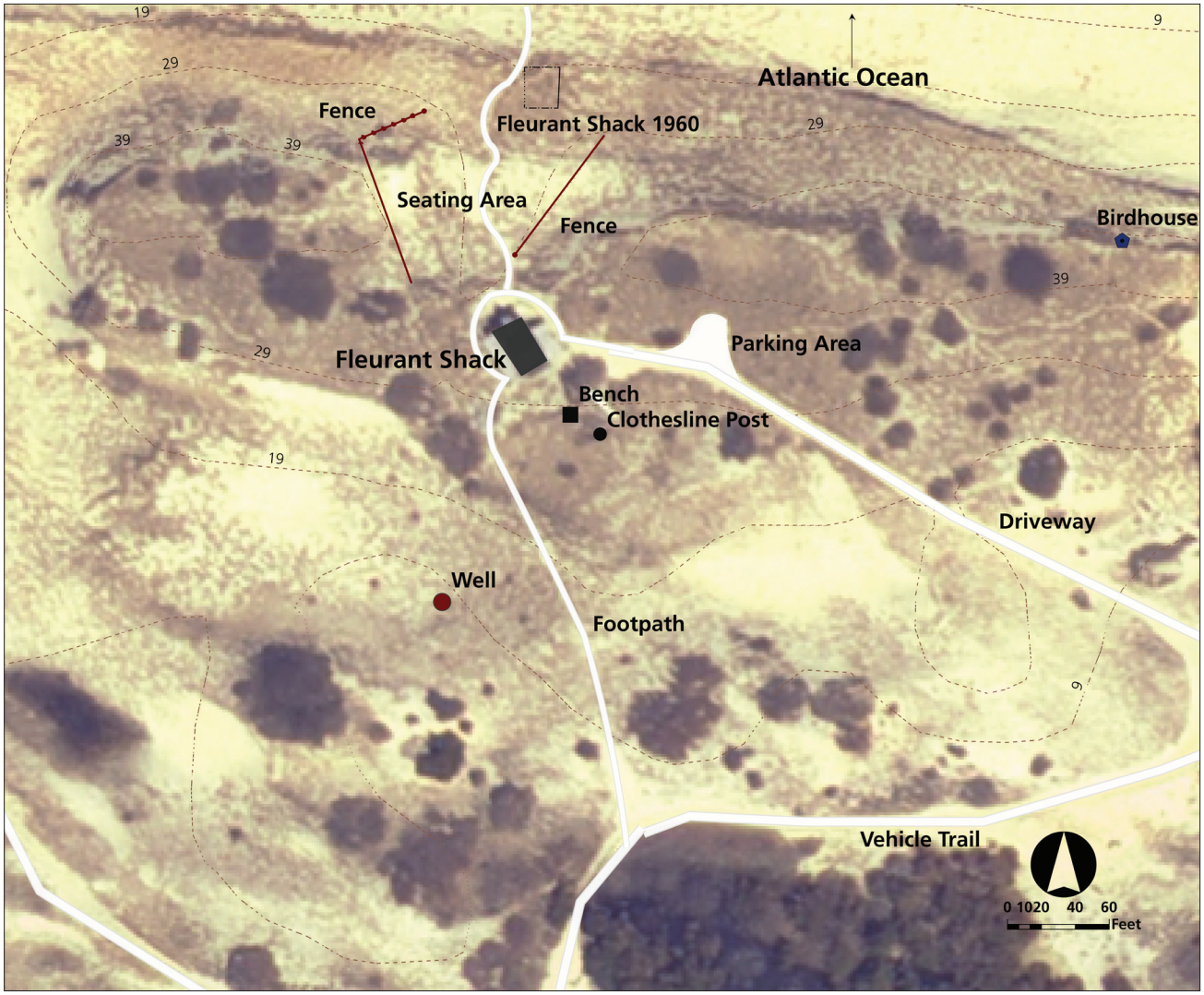


Figure 3.20. Existing conditions map of Fleurant shack, 2007 (OCLP).

and 3.26). The break in the foredune just north of here is especially pronounced, a development which appears to be the result of human occupation and the heavy use of the landscape around the shack. The sand fencing thus serves not only as a boundary marker for the seating area, but to control the erosion of sand flow break in the foredune. A wood pile and additional bench stand to the southwest of the building (see Figure 3.21). A wooden post can also be found to the southeast of the shack. This appears to be part of an old clothesline that once extended to a hook on the southeast corner of the shack. A clay pipe is situated on a rise in the dune to the east of the shack, the origin and use of which is unknown.

Evaluation: Contributing. The Fleurant shack is a contributing resource in the historic district.



Figure 3.21. View north from the inner dune valley of the Fleurant shack west and south elevations, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.22. View northwest of terminus of Fleurant driveway with large cluster of salt spray roses by the southeast corner of the shack, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.23. View east from Fleurant to Adams Guest Cottage showing terminus of Fleurant driveway at right center of image, with footpath leading to the deck on the east side of the shack in the foreground, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.24. View north from the east porch of the Fleurant shack showing the footpath leading north to an outdoor seating area and the ocean. Wood-slat fencing is used to control erosion, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.25. View south from Fleurant shack across the inner dune valley to Pilgrim Monument, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.26. View northwest of Fleurant shack outdoor seating area and ocean, 2006 (OCLP).

David and Marcia Adams Guest Cottage (#3)

Historic Condition: Based on aerial photographs of the dune area taken in 1938 and 1947, the David and Marcia Adams Guest Cottage was likely constructed after 1938 but before 1947, and began as a simple one-room generator outbuilding with an attached garage shed. The original structure closely resembled the outbuildings associated with the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station and is possibly attributed to one of the same builders (see Figure 1.36). It was originally located about fifteen feet north of the Adams shack, or closer to the shore than it is now.[74] By 1947 the structure was to the south and west of the Adams shack, as also shown in a 1950 photograph, and stood on the other side of where the inner dune route was then located (see Figure 1.68). David W. Adams and his wife Marcia Adams first began caring for the Adams Guest Cottage soon afterwards, in 1953.[75] Due to its small size, it has not historically been noted on United States Geological Survey (USGS) maps, and no mention of it can be found in property records. Initially, the generator supplied electricity for the Adams shack. However, the Adamses soon made the Adams Guest Cottage into a more comfortable place to live (Figures 3.27 and 3.28).



Figure 3.27. View southwest of the Adams Guest Cottage in its original location, 1962 (Champlin Family Photograph Collection).

When surveyed and appraised by the National Park Service in 1967, the land on which the Adams Guest Cottage stands, or Tract 04-1005, was found to be the former property of Catherine F. Melis. No record of any land transfer between



Figure 3.28. Looking west at the Adams Guest Cottage in its original location, 1966. The Fleurant shack is visible in the distance, at right, and the open dune landscape at left (Champlin Family Photograph Collection).



Figure 3.29. Looking east at the Adams Guest Cottage in its original location, 1976. Note the privy addition on the west side of the shack. A piece of driftwood, or found artwork, stands in the foreground (Cape Cod NS Archives).



Figure 3.30. View southwest of Adams Guest Cottage east and north elevations, with front door and small deck facing east, 1993 (Cape Cod NS LCS files).

1930 and 1967 was recovered from either the Grantee Index or the Grantor Index at the Barnstable County Registry of Deeds.[76] In 1989 David and Marcia Adams signed a 25-year Reservation of Use and Occupancy agreement with the National Park Service, for their habitation of the shack.[77]

In 1976 unstable sand accumulated around the shack (Figure 3.29). In 1978 severe erosion caused by the great blizzard of that year endangered the Adams shack, and the structure was promptly relocated inland so as not to fall into the ocean. It was moved by Pinky Silva, a local carpenter from Provincetown. From 1983 to 1986 the Adams Guest Cottage was rehabilitated and in 1992 was also relocated, at which time the Adams family likely reconstructed a portion of it. At its new

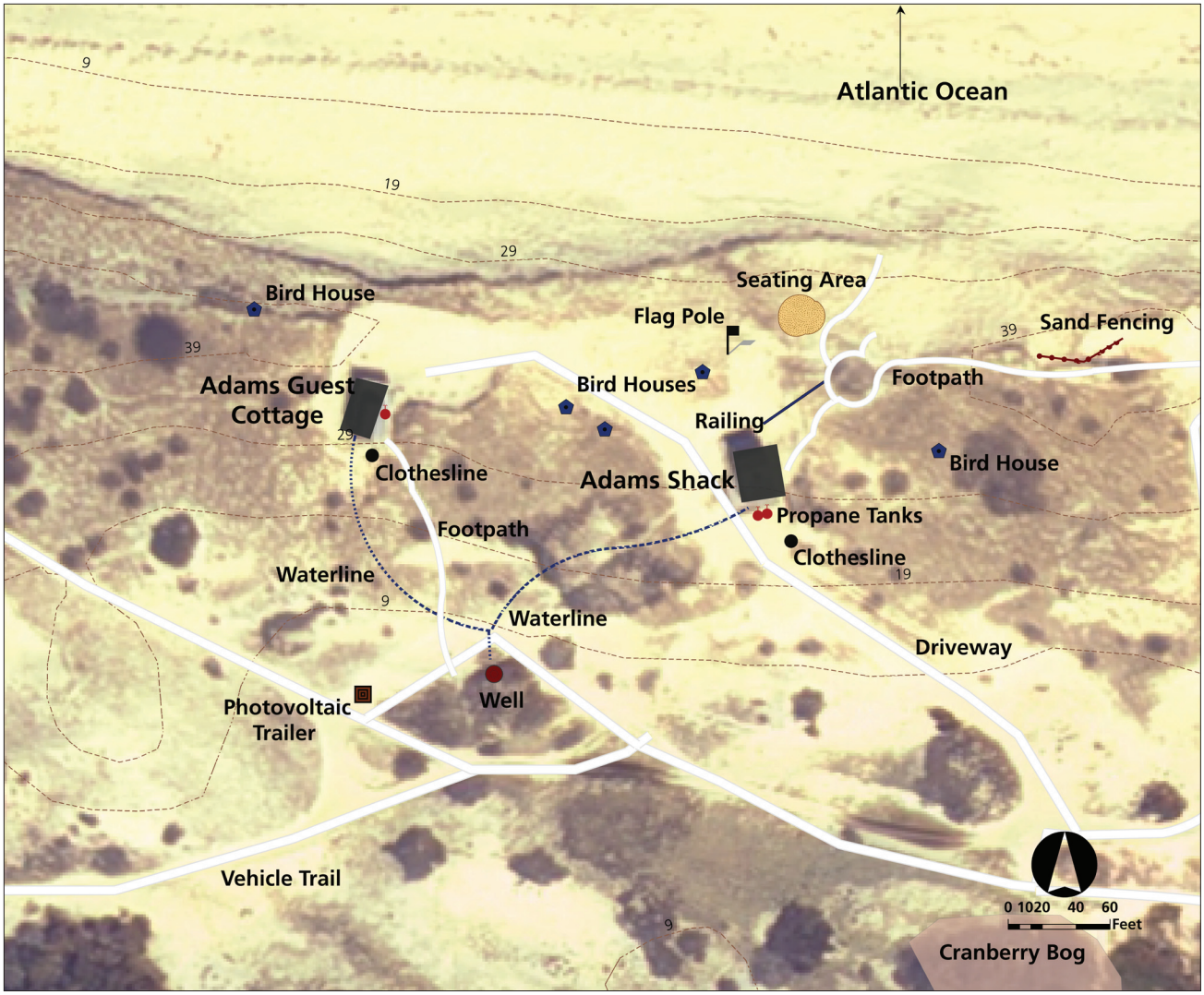


Figure 3.31. Existing conditions map of Adams Guest Cottage and Adams shack, 2007 (OCLP).

location the entire shack was also elevated above the sand, and an open deck was added on the north and east sides (Figure 3.30).[78] Between 1993 and 2006 a new deck and windows were installed and the shack was outfitted with plumbing and electricity. Currently the Adams Guest Cottage and Adams shack are used by husband and wife David W. and Marcia Adams, their visitors, friends, and relatives.[79]

Existing Condition: The Adams Guest Cottage is located just below the crest of the leeward side of the foredune, on its southern slope (Figures 3.31 and 3.32). The shack is part of a cluster composed of the Fleurant, Adams and Champlin shacks. The Fleurant shack stands about 425 feet to the west and the Adams shack, 200 feet to the east, while the Champlin shack sits 525 feet to the east. Rehabilitated in the 1990s, the Adams Guest Cottage is modern in appearance when compared to other shacks in the district. It is situated in the center of a wide and low sand bowl that extends from the north side of the shack, creating an open sandy area around the structure (Figure 3.33).

The shack is accessed from a driveway which approaches from the Adams shack to the southeast and serves as both a vehicle access route and a footpath (Figure 3.34). Footpaths are not evident to the ocean on the north side or to the west toward the Fleurant shack. Views from the Adams Guest Cottage include the ocean to the north, the Adams shack with its flagpole and Champlin shacks to the east, the Pilgrim Monument and water tower to the south, and the Fleurant shack to the west (see Figures 3.34, 3.35, and 3.36). Areas to the west and east of the shack are predominantly vegetated with beach grass, some of which appears to have been planted recently to mitigate dune erosion, as well as seaside goldenrod (*Solidago sempervirens*). On the leeward side of the dune, to the south of the shack, are masses of salt spray rose and beach plum. South of the shack near a well pump is a small garden of herbs enclosed by a low fence, which takes advantage of the low, wet area, found there; yet the garden appears to be abandoned. This stands as one of the few instances where a shack resident has attempted to cultivate plants in the ground of the dune landscape (see Figure 3.35).

In good condition, the Adams Guest Cottage is a one and one-half story gable roof structure that stands on posts five to six feet above the sand. The ridge is oriented north to south and the front door faces east and a back door faces west. A large deck overlooks the low sloping bowl to the north of the shack, as well as the ocean to the north (see Figure 3.33 and 3.37). This deck wraps around the west, north and east sides of the building while steps to the door are located on the shack's east side.

The Adams Guest Cottage shares a well with the Adams shack that is located south of the former and down the foredune toward the vehicle trail. An electric line and black plastic waterline extend from the shack to the south, down the dune to the well in the valley. When these shacks are in use a set of photovoltaic solar panels mounted on a car trailer provide power to run the well pump. The Adams Guest Cottage has internal plumbing, a septic system, and electrical wiring.

A collection of birdhouses surround the shack to the east and west. A clothesline extends from the southeast corner of the building, with a clothesline post standing to the south (see Figure 3.32). A propane tank sits near the steps on the east side of the structure. Several rows of temporary fencing were installed around the shack in the fall of 2007, to stabilize the sand around the shack (see Figures 3.33 and 3.36). Additional fencing extends along a weak section of the foredune to the north of the shack (see Figure 3.37).

Evaluation: Contributing. The Adams Guest Cottage is a contributing resource in the historic district. Moved at least three times and largely rebuilt in the 1990s, the structure epitomizes the evolution of built features in the dunes. The shack was not indicated as a contributing resource in the 1989 Determination of Eligibility form, and may have been considered an auxiliary structure at the time.



Figure 3.32. View east of the Adams Guest Cottage west elevation, bird house at left (northwest of shack), and clothesline pole at right (south), 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.33. View west of temporary plastic fencing placed around the Adams Guest Cottage in the fall, 2007 (OCLP).



Figure 3.34. View east of the Adams Guest Cottage driveway, neighboring Adams shack, ocean, and foredune. Also visible are the Champlin shack, Adams shack seating area and flagpole, and water tower, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.35. View from Adams Guest Cottage looking south over main vehicle trail to the Pilgrim Monument in the distance. A small well house stands at center, with an abandoned planting of herbs to the left (east) of the well, demarcated with stakes, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.36. View west from Adams Guest Cottage deck to the Fleurant shack, with temporary plastic fencing, fall 2007 (OCLP).



Figure 3.37. Aerial view looking southwest of the Adams Guest Cottage showing a stabilized section of the foredune to the north of the shack (Courtesy of Bart Bartelsman, 2011).

David and Marcia Adams Shack (#4)

Historic Condition The Adams shack is believed to have been built in 1935, at the same time as the Champlin shack and possibly the Adams Guest Cottage and Fleurant shack. It was constructed by Edward "Jake" Loring and Dominic Avila (Avilla), who were both associated with the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station. Loring was also involved in the insurance business and served as the sheriff in Provincetown, while Avila was a carpenter. They used the shack as a summer retreat and fishing camp, initially building the center room then adding a front porch and a back kitchen.They also brought soil to the dunes for a nearby garden of tomatoes and potatoes.[80] For roughly a decade the shack was occupied by the Loring and Avila families, but could not be used during World War II and fell into disrepair. In 1953 Loring sold the shack to David and Marcia Adams for $450, who had learned about it from their friends, Nathaniel Champlin, and Francis and Patsy Villemain (Figure 3.38). Before long the Adamses were engrossed in rehabilitating the Adams shack (Figures 3.39 and 3.40). By 1967 the shack consisted of a bedroom, living room and kitchen.[81]

Figure 3.38. View west of the Adams shack in its original location, with the Adams Guest cottage in close proximity at left, when the Adamses acquired it in 1953. The Fleurant shack is visible through the missing windows (Champlin Family Photograph Collection).



The Adams shack was originally protected from the ocean by a stretch of roughly 200 feet of grass-covered dune (see Figure 1.68).[82] However, the Blizzard of 1978 removed this sand entirely and left the shack in danger of falling into the ocean (Figure 3.41). It was subsequently moved back from the edge of the barrier dune by the Adams family, with the help of Pinky Silva. From 1980 to 1985 a new wooden deck was added to the west and south sides of the shack.[83]



When the National Park Service surveyed and appraised the Adams shack in 1967 the land on which it stands, or Tract 04-1006, was determined to be the former property of William

Figure 3.39. View east of Adams shack in its original location showing the west and south elevations, 1962 (Champlin Family Photograph Collection).



Figure 3.40. View northeast of the Adams shack, 1962. The foredune extends about 200 feet north before reaching the beach. The dune was swept away during the Blizzard of 1978 (Champlin Family Photograph Collection).



Figure 3.41. Looking southwest at the Adams shack immediately after the Blizzard of 1978 (Champlin Family Photograph Collection).

D. Preston, Jr. No record of any land transfer between 1930 and 1967 was recovered from either the Grantee Index or the Grantor Index at the Barnstable County Registry of Deeds.[84] Extended members of the Adams family have used the Adams shack and Adams Guest Cottage for five generations. In 1989 David and Marcia Adams signed a 25-year Reservation of Use and Occupancy agreement with the National Park Service, which will last until 2014.[85] They continue to use the Adams shack today.[86]

In 1988 David Adams notified the park regarding day-users on the beach trespassing in their yard area. In response, the National Park Service relocated an end-of-vehicle traffic barrier to border the nearby self-contained parking area. That year the Adamses also expressed concern over a tern nesting area located on land near the Adams shack, which Cape Cod National Seashore had fenced off without their consent.[87]

Most recently, or sometime between 2000 and 2006, further amenities have been added to the shack including a solar roof unit, a solar trailer parked seasonally at the base of the dune, an electric well pump, hot water heater, indoor bathroom and shower, washing machine, refrigerator, and gas and wired lighting.[88]

Existing Condition: The Adams shack is set close to the northern lip of the foredune and parallel to the Adams Guest Cottage, but does not possess the latter's view of the wide and low-sloping sand bowl and ocean to the north. The Adams shack is part of a cluster including the adjacent Adams Guest Cottage the



Figure 3.42. View northeast of the Adams shack west and south sides, 2006 (OCLP).

Fleurant shack to the west and the Champlin shack to the east (see Figures 3.31, 3.42, and 3.43).

The Adams shack is accessed by a driveway that climbs out of the valley from the main vehicle trail (Figure 3.44). This drive continues west to the Adams Guest Cottage and also serves as a footpath between the two shacks (see Figure 3.34). A wide footpath with a wooden hand rail begins from the deck on the north side of the Adams shack and continues northeast, over the foredune to the ocean (see Figure 3.43). At the top of the foredune this footpath splits and one path continues north to the ocean while the other heads east toward the Champlin shack (Figures 3.45 and 3.46).

Views from the Adams shack include the Adams Guest Cottage and Fleurant shack to the west, Champlin to the east, the top of the Pilgrim Monument to the south, the water tower to the southeast, and Province Lands Visitor Center to the southwest. The shack is tucked into a deep pocket behind the foredune so it is not possible to see the ocean from either the shack or its deck. The vegetation surrounding the shack is typical of the foredune and consists predominantly of beach grass, with some seaside goldenrod and dusty miller (*Artemisia stelleriana*) present. Mounds of salt spray rose grow to the south of the shack, and a large cluster of them partially obscures the building from the main vehicle route.

In good condition, the Adams shack is a one story, gable roof structure with two shed roof wings that rests on wood piers. The gable ridge runs north to south with the front door facing north and a second door opening on the west side. A low deck wraps around the north, west and south sides of the building. The north side of the shack stands on a level with the grade of the migrating dune, but the south side is five to six feet above the ground, which slopes to the south (see Figure 3.46). Signs of dune migration are evident on the north side of the deck, where moving sand is flush with the deck (see Figure 3.43). Beyond the deck on the west side of the shack the ground is level for about twenty feet, extending to the driveway before dropping down into the valley.

Two large propane tanks are located on the southeast corner of the outside of the building, and on the southwest corner is a water spigot. The Adams shack and Adams Guest Cottage share a well. A section of black plastic pipe extends to the southwest of the Adams shack before going underground and then emerging



Figure 3.43. View southwest from the foredune showing the east and north sides of the Adams shack. Note the railing along the footpath in the foreground for ascending the foredune to walk to the ocean, 2006 (OCLP).

down the slope to the southwest while an electric line leads from the shack to the water pump. The waterline may extend underneath the signpost located along the far side of the driveway and southwest of the shack.

The Adams shack has no associated outhouse, but has indoor plumbing for the kitchen and a full bathroom with a septic system. The shack also has a solar roof unit that provides twelve-volt power, and the occupants use another large solar unit mounted on a trailer parked seasonally at the base of the foredune. In combination with propane tanks, the solar unit powers an electric well pump, hot water heater, washing machine, refrigerator, and gas and wired lighting. A brick chimney stack stands in the center of the roof on the south side of the shack, feeding a fireplace in the living room.

The yard area of the shack is marked by several small-scale features. A few birdhouses are mounted on posts to the north and west of the shack, while a wooden flagpole stands prominently at the top of the foredune (see Figure 3.34). Along the footpath to the beach is a seating area with poles, which may be used to support umbrellas in the summer (Figure 3.47). Black plastic mesh fencing is located further down the northern footpath to the ocean, and along the eastern footpath to the Champlin shack (Figure 3.48). This fencing is secured on posts to collect blowing dune sand, and its type differs greatly from the common wood slat sand fencing used around other shacks in the district.

On the southeast corner of the Adams shack hangs a clothesline reel, apparently unused, while a clothesline pole stands about thirty feet away from the southeast corner of the building (see Figure 3.44). A well-tended planter contained in one half of an old whiskey barrel sits by the steps on the west side of the shack. It is filled with herbs such as thyme, sage, basil, chives, oregano, and rosemary (Figure 3.49). A portion of a rusted ship's anchor is visible beneath the deck, and a sign on the north side of the shack states, "Private Property Keep Out." Another sign may have once stood to the southwest of the shack along the far side of the driveway, but has now been reduced to a bare signpost.

Evaluation: Contributing. The Adams shack is a contributing resource in the historic district.



Figure 3.44. View looking southwest of the driveway ascending the dune to the Adams shack from the main vehicle trail (location of truck). A clothesline pole stands to the south of the deck and the water tower is visible in the distance, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.45. View northeast of the footpath from the Adams shack to the ocean, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.46. View east from the Adams shack to Champlin shack along a connecting footpath, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.47. View west of outdoor seating area located north of the Adams shack. The poles hold umbrellas during the summer, 2006 (OCLP).

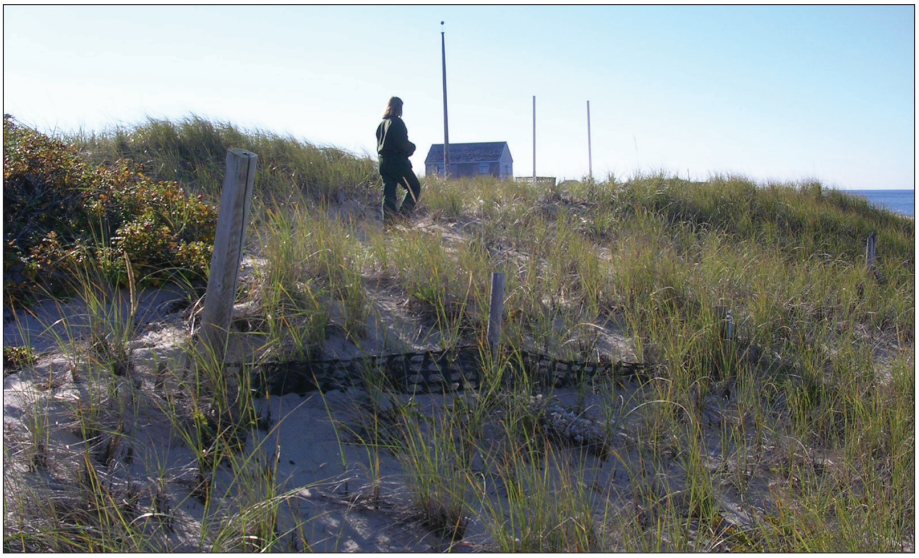


Figure 3.48. View west of plastic fencing below the footpath along the foredune to the northeast of the Adams shack, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.49. View east of planter filled with herbs on the west side of the Adams shack, 2006 (OCLP).

Nathaniel and Mildred Champlin (Mission Bell) Shack (#5)

Historic Condition: The Nathaniel and Mildred Champlin shack is also known as the "Mission Bell" shack, after the large salvaged bell that hangs on a tall frame outside to the west of the shack and is stored during the winter. According to Almeda Avila, the Champlin shack was constructed in between 1936 and 1938 by her husband, Dominic Avila, and his brother Joseph Avila.[89] Dominic was a local carpenter and Coast Guardsman who had recently dismantled a Provincetown barn dating to about 1830. He used to the boards from this barn to sheath the new dune shack, and may have used other pieces salvaged from the barn elsewhere.[90] Fellow Coast Guardsman Edward "Jake" Loring may also have participated in the construction of this building, which a separate source states was erected as early as 1934.[91] Indeed, the Champlin shack is likely the structure being built in a 1935 Champlin family photograph (Figure 3.50).

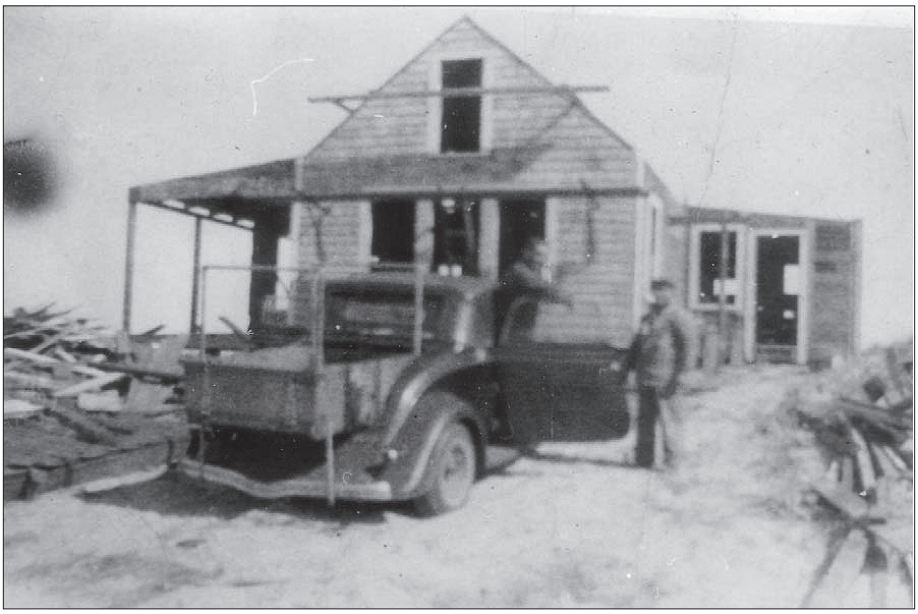


Figure 3.50. View east at the Champlin shack under construction in 1935 (Champlin Family Photograph Collection).



Figure 3.51. Looking southeast at the Champlin shack, following repairs in 1953 and before jacking and leveling. Note the privy roof just visible over the sand hill at right (Champlin Family Photograph Collection).

For fifteen years the Avilas used the shack for entertaining friends and family, including Almeda's parents Manuel and Mary Taves, and for a summer lodging from which to fish, swim, and enjoy other recreational pursuits.[92] The shack was well equipped for guests with electricity, plumbing, and running water in the kitchen and bathroom. Its use subsequently declined during World War II, and in 1948 Nathaniel L. Champlin discovered it while out hiking with friends on the back shore. Once more finding it in disrepair on a second visit in 1952, Champlin approached Avila about use of the shack.[93] In 1953 Avila transferred care of the property to Nathaniel and Mildred Champlin, along with Francis T. Villemain and Patricia A. Villemain, for $250. During their first few years of use, he helped the Champlins to renovate and repair the shack to livable condition (Figure 3.51).[94] That same year the nearby Adams shack and Adams Guest Cottage were purchased by David Adams, a student of Nathaniel Champlin's at New York University.[95]

Repairs during the summer of 1953 were made by Nathaniel Champlin, Francis Villemain, Dominic Avila, and David W. Adams and included improvements to the exterior of the shack, replacement of the posts supporting it, and the construction of an associated outhouse (see Figure 3.51). Some of the material used was architectural salvage which Champlin had brought with him from Brooklyn, New York. Almost immediately, the issue of privacy became a crucial one for the shack's new users. Over the next two years Champlin installed roughly twenty wooden posts along the edge of the surrounding property, and built a wooden fence to block one of the dirt roads passing by the Champlin shack so as to prevent public use of that route. The floor of the shack was stolen in 1956, prompting Champlin to construct a new one using boards salvaged from the beach. He also built a shed to the southeast of the shack, which was originally used as an outhouse and later converted into a one-story bunkhouse.[96]



Figure 3.52. View southeast of the elevated Champlin shack with new enclosed porch at northeast corner, 1958 (Champlin Family Photograph Collection).

Small changes to the premises continued from there with the following additions: propane for cooking in 1953, a storm shelter in 1954, water pump in 1955, bell assembly in 1956, a propane refrigerator in 1958, and front porch and stairway upstairs in 1958. A photograph taken in 1958 is the earliest image showing wood-slat sand fencing used for erosion control (Figure 3.52). The Champlins began using propane for lighting in 1960, added swings and play yard in 1963 and 1964, electrical generator in 1966, new shack roof and structure platform in 1967, new pump pit and well in 1968, and new shutters and a picture window in 1973.[97] They also installed more sand fences to capture blowing sand around the structure (Figure 3.53). Then in the 1980s a new well was dug and installed with a motorized generator pump.[98] The so-called bell assembly of the late 1950s became well known as a landmark among locals and fishermen. It was this feature that gave the shack its nickname, Mission Bell. The assembly was made from two electric poles, between which was suspended a 200 pound bell. The frame collapsed, but was rebuilt in about 2008 with poles dragged from the beach, and the bell hung once again during the summer months (see Figure 3.53).[99]

Throughout the years the Champlins and Villemains both contributed to maintaining the shack against the elements, and in particular the wear of the ever-

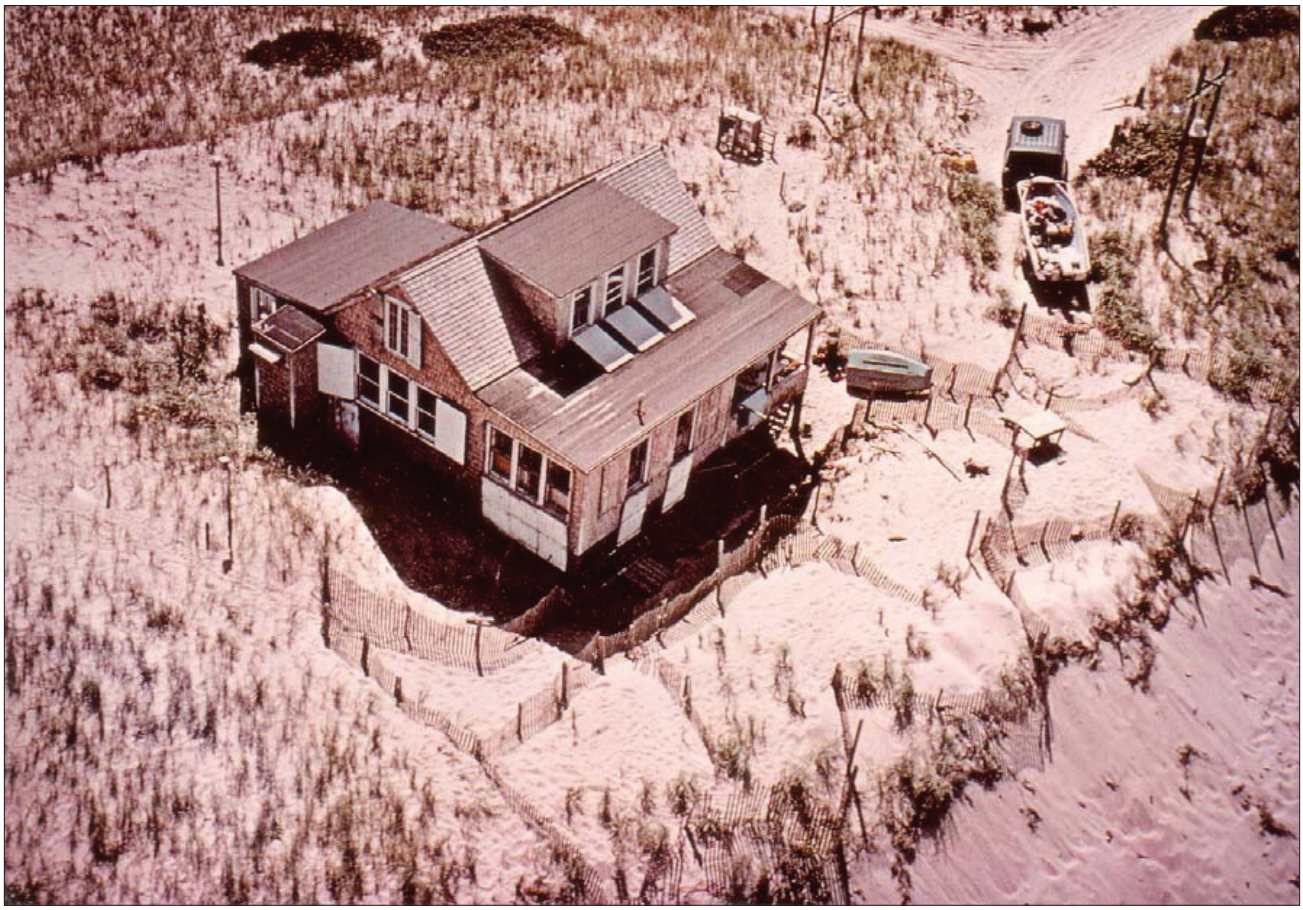


Figure 3.53. Champlin shack aerial view showing loss of beach frontage and sand fencing in 1970. The suspended Mission Bell is visible at the upper right. Bird houses rest on posts at lower left, or east of the shack, and upper left, or south of the shack (Champlin Family Photograph Collection).

shifting sand. Erosion was a constant problem requiring the ongoing installation of sand fences around the building, in addition to other features such as the play yard and bell posts. In 1963 the Champlins actively transplanted grass to help prevent erosion, and also cultivated black raspberries starting in 1957. Early in the 1960s they continued to grow raspberries and regularly picked cranberries from a nearby bog.[100] During the Blizzard of 1978 particularly rapid and severe erosion brought the Champlin shack thirty feet closer to the ocean and twelve feet from the dune's edge. Yet unlike some other nearby structures it did not require relocation. In the succeeding years sand began to build up again in front of the building until a full 178 feet separated it from the beach, though 75 feet of that were later lost to the Halloween Nor'easter in 1991, also known as the Perfect Storm.[101]

The land upon which the Champlin shack stands, what is now known as Tract 04-1053 but was once called Tract 04-1012, was formerly owned by Shorb Floyd-Jones. In 1967 the Chicago Title Insurance Company failed to find any record documenting the transfer of this land between 1930 and 1967 in the Grantee Index of the Barnstable County Registry of Deeds.[102] The parcel was acquired by the United States government in 1966, and in 1970 the care of the main structure and side shed passed entirely into the hands of Nathaniel and Mildred Champlin, who bought the Villemains' share from them in June of that year.[103] By 1986 the Champlins had been dune residents for 33 years, staying in the dune shack from June to September each year. Nathaniel became a professor at Wayne State University in 1954, and the couple chose to spend his entire sabbatical year from 1963 to 1964 living on the dunes.[104] Also an avid devotee of dune memorabilia, Nathaniel Champlin's collection of rare bottles was once temporarily displayed at the Provincetown Heritage Museum, along with other objects from the dune shacks.[105]

A written exchange between Superintendent Herbert Olsen and Nathaniel Champlin in October 1988 discussed Champlin's use of an alternate route to reach the dunes, due to the storm damage of the other two access roads. Olsen strongly discouraged Champlin from using the alternate route except in the case of emergency, as the National Park Service had apparently observed a serious adverse impact on the dune vegetation in that area. He also requested that Champlin notify the National Seashore within forty-eight hours of any future use of the alternate route.[106] Today the Champlins have a life Reservation of Use and Occupancy with the National Park Service for tenancy of the shack.

Existing Condition: The Champlin shack is located atop the foredune in an area which is relatively flat as a result of human use and vehicle traffic. The north side of the shack is close to the northern lip of the foredune, almost exposing the shack to the Outer Beach. South of the yard area, the land drops steeply into a valley (Figures 3.54 through 3.57).

The Champlin shack is the furthest east in a cluster that includes the Adams shack, the Adams Guest Cottage and the Fleurant shack. A strip of land owned by the Town of Provincetown, and referred to as the "Spaghetti Strip," extends from Route 6 to the Outer Beach and ranges in width from 25 to 100 feet. This strip of land lies between the Champlin and Adams shacks.

The Champlin shack is accessed via a steep driveway that terminates in a circular area to the south and west of the shack (Figures 3.58). A well worn footpath lies between the Adams shack and the Champlin shack (see Figures 3.44 and 3.48). A footpath leads to the ocean to the west of the Champlin shack, beyond the Mission Bell posts (see Figure 3.62).

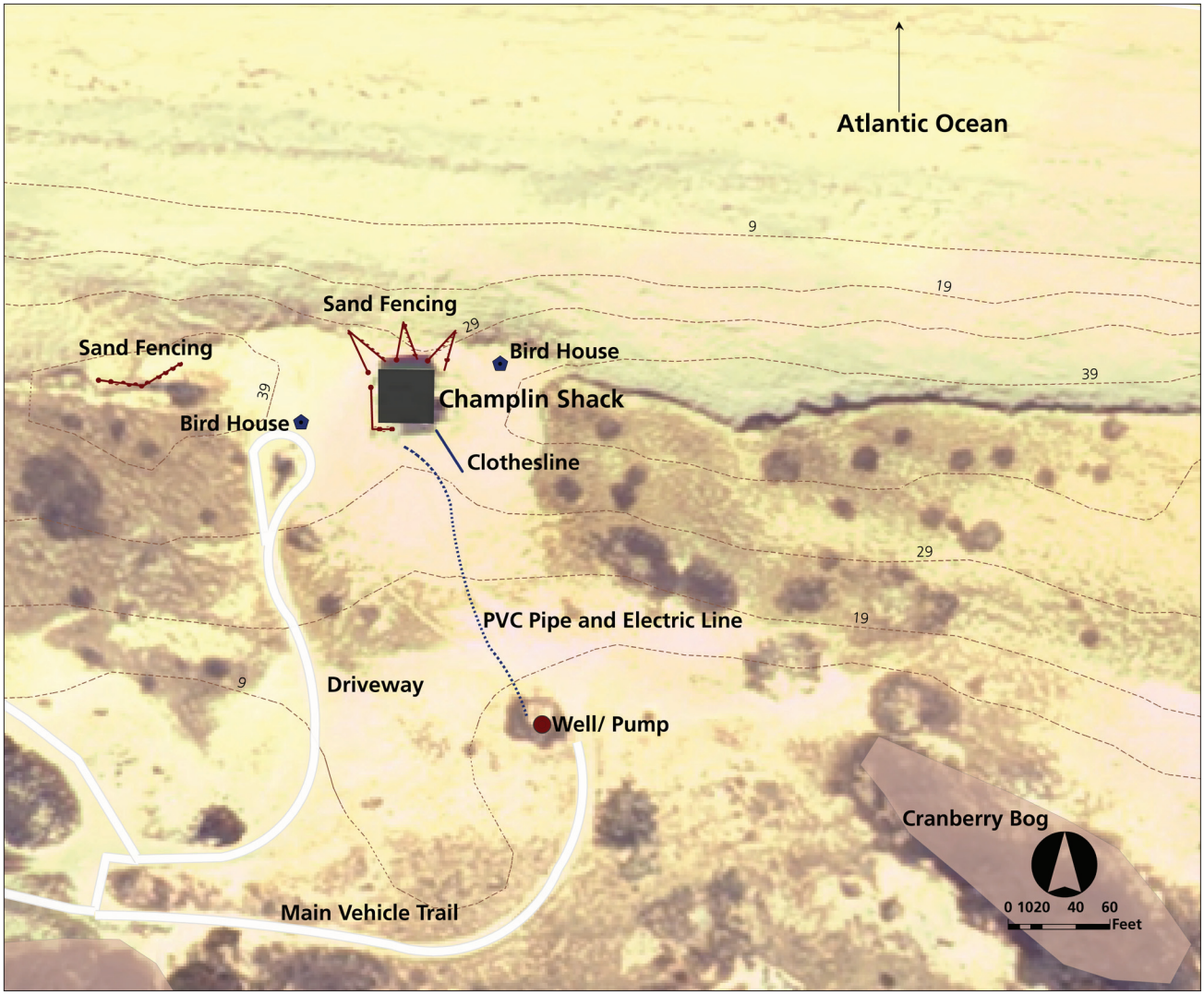


Figure 3.54. Existing conditions map of Champlin shack, 2007 (OCLP). The Champlins rebuilt the Mission Bell frame a year later to the west of the shack.

Views from the Champlin shack include the water tower to the southeast, the top of the Pilgrim Monument to the south, the Province Lands Visitor Center to the southwest, and an obstructed view to the Adams shack and Adams Guest Cottage to the west (see Figures 3.57 through 3.59). The northern deck of the shack has a panoramic view of the ocean and Outer Beach, but the ocean cannot be seen from the sandy yard surrounding the shack. Similar to other shacks on the foredune, the predominant vegetation around the Champlin shack is beach grass with occasional seaside goldenrod plants. The area immediately surrounding the shack is bowl-like and lacks vegetation; though there are numerous potted plants on the southwestern deck (see Figure 3.56).

One of the largest shacks in the historic district, the Champlin shack is in good condition and is a one-and-one-half story gable structure with two wings that have shed roofs. The building rests on wood posts and has two decks, one on the northwest and one on the southwest corner. The main door faces west and is located on the southwest deck (see Figure 3.55). Both open and closed storage areas are located below the shack with piles of surplus wood and other materials. The tall posts and extensive sand fencing are indicative of the ongoing challenge of managing erosion of the foredune (see Figure 3.57). The shack was damaged by surge tides during the Blizzard of 1978, and this storm as well as the Halloween Nor'easter in 1991 stripped way much of the beach and foredune.

A black plastic water pipe and an electric line are exposed across a wide flat yard area to the south of the shack (see Figures 3.56 and 3.59). The water and electric lines extend down the steep drop of the leeward side of the foredune to a well and electric pump about 200 feet southeast of the shack, near the vehicle trail (Figure 3.60). The one-half horsepower pump is possibly powered by a gas-fueled generator stored under the porch. The water is pumped up to a holding tank on the southeast corner of the roof of the shack (see Figure 3.56).

The Champlin shack has no associated outhouse, but has indoor plumbing for the kitchen and a full bathroom. The occupants possibly use propane and a gas-powered generator as their primary sources for heat and electricity for the well pump, hot water heater, refrigerator, gas range and oven, and wired lighting.

Small-scale features include a maze of sand fencing arranged in a zigzag pattern along the north side of the shack. This fencing collects windblown sand on the windward side of the shack to prevent further erosion from under the structure and to aid in the formation of a larger dune (Figure 3.57). Sand fencing is also used around the larger yard of the shack and along the driveway. Features near the shack include a burning barrel to the southeast of the shack, a long clothesline to the southeast, a birdbath and about a dozen birdhouses (Figures 3.59 and 3.61). The birdbath and birdhouses are used to attract swallows, partly in hopes of reducing the insect population. The frame for the mission bells stands to the west of the shack (Figure 3.62).

The large flat yard area on the south side of the shack—which includes a spacious deck on the southwest corner of the house, an abundance of potted flowers and deck furniture and solar-powered lights on either side of the deck steps—gives this shack a more domestic feeling, unlike the rustic character of the other dune shacks in the district.

Evaluation: Contributing. The Champlin shack is a contributing resource in the historic district.



Figure 3.55. View east of the Champlin shack west elevation, foredune, and ocean, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.56. View north of the Champlin shack south elevation. Note the water tank on the roof, birdbath and clothesline pole in the yard area, and water line extending south to the well, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.57. View west of Champlin shack east elevation. The shack is close to the windward side of the foredune and has several rows of fencing to trap sand on the north side of the shack. The Mission Bell post frame is not standing (subsequently rebuilt in about 2008). Also note the birdhouse on the east side of the shack, in the foreground, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.58. View southwest from the Champlin shack showing the eroding driveway circle in the foreground and the Pilgrim Monument on the horizon, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.59. View southeast of the Champlin shack deck, driveway, parking area, and several birdhouses in the yard to the south of the shack. The water tower is visible on the horizon, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.60. Champlin shack well pump and water line located to the south of the shack in the inner dune valley, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.61. View north of birdbath, birdfeeder, birdhouses, and clothesline to the southeast of the Champlin shack, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.62. Aerial view looking southwest of the Champlin shack east and north elevations. The rebuilt Mission Bell frame made of telephone poles, rebuilt in about 2008, stands to the west (right) of the shack. The bell, in the process of being taken in for the winter, lays on the ground between the posts. A portion of the Adams shack is visible at far right, 2011 (Courtesy of Bart Bartelsman).

Malicoat Shack (#6—privately owned)

Historic Condition: The Malicoat shack was constructed by Philip Malicoat in 1948 to 1949 on land that he had purchased the same decade from former owners Frederick Hammott, Sherman Loud and his sister, who were the heirs of Archibald and Eva Turnbull. The shack stands on what is now known as Tract 04-8618, formerly called Tract 04-1029.[107] Philip Malicoat initially came to Provincetown from Indiana in 1929 to attend the Cape Cod School of Art, an establishment founded by Charles W. Hawthorne and the first of the town's major art schools. Malicoat went on to study with various well-known American painters such as Henry Hensche and Edwin Dickinson before developing his own private teaching career (See Figure 1.54). [108] As documented by the National Park Service in 1967, Philip was accustomed to using the shack throughout the year as an art studio. The same study also noted the panoramic view boasted by the structure, which was at the time located on a high dune.[109] In addition to being the husband of Barbara Brown Malicoat, a daughter of two former directors of the Provincetown Art Association, Philip soon became a noted officer and leader of the Association. Together the Malicoats have been consistently active in the arts as well as the civic life of Provincetown, for decades. Both of their children, Conrad Malicoat and Martha Malicoat Dunigan, are artists in their own right. Conrad is a sculptor whose wife, Anne Lord Malicoat, is also a professional sculptress.[110]

The original Malicoat shack measured roughly twelve by sixteen feet. In the late 1950s Philip Malicoat traveled to Europe, and gave some fishermen friends permission to use the shack while he was gone. In his absence they burned the shack down by mistake. After surveying the land again in 1960 the Malicoats rebuilt the shack in its current form and location, about 600 feet from where the original had stood.[111] The current shack was erected by Philip and his son Conrad Malicoat, with the help of the family friend and painter, Bruce McKain, and primarily using material found washed up on the beaches of the back shore.[112] The building and surrounding three acres of land were deeded to the Malicoat family in 1971, at which time they were also granted a right to access the property by way of Snail Road. At the same time the family chose to sell an additional seventeen acres to the Cape Cod National Seashore.[113] The shack stands on Tract 04-8618, formerly titled Tract 04-1029. The Malicoat shack is privately owned and outside the boundary of the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District.

When the Cape Cod National Seashore was established in 1961 Snail Road was an open vehicle access route to the dunes, but around 1968 the park put up a fire gate to help protect the fragile dunes in that area. Although copies of the key to this gate were issued to dune dwellers, Conrad Malicoat expressed dissatisfaction at both the road's closure, which went against the family's original agreement with the government, and the park's failure to notify them in advance of its decision.[114] By way of resolution the Malicoats were awarded an Exchange Deed of Easement

in 1982 which confirmed their right of access to the property via Snail Road.[115] Following the "Perfect Storm" of 1991, the Malicoats installed a block foundation beneath the shack, along with pilings supported by cement columns extending eight feet into the ground. [116]

Existing Condition: Because it is on privately owned property, the existing conditions of the Malicoat shack were not documented as part of this study.

Evaluation: The Malicoat shack is on private property and outside the boundary of the historic district.

Hazel Hawthorne Werner (Euphoria) Shack (#7)

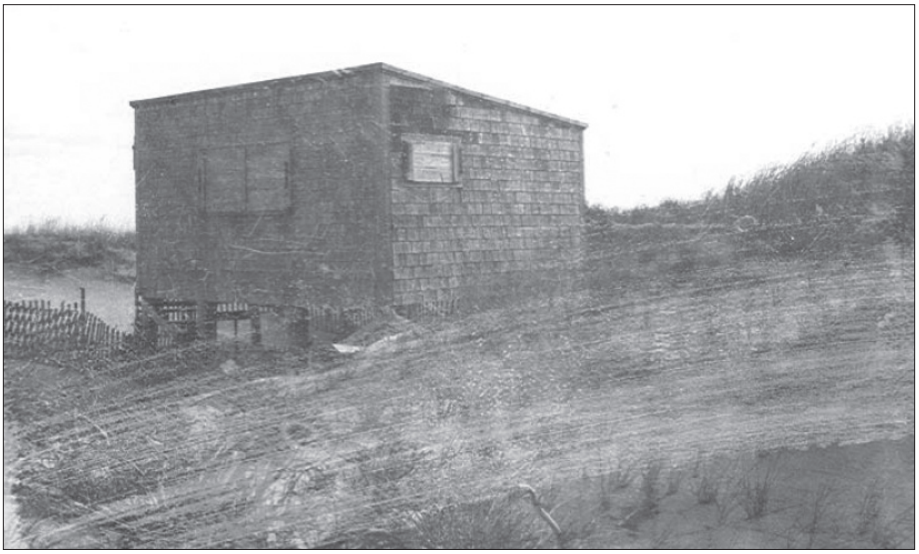
Historic Condition: James Meads (Meades), a town builder, constructed the original shack in 1936 for Cora F. Holbrook. Holbrook in turn sold the shack, "the first west of the O'Neill Hill and standing abov [sic] the shore between the cottages of Boris Margo and Philip Malicoat," to Hazel Hawthorne Werner in 1943 for $285, the price of its construction.[117] Werner had been using the same land and renting nearby shacks from the Coast Guard with an annual fee since the 1920s, but these earlier structures had since disappeared into the ocean due to erosion, possibly during the winter storm in 1931.[118]

Born in 1901, Hazel Hawthorne first came to live and work in Provincetown in 1918. In the 1920s she began renting one the dune shacks next to the old Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station, or the structure which she would later name Thalassa.[119] She was related to Charles Hawthorne, a painter who for thirty years ran the first outdoor summer school for figure painting in Provincetown, starting in 1899.[120] This school went on to become one of the country's best art schools, drawing some of the nation's finest students and instructors to Cape Cod throughout the twentieth century.[121] In contrast Hazel Hawthorne was drawn to write, rather than paint, in the dunes. Occasionally she wrote for the *New Yorker* and in the late 1920s and 1930s published two novels, *Salt House* and *Three Women*.[122] In the former she wrote about life in Provincetown in the 1930s and about her shack, which she called both Euphoria and the Salt House.[123]

Reflecting upon Hazel's generosity, one repeat user of the Werner (Euphoria) shack wrote:

> She shares and shares and gives it away and lets everyone have their own world here for their time, and yet it is always Hazel's, and hers is the only touch that has stayed, and it is her presence that plays about the place like its own soul.[124]

Figure 3.63. View southeast at the Werner (Euphoria) shack north and west elevations in 1966 (Cape Cod NS Archives).



Living at the center of a collection of other creative thinkers, Hazel Hawthorne Werner welcomed a number of famous writers and artists to her shacks over the years, including Edmund Wilson, e.e. cummings, Susan Glaspell, Jig Cook, John Dos Passos, Clare Leighton, Jack Kerouac, Edwin Dickinson, Kurt Valentine, Peter Blume, Norman Mailer and Franz Kline.[125] In 1940 the painters Boris Margo and Jan Gelb also stayed at one of the two shacks Hazel managed at the time, either the Werner



Figure 3.64. View northwest of the Werner (Euphoria) shack with surrounding sand fencing, 1976 (Cape Cod NS Archives).

(Euphoria) or Werner (Thalassa) shack.[126] In around 1952 Werner moved the Euphoria shack back from the eroding shore about seventy feet to the crest of the dune directly south of its former site (see Figures 1.76 through 1.79). [127] The shack was subsequently surrounded with wood-slat fencing, and is one of the earliest documented uses of sand fencing (Figure 3.63). A National Park Service study in 1967 documented the shack as occasionally used and in fair condition.[128] Following the death of her second husband in 1981, Werner began living in Provincetown year-round rather than spending her winters in New York, as she had previously done.[129]

Between the time of its construction up through the 1970s, very few alterations were made to the Werner (Euphoria) shack (Figure 3.64). However, sometime between 1976 and 1981 the original wooden foundation posts for the shack were replaced with poured concrete, a move quickly proven to be a mistake when the sand dunes shifted beneath the shack. In response, extensive repairs in 1983 replaced the concrete with pressure treated wooden posts. An open deck was also added on the building's east side, along with a new roof and set of stairs which modified the structure into its current form (Figures 3.65 and 3.66).[130] In addition, the outhouse that today stands to the east of the shack could have been built around this time, as the materials used in its construction suggest a date of about the 1980s.[131] The National Register documentation prepared in 2011 indicates the construction date is 1991.

Over the course of the 1980s Hazel Hawthorne Werner's health began restricting her use of the shack, and she instead rented it more regularly to other occupants. Author and Dartmouth professor Cynthia Huntington and her husband, Bert Yarborough, spent three summers in the Werner (Euphoria) shack during this decade, and their time their eventually resulted in Huntington's book *The Salt House*.[132] The similarity of this name to that of one of Hazel Hawthorne Werner's books was likely purposeful. In 1984 Cynthia Huntington described the changes effected on the landscape around the Werner (Euphoria) shack, over the course of a single year:

> The hill behind the shack has eroded drastically this year, exposing the back side to wind and rain. The wind cutting around the corner scooped out a big hollow where the steps used to rest, and somebody has moved the staircase over toward the door again, back where it was five years ago, our first summer here. One of Hazel's new tenants…has staked up bird houses in front of the shack.[133]

With the hill gone, Huntington illustrates the new view unfolding behind the shack, which reflects the simultaneous, ever present timelessness and change of the back shore:

> That hill has now mostly blown away and we have an open view to the south-west, down into the valley and across three ridges. The bare valley, flooded for

Figure 3.65. View northwest of Werner (Euphoria) shack south and east elevations, an east facing deck, and an abundance of sand fencing, 1993 (Cape Cod NS LCS photographs).





Figure 3.66. View west of Werner (Euphoria) shack east elevation, birdhouses, and sand fencing, 1993 (Cape Cod NS LCS photographs).

several summers, grew up in lichens and poverty grass, with seaside goldenrod and red-top in late summer; now it is turning into a meadow, thickening with grass and brush. Up here, black roots of old roses and bayberries stick up dead in the air, hard and dry and twisted.[134]

Hazel Hawthorne Werner has been called a "dunes pioneer" for welcoming diverse visitors to the Werner (Euphoria) and Werner (Thalassa) shacks, and for developing a base of support for dune dwellers which eventually became the Peaked Hill Trust.[135] For over 42 years she was a faithful summer resident of Provincetown, most of which time she spent in the dunes of the back shore.[136]

The shack stands on Tract 04-1042, a roughly one acre portion of the 251-acre parcel formerly owned by E. Bennett Beede et al. as Tract 08-1036. At the Barnstable County Registry of Deeds no record exists of any land transfer between 1930 and 1967.[137] Records from Hazel Hawthorne Werner indicate that E. Jefts Beede sent her a bill in 1951 for $150 use of land. In reply Werner requested proof of ownership.[138] Upon her death in 2000 at the age of 98, Hazel's life tenancy agreement with the National Park Service ended. The Peaked Hill Trust, which had been managing Hazel's for her prior to her passing, continues to manage the shack under an annual special use permit to the National Park Service.[139]

Existing Condition: One of two shacks once occupied by Hazel Hawthorne Werner, the Werner (Euphoria) shack is part of the central group of shacks but is set apart and isolated from other shacks, as it is located about 1,000 feet to the west of the Margo shack and about 550 feet from the ocean. The topography is relatively flat around the shack, which is set on the plateau-like section of the foredune. The ridge steeply slopes to the south into a heavily vegetated area of woody species and a cranberry bog. Dune ridges run to the south and west of the shack (Figures 3.67 through 3.71).

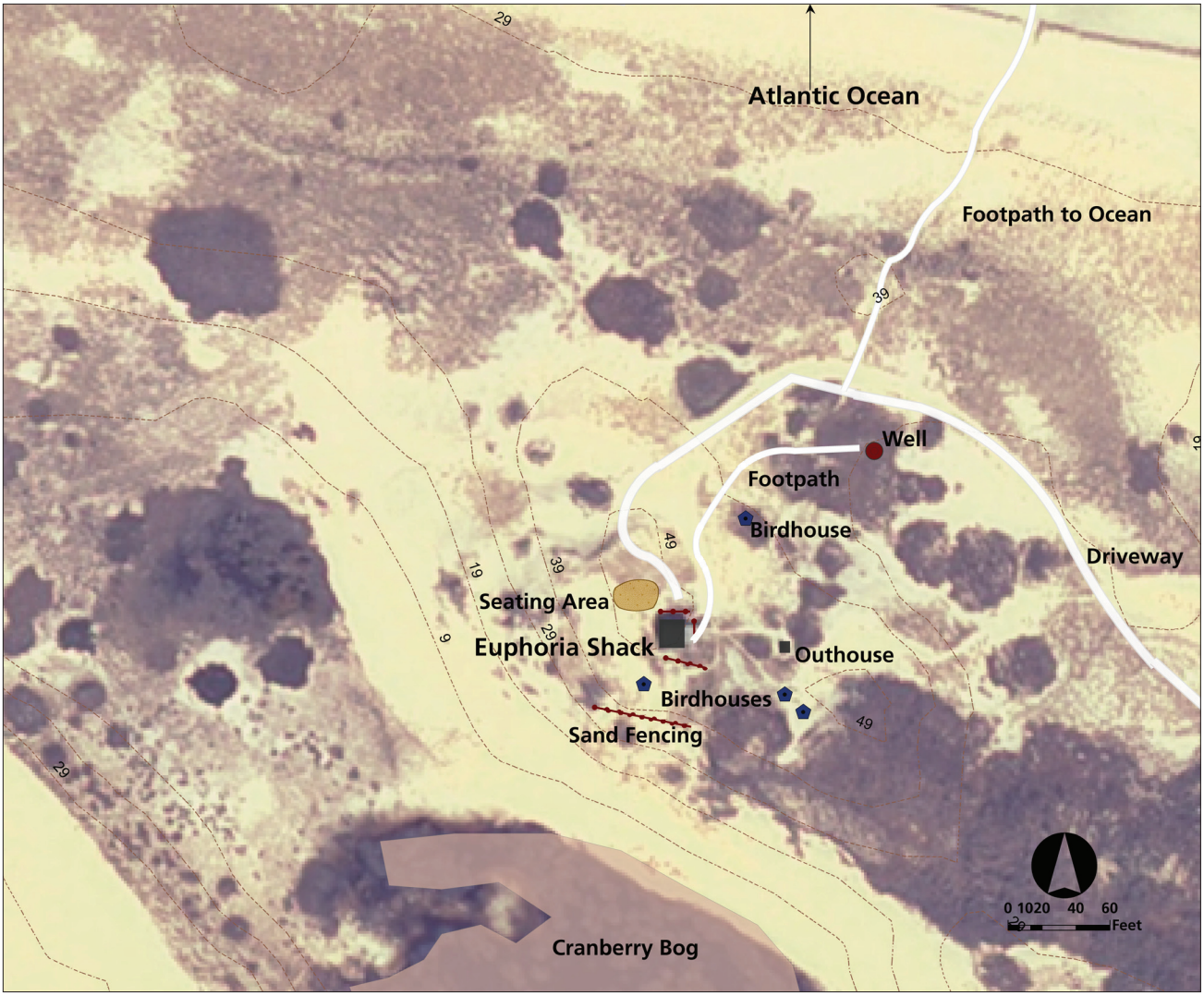
The Werner (Euphoria) shack is located close to the vehicle trail, which extends all the way up to the building from the northeast before terminating into a small parking pull-off area located about 25 feet from the shack. A short footpath continues from the parking area to the steps of the shack (see Figure 3.68).

Another short footpath to the east, about 50 feet long, leads to an outhouse (see Figure 3.71). A longer footpath runs north from the shack to the ocean. A small outdoor gathering and cooking area is situated to the north of the shack (see Figure 3.69).

The Werner (Euphoria) shack sits atop a dune ridge with an unobstructed view to the ocean (Figure 3.72). Other views from the shack include the water tower to the southeast and Pilgrim Monument to the southwest. The Margo/Gelb shack is also visible to the northeast, and is best seen from the back of the outhouse. Dune tourists have a clear view of the south side of the Werner (Euphoria) shack from the vehicle trail that traverses the dune ridge parallel to the shack. Tourists often stop to shoot pictures of the Werner (Euphoria) shack from a point known as "Sunset Hill" (Figure 3.73).

Vegetation around the shack is predominantly beach grass with clumps of other perennials and woody shrubs including seaside goldenrod, bayberry, beach plum and salt spray rose (see Figure 3.68 and 3.70). As noted above, a cranberry bog is located in the valley to the south of the shack.

Figure 3.67. Existing conditions map of Werner (Euphoria) shack, 2007 (OCLP).



In good condition, the small one-room shack rests on posts and has a shed roof that slopes to the south. A deck extends along the eastern side of the shack and the front door faces east. The shack is exposed on all sides, which reduces its privacy and also leads to erosion problems, as evidenced by the abundance of sand fencing used around the shack to control sand movement, particularly on the southern slope of the dune (see Figure 3.70). An outhouse is located southeast of the shack, and is one of the composting boat-shaped structures constructed by the Peaked Hill Trust (see Figure 3.71).

A well with a hand pump is located about 100 feet northeast of the shack, accessible by a footpath through dune grass. The occupant at the time of the site visit demonstrated how a yoke, designed and hand crafted by William Fitts, is used to carry four one-gallon jugs of water back to the shack. The yoke is designed to carry six jugs but walking in the sand is difficult with heavy loads.

Small-scale features include a private home sign on the vehicle trail leading to the shack, two propane tanks, a clothesline and a fire pit with makeshift seating on driftwood and planks. Collected driftwood is also used as the railing for the steps up to the shack. At least three birdhouses for swallows are set on posts to the south and east of the shack. Two relatively new sections of fencing are located north of the shack, near the parking area, and south of the shack at the edge of the ridge (see Figures 3.68 and 3.70).

Evaluation: Contributing. The Werner (Euphoria) shack is a contributing resource in the historic district.

Hazel Hawthorne Werner (Euphoria) Outhouse

Historic Condition: No documentation was found on the history of the outhouse associated with the Euphoria shack.

Existing Condition: An outhouse is located southeast of the shack, and is one of the composting boat-shaped structures constructed by the Peaked Hill Trust (see Figure 3.71).

Evaluation: Non-Contributing. The Werner (Euphoria) outhouse is a non-contributing feature.



Figure 3.68. View northwest of Werner (Euphoria) shack south and east elevations, parking area, and ocean, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.69. View south of east-facing entrance and north elevation of the Werner (Euphoria) shack, with an outdoor cooking and seating area in the foreground, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.70. View east of the Werner (Euphoria) shack west elevation, with sand fencing along the dune to the south, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.71. View southeast of the Werner (Euphoria) shack, outhouse, and footpath, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.72. View northeast of a footpath from the Werner (Euphoria) shack over the foredune to the ocean, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.73. View southwest from Werner (Euphoria) shack to "Sunset Hill," where the Art's Dune Tour vehicle is parked on the ridge to allow visitors to take photographs. A bog extends across the foreground, 2006 (OCLP).

Boris Margo/Jan Gelb (Zimiles) Shack (#8)

Historic Condition: The Margo/Gelb shack sits in roughly the same location as the place where the Peaked Hill once stood, in close proximity to where the old Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station was located.[140] The original shack was built or reconstructed in 1942 by painters Boris Margo and Jan Gelb, though the couple had begun spending time in the dunes through the generosity of Hazel Hawthorne Werner in 1940.[141]

The shack extant today is actually the fourth building in the vicinity. In the intervening years the shack was rebuilt twice, as the original and its successor both fell into the ocean.[142] The earlier shacks were perched on a large dune, which was often referred to by other dune dwellers as "Boris's Hill." A third building followed, only to be lost to erosion and replaced with the current shack by 1967 (Figures 1.78 and 1.79).[143] One of these structures was known as the studio and was built in the 1940s. When "Topside," the original structure slid down the hill, the studio was occupied. Unfortunately, the studio also collapsed.[144] In 1967 the rebuilt shack was found to be in good condition by a National Park Service study, and in regular use by Boris Margo.[145] Despite its many reconstructions, the present Margo/Gelb shack has changed minimally in shape and orientation since its construction (Figures 3.74 and 3.75).[146]

Throughout the ensuing decades the shack was used by Jan Gelb and Boris Margo as a place to live as well as an art studio. [147] For many years beginning 1945 the couple brought their two nephews, one of whom was Murray Zimiles, from New York City to live in and help reconstruct the shack over the summer.[148] Jan Gelb was a poet and abstract painter educated at the Yale University School of Fine Arts and the Art Students' League.[149] She first began visiting Provincetown during the summer in 1936, and in 1940 brought her husband Boris Margo to stay in one of the Werner shacks. Her painting drew inspiration from the rolling dunes of the back shore, as celebrated by a 1962 exhibition at the Ruth White Gallery in New York, entitled "The Great Beach."[150]



Figure 3.74. View west of the Margo/Gelb shack in 1966 (Cape Cod NS Archives).

Boris Margo was born in the Ukraine and exhibited his art annually in Provincetown for nearly fifty years. Nationally known, he studied under the cubist-surrealist painter Pavel Filanov before becoming a good friend to such artists as Arshile Gorky, Milton Avery and Mark Rothko. Today his work can be found in such



Figure 3.75. View northwest of the Margo/Gelb shack in 1976. Note the close proximity of the shack to the ocean, as compared with the previous 1966 photograph, Figure 3.74 (Cape Cod NS Archives).

places as the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the Art Institute of Chicago, and the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art.[151]

Year after year Gelb and Margo walked back and forth to the dune shack, and for each reconstruction Margo faithfully used the same salvaged beach materials that also provided him with artistic inspiration.[152] Eventually his failing health forced him to remain primarily in Provincetown, and rent the shack out to summer visitors.[153] Jan Gelb died in 1977 and her ashes were scattered among the dunes.[154] Boris Margo continued to occasionally use the shack up until his death in 1995 (Figures 3.76 and 3.77).[155]

The shack stands on the 3.9-acre Tract 08-1040, which was a portion of the former 251-acre property of E. Bennett Beede et al., or Tract 08-1036. At the Barnstable County Registry of Deeds no record exists of any land transfer between 1930 and 1967.[156] Currently, the shack is used by the Outer Cape Artist in Residency Consortium, which has a Memorandum of Agreement with the National Park Service to carry out an artist-in-residence program. The Peaked Hill Trust, a consortium member, cares for the shack.[157] Artists continue to spend time there, including the painter and printmaker Anne Fitzpatrick in 1997.[158]



Figure 3.76. View northwest of the Margo/Gelb shack south and east elevations, surrounded by beach grass and salt spray rose, 1989 (Cape Cod NS Archives).



Figure 3.77. View northwest of the Margo/Gelb shack south and east elevations, with the outhouse in the foreground, 1989 (Cape Cod NS Archives).

Existing Condition: The Margo/Gelb shack, also known as "Boris's" shack, is part of the central group of shacks and is set back about 350 feet from the ocean. It is situated in a cluster with several nearby shacks, including the Kemp, Fowler, Fearing, Chanel, and Werner (Thalassa) shacks. The Margo/Gelb shack is set at a slightly higher elevation in the foredune than the Kemp shack. The landscape is level and flat to the north and east, but drops off steeply to the south and west (Figures 3.78 through 3.83). The Werner (Euphoria) shack stands in a more isolated setting to the west, approximately 1,000 feet away (see Figures 1.77 through 1.79).

The main vehicle access trail to the Margo/Gelb shack is blown out. Therefore, vehicle access to the site is provided by the trail located to the west of the main vehicle trail, and begins approximately 500 feet west of the shack and crosses in front of the Margo/Gelb shack to the north (see Figure 3.78). This trail continues east to the Kemp shack. The site is also accessible by a footpath that extends from the main vehicle trail and begins approximately 250 feet south of the building, running past the shack and over the foredune to the ocean (see Figure 3.78). This footpath is severely eroded and signs indicate that it is only meant for use by dune shack residents. Beach access points near the Margo/Gelb shack are heavily used by tourists, and the overuse of footpaths has resulted in serious dune erosion problems near the shack. Public beach access is encouraged from the vehicle trail and footpath located further west, along the main vehicle trail.

Views from the Margo/Gelb shack include the ocean to the north, the Werner (Euphoria) shack to the west and an unobstructed view of the Pilgrim Monument to the south. From the top of the foredune just south of the shack are clear views to the Kemp shack and the Fearing and Fowler shacks to the southeast (Figure 3.84). The vegetation around the shack consists largely of beach grass and salt spray roses, many of which appear to have been planted to stabilize the sand

around the shack. A distorted oak and heathland plants also grow nearby, along the vehicle trail (see Figures 3.81, 3.82, and 3.85).

In good condition, the small one-room Margo/Gelb shack rests on posts and has a shed roof that slopes to the south (see Figure 3.80). A low, narrow deck wraps around the shack and serves as a seating area to view the ocean to the north (see Figure 3.81 and 3.86). The seven-foot-high outhouse, which measures five feet by four feet, stands 30 feet from the southeast corner of the shack and is one of the boat-hull styled structures designed by William Fitts of the Peaked Hill Trust (see Figures 3.79, 3.80, and 3.81). A well is located to the north of the shack along the vehicle trail that leads to the Werner (Euphoria) shack to the west (see Figure 3.82). Water is carried into the shack, as there is no internal plumbing. Propane tanks stored on the south side of the deck power a small refrigerator, range and oven.

Small-scale features on the site of the Margo/Gelb shack include a cable fence on the crest of the steep leeward slope of the foredune, to the south of the shack. This steep slope necessitates dune erosion control, including sand fencing and salt spray rose plantings to help anchor the dune around the shack (see Figures 3.79 and 3.80). Other features include a found-object art piece, located on the

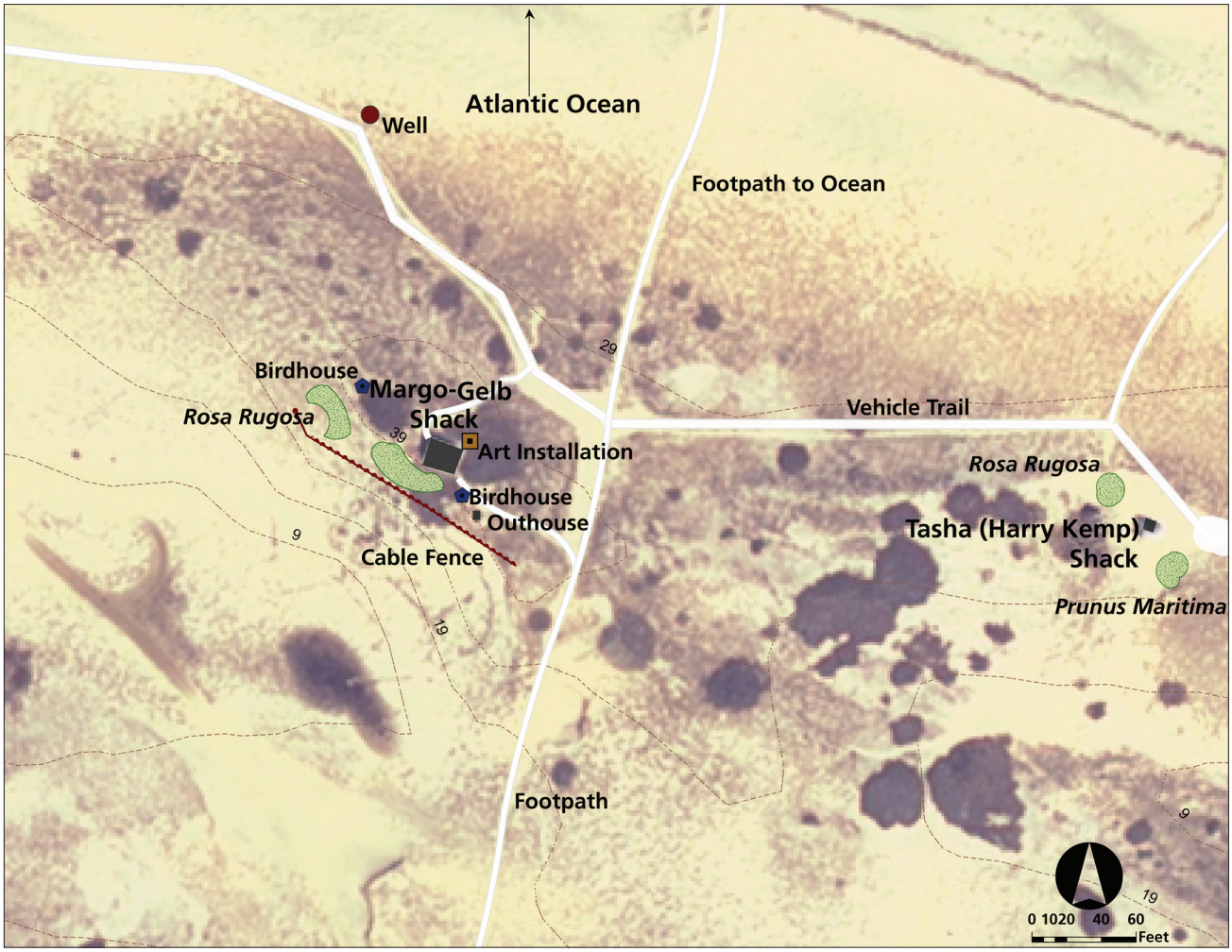


Figure 3.78. Existing conditions map of Margo/Gelb shack, 2007 (OCLP).

northwest corner of the front steps to the deck (see Figure 3.83), birdhouses to the northwest and southeast of the shack, and a clothesline that extends diagonally from the southeast corner of the shack to a post near the outhouse (see Figures 3.81 and 3.86).

Evaluation: Contributing. The Margo/Gelb shack is a contributing resource in the historic district.

Boris Margo/Jan Gelb (Zimiles) Outhouse

Historic Condition: No documentation was found on the history of the outhouse associated with the Margo/Gelb (Zimiles) shack.

Existing Condition: A seven-foot-high outhouse, which measures five feet by four feet, stands 30 feet from the southeast corner of the shack and is one of the boat-hull styled structures designed by William Fitts (see Figures 3.79, 3.80, and 3.81).

Evaluation: Non-Contributing. The outhouse is a non-contributing feature.



Figure 3.79. View northwest of the Margo/Gelb shack, outhouse, and sand fencing on the steep leeward side of the dune, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.80. View northwest of the Margo/Gelb shack south and east elevations, outhouse, and salt spray roses surrounding the shack, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.81. View east along the south deck of the Margo/Gelb shack, showing the clothesline, outhouse, and birdhouse. Visible in the distance are the Fearing shack (above dress) and Fowler shack (above clothesline pole), 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.82. View south of Margo/ Gelb shack from well, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.83. View south of Margo/ Gelb shack from footpath to ocean, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.84. View east from Margo/ Gelb shack to Kemp shack at left, Fearing at center, and Fowler shack at right. From this vantage point, none of the shacks break the horizon line, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.85. View east of sign to "beach" placed along vehicle trail and dunes near the Margo/Gelb shack. An oak tree, stunted by the harsh environment, is barely alive and surrounded by heathland plants, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.86. View north of ocean, birdhouse, and found object artwork beside the deck of the Margo/Gelb shack, 2006 (OCLP).

Harry Kemp Shack (#9)

Historic Condition: The Harry Kemp shack at one time likely formed a part of the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station complex of buildings. A Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station surfman could have constructed the shack as a hen house around 1900. A Coast Guardsman by the name of Frank Cadose is said to have begun using the shack as a cottage around 1925, either as a service building for the station, or for summer use by Coast Guard families. Frank Henderson subsequently used it for the same purpose, from around 1925 to 1932.[159]

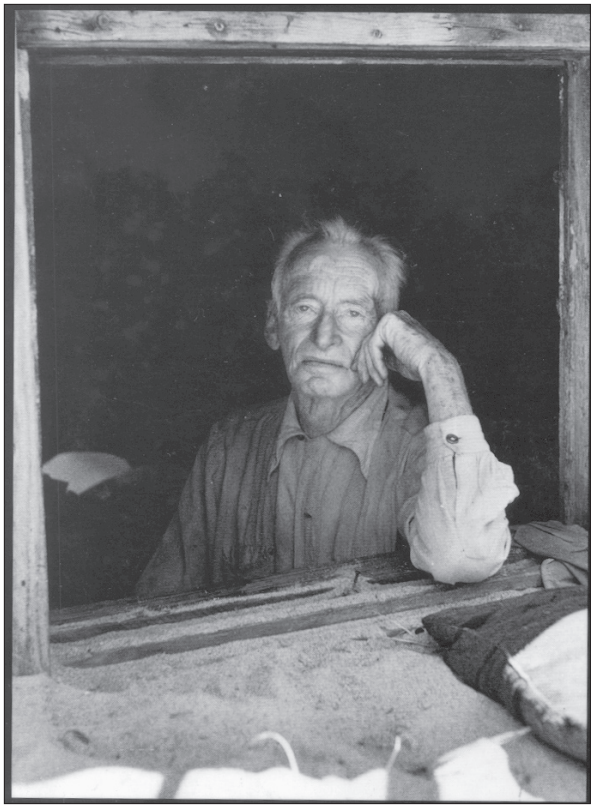
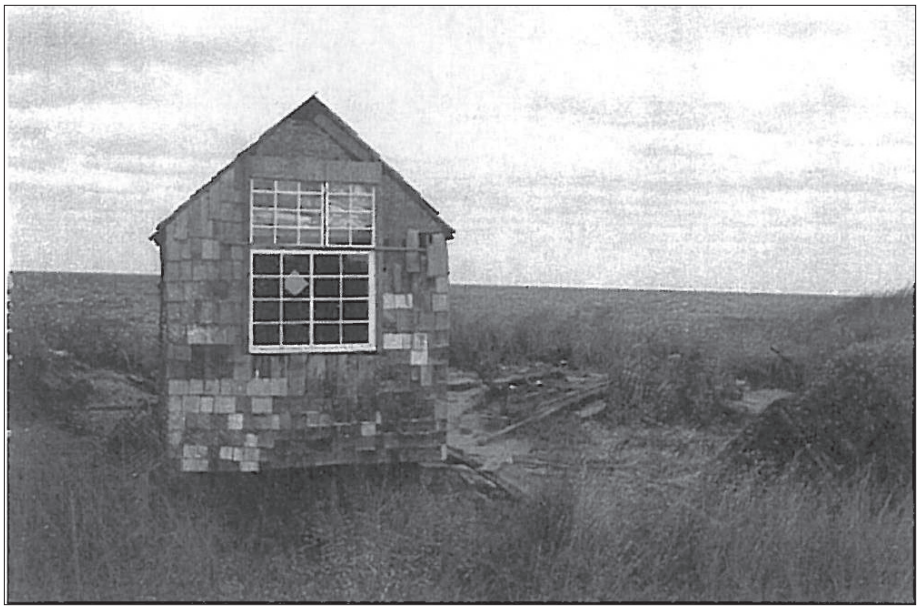


Figure 3.87. Harry Kemp, possibly looking out the window of a dune shack, 1950s (photo by Dan Bernstein, Pilgrim Monument Archives).

Henderson was a Coast Guardsman and an active and respected member of the local community, performing with the Provincetown Players in 1916 and at one point serving as town selectman. He was also one of the original supporters of moving Provincetown's government to a Town Manager form, a change which was adopted in 1954. In 1926 Henderson traveled to the Arctic with Admiral Donald B. MacMillan, and sometime later collapsed and died in Provincetown's Town Hall.[160]

In 1930 or 1931 Frank Henderson rented the Kemp shack to Ray Wells for $3 a week. Not long afterwards, in 1932 or as late as 1936, Henderson rented the building to the poet, Harry Kemp.[161] Kemp was a prolific writer of plays, poetry, autobiographies and fiction who published more than 20 volumes between 1913 and 1954. Known alternately as the "Bard of Provincetown," "Poet of the Dunes," and the "tramp-poet," he resided seasonally in the Malkin/Ofsevit shack between 1927 and 1931.[162] Kemp then occupied the Kemp shack in 1932 and became a fixed character of the back shore until his death in August 1960 (Figures 1.71, 3.87 and 3.88).[163]



Josephine Del Deo provides a charming description of Kemp, and depicts some of the meaning he found in the dune landscape, remarking that

Figure 3.88. View north of the Harry Kemp shack, 1966 (Cape Cod NS archives).



Figure 3.89. View south of the Tasha (Harry Kemp) shack, 1989 (Cape Cod NS Archives).



Figure 3.90. View west of the Tasha (Harry Kemp) shack with a stovepipe supported by a wooden frame, 1989 (Cape Cod NS Archives).

"the early days of trudging Snail Road to find solitude directed his instincts through wandering inspiration."[164] He became a good friend of Salvatore Del Deo in the late 1940s, with whom he read poetry and went swimming in the ocean just below the dunes.[165] With Kemp's death in 1960 the care of the Kemp shack was transferred to Rose Tasha.[166] An existing written record of this transfer from the poet to his friend is dated May 7, 1960. According to a 1967 study by the National Park Service, the shack was in fair condition at the time, and occasionally used.[167]

More recently the poet Nell Husted has spent time in the Kemp shack, as well as the Werner (Thalassa) shack.[168] Josephine Del Deo remarks that the shack has, "for its small size, been a large influence on artists, writers and just special people going from unknown to known careers or going from ignorance of self to self-knowledge."[169] In recognition of this influence a replica of the Kemp shack was constructed by Sunny Tasha in the Provincetown Heritage Museum in 1977. It was filled with some of Kemp's surviving possessions including a typewriter, collection of books and some notebooks, as well as Jeanne (Frenchie) Chanel's old stove (see Figures 3.89 and 3.90).[170]

Located on Tract 08-1043, the parcel of land where the Kemp shack stands is comprised of roughly one acre of the former property of E. Bennett Beede et al., or Tract 08-1036. At the Barnstable County Registry of Deeds no record exists



Figure 3.91. Existing conditions map of the Harry Kemp shack, 2007 (OCLP).

of any land transfer between 1930 and 1967. In 2005 the Tasha's reservation of use and occupancy expired. The family continues to use the shack under annual special use permit to the National Park Service. No documented repairs or modifications have taken place at the shack, though the maintenance and upkeep of the shack itself is managed by the family. In the spirit of the back shore's historic halfway houses and life-saving huts, the Kemp shack is the only remaining shack with an open door policy.[171]

Existing Condition: The Kemp shack is unlocked and stocked with basic supplies for use by shipwrecked sailors, in the tradition of the nineteenth century life saving stations of the Outer Cape. The Kemp shack stands in the middle of a cluster that includes the Margo/Gelb, Fearing, Fowler, and Chanel shacks. It is the smallest and most rustic of all of the dune shacks, and is located close to the northern crest of the foredune. A portion of the foredune rises up in an area of heavy shrubby vegetation on the shack's southern side, protecting the otherwise exposed structure from the wind (Figures 3.91 through 3.93).

A branch of the main vehicle trail extends east to the Kemp shack, which has no separate driveway. Vehicles park at the terminus of a branch of the vehicle trail to the east of the shack (Figure 3.94). This branch of the trail services the Kemp, Fearing and Fowler shacks while a separate trail provides access to the Margo/Gelb shack. The footpath from the ocean to the north side of the Kemp shack is well trodden and clearly seen from the beach (Figures 3.95 and 3.96). This path is eroded where it extends over the northern side of the foredune, though the building itself is not visible from the beach. About half way across the foredune to the beach, another footpath leads to the west, toward the Margo/Gelb shack.

Views from the Kemp shack include the Margo/Gelb shack to the west, water tower and Pilgrim Monument to the south, Fearing and Fowler shacks to the southeast and a clear ocean vista to the north (Figure 3.97). From the Margo/Gelb shack, which is located at a higher elevation, it is possible to view the Kemp shack to the east though the building is still partially obscured by the west side of the dune (see Figure 3.84).

Vegetation around the shack includes several large beach plum shrubs (*Prunus maritima*) adjacent to the south and southeast sides of the structure (see Figures 3.93 and 3.94). Beach grass thickly coats the foredune to the north and southeast of the shack, while a few salt spray rose bushes stand near the shack to the west (see Figures 3.93 and 3.94). Shrubs also grow to the southwest of the shack, on the leeward side of the foredune (see Figure 3.94).

The Kemp shack appears to be in poor condition due to weathering of its cedar shingle roofing and siding, which are missing some shingles. The shack is a one story, one room gable-roof building that lacks a true foundation and rests upon railroad ties in the sand, a simple foundation to facilitate moving the building if necessary (see Figure 3.92). Its gable roof ridge is oriented north to south and the shack itself is clad with weathered wood shingles. Wide double front doors extend across almost the entire north elevation, and when open, connect indoor and outdoor spaces and providing an expansive view of the ocean. A stove is located in the building but there is currently no stovepipe. Largely due to the small, rustic scale of the shack, there are no utilities provided to the building. With the exception of a simple seating area in front of the north side of the shack, the dwelling lacks associated outdoor areas and amenities such as an outhouse, well, birdhouses, clotheslines, or other related site features typical of other dune shacks (see Figure 3.92).

Evaluation: Contributing. The Kemp shack is a contributing resource in the historic district.



Figure 3.92. View south of the Harry Kemp shack north elevation, with an outdoor seating area in the foreground and the water tower visible in the distance, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.93. View east of the Harry Kemp west elevation surrounded by salt spray roses, beach plum, and beach grasses, with the Fearing shack visible in the distance, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.94. View west of the terminus of the vehicle trail at the Harry Kemp shack. Shrubs grow to the south and west of the shack on the leeward side of the foredune. The Margo/Gelb shack is visible in the distance above, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.95. View north to the ocean from the footpath near the Harry Kemp shack, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.96. View north of eroded footpath from the Harry Kemp shack to the ocean, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.97. View southwest from the Harry Kemp shack toward the vehicle trail, with masses of beach plum and beach grass. Pilgrim Monument is visible in the distance, 2006 (OCLP).

Zara Malkin/Ofsevit Shack (#10)

Historic Condition: The Zara Malkin/Ofsevit shack was built by Provincetown resident and local Chief of Police, Charles Rogers in 1917 from milled commercial lumber.[172] Originally it stood on the high bluff overlooking the ocean and close to the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station (see Figures 1.74 and 1.75). Between 1927 and 1931 the Malkin/Ofsevit shack was used by Harry Kemp as well as Irving Rogers, who was then Provincetown's welfare agent. Kemp began writing his novel, *Love among Cape Enders* while residing in the shack.[173]

In 1929 the Malkin/Ofsevit shack was transferred from the care of Charles Rogers to Alice Malkin, along with the 600 foot lot on which it stood at the time (Figures 3.98 and 3.99).[174] Yet the name which actually appears on the quitclaim deed obtained by Alice Malkin appears to have been a different person. According to Barnstable County Records, the shack was the property of William Roden before being transferred to Malkin. On the other hand, the same source also produced documentation of taxes being taken on the land with a possible right of redemption, by the heirs of Joanna Rogers in 1922.[175]



Figure 3.98. View southeast of Alice Malkin on the porch of the Malkin/ Ofsevit shack in its original location facing the ocean, 1930s (Zara Ofsevit Jackson collection, Cape Cod NS Archives).

Alice Malkin was the mother and step-mother of dune dwellers Zara Jackson and Ray Wells, respectively. She first came to Provincetown in 1926 to study painting with Charles W. Hawthorne, and promptly fell in love with the dune landscape.[176] Over the years the Malkin family used the shack seasonally, spending their summers there and winters in New York and New Jersey. In 2004 Zara Malkin Ofsevit Jackson fondly recalled bringing supplies out to the shack on a horse-drawn wagon around 1929, pulled by the ill-tempered horse, "Betsy." Then five years old, Zara also recalled a path of wooden planks stretching from the Coast Guard Station to the wooded part of Snail Road.[177]

In response to a hazardous amount of erosion caused by a winter storm in 1931, the Malkin/Ofsevit shack had to be moved the same year. It was accordingly pulled back on logs



Figure 3.99. View east of the Malkin/ Ofsevit shack in its original location, around 1930 (Zara Ofsevit Jackson collection, Cape Cod NS Archives).

from the cliff edge of the Peaked Hill using the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station tractor. The shack was relocated in the same direction, and at the same time, as the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station. Yet issues with eroding sand persisted, and in 1933 the local builder Jesse Meads helped the Malkin family take the building apart and remove it from the edge of the barrier dune using a horse and wagon. In its new location the shack was reoriented to face west, and found greater protection nestled well behind the line of barrier dunes (Figures 3.100 and 3.101). Beginning around 1933 the Malkin/Ofsevit shack also had another structure associated with it, the boat house from the old Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station. Alice Malkin bought this structure when the station closed in 1938, and it stood nearby the Malkin/Ofsevit shack up until 1990 (see further description later in this chapter).

Upon her mothers death in 1943, Zara Malkin Ofsevit, assumed responsibility for the Malkin/Ofsevit shack.[178] Between 1944 and 1966 she built an addition with a flat roof to the east side of the building, and the encroaching sand increasingly became a cause for concern. Sometime after 1958 the structure was possibly relocated once more, to a spot in the vicinity of its current location. The specific reason for its removal at this time is undocumented, but was likely undertaken to save it from disappearing into the ocean.[179] A 1967 National Park Service study found the shack to be in fair condition during that year, and well used by frequent renters.[180] Subsequent photographs from 1976 and 1980 show the shack in a considerably deteriorated state, probably because the Malkin/Ofsevit family was no longer in the habit of renting it out or using it regularly (Figures 3.102 and 3.103). According to Zara Malkin Ofsevit Jackson,



Figure 3.100. View east of Zara Ofsevit on swing, age 11, in front of the relocated Malkin/Ofsevit shack in 1935. The front door of the shack faces west. The relocated Coast Guard Station is visible in the distance at left (Zara Ofsevit Jackson collection, Cape Cod NS Archives).

the property also saw a considerable amount of vandalism during the 1960s.[181]

The Malkin/Ofsevit shack stands on Tract 09-1041, or roughly 1.4 acres of the property formerly owned by E. Bennett Beede et al. as Tract 08-1036. In 1929 it was transferred from the care of Charles Rogers to Alice Malkin, along with the 600 foot lot on which it stood at that time.[182] To continue their use of the building Zara and Samuel Jackson signed an annual special use permit with the United States government in March of 1980.[183] Not long thereafter renovations were proposed for the shack, and the small outhouse was built.[184] Then on April 21, 1990 the shack burned to the ground when a vagrant living at the site set a fire there. Under the permission of the State Historic Preservation Officer and the National Park Service, it was entirely rebuilt with the help of the Peaked Hill Trust in 1991. The shack was raised in the fashion of a barn and was basically completed in a single summer week, relying upon the collaboration of over three dozen people. In 2005 the Jackson's reservation of use and occupancy expired. The family continues to use the shack under an annual special use permit. The Peaked Hill Trust cares for the shack for the Jackson family.[185]

The current Malkin/Ofsevit shack was built further away from the dune route than where the previous structure had stood, and over a rise so as to provide more privacy and protection from the elements. It was carefully modeled after the original using historic photos, drawings and the first hand descriptions of Zara Ofsevit Jackson (Figure 1.48).[186] In addition to being used by the Malkin/Ofsevit family, the building has been rented out over the years and used by Provincetown painter Frank Milby, Truro artist Barbara Baker and her family, and others. [187]

Existing Condition: Volunteers and the Peaked Hill Trust reconstructed the Malkin/Ofsevit shack, also known as "Zara's" shack, in 1991, a year after the original structure burned. The shack is located in the central group of dune shacks but is set apart from the other structures. It is one of the furthest inland shacks, located approximately 1,000 feet from the ocean and on the leeward or southern side of the inner dune. The topography of the site is relatively flat, sloping slightly to the south, while a low dune rises to the southwest of the structure. The area to the north of the shack appears to be collecting sand as a number of old fences are buried in the sand (Figures 3.102 through 3.104).



Figure 3.101. View northeast of Irving Ofsevit on the west-facing front porch of the Malkin/Ofsevit shack around 1940. A utility pole, likely associated with the Coast Guard Station is visible in the distance at left (Zara Ofsevit Jackson collection, Cape Cod NS Archives).

The Malkin/Ofsevit shack is located 50 feet to the south of the main vehicle trail and does not have its own driveway. Visitors park on the shoulder of the main vehicle trail and walk in to the shack along a short footpath (Figure 3.105). Halfway down this path, another path forks off and leads southeast to the well to the southeast. The shack footpath is lined with wooden posts on either side, which appear to be remnants of a fence (see Figure 3.105). From the front door of the shack another footpath ascends a small dune to the west of building, where a small outdoor seating area above the level of the shack. Yet another footpath from the front door of the shack descends to the south and winds west into a clearing where a grove of 10 to 12-foot oaks surround an actively used, hull-shaped outhouse designed by William Fitts (Figure 3.106). A footpath to the Route 6, Exit 9/Snail Road gate is to the west of the shack.

Views from the Malkin/Ofsevit shack include the water tower to the southeast and Pilgrim Monument to the southwest, which is barely visible. To the northeast the Fowler shack can be seen, while off in the distance to the east is the Watson shack. Due to the Malkin/Ofsevit shack's inland location, it is surrounded by relatively diverse clusters of vegetation including scrub oak, pine, bayberry, beach plum, heath and poison ivy (see Figure 3.104). Thick shrubs also surround the corners of the building. A large stand of pines is located south and west of the shack and extends down to a lower elevation (see Figure 3.103). The shack itself is not too far above the water table, and a cranberry bog can be found nearby to the south of the shack.

The rectangular, one room, single story shack is in good condition and has a hip roof with a central stove pipe (see Figure 3.103). The ridge is oriented east to west. A screen porch faces west with a central door and an entry ramp that includes a hand railing of cedar logs. A well stands close to the northeast corner of the shack, and from the water is carried into the building as there is no internal plumbing. Propane tanks power a small refrigerator and range.

Small-scale features include fencing, birdhouses, a clothesline, and a compost bin made from a lobster trap (Figure 3.107). A wooden cross in the vicinity of the compost bin may be a grave marker or sign (Figure 3.108). A clothesline hangs between the northeast corner of the shack and a post and the well is located nearby (Figures 3.109 and 3.110). Sand fencing runs along the north side of the shack, near the footpath and parking area. Most of the fencing is old and dilapidated, and in some areas only the posts that once supported it remain. Just to the north of the shack is an open area with birdhouses. One of these is located about 10 feet north of the building, while others stand to the south and east of the

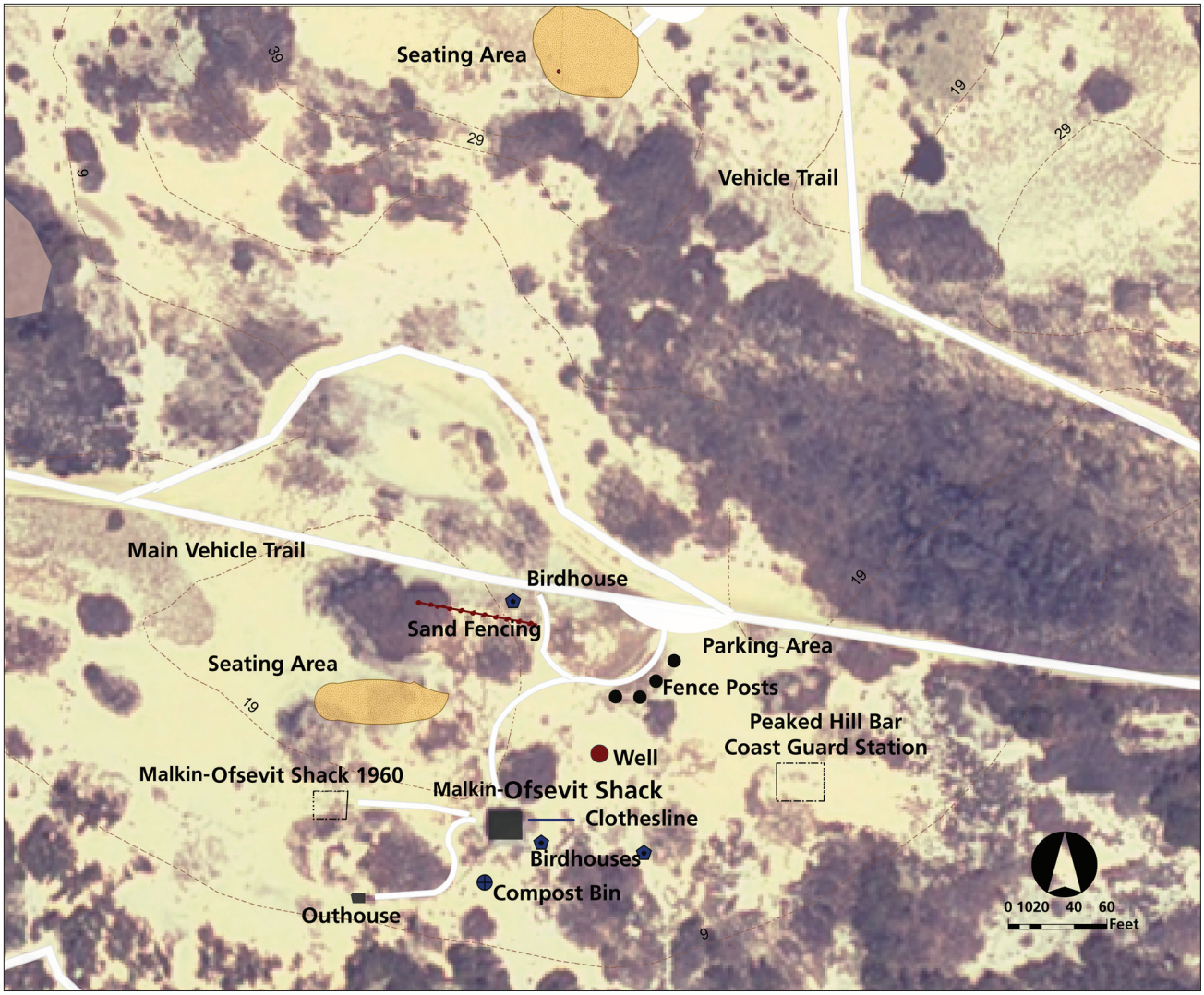


Figure 3.102. Existing conditions map of Malkin/Ofsevit shack, 2007 (OCLP).

shack, some of which are quite old.

Evaluation: Contributing. In 1989 the Malkin/Ofsevit shack was listed as a contributing resource in the historic district. After a devastating fire in 1990, however, the shack was completely rebuilt in 1991. The 2011 National Register documentation study identifies the rebuilt shack as a contributing resource.

Zara Malkin/Ofsevit Outhouse

Historic Condition: No documentation was found on the history of the outhouse associated with the Malkin/Ofsevit shack.

Existing Condition: A hull-shaped outhouse designed by William Fitts stands to the southwest of the shack in a clearing surrounded by stunted oaks (Figure 3.106).

Evaluation: Non-Contributing. The Malkin/Ofsevit outhouse is a non-contributing feature.



Figure 3.103. View southeast from dune to Malkin/Ofsevit shack north and west elevations. A narrow path climbs the dune in the foreground to an upper seating area with views across the inner dune valley, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.104. View northwest of Malkin/Ofsevit shack south elevation, with wood slat fencing along the south yard area to stabilize sand, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.105. View southwest of footpath to the Malkin/Ofsevit shack. Note the wooden posts of a former fence crossing the path, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.106. View northeast of the outhouse to the southwest of the Malkin/Ofsevit shack, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.107. View northeast of birdhouse to the east of the Malkin/Ofsevit shack, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.108. Wooden cross near the Malkin/Ofsevit shack, 2006, (OCLP).



Figure 3.109. View from the Malkin/ Ofsevit shack to the clothesline to the east, with well in the distance beyond the post, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.110. Well for the Malkin/Ofsevit shack, located northeast of the building, 2006, (OCLP).

Stanley and Laura Fowler Shack (#11)

Historic Condition: The Fowler shack was built by Stanley Fowler and his wife Laura in 1949, at a location the couple had occupied seasonally since 1947 (Figure 3.111).[188] It originally looked out on a fresh water pond and even had a view of the ocean, but as the barrier dune moved inland in later years this pond filled in with sand and obstructed ocean views (see Figure 1.61).[189]

Laura Fowler was first captivated by the dunes of the Peaked Hill Bars back in 1940. The following summer, she and her husband camped out in the dunes and immediately felt a strong connection to their unique surroundings. When the couple later began building a shack in 1949, Stanley Fowler cut the lumber for the Fowler shack himself in his winter home in West Roxbury, before shipping it out to Provincetown. Once they had constructed the shack the Fowlers added on to the shach while occupying it roughly six months out of each year, driving north to the back shore from Largo, Florida every summer (Figure 3.112).[190] Although a purchase agreement was drawn up with the owner of the land, it was never signed due to the death of Jeff Beede, Sr. In the National Park Service study of 1967 the shack was observed to be in excellent condition and in regular use by the Fowlers.[191] Throughout their time in the dunes they were dedicated observers and enthusiastic, knowledgeable guardians of this fragile environment, both in its natural and human aspects.[192]

Over the course of their long occupancy in the dunes the Fowlers undertook a number of improvements to the shack they had built. Between 1950 and 1976



Figure 3.111. View southwest of the Fowler shack around 1951 (Fowler Album, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

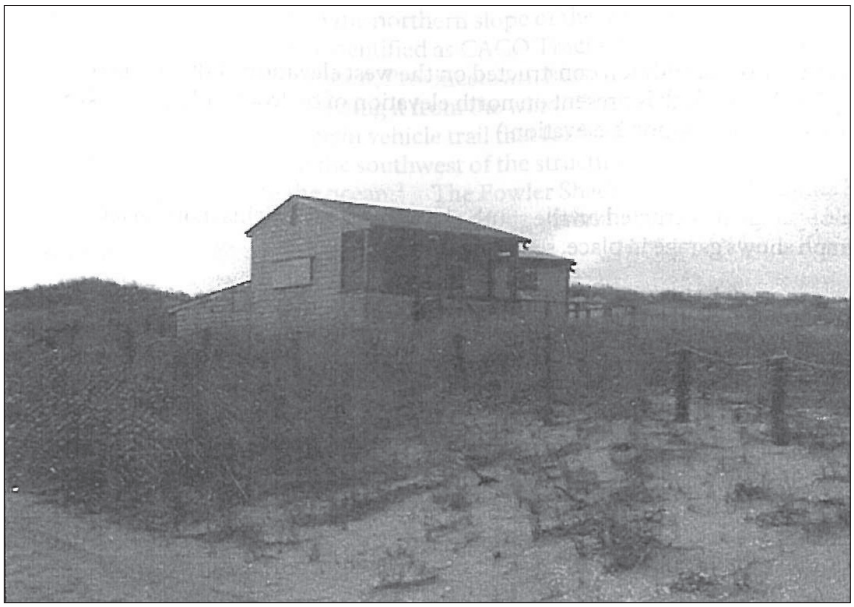


Figure 3.112. View southwest of the Fowler shack around 1960 (Cape Cod NS Archives).



Figure 3.113. View southeast of the Fowler shack in 1977 (GH Fraser Collection).

they expanded the structure to include a bedroom, garage, and a bathroom (Figure 3.113). In 1988 the Fowlers installed a new hand-driven well roughly 100 feet northeast of the shack, in order to replace an old, dysfunctional one located on the building's southwest corner.[193]

The Fowler shack stands on Tract 08-1044, a roughly one acre parcel of what used to be the property of E. Bennett Beede et al. as Tract 08-1036. Though a purchase agreement was at one point drawn up, Jeff Beede, Sr. died before signing the agreement.[194] Laura and Stanley Fowler used the shack for many years after receiving a lifetime reservation of use and occupancy (Figure 3.114). In 1991, dune shack neighbors Peter Clemons and Marianne Benson were asked by Laura Fowler to care for the property in her absence. Under this arrangement, recent repairs included a roof replacement in the 1990s. Upon Laura Fowler's passing in 2006, the shack came to the National Park Service, which signed a Memorandum of Agreement with the Provincetown Community Compact to offer a writer-in-residence program at the Fowler shack.[195]

Figure 3.114. View northeast of the Fowler shack west and south elevations, with the Fearing shack in the distance, 1989 (Cape Cod NS Archives).



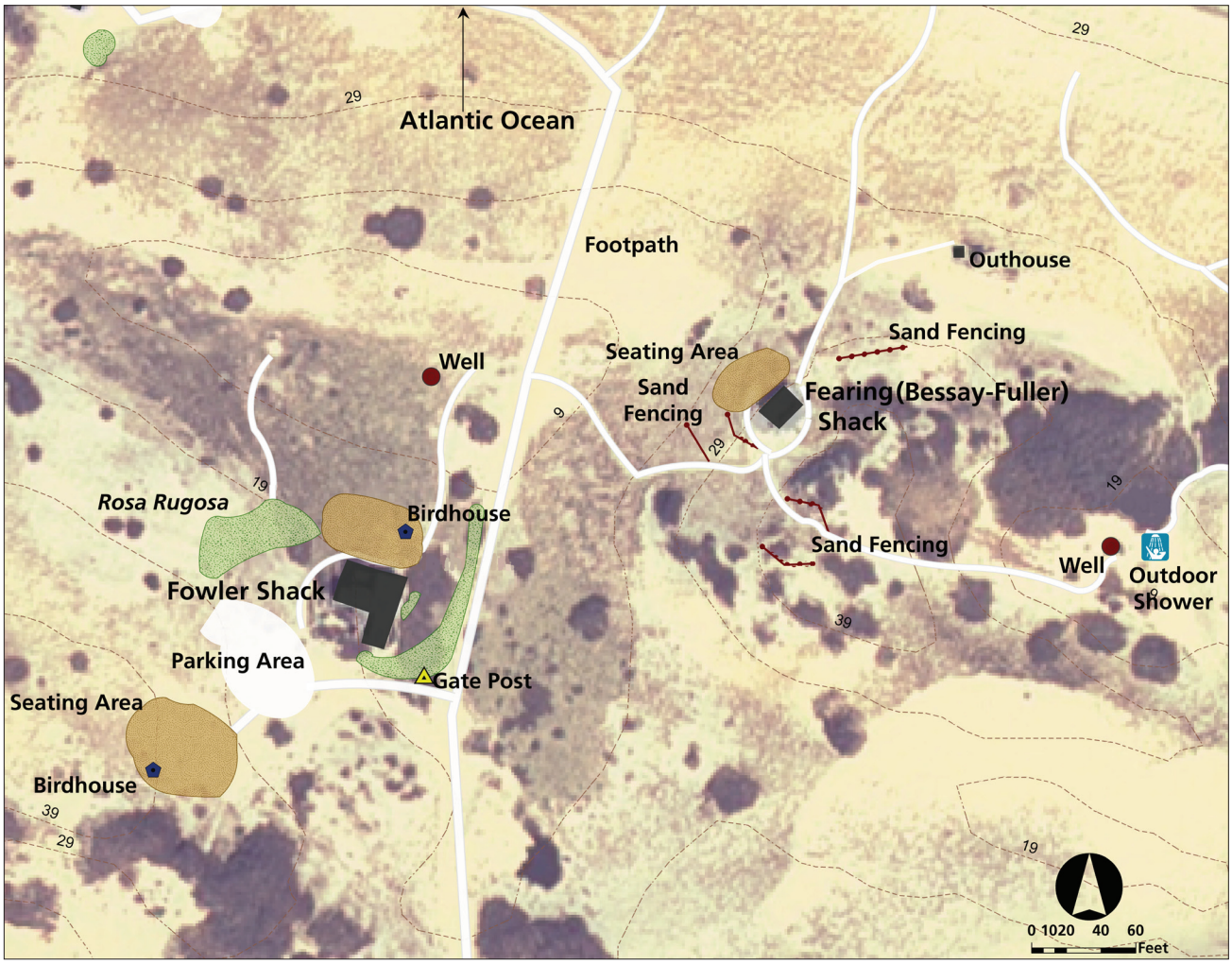
Existing Condition: The Fowler shack is in the central group of dune shacks and forms part of a cluster of shacks in close proximity, including the Fearing, Kemp, Chanel, Margo/Gelb, and Werner (Thalassa) shacks. The Fowler shack is located on the northern slope of the inner dune, approximately 500 feet from the ocean. The foredune rises about 200 to 300 feet to the north of the shack. The inner dune rises at an even slope to the southwest of the shack, where chairs and birdhouses are located in an outdoor cooking and seating area. Due to its somewhat

protected location in the valley between the foredune and inner dune, the shack does not experience the same severity of erosion problems as other dune shacks in the historic district (Figures 3.115 through 3.118).

The Fowler shack is reached by a long driveway that extends north from the main vehicle trail. Just south of the shack, a short spur extends west to a parking area (Figures 3.119 and 3.120). The driveway continues north, passing the Fearing shack, then rising toward the ocean and swinging west to the the Kemp shack (Figures 3.120 and 3.121). A narrow footpath leads from the parking area around the Fowler shack and cuts through the vegetation on the structure's east side. A flat clearing and seating area are located to the southwest of the shack near the parking area (Figure 3.121). From this clearing, a footpath continues up the inner dune to the southwest leading to a second clearing above.

Views from the shack include the Margo/Gelb and Kemp shacks to the northwest, Fearing shack to the northeast, and the water tower to the south. The Pilgrim Monument cannot be seen from the Fowler shack. According to accounts from residents, there was once a clear view to the ocean from this shack. Today this view is obstructed by the high foredune, clear evidence of the

Figure 3.115. Existing conditions map of Fowler and Fearing shacks, 2007 (OCLP).



dramatic changes in the topography of the dunes over time (see Figure 3.120). The ground around the Fowler shack is covered with low shrubby vegetation and beach grass. Salt spray rose bushes grow around the shack to the north, south and east, which may have been planted. An interesting variety of mint green colored lichen (possibly a species of *Cladonia* lichen known as reindeer moss) covers the ground to the north and west of the shack, helping to stabilize the sand around it (see Figure 3.120).

In fair condition, the Fowler shack is a one story gable roofed structure with multiple additions, including a garage, two decks, a north facing screened-in porch, and a detached outhouse (see Figures 3.118 and 3.119). The shack is raised on wooden support posts and is clad with coursed wooden shingles. The main roofline of the shack is oriented east to west and the garage has a shed roof that slopes to the south. The front door of the shack is oriented to the north and enclosed by a small screened-in porch. Two sets of steps on the east and west sides lead to this small porch and provide access to the front door. To the west of the screened-in porch is a deck. Towards the back of the shack is a single set of steps that leads to a small deck with an open pergola roof and the south facing back entrance door to the shack. The steps lead to the shack's parking area and outhouse with a composting toilet, which is located approximately ten feet south of the back deck. A wooden boardwalk extends over the sand from the back steps of the shack to the outhouse. The outhouse is a simple structure clad with wooden shingles and topped with a shed roof oriented to the south. The shack formerly had a small indoor bathroom with plumbing and a cesspool. The shack's well is located approximately 100 feet to the north of the shack along a clear trodden footpath that extends from the front of the shack to the well (see Figure 3.116). Apparently, in the past this well was shared with occupants of the Fearing shack. Propane tanks power a small refrigerator, range, and oven.

Small-scale features on the site include birdhouses and chairs in the outdoor cooking and seating area to the south of the shack (see Figure 3.121). Birdhouses stand on posts to the north and south of the shack. A clothesline possibly extends from the south side of the building. Evidence of a deteriorated wooden gate is seen near the driveway to the southeast of the shack (see Figure 3.119).

Evaluation: Contributing. The Fowler shack is a contributing resource in the historic district.



Figure 3.116. View south of the Fowler shack north elevation front door and porch, with the well in the foreground, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.117. View southwest of the Fowler shack east and north elevations, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.118. View east of the Fowler shack west elevation. Note the detached outhouse to the south of the back door of the shack, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.119. View north of Fowler shack and parking area to the south. The Fearing shack and foredune are visible in the distance, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.120. View north of vehicle trail and footpath extending over the foredune. Scrub pines, salt spray rose, and beach grass surround the Fowler shack at left. The Fearing shack is visible in the distance, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.121. View looking north from the Fowler shack outdoor seating area toward the foredune and ocean with the neighboring Fearing shack to the northeast. The vehicle trail turns west to the Kemp shack at upper left, 2006 (OCLP).

Al and Dorothy Fearing/Andrew Fuller/Grace Bessay Shack (#12)

Historic Condition: According to Hazel Hawthorne Werner and Josephine Del Deo, the Fearing shack was built by Coast Guardsman Raymond Brown in about 1931.[196] Another source cites 1939 as the construction date, but this was the year the shack was purchased by Alfred and Dorothy Fearing.[197] In her recollections, Hazel Hawthorne Werner notes that the two neighboring shacks 30 to 40 feet west of the Fearing shack were built by Joe Madieros in 1931 and by Louis Silva in 1931 (and later known as Thalassa).[198] Photographs from the 1940s show the cluster of shacks.[199]

In November 25, 1939 Ann Kleinman sold the Fearing shack and its contents to Alfred and Doe (Dorothy Huby) Fearing.[200] Purportedly, the deed for this transfer still exists.[201] Shorty thereafter, Doe's two sisters, Babe Huby and Kay Huby Shaw, rented the two neighboring shacks (see Figures 1.63 through 1.67). The three sisters and their families occupied the shacks seasonally in the 1940s (Figures 3.122 and 3.123). The cluster was broken apart when Hazel Hawthorne Werner, who in 1936 had purchased the shack built by Silva, moved it in 1949 to the east and named it Thalassa. The other shack was abandoned and fell over by 1950.[202] In 1950 and 1951, heavy storms reshaped the dune landscape surrounding the Fearing shack, burying the north end and exposing the pilings of the south end. In response, Jim Enos regarded the dune landscape with a bulldozer (Figure 3.124).[203]

Little is known of the alterations made to the shack over the succeeding years, but sometime between 1920 and 1966 it underwent an expansion.[204] By 1967 the National Park Service observed that the Fearing shack did not appear to be in regular use or occupancy.[205] The land where the shack still stands today, or Tract 08-1045, once comprised a roughly one acre parcel located within the 251 acre Tract 08-1036 belonging to E. Bennett Beede et al. At first Beede knowingly allowed squatting to take place on his property, but when land taxes rose in 1947 he began collecting rent. Whereas most shack dwellers willingly paid a use fee, Fearing did not comply.[206]

The deed for the Fearing shack, as transferred from Kleinman, was registered a few years later, in 1952. Yet in 1967 the National Park Service concluded that the structure did not achieve the status of "improved property" and therefore maintained the transfer of ownership to the United States government.[207] It would be years before a use and occupancy agreement could be negotiated with the National Park Service, as a prolonged debate ensued. In 1969 Alfred Fearing transferred the care of the shack to Andrew Fuller, whose partner, Grace

Figure 3.122. View northwest of Doe and Al Fearing's son Alfred Jr., or "Alf" (1937–2009) standing in front of the Fearing shack (left) and two adjacent shacks, 1940s. The shack of Al Fearing's sister-in-law, later known as Thalassa, is at far right. The shack in the center is no longer extant (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).





Figure 3.123. View southwest of Al Fearing holding his daughter Valerie with his son Al Jr. and possibly two nephews standing beside the Fearing shack north and east elevations in 1945, with a steep dune to the east and south (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

Bessay, soon became involved in a lengthy judicial struggle to prove that the Fearing shack was an improved property.[208] Bessay and Fuller fixed up the shack and tended several other structures in the dunes including their "Small Shack" and "Red Shack" to the east near High Head.

When Fuller died in 1981 the shack passed into the care of Bessay, who became his executrix.[209] Bessay's attempt to establish ownership of the shack failed in 1991, despite numerous appeals. Her suit is considered the longest lawsuit against the United States government in the history of American law.[210] She received a 25 year reservation of use permit for the shack. When Bessay died in 1996 the care of the shack passed to Peter Clemons and his wife Marianne Benson, who had been using the building since 1974.[211] The reservation of use and occupancy for the Bessay shack expires in 2016.[212] A trained artist, Peter Clemons was granted permission by the National Park Service in 2007 to construct a small studio in the open area to the southwest of the Fearing shack.

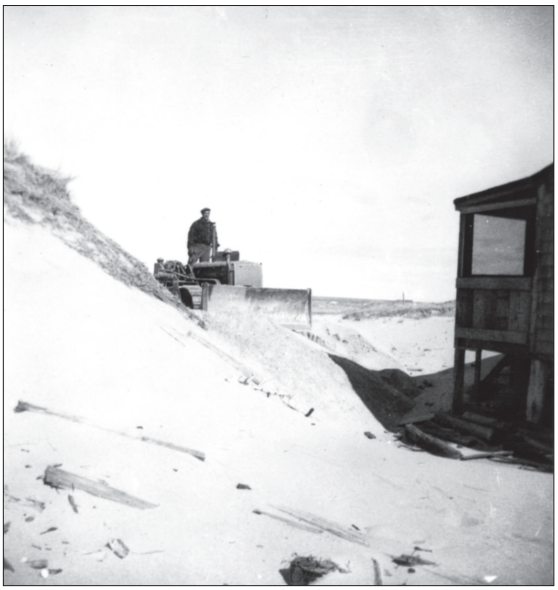


Figure 3.124. View southwest of Jim Enos moving sand with bulldozer, 1951. Sand buried one side of the Fearing shack and eroded from the other (southeast) side (Fowler Album, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

Existing Condition: The Fearing shack is also known as "The Grail," signifying Bessay's long term effort to prove ownership, and is located in the central group of shacks and approximately 300 feet northeast of the Fowler shack (see Figure 3.115). It forms part of a cluster with the nearby Margo/Gelb, Kemp, Fowler, Chanel, and Werner (Thalassa) shacks. The shack is set on a peak between the foredune and inner dune, approximately 300 feet from the ocean. Directly to the north is a clearing and picnic area that extends into the broad, flat plateau of the grassy foredune (Figures 3.126 through 3.130).



Figure 3.125. View north of the Fearing shack with Grace Bessay and Andy Fuller applying new roofing to the building, 1970 (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

The long driveway from the main vehicle trail provides access to both the Fearing and Fowler shacks. The drive also serves as a well worn trail between the shacks before continuing up over the ridge of the foredune, where it becomes a footpath to the ocean (Figures 3.127 and 3.129). A small parking area is located in the valley between the foredune and inner dune, just west of the Fearing shack. A footpath branches off of the driveway at this junction and zigzags up the steep dune to the shack on the southeast side (see Figure 3.126). Another narrow footpath extends straight from the north door of the shack and up over the dune, dipping down into a shallow depression just before climbing the foredune and climbing over the foredune leading toward the ocean (see Figure 3.127). From this path is a spur path to an outhouse. A steep peak in the inner dune lies just east of the shack, and over it is a large blowout depression in which an outdoor shower and well are located (Figures 3.130 and 3.131).

Set high on the inner dune, the Fearing shack has excellent views of the surrounding landscape (see Figure 3.129). The Pilgrim Monument is visible to the south, Kemp and Margo/Gelb shacks to the northwest, and the Fowler shack stands nearby to the southwest. The water tower is not visible from the shack, while the view to the ocean from the shack is obscured by the foredune. A view of the water can only be obtained from the high dune to the east of the shack. Also visible from this high point are the roof of the Chanel shack to the northeast, and the water tower to the south. (Between 1952 and 1970, the Hill-Ford shack was also visible to the northeast.)

Vegetation around the Fearing shack includes beach grass and scattered salt spray roses, beach plum and oaks along the footpath leading north to the ocean (see Figures 3.127 and 3.128). A few salt spray roses grow to the south of the shack on the leeward slope of the inner dune, dense shrubs and grasses grow to the east and west of the shack. Stands of scrub oak grow to the northwest, as well as to the east of the shack, near the outdoor shower and well (see Figures 3.128 and 3.130).

In good condition, the one-and-one-half story shack consists of a one-story gable section, the ridge oriented east to west, a one and a half-story shed roof bedroom and loft, and a one-story shed roof storage shed, all of which slope east. (see Figure 3.127). Both of these roofs are covered with asphalt rolled roofing. The shack is similar to the Fowler shack in its complexity, with many additions to the living space. A covered porch area extends along the north elevation of the shack

and a low deck wraps around the south and west sides. A floating platform deck rests in the sand at the southwest corner of the shack, and a smaller platform steps down and extends from this deck on the south side (see Figure 3.127). The shack is clad with coursed wooden shingles and has substantial wood framing members. The main entrance into the shack is provided by a set of double doors on the east elevation. A single door in the middle of the north elevation provides access to the yard area on the north side of the shack. Two exterior storage extensions on the northeast and southwest corners of the shack are clad with lattice panels.

Utilities include the outdoor shower and well, which are located in a depression over the steep dune to the east of the shack and an outhouse to the north (see Figures 3.130 and 3.131). The well is a further distance than is typical in the district, and so the occupants of the Fearing shack have sometimes used the Fowler shack's well, which is located approximately 300 feet to the southwest of the former (see Figures 3.116 and 3.129).

Small-scale features in the vicinity of the Fearing shack include a clothesline extending between two posts on the northwest and southwest corners of the deck and west side of the shack and a table in the yard area to the north (see Figure 3.128). Several wooden posts near the north footpath to the ocean possibly serve as markers for this path. Sand fencing lines the southwest slope of the high dune peak in rows and is combined with fishermen's netting, which is placed behind the fencing in an attempt to form a barrier to control sand movement. This same fencing technique is also used to the north and east of the shack (see Figures 3. 126 through 3.128).

Evaluation: Contributing. The Fearing shack is a contributing resource in the historic district.

Al and Dorothy Fearing/Andrew Fuller/Grace Bessay Outhouse

Historic Condition: An outhouse stands to the north of the shack (Figure 3.131).

Existing Condition: The outhouse is functional.

Evaluation: The Fearing outhouse is a non-contributing feature.

Al and Dorothy Fearing/Andrew Fuller/Grace Bessay Studio

Historic Condition: A studio was constructed in 2009 near the Fearing shack (see Figures 3.1 and 3.131).

Existing Condition: The extant studio was not documented.

Evaluation: The Fearing studio is a non-contributing feature.



Figure 3.126. View northeast of the Fearing shack west and south elevations, as seen from the vehicle trail near the Fowler shack, 2006. Note: a shed/studio built in 2009 now stands in the foreground of this view (OCLP).



Figure 3.127. View northwest of the Fearing shack south and east elevations, with the vehicle trail at upper left, a footpath leading to the ocean and outhouse at upper right, and a footpath to the outdoor shower at lower right, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.128. View looking south at the Fearing shack north and west elevations and the front yard seating area to the north of the shack. Bright green fisherman's netting is used to stabilize the sand in the foreground, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.129. View southwest of the Fearing shack (left) and nearby Fowler shack (right), with Pilgrim Monument visible in the distance. Note the vehicle trail between the shacks, at center, and the footpath from the Fearing shack extending north over the dune in the foreground, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.130. View northeast of Fearing well pump and outdoor shower (tipped over), located east of the shack, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.131. View southwest of the Fearing outhouse in the foreground, the Fearing shack, the studio constructed in 2009, and Fowler shack at center, 2011 (Courtesy of Bart Bartelsman).

Jeanne Chanel Shack (#13)

Historic Condition: The Jeanne Chanel shack occupies roughly the same site where the Coast Guard Station stood from 1918 to 1931, and may contain fragments from an old outbuilding of that complex.[213] The original shack was built from driftwood and other assorted materials by Jeanne "Frenchie" Chanel on the remains of the Coast Guard Station, sometime between 1940 and 1946 (Figures 1.77 through 1.79).[214]

According to Josephine Del Deo, Frenchie originally came to Provincetown in the company of Bette Davis, as a chorus girl from the Broadway show, *George White's Scandals*. The young Frenchie fell in love with the dunes and devoted the rest of her life to constructing, using, and maintaining the Chanel shack (see Figure 3.0). Among her visitors over the years were Provincetown artist, cook and author Howard Mitcham, as well as Arthur Cohen in 1962 and 1963. Frenchie herself was an aspiring actress, singer, and amateur painter (Figure 3.132). Some of whose works are now owned by the Town of Provincetown.[215]



Figure 3.132. Painting by Frenchie of her initial dune shack, c. 1950 (GH Fraser Collection).

By 1953 Frenchie had become good friends of Josephine Del Deo and her new husband, Salvatore Del Deo, and invited the couple to stayed in the Chanel shack that summer. Josephine Del Deo, an author and one of the founders of the Fine Arts Work Center, has lived in the shack seasonally and intermittently ever since, totalling over 45 years.[216] She has described the Chanel shack as "a refuge, a source of creative energy, a leavening of our life in every respect."[217] Both trained artists, the Del Deos were, and Josephine continues to be, very active in the Provincetown community. Salvatore studied at the Vesper George School of Art in Boston before studying at the Cape School of Art in Provincetown. He was a leader of the Provincetown art community for many years, and Josephine has been instrumental in local awareness of historic and environmental preservation. In June of 2007 the town of Provincetown unveiled the "Josephine C. Del Deo



Figure 3.133. View southeast of the partially buried Chanel shack in 1975 (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

Heritage Archives," a name indicative of her leading role in its realization. The Del Deo's son Romolo is a professional sculptor, while their daughter Giovanna is a writer.[218]

In 1967 a National Park Service study found the Chanel shack to be in regular use but poor condition.[219] According to Josephine Del Deo the shack was prone to sand burial at this time, due to its location nestled in a dune. Tenants had therefore to dig it out seasonally each year, for summer use.[220] Yet by 1976 the shack was in danger of being completely buried by sand, and near collapse as its aged timbers sagged under the extra weight (Figure 3.133). As a result Salvatore Del Deo reconstructed the shack on top of the old structure in 1976, using salvaged portions of the original shack (Figures 3.134 and 3.135).[221] Thus, though it includes the salvaged remnants of the original 1940s shack, the current structure is mostly of newer construction in situ.[222] Improvements to the Chanel shack continued in 1977, with the addition of an ocean-facing porch.[223] Eventually with Frenchie's death in 1983 her daughter, singer and entertainer Adrienne Schnell, also known as Schatzi Chanel, allowed the Del Deos to continue utilizing the Chanel shack as they had in the past (Figure 3.136). Remembering her mother, Schatzi wrote "The dunes were the carpet to her chapel. With much pride, I admit that Frenchy [sic] (my Mother) made many aware that the dunes were the path to Heaven on Earth." [224]

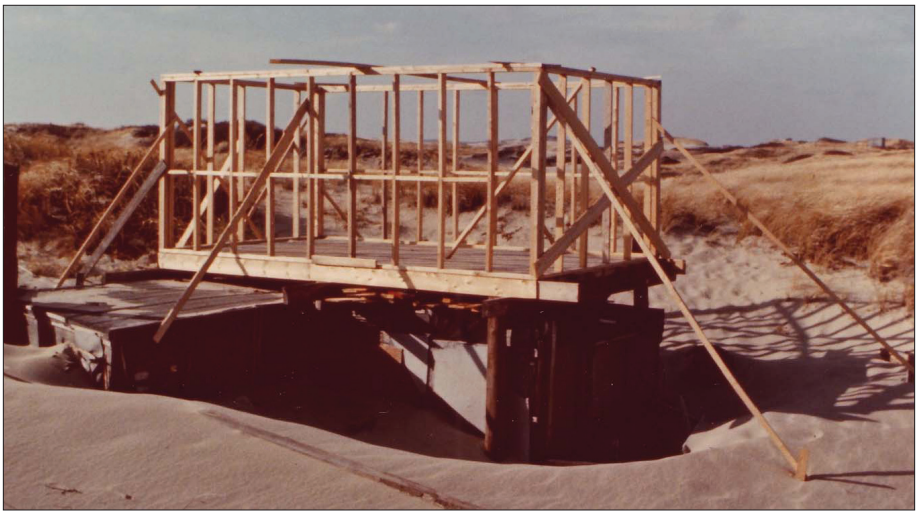


Figure 3.134. View southwest of construction on top of the original half buried Chanel shack, 1976 (Cape Cod NS Archives).

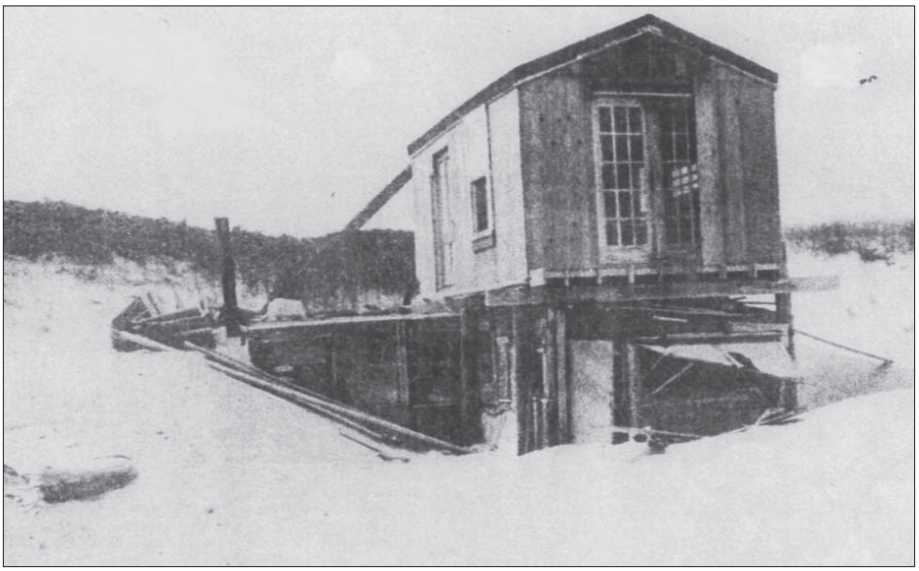


Figure 3.135. View looking south of the Chanel shack construction on top of the half buried structure, 1976 (Cape Cod NS Archives).

The Chanel shack stands on the roughly one-acre Tract 08-1036, which was a portion of the former 251-acre property of E. Bennett Beede et al., or Tract 08-1036. Today Schnell occupies the building under a life reservation of use and occupancy agreement with the National Park Service. [225]



Figure 3.136. View south of the Chanel shack, with outdoor seating area to the northeast of the building, 1987 (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

Existing Condition: The Chanel shack is located in the central group of shacks approximately 300 feet east of the Fearing shack, and forms part of a cluster with the nearby Fowler, Fearing, Kemp, Margo/Gelb and Werner (Thalassa) shacks.

The Chanel shack sits near the crest of the foredune, on the leeward side, and is approximately 150 feet from the ocean. Though nestled within a heavily vegetated area, the shack is surrounded by encroaching sand that threatens to engulf it. The topography of the foredune to the west of the shack is relatively even in grade and continues in this manner all the way to the Kemp shack (Figures 3.137 through 3.141).

The Chanel shack is accessed from the main vehicle trail, which terminates just north of the shack and continues as a footpath to the ocean. Another footpath continues west across the foredune to the Kemp shack and east to the Werner (Euphoria) shack. A small parking area and the shack's well are both found at this crossroads, where trails to the three different shacks are located (Figure 3.142).

Views from the shack include a clear view of the ocean to the north, the Kemp shack to the west, the Werner (Euphoria) shack to the east and the Margo/Gelb shack and associated outhouse in the distance to the northwest (Figure 3.143). The roof of the Fearing shack is also visible above the dune to the southwest, while the top of the Pilgrim Monument and water tower can be seen to the south. The various footpaths around the Chanel shack, especially those to the west, provide additional views to nearby shacks and landscape features.

The foredune is covered by heavy beach grass and drops off steeply to the beach north of the shack. A large salt spray rose is located on the slope just above the south side of the structure, while smaller clumps of salt spray roses are dispersed in the landscape to the northeast. (see Figure 3.138 and 3.140).

In good condition, the Chanel shack is a one story, L-shaped building with a low pitched gable roof over each section, resting on wooden posts. The main ridge is oriented in a north and south direction while the smaller ridge runs east and west. A screened porch faces the ocean on the north end of the main section of the building. The front door faces east and has a short flight of wooden steps (see Figure 3.139). The south and west elevations of the shack abut the dune. However,

the underside of the shack and its pilings are visible from the north and east sides, revealing the shack's vulnerability to wind erosion (see Figures 3.139 and 141).

A composting outhouse is located to the north of the footpath leading from the vehicle trail to the shack in a cleared area to the east. This structure sits at a slightly higher level than the shack and is surrounded by sand fencing. It has a unique style compared to other outhouses in the district (Figure 3.144), and is tethered to the ground on its south side with cables to protect against being toppled by heavy winds. Just east of the shack and near the outhouse is a "blow out" dune covered in beach grass, suggesting that it occurred some time ago. Utilities are limited to a propane tank underneath the Chanel shack, which powers a small range and refrigerator. There is no interior plumbing and water is carried from the well, which is situated off of the main vehicle trail to the east. A woodstove located in the center of the main living space is vented through a stovepipe on the west side of the main gable, near the ridge.

Small-scale features near the Chanel shack include a bench and dug out cooler located approximately six feet northeast of the building in a clearing that serves as a side yard (Figure 3.145). The dug out cooler holds gallon jugs of water pumped

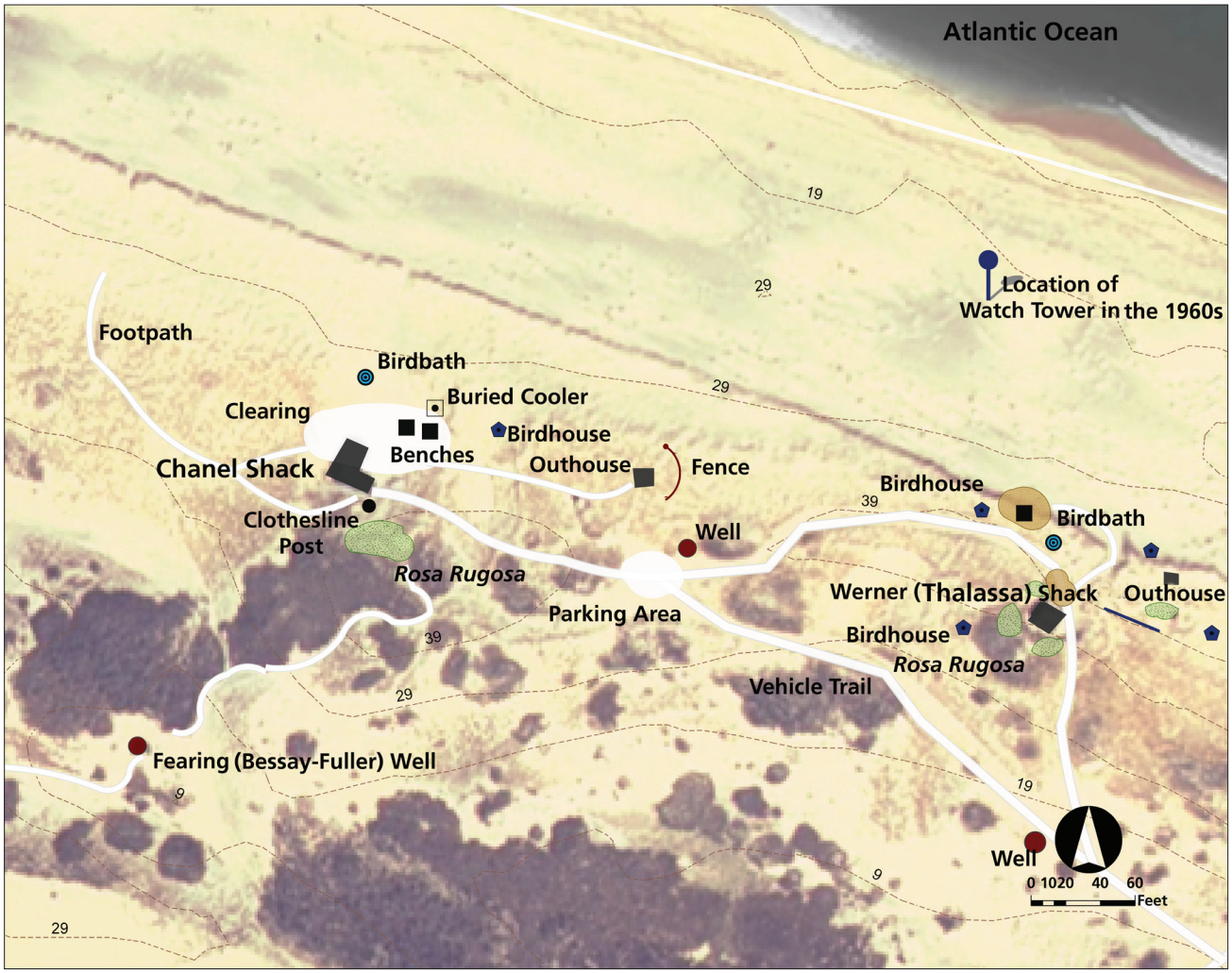


Figure 3.137. Existing conditions map of Chanel shack, 2007 (OCLP).

from the well. Other features include a birdhouse just northeast of the clearing and a clothesline pole several feet from the southeast corner of the shack.

Evaluation: Contributing. The Chanel shack is a contributing resource in the historic district.

Jeanne Chanel Outhouse

Historic Condition: The Chanel outhouse was built in 1988.

Existing Condition: The Chanel outhouse is located to the east of the shack and is surrounded by sand fencing. It has a recycled door, shed roof, and is tethered to the ground on its south side with cables to protect against being toppled by heavy winds (see Figure 3.144).

Evaluation: Non-Contributing. The outhouse is a non-contributing feature.



Figure 3.138. View south of the Chanel shack north elevation as seen from the path to the ocean, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.139. View southwest of the east facing front door of the Chanel shack, the north end porch, and a half buried bench in the outdoor seating area. Note the erosion of sand on the north side of the shack and deposition on the south side, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.140. View northeast from the top of the adjacent dune of the Chanel shack west and south elevations, surrounded by salt spray roses, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.141. View of the southwest corner of the Chanel shack, with an encroaching steep dune to the east and south. The Werner (Thalassa) shack is in the distance to the east, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.142. Vehicle trail from the Chanel shack to Werner (Thalassa) shack. The well and parking pull-off are located on the left, east of the Chanel shack, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.143. View west from the Chanel shack to Tasha (Harry Kemp) at right, with only the roof visible above the grass, the Margo-Gelb shack and outhouse at right center, and Fearing (Bessay-Fuller) shack at left center on the horizon, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.144. View east of Chanel outhouse and sand fencing, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.145. View north of the side yard area to the northeast of the Chanel shack, with plank seating and a buried cooler, 2006 (OCLP).

Hazel Hawthorne Werner (Thalassa) Shack (#14)

Historic Condition: Like the Braaten and Watson shacks, the Werner (Thalassa) shack was originally built by Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guardsman Louis "Spucky" Silva, probably for use by either family members or summer renters (see Figures 1.48, 1.75 through 1.79). Measuring nine feet by twelve feet, the shack was first constructed in about 1931. Silva salvaged windows and building materials from shipwrecks and from the ruins of the old Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station, which was formerly used by Eugene O'Neill and fell into the ocean that same year[226] (Figure 3.146). In 1936 Silva transferred the building for $50 to the care of Hazel Hawthorne, who named it Thalassa.[227] Hazel, who later became Hazel Hawthorne Werner, was one of the back shore's most remarkable figures and is discussed further in the previous section on the Werner (Euphoria) shack.

During the 1940s three sisters and their families occupied Thalassa and the two neighboring shacks (Figure 3.147). According to notes recorded by Hazel Hawthorne, she moved the shack in 1949 to the northeast in close proximity to the Coast Guard tower.[228]

According to a National Park Service study in 1967, Hazel was at that time paying an annual fee for the privilege of using the land beneath the Werner (Thalassa) shack. The same study further observed that the building was regularly used and in good condition that year.[229] Meanwhile, throughout the years the building has remained basically unchanged in structure and location, with the exception of repairs and small alterations made to protect it from the constantly shifting sand.[230] For example, a 1976 photograph reveals a considerable amount of sand erosion away from the shack's foundations (Figures 3.148 and 149). Yet by 1989



Figure 3.146. View west of three shacks in the central cluster, 1946. The shack on the left is the Fearing shack in its current and original location. The shack at center is Thalassa in its original location. The shack on the right is no longer extant (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).



Figure 3.147. Three shacks occupied by the three Huby sisters, Doe Fearing, Babe Huby, and Kay Shaw, and their families around 1946. The Thalassa shack (later named by Hazel Werner) is at right in its original location by the Fearing shack (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

this space beneath had filled in, and was beginning to bury the front deck. Similar sand movement nearly covered the shack entirely in 2004, when a neighboring dune threatened to break like a wave over the structure. In response the Peaked Hill Trust installed a temporary sand fence to protect the building, and volunteers replaced the rotten foundation posts, deck boards, railings and some framing.[231]

The Werner (Thalassa) shack stands on Tract 08-1049, a roughly one acre section of the former E. Bennett Beede et al. property known as Tract 08-1036.[232] Upon her death in 2000 at the age of 98, Hazel's life tenancy with the National Park Service ended. The Peaked Hill Trust, which had been managing Hazel's shack for her prior to her passing, continues to manage the shack under an annual special use permit to the National Park Service. Short-term public stays at the shack are offered by the Trust.[233] Kira Fitts is one such visitor who spent her honeymoon in one of the dune shacks, and at one time stayed seasonally in the Werner (Thalassa) shack with her husband, William Fitts. A local artist better known as Hatty Fitts, Kira works in pen, pencil, ink and watercolors and loved to glean inspiration from the dunes by walking among them. Bill Fitts is one of the founding members of the Peaked Hill Trust and works as a carpenter in Provincetown. He and his wife, who formerly served as executive director of the Trust, continue to visit the Werner (Thalassa) shack for two weeks each summer.[234] Poet Nell Husted has also spent time living in this shack, in addition to the Kemp shack. [235]

Existing Condition: The Werner (Thalassa) shack is one of two shacks once occupied by Hazel Hawthorne Werner and is in the central group of dune shacks in the historic district, and forms part of a cluster including the nearby the Fowler, Fearing, Kemp, Margo/Gelb and Chanel shacks. It is located on the plateau of the foredune, approximately 100 feet from the ocean to the north and 200 feet from the Chanel shack to the west. The foredune rises at an even grade to the north, and drops off quickly to the south (Figures 3.150 through 3.153).

Vehicle access to the site is provided from the west, along a trail located approximately 225 feet from the shack, which then continues west to the Chanel shack. An abandoned footpath to the south and southeast formerly provided direct access to the back of the shack from the main vehicle trail, however has



Figure 3.148. View northeast of the Thalassa shack west and south elevations, showing its proximity to the ocean and surrounded by beach grass, 1976 (Cape Cod NS Archives).



Figure 3.149. View southwest of the Thalassa shack east and south elevations, 1976 (Cape Cod NS Archives).

been blocked in recent years to prevent erosion. Today, access to the site is only available from the shared vehicle trail to the west. Two footpaths to the north of the shack and at the end of the vehicle trail lead north to the ocean and east to the outhouse.

The Werner (Thalassa) shack is set high on the foredune, and boasts extensive views (see Figure 3.153), which include the water tower to the south, Pilgrim Monument to the southwest, Wells shack to the southeast, and Braaten outhouse to the east. Also visible to the west are the Margo/Gelb, Kemp, Fowler and Fearing shacks (Figure 3.154).

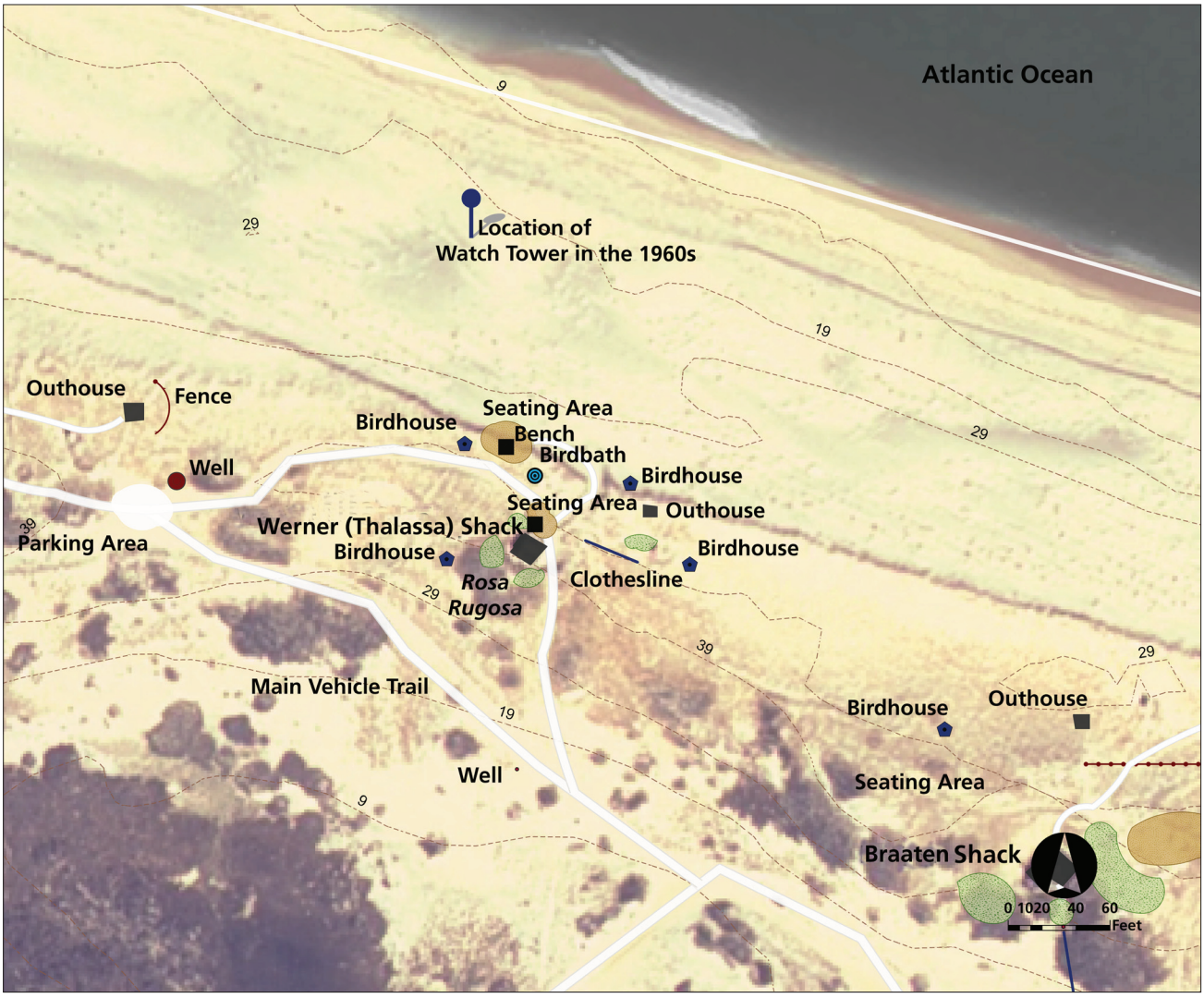
Vegetation on the site mostly consists of both large white-flowering and pink salt spray roses to the south and northwest of the shack, while heavily vegetated areas to the south, east and west sides provide shelter. Beach grass and a few ornamental plantings surround the buildings such as artemesia (see Figures 3.155 and 3.156). The beach grass around the shack grows in small clumps, which become thicker clumps as it extend away from the shack toward the foredune. The footpath up to the shelter from the southeast is also covered with beach grasses. The foredune drops off quickly to the north of the shack, becoming flat with lighter patches of beach grass just before it drops off to the beach below. A piping plover nesting area (described in the Braaten shack section) is located to the northeast of the Werner (Thalassa) shack.

In good condition, the Werner (Thalassa) shack is a simple one room, one-story gable building set on wooden posts. The ridge is oriented east to west and the

roof and exterior walls are clad with coursed wooden shingles. The door and a deck are located on the north side with a boardwalk access ramp. A composting outhouse with a wood frame structure that rests on skids was designed by William Fitts. It is located along the foredune to the northeast of the shack (Figure 3.155). Propane tanks power a refrigerator and range. A well is located to the south of the vehicle trail and shack, and here all water is obtained and carried to the building, which lacks internal plumbing.

Small-scale features near the Werner (Thalassa) shack on the site include a series of birdhouses dispersed around the perimeter of the shack and outhouse. A picnic table is located on the north side of the shack, in a small clearing (see Figures 3.153 and 156). Nearby is a piece of artwork made from found stones that looks like a small birdbath (Figure 3.157). Several birdhouses surround the clearing. Further along this footpath and to the north, on the edge of the foredune, is yet another clearing which serves as a seating area and contains several more birdhouses. A small built-in bench overlooks the foredune to the north of the shack, while a clothesline extends between the northeast corner of the shack and a metal post

Figure 3.150. Existing conditions map of Werner (Thalassa) shack, 2007 (OCLP).



about twelve feet from the building (see Figures 3.156 and 3.158).

Evaluation: Contributing. The Werner (Thalassa) shack is a contributing resource in the historic district.

Hazel Hawthorne Werner (Thalassa) Outhouse

Historic Condition: The Werner (Thalassa) outhouse was built in about 1991.

Existing Condition: A composting outhouse with a wood boat-frame shape rests on skids and was designed by William Fitts of the Peaked Hill Trust. It is located along the foredune to the northeast of the shack (see Figure 3.155).

Evaluation: Non-Contributing. The Werner (Thalassa) outhouse is a non-contributing feature.



Figure 3.151. View looking northwest at the Werner (Thalassa) south and east elevations and the footpath from the driveway, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.152. View west of the Werner (Thalassa) shack east and north elevations, with the door facing north toward the ocean, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.153. View southeast of the Werner (Thalassa) shack north and west elevations. A picnic table of cement blocks and planks provides an outdoor seating area to the north of the shack, 2006 (OCLP).

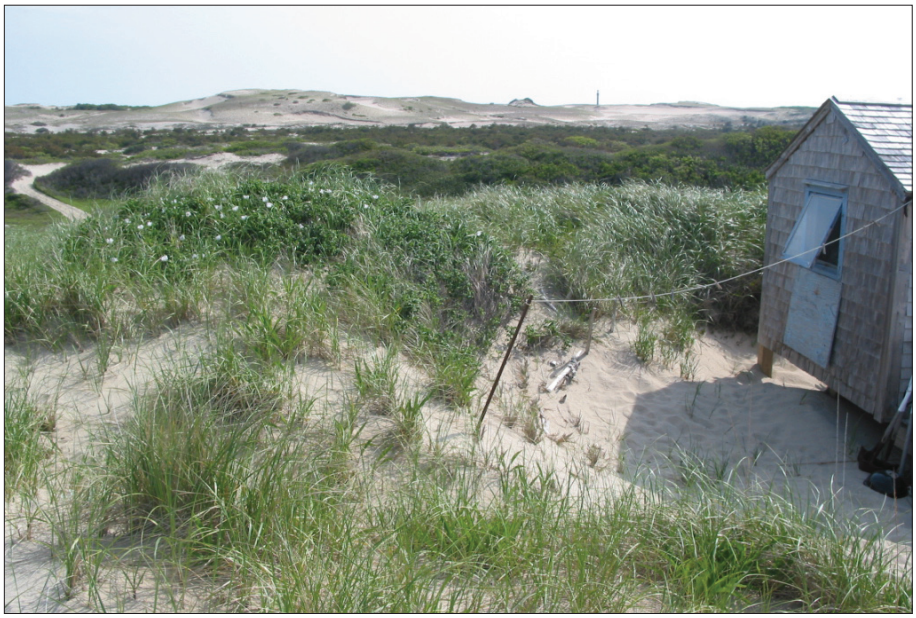


Figure 3.154. View south to Pilgrim Monument on the horizon. Note the clothesline extending from the east side of the Werner (Thalassa) shack, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.155. View southeast of the Werner (Thalassa) outhouse, white salt spray roses, and a birdhouse located to the northeast of the shack, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.156. View southeast of outdoor seating area on the north side of the Werner (Thalassa) shack, surrounded with beach grass, with clusters of artemesia and salt spray rose. Note the sand fencing to the northeast and the clothesline to the east of the shack, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.157. Birdbath and birdhouse in the foredune and front yard, north of the Werner (Thalassa) shack, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.158. Seats overlooking the ocean and birdhouses in the front yard of the Werner (Thalassa) shack, 2006 (OCLP).

Theodore and Eunice Braaten Shack (#15)

Historic Condition: Coast Guardsmen P.C. Cook and Joe Medeiros built the Braaten shack to the east of the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station in 1931.[236] Originally measuring ten by sixteen feet, the shack was transferred to the care of Theodore and Eunice Braaten of Norwich, Connecticut in 1934.[237] The Braatens and their family went on to occupy the building seasonally, and occasionally rented it out during the summer.[238] During World War II they leased the shack to the United States government, who used it as a mine testing station and added the kitchen wing, electricity, and the enclosed front porch. In 1946 the shack was moved by Provincetown resident and artist, Oakley Springer.[239] After 1952 the building was owned by Whitehead Brothers, Co., but leased to the Braatens. In 1967 a National Park Service report noted the shack as regularly used and in good condition. That same year, the United States government acquired the property from the Whitehead Brothers, Co. and Eunice Braaten began leasing from the National Park Service.[240]



Figure 3.159. View southwest of the Braaten shack and clothesline around 1989 (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

By 1976 the Braaten shack appeared much as it does today, with both the enclosed porch and kitchen sections already added to the original building. In 1982 Lawrence Schuster began taking care of the shack with the full consent of Eunice Braaten, who continued to visit on occasion (Figures 3.159 and 3.160).[241] Josephine Del Deo remembers Mrs. Braaten visiting the shack in September 1986 and, at the age of 88, going for a casual swim in the Atlantic Ocean.[242]

The Braaten shack is located on Tract 08-8655. It is the only dune dwelling still occupied year round.[243] By the late 1980s, a growing dune encroached on the north side of the shack,



Figure 3.160. View east of the Braaten shack, 1989 (Cape Cod NS Archives).



Figure 3.161. View southeast of the Braaten shack in 1989 (Cape Cod NS Archives).

altering the setting (Figures 3.161 and 3.162). Upon the death of Eunice Braaten in 1996, Lawrence Schuster signed an annual special use permit with the National Park Service.[244] Schuster has winterized the building and lives there year round.[245] Over the past two decades the shack has undergone a series of maintenance repairs.[246] The shack is nestled in a creeping dune, which is held back with a plank retaining wall.

Existing Condition: The Braaten shack is in the central group of dune shacks in the historic district but is isolated from the cluster of shacks to the west. Neither of the neighboring shacks is visible, as the Chanel shack is about 500 feet to the west and the Watson shack is about 500 feet to the east. The Braaten shack is set in a depression on top of the foredune on the leeward side, approximately 200 feet from the ocean. Although it is well protected by the foredune, there is severe dune erosion in some areas that still threatens to bury the shack (Figures 3.163 through 3.165 and report cover).

The shack is accessible from the main vehicle trail, and does not have its own driveway. A small parking pull off area is located just south of the vehicle trail with room for one vehicle. A footpath extends from the vehicle trail and well up the slope of the foredune to the east side of the shack (Figures 3.166 and 3.167). This path continues up the foredune to shack level, leading to a seating area to the northeast of the building and then down the north side of the foredune to the ocean and outhouse (Figure 3.168). This path also leads to an area of the foredune just northeast of the shack where there is a protected nesting area for the piping plover, a spot which is roped off during the eight-

Figure 3.162. View southwest of the Braaten shack in 1993 (Cape Cod NS LCS photographs).

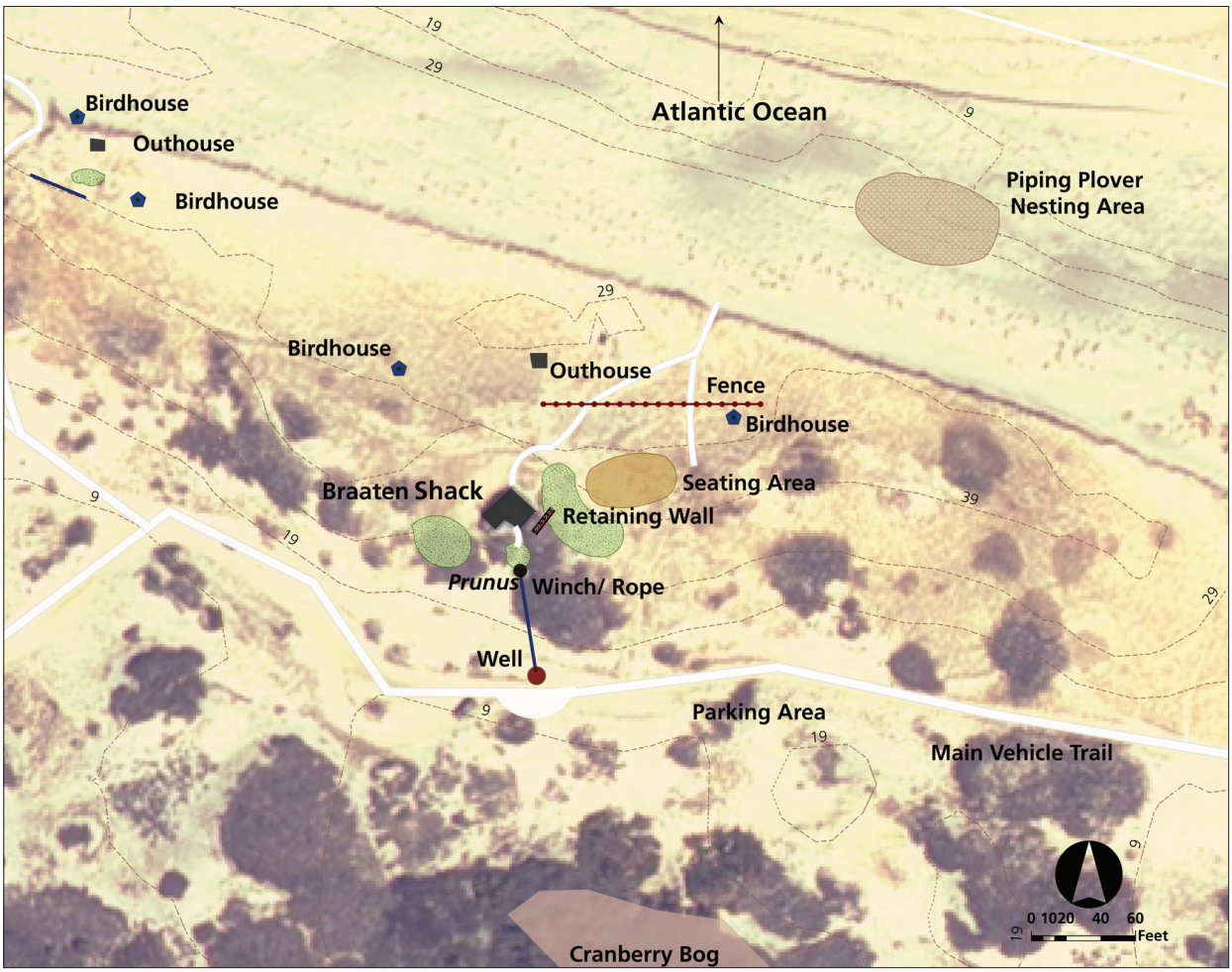


week nesting season in the summer. Evidence of an older footpath can be seen leading straight to the shack from the vehicle trail, however, this trail is no longer used due to dune erosion.

There are no views from the ground level of the Braaten shack because it is set in a depression behind the lip of the foredune. From the level of the foredune there are views to the Watson shack to the east, water tower to the south, Pilgrim Monument to the southwest, and a distant view to the Werner (Thalassa) shack to the west from the outhouse.

Shrubs growing to the south and east sides of the shack help control the rapid sand erosion around the building. Less erosion control is necessary on the west side of the shack, where it is set further from the dune. More beach grass grows in this area, which helps prevent the sand from migrating towards the shack. The heavy grasses around the shack continue down the north slope of the foredune, across the flat portion of the dune base before it drops off to the beach. The building also has cultivated vegetables and herbs in containers. Planters filled with lettuce are attached to its north elevation near the main door, and planters are kept near the south elevation as well, where Schuster cultivates herbs and peas (see Figures 3.164, 3.169, and 3.170).

Figure 3.163. Existing conditions map of Braaten shack, 2007 (OCLP).



In good condition, the Braaten shack is a one-story gable building with a shed roof kitchen addition set on wooden posts. Oriented towards the ocean, the ridge runs east to west and the door and an enclosed porch are located on the north side of the shack. The outhouse is located approximately 75 feet north of the shack, on the windward side of the foredune (see Figures 3.168).

A windmill about fifteen feet tall stands on a pole near the shack, and solar panels are affixed to the roof to generate electricity (see Figures 3.164, 3.169, and 3.170). A chair is also affixed to the ridge of the roof and oriented toward the ocean (Figure 3.167). Propane powers a refrigerator, range and heating unit. Water is pumped via a waterline from a well located about 150 feet south of the shack, near the main vehicle trail and west of the footpath leading to the building from the vehicle trail. A winch mechanism, consisting of a rope with pulley, is located on the east side of the footpath to the shack. This allows for the hoisting of heavy objects, such as gallon water jugs, up the steep footpath from the vehicle trail level (Figure 3.166).

Small-scale features around the Braaten shack include birdhouses, patio furniture, a wooden bench, clothesline and sand fencing in the outdoor cooking and seating area on the top of the foredune to the northeast. Sand fencing controls erosion around the shack, including in the area just beyond the crest of the foredune to the south. A twelve-foot long retaining wall made of five one by ten-inch boards divided into two sections stands to the east of the shack and helps prevent the foredune from piling up against the structure. This wall is covered with tar paper on the side toward the sand dune, and the boards are bolted to metal sign posts (see Figure 3.165). A shovel mounted to the right side of the main door on the north elevation, bearing witness to the daily struggle between man and the encroaching dune (see Figure 3.164).

Evaluation: The Braaten shack is a contributing resource in the historic district.

Figure 3.164. View southeast from the foredune of the Braaten shack north and west elevations. Note the chair on the roof facing the ocean, the solar panel facing south, the wind turbine at the southwest corner of the shack, and the window boxes filled with lettuce plants on the north side of the shack, 2006 (OCLP).



Braaten Outhouse

Historic Condition: The Braaten outhouse was built in about 1991.

Existing Condition: The outhouse is surrounded by beach grass and stands approximately 75 feet north of the shack, on the windward side of the foredune. It consists of a shed roof and recycled door (see Figure 3.168).

Evaluation: Non-Contributing. The Braaten outhouse is a non-contributing feature.



Figure 3.165. South side of Braaten shack where water barrels and propane are stored. Note the plank retaining wall that holds back sand on the east side, just beyond the building, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.166. View south to the Braaten shack parking area, which is down a steep slope. Note the line for the winch and pulley system between the parking area and the shack, and the bog and water tower in the distance, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.167. View north of the Braaten shack from the parking area, showing the well and storage area in the foreground and the wind turbine and chair above the shack, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.168. View northwest of the Braaten outhouse, located north of the shack. A footpath traverses left to right in the foreground and leads to the ocean, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.169. Southwest corner of the Braaten shack where vegetables grow in planters. Note the water line in th e foreground, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.170. Southwest corner of the Braaten shack and planters filled with vegetables, including peas to be trained on strings up the side of the shack. Note the support pole base for the wind turbine, at left, with multiple wires leading inside of the shack, 2006 (OCLP).

Margaret Watson Shack (#16)

Historic Condition: Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guardsmen Philip S. Packett and Morris Worth built the Watson shack in 1931 or 1932. Packett and Worth rented out the shack to summer users for $5 a week, while paying $2 a year to the State of Massachusetts for squatters' rights. Then in 1934 Packett and Worth transferred the care of the shack to Norman Lowenstein, a renter in previous years, for the sum of $180.[247] Lowenstein kept his horses behind the building, in several stables that had been constructed in 1931 or 1932 from telephone poles and drift wood.[248] Soon afterwards Margaret (Peg) Watson, a social worker from New York City, assumed management of the Watson shack from Lowenstein, sometime before 1939. Watson went on to occupy the building each summer for years, or almost continuously from 1939 through her death in 1972.[249] During this time the shack appears to have been maintained with only minimal modifications to its structure. A National Park Service study in 1967 found it, along with an associated outhouse that was likely the converted stables, in regular use and fair condition.[250]

The Watson shack stands on Tract 08-8654, a parcel originally owned by Edwin J. and Junia M. Hannah of Truro that was in 1955 acquired by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as a portion of Pilgrim Spring State Park.[251] No record exists of taxes being paid on the property, during this time. Then in 1968 the same land was transferred to the United States government, as part of Cape Cod National Seashore.[252] With the subsequent death of Margaret Watson, the care of the



Figure 3.171. View south of Grace Bessay visiting the Watson shack in the 1980s (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).



Figure 3.172. View south of the Watson shack in 1989. Note the "No Trespassing" sign attached to the shack, and the water tower visible in the distance at right (Cape Cod NS Archives).

Watson shack was left to her friend Charlie Schmid. Schmid became its caretaker and manager until his death in 1982, after which time the shack was likely left unused (Figures 3.171 through 3.174).[253]

Today the Watson shack is one of the four existing dune shacks that stand within the town boundaries of Truro. National Park Service photographs from 1989 show the shack in poor condition, but use of the structure shifted shortly thereafter (Figures 3.173 and 3.174).[254] In November of 1993 Gary Isaacson and Laurie Schecter signed a long-term lease with the National Park Service for use of the shack which is due to expire in 2014.[255] When they later learned that the nearby Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station spare boat house was going to be burned by the National Park Service sometime in the 1990s, Isaacson and Schecter salvaged materials from the old building to make improvements to the Watson shack, including the mahogany floor currently in the outhouse.[256]

More recently the Watson shack was lifted out of the encroaching sand in 2004, in order to protect it from a slow burial that had begun back in 2001. This process was carried out entirely by volunteers and carefully documented by lessees and in a National Park Service report.[257]



Figure 3.173. View west of the Watson shack in 1989 (Cape Cod NS Archives).

Existing Condition: The Watson shack is located in Truro, just east of the town boundary, and is set just behind the crest of the foredune on the southern slope, in a heavily vegetated area. It is set apart from other shacks, but is highly visible in



Figure 3.174. View southeast of the Watson shack in 1989, with the Wells shack in the distance (Cape Cod NS Archives).

the surrounding landscape because of its position on the foredune. The sand dunes have grown vertically, almost ten to fifteen feet over the years, and the Watson shack is now in danger of being buried (Figures 3.175 through 3.179).

The shack is only about 300 feet from the ocean, and is accessed from a driveway that runs parallel to the main vehicle trail and extends along the ridge of the dune all the way up to the building (Figure 3.180). The approach includes a forecourt seating area composed of a makeshift table and board seats, all possibly gathered from the beach. Footpaths on the site include one that leads to the ocean to the north and another that continues from the driveway to the east. A footpath leading to the outhouse is also located to the northwest of the shack. Many clearings and gathering areas are accessible by other footpaths leading from the shack to the north and east. The walkway from the seating area to the shack is comprised of planks laid across a deck.

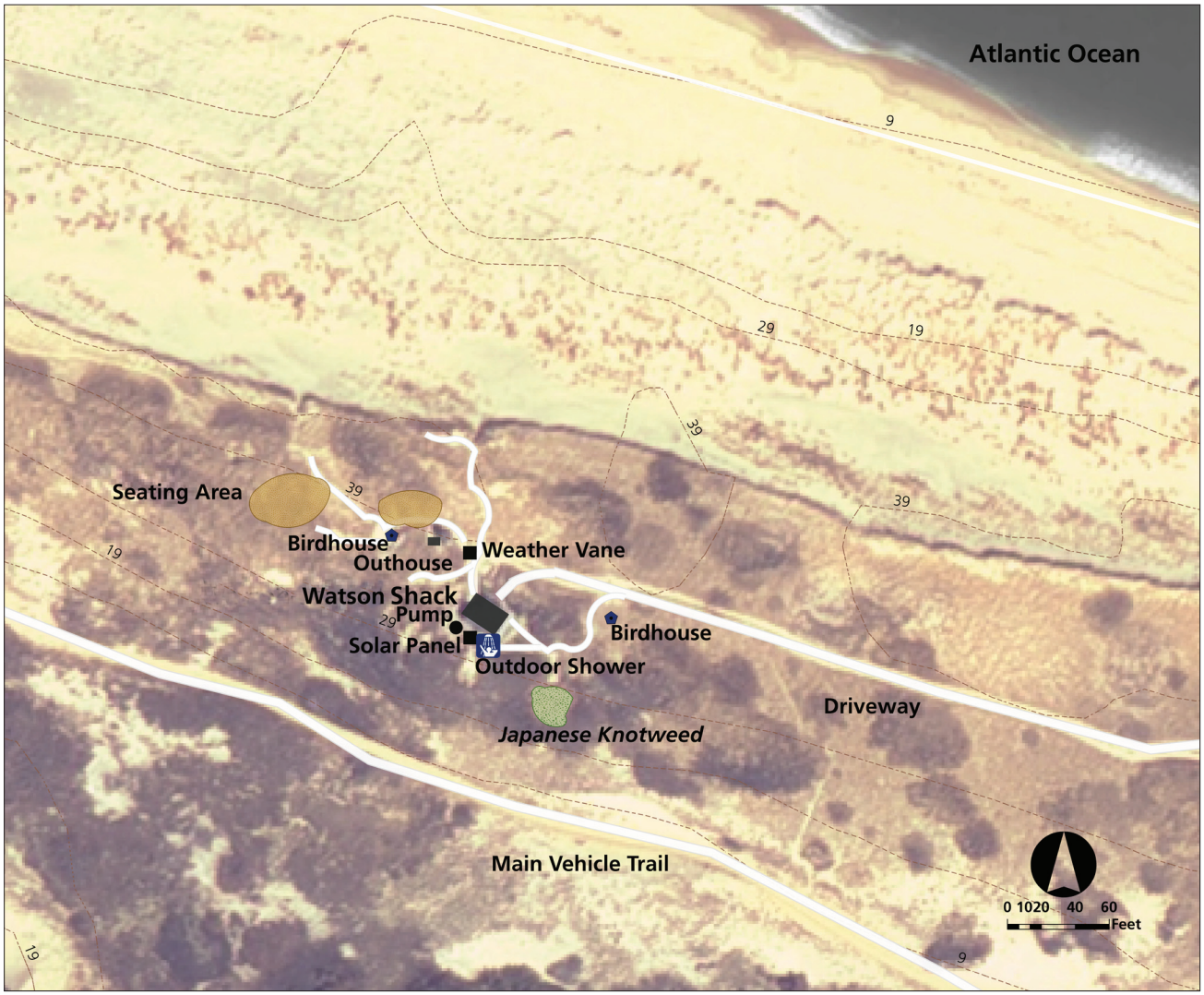
The most prominent view from the Watson shack is the water tower to the south (see Figure 3.176). Other views include the top of the Pilgrim Monument to the southwest, Wells shack to the southeast and Braaten shack and its associated outhouse to the east. The steep southern side of the foredune where the shack sits slopes into a heavily vegetated bowl area, and the entire site is covered in thick, well established beach grass. The vegetation also includes mounds of salt spray rose, bayberry and beach plum. About 30 feet to the southeast of the building is a clump of Japanese knotweed (*Polygonum cuspidatum*), a non-native invasive that may have been brought to the site with other imported soil (Figure 3.181). This plant was introduced to the United States in the 1800s as an ornamental for landscape screening and erosion control, and quickly escaped cultivation. Today it is thriving and will continue to spread quickly if unchecked. It can greatly alter natural ecosystems and, once established, is extremely persistent and difficult to remove.

In good condition, the Watson shack is a one story, gable roofed structure, oriented east to west, with a shed roof porch on the east half of the shack (see Figure 3. 177). The porch was raised in 2004 and is supported by several new

piers. The pilings are installed with three and a half feet of the post exposed above the decking. This provides the option of raising the shack as needed if the dune continues to grow and potentially bury the building. The front door faces north toward the ocean. There is an enclosed porch on the north side and a newly constructed deck wraps around the north, west and south sides (see Figures 3.178 and 3.179). Some sections of the deck consist of wood of variable dimensions, suggesting that most of the material was salvaged from the beach or some other location. A hatch in the roof on the south side of the gable enables the residents to climb onto the roof for views of the ocean and surrounding landscape. The building has a chimney pipe stack on the south side. An outdoor shower is located on the southeast corner of the shack and is ornamented with spoons which serve as clothing and towel hooks.

An outhouse is located to the northwest of the shack (see Figure 3.176), while a well pump stands in the center of the south facing deck. A solar panel is situated below the deck on the south side of the building (see Figure 3.179). Propane is used to power a refrigerator, range and oven, and there is no indoor plumbing.

Figure 3.175. Existing conditions map of Watson shack, 2007 (OCLP).



Small-scale features on the site include birdhouses, which are located on the east and west sides of the building. Two seating areas are situated to the north of the shack, with views to the ocean (Figures 3.182 and 3.183). Surrounding the shack and seating area are sculptures and found objects, such as driftwood. A lobster pot with a wooden top, or what appears to be a compost bin, is located to the north of a large seating north of the shack.

Evaluation: Contributing. The Watson shack is a contributing resource in the historic district.

Margaret Watson Outhouse

Historic Condition: The Watson outhouse was built in about 1995.

Existing Condition: The outhouse is located to the northwest of the shack, has a shed roof, and is distinguished for its reuse of mahogany flooring (see Figure 3.176)

Evaluation: Non-Contributing. The Watson outhouse is a non-contributing feature.



Figure 3.176. View south of Watson shack and outhouse, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.177. View southeast of Watson shack north and west elevations and entrance, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.178. View east of Watson shack south deck, which includes a water pump and outdoor shower, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.179. Solar panel mounted on the south deck of the Watson shack, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.180. View east of the Watson shack driveway terminus, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.181. View southeast from Watson shack deck. Note the large mass of Japanese knotwood, orange in fall color, at center and the Wells shack in the distance, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.182. View north of Watson shack outdoor seating area, north of the shack and overlooking the ocean, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.183. View east of outdoor seating area on the north side of the Watson shack, along the footpath between the parking area and building, 2006 (OCLP).

Nicholas and Ray Wells Shack (#17)

Historic Condition: Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guardsman "Bunny" Ellis built the Wells shack in 1935 or 1936. The shack was originally located between the Watson and Braaten shacks and looked out onto the ocean. According to Ray Wells, Ellis salvaged materials from the collapsed O'Neill shack and built a ten by fifteen foot shack. In 1936 Ray Martan Wells and her husband Nicholas began living in the shack, and officially assumed care of the structure in 1937. At an unknown date before 1960, they moved the shack to its present location. Wells described the relocated shack site as a ten to twelve acre parcel acquired from Carlotta Monterey O'Neill, third wife of Eugene O'Neill. The parcel had been purchased for Eugene by his father in 1919.[258]

Ray Wells discovered the dunes when she came to Provincetown with her step-mother, Alice Malkin and sister Zara, in 1930. In 1931 Wells lived in the Kemp shack, which at that time still belonged to Coast Guardsman Cadose. Together Ray and Nicholas Wells founded the Provincetown Theater Workshop in the 1960s, dedicating it to the old Provincetown tradition of original theater. Both were active in the civic affairs of the town. As a professional painter Ray Wells advocated for artists as well as the unique Cape Cod environment.[259] Nicholas Wells was a Provincetown realtor as well as a designer and builder. Together they spent almost every summer in the dunes from 1936 until Nicholas' death in the 1980s.[260]

Around 1940 the Wellses likely added the enclosed porch which currently forms a part of the Wells shack (Figure 3.184).[261] In its 1967 study of the structure the National Park Service noted the good condition and relatively large size of the one story frame shack. The building was regularly used at this time, and commanded an impressive view of the dunes.[262] By 1976 a small bathroom shed had been added to the shack, to which stabilizing outriggers were afterwards added in order to anchor it to the sand (Figure 3.185). Despite these efforts, wind erosion exposed the pilings below the shack (Figures 3.186 and 3. 187). Severe erosion problems continue to plague the shack today, as evidenced by further stabilization efforts by the Peaked Hill Trust in 2004. Recent improvements have included the addition of tall pilings and cross bracing to the building, as well as extensive sand fencing to anchor the sand around the building. [263]



Figure 3.184. View southwest of the Wells shack around 1960, with driftwood, or found artwork, in the foreground and outdoor seating around the shack (Cape Cod NS Archives).

Documents in the Great Beach Cottage Owners Association archives describe a series of transactions associated with the shack. The Wells shack is one



Figure 3.185. View southwest of the Wells shack, 1976. Note the erosion in comparison to the 1960s photo above (Cape Cod NS Archives).

of the four existing dune shacks located within the boundaries of Truro.[264] The land upon which it stands, or Tract 08-8653, was likely owned by the Hannah sisters before being turned over to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as part of Pilgrim Spring State Park in 1956. It was transferred to the National Park Service as part of Cape Cod National Seashore in April of 1963.[265]

In 1981 Ray and Nicholas Wells signed a lifetime Reservation of Use and Occupancy with the National Park Service for tenancy of the Wells shack.[266] After the death of her husband in the 1980s Ray continued to use the building seasonally and rented it out to summer visitors.[267] Joyce Johnson was caretaker of the Wells shack for over 15 years, and has also spent summers living and working there. She is a sculptress, journalist and founder of the Truro Center for the Arts.[268] Most recently the maintenance of the Wells shack has been carried out by Peaked Hill Trust members. In 2004 the Trust installed an interior composting toilet in the shed on the structure's south side, under the direction of founding member William Fitts.[269] Ray Wells died in 2011 at the age of 103.

Existing Condition: The Wells shack is located in Truro and stands approximately 800 feet from the ocean and south of the main vehicle trail. Most of the other shacks are located north of this trail. The Wells shack is situated about 900 feet southeast of the Watson shack, which is clearly visible to the northwest. It stands alone on the northern side of the inner dune ridge, just below the crest of the ridge, and is highly visible in the surrounding landscape. This location leaves the north and west sides of the shack exposed to dry and cold winds in the winter, creating erosion control problems. The dune falls into a steep bowl on the northern side of the ridge, and into a thick grove of scrub oaks and pines on the southern side (Figures 3.188 through 3.191).

The shack is accessible via a long driveway that approaches from the northwest (Figure 3.192). Several footpaths continue from the top of this drive, including a path to the well, which is located in the bowl about 300 feet north of the shack. Another footpath to the east terminates at the outhouse, which is located approximately 150 feet from the Wells shack (Figure 3.193). The footpath to the outhouse is very steep and includes a rope railing. This rope is secured to the outhouse with a boat cleat and, at the top of the dune, to a post. Ocean access is provided by a footpath that begins about 600 feet north of the shack, on the north side of the main vehicle trail, and continues over the foredune to the water.

Views from the Wells shack include a partial view of the ocean to the northeast,



Figure 3.186. View northeast of the Wells shack, 1989 (Cape Cod NS Archives).



Figure 3.187. View south of the Wells shack, 1989 (Cape Cod NS Archives).

the rooftop of the Malkin/Ofsevit shack to the southwest, water tower to the south and Watson shack to the northwest. The Pilgrim Monument cannot be seen from the Wells shack. The vegetation around the building is predominantly beach grass with dispersed seaside golden rod and artemesia. One pine grows below and to the north of the shack while a single Scotch pine stands near the steps to the shack. These appear to have been planted (Figure 3.194). Several scrub oaks may have been transplanted as well and are located on the steep slope north and west of the shack. Other species nearby, particularly south of the shack where the dune descends, include bayberry, beach plum, salt spray rose and groves of scrub oak and pine. Small cranberry bogs lie to the northeast and south of the shack, and areas of heavy vegetation can be found to the south.

The Wells shack is in poor condition due to extensive erosion around its base. The building is a one story structure with a central gable and several shed roofed additions, and is set up high, nine to ten feet above grade, on wooden pilings (see Figures 3.189 and 3.191). Further evidence of severe dune erosion on the northern slope near the shack includes the remains of an old access ramp at the northeast corner of its deck system, which cannot be used because it no longer reaches the ground. The shack's series of decks are now high above the dunes, and many sections are severely weathered and in poor condition. The boat-shaped outhouse, which is set on the southern side of the dune ridge in front of a patch of heavy vegetation, is dilapidated and abandoned (see Figure 3.193). Utilities include propane tanks and indoor plumbing. On the south side of the outhouse is a box and pipe mechanism that serves as an exhaust duct for the indoor toilet facilities.

The steep driveway to the shack is lined with a variety of dune erosion mechanisms, including sand fencing and several pieces of timber set in the sand at the top of the driveway. Sand fencing is also employed on the northern side of



Figure 3.188. Existing conditions map of Wells shack, 2007 (OCLP).

the dune, below the deck supports of the shack, in an attempt to stabilize the sand in this area and mitigate erosion (Figure 3.190). The fencing is now about fifteen to twenty years old and much of it is covered, collapsed and weathered. A section of an old telephone pole rests along the steep section of the driveway, and likely serves as a resting bench.

Evaluation: Contributing. The Wells shack is a contributing resource in the historic district.

Nicholas and Ray Wells Outhouse

Historic Condition: The Wells outhouse was built in 1991 or earlier.

Existing Condition: The boat-shaped outhouse is located to the southeast of the shack, down a steep slope (see Figure 3.193)

Evaluation: Non-Contributing. The Wells outhouse is a non-contributing feature.



Figure 3.189. View south from the inner dune valley to the Wells shack east and north elevations, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.190. View east of the Wells shack west elevation, showing the pilings exposed by erosion and dilapidated sand fencing, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.191. View north of the Wells shack south elevation, with the foredune in the distance, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.192. View northwest down the Wells shack driveway, where a timber marks its terminus. The Watson shack is visible in the distance, 2006 (OCLP).

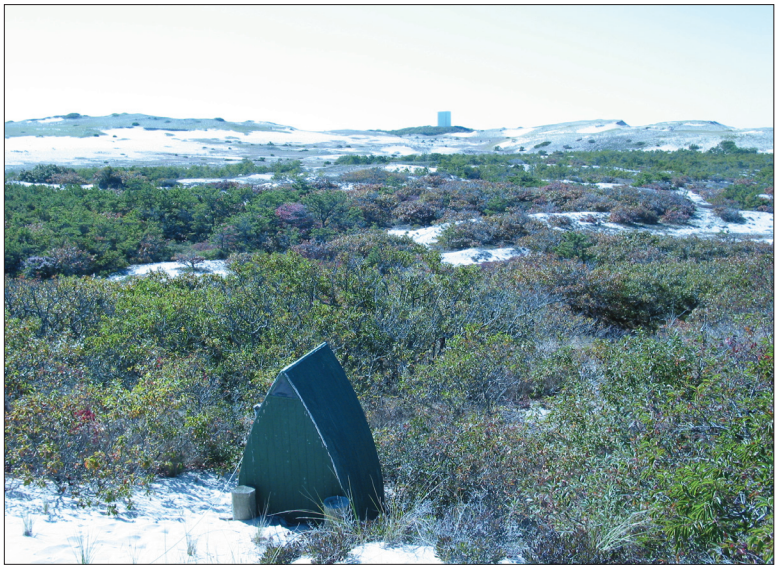


Figure 3.193. View south of the back of the Wells outhouse, which is located down a steep slope southwest of the shack. A rope handrail, barely visible, extends up the slope, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.194. View north of young scotch pine tree planted on the east side of the Wells shack deck, 2006 (OCLP).

Randolph and Annabelle Jones Shack (#18)

Historic Condition: The Jones shack is believed to have been built by Provincetown resident Jesse Meads in 1935, for Lorraine Catheron of Boston.[270] It stands to the west of one of the back shore's old halfway houses, which Del Deo believes may have been an early version of the current shack. Located roughly halfway between the old High Head and Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Stations, the older structure was originally used for life saving purposes.[271] During the 1930s the Jones shack was used occasionally by Coast Guardsman Frank Henderson, and was formerly known as the "Frank Henderson Beach Shack."[272]

In 1938 Catheron transferred care of the shack to Nathan Sharfman of Boston. However, Sharfman's wife did not agree with dune living and for a few years the shack was "virtually abandoned, being used and misused by various persons and allowed to begin to deteriorate."[273] Then in 1944 Sharfman conveyed it to his friends Randolph and Annabelle Jones, also of Boston, who immediately repaired it to a livable condition.[274]

Beginning in 1953 the Joneses officially leased the land where the Jones shack was located, or Tract 08-8644, from sisters Edwin J. and Junia M. Hannah of Truro for use of their land on the dunes.[275] During the subsequent two years the couple continued to lease the land from the Hannahs' Ye Eastern Harbor Great Beach Properties for $25 a year, with automatic renewal upon payment of the rental fee.[276] They also paid taxes on the shack to the Hannahs, though the town of Truro possesses no record of any taxes being paid on the property. In 1956, the land where the Jones shack is located was turned over to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as part of Pilgrim Spring State Park.[277] In the 1960s the property became part of Cape Cod National Seashore, and is currently one of the four existing dune shacks located within the town boundaries of Truro.

Figure 3.195. View northwest of the Jones shack, suspended on cinderblocks over eroding sand, with ramp to east facing front door, 1976 (Cape Cod NS archives).



For two summers during their first decades of living on the dunes, the Joneses grew flowers in window boxes. Before Hurricane Carol hit in 1954 they cultivated two gardens with vegetables and flowers. Using lumber salvaged from the beach they had soon constructed a dry well food refrigerator six feet deep, which they rigged with a special pulley system for easy retrieval. In the ensuing years they combated sand erosion



Figure 3.196. View northwest of the Jones shack, with steps to front door, 1989 (Cape Cod NS Archives).

issues around the dune shack by stacking fish netting found on the beach on top of piles of weeds and brush. According to Annabelle Jones the couple at one point blanketed roughly an acre using this technique, which successfully allowed the sand beneath to stabilize after about three years.[278]

The 1967 a study by the National Park Service found the shack to be in fairly good condition and occasionally used.[279] In August of 1968 the Jones shack was the object of vandalism by teenagers visiting the area.[280] Dune dweller and fellow shack owner Charlie Schmid made repairs to the structure later that summer and recounted in a letter to the Joneses, how

> the beach buggy driver driving past your place found these kids trying to tear your door down and how he stopped and with his two way radio contacted the seashore rangers immediately and how the rangers arrived also immediately to arrest the kids. . ."[281]

The Joneses subsequently made extensive renovations to the shack between 1973 and 1974, moving it back from its original location by the barrier dune to where it currently stands.[282] A 1976 photograph shows the shack in good condition (Figure 3.195). The Joneses were still using the shack on a seasonal basis in 1987 and it remained in excellent condition for the two years (Figure 3.196 and 3.197).[283] Yet shortly afterwards the Jones shack fell back into disuse, as the Joneses aged and failed to continue using it regularly. In 1994 Scott and Marsha Dunn were awarded a fifteen-year lease with the National Park Service.[284] In 1996 the Dunns installed a new deck on the east side of the shack (Figure 3.198).[285]

Figure 3.197. View southwest of the Jones shack, 1989 (Cape Cod NS Archives).



Existing Condition: The Jones shack is located in Truro, approximately 200 feet from the ocean and just beyond the southern leeward side of the foredune, on the northern side of the inner dune. It stands in the central group of shacks, but is isolated from others. The topography of the dunes around the Jones shack is very steep, and the dramatic slope of the foredune is accentuated by a deep bowl on the southern leeward slope of the foredune to the north of the shack. The south side of the shack abuts the inner dune, while its north side and access stairs are slightly more exposed as they cantilever down the slope of the dune (Figure 3.199).



Figure 3.198. View northwest of the Jones shack, with ground level deck by front door, 1990s (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

The main vehicle trail becomes steep and hilly as it approaches the Jones shack, and continues up to the shack from the west along a ridge before terminating into the rise of the foredune to the north of the building (Figures 3.200). The vehicle trail ends at the Jones shack and there is little motor traffic around the shack, making it one of the most private and secluded of all the dune shacks. Footpaths continue from the end of the vehicle trail to the shack, outhouse located to the southeast of the shack, and to a small deck and seating area over the foredune to the north (see Figures 3.201 through 3.204). From the seating area more footpaths lead along the top of the inner dune, including a path that winds around a steep dune and continues northward to the ocean.

Views from the Jones shack include the Pilgrim Monument and water tower to the south, and the Wells shack to the southwest. The steep foredune blocks any view of the ocean to the north of the shack, forcing one to walk far out to the northern edge of the foredune in order to see the water. The vegetation to the north of the shack is typical of the foredune and predominantly beach grass with intermittent dusty miller and seaside goldenrod (Figure 3.200). Next to the shack and on the leeward side of the inner dune are masses of salt spray rose.

In good condition, the Jones shack is a small one-story, one room, gable-roof building, oriented east to west, it rests on posts and concrete block piers. The door is located on the east side where there is a small deck (see Figure 3.202) complete with seats and coolers, and is ornamented with many lobster buoys on posts. Deck chairs are also place on top of an encroaching dune to the southeast of the shack (see Figure 3.203). Dune erosion on the north side of the shack and additional movement towards the shack on the south side threatens to simultaneously erode and bury the shack. A shed-roofed, functioning outhouse is located to the east of the shack (see Figure 3.204). The well, which has an old pump, is located about 35 feet north of the shack in the steep bowl between the inner dune and foredune. A small photovoltaic panel is fastened to the south-facing roof, and a propane tank is located on the north side of the building.

Small-scale features around the shack include signs, fencing, a clothesline, bench and ornaments. A sign, “Annabelle,” hangs on the north side of the shack, while

two small signs near the outhouse state, "Privacy Please." The steps ascending to the shack are lined with a decorative assortment of over 100 buoys, which many of are stuck on steel posts driven into the sand. The posts retain logs which are part of the walkway up the steep dune to the shack (see Figure 3.201). Some dilapidated wood slat fencing stands on the north side of the shack and some makeshift, loosely constructed fencing stands on the south side of the shack. A clothesline post stands at a distance from the south side of the shack (see Figure 3.205) while another line hooks to the southeast corner of house. A wooden bench placed on the north side of the shack, provides seating in the shade of the building. A small pile of wood is stacked near the outhouse, and between the shack and the outhouse is a sculpture made of found objects in the shape of a pyramid.

Evaluation: The Jones shack is a contributing resource in the historic district.

Randolph and Annabelle Jones Outhouse

Historic Condition: The Jones outhouse was built in 1994.

Existing Condition: The structure is located to the southeast of the shack and has an almost flat roof and plywood door (see Figure 3.204).

Evaluation: Non-Contributing. The Jones outhouse is a non-contributing feature.

Figure 3.199. Existing conditions map of Jones shack, 2007 (OCLP).

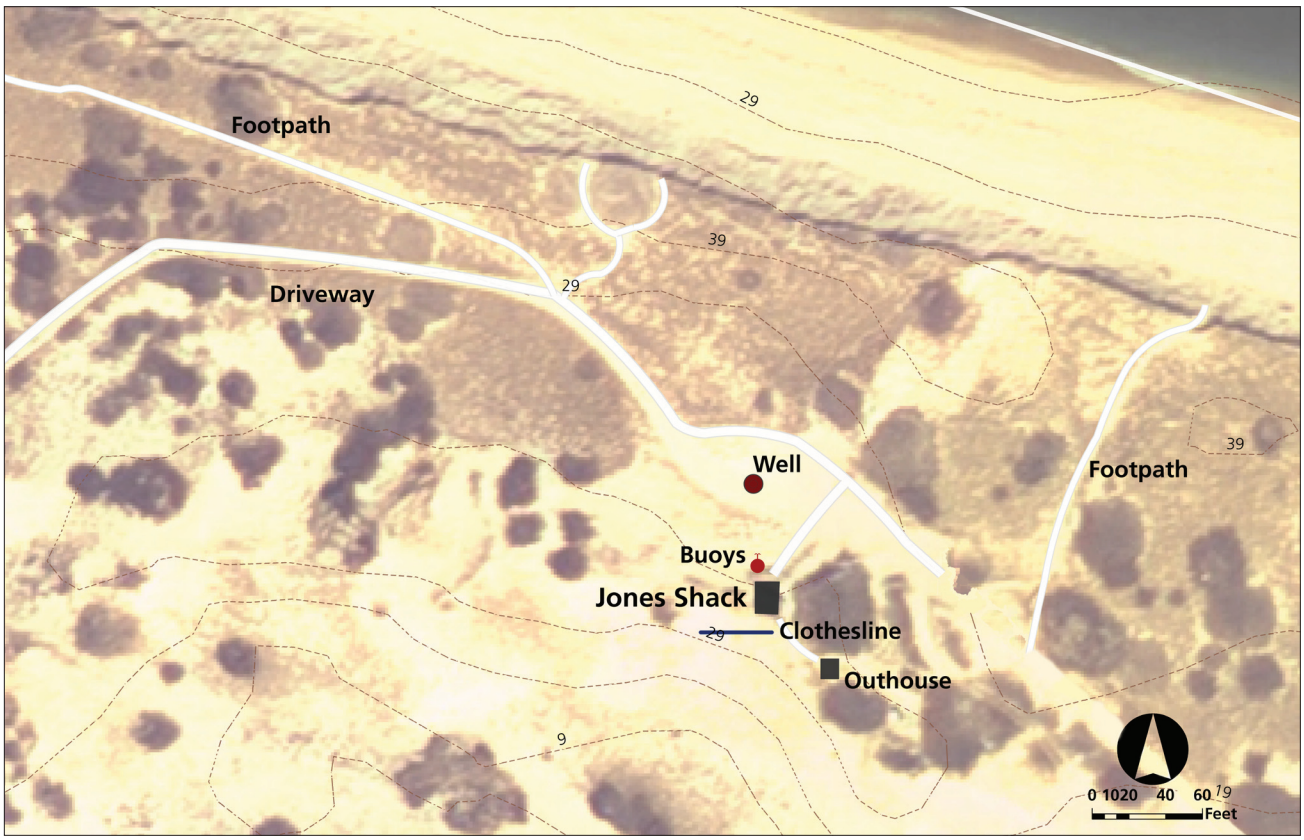




Figure 3.200. View southeast of Jones shack, driveway, and parking area in bowl, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.201. View southeast of the Jones shack north and west elevations, and footpath up the inner dune slope, lined with lobster buoys. The well head is partially visible in the beach grass in the foreground at left, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.202. View northwest of Jones shack south and east elevations, with a seating area to the east (right) of the shack and the foredune in the distance, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.203. View east of Jones shack west and south elevations, with a upper seating area to the southeast (right) of the shack, 2006 (OCLP).

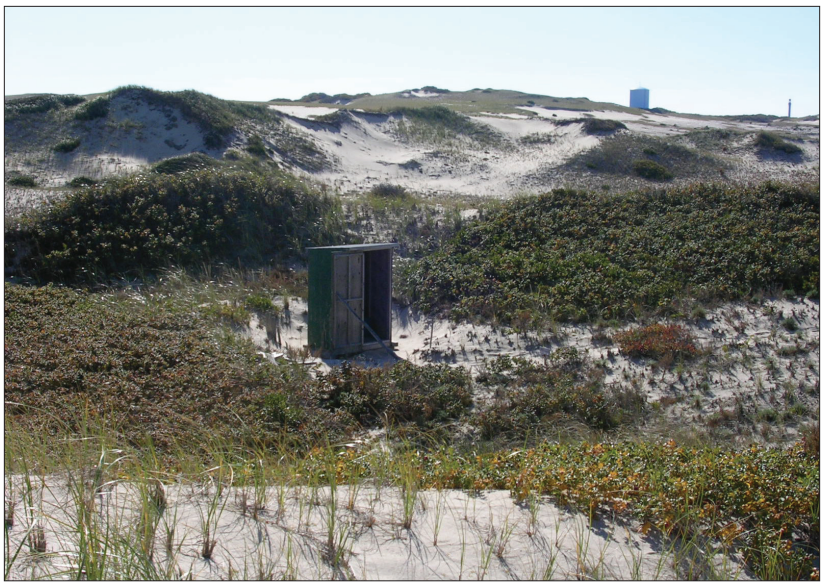


Figure 3.204. View south of the Jones outhouse, with a path leading to the shack at right, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.205. View south of Jones shack clothesline to the south of the shack, 2006 (OCLP).

David and Connie Armstrong Shack (#19)

Historic Condition: The Armstrong shack originally stood to the east of an old life saving hut or halfway house along the early lifesavers' walking route, and was likely built by local entrepreneur Pat Patrick, around 1926. Patrick owned the Flagship Restaurant in Provincetown as well as several other local properties, and probably built the shack as a fishing hut.[286] By the time the Armstrongs found the shack in 1948 it had declined into poor condition (see Figure 1.62). Although the framing of the building was still sound, it was half buried by sand and had holes in the roof, no windows, a collapsed floor and rotted decking.[287] The rectangular shaped shack was oriented on a north to south axis and faced the ocean, as it would remain until its relocation in 1983.[288]

At the time of their discovery David Armstrong, an electrical engineer, and his wife Constance (Connie) Eschmann Armstrong were newly married and living in Cambridge, Massachusetts. David had recently been released from the United States Navy and was enrolled at Harvard University. By a stroke of luck dune dweller Grace Bessay happened to live in a neighboring apartment, and upon getting to know the young couple told them about the dune shacks of Provincetown. Thus, in the summer of 1948 the Armstrongs set out with their bikes to explore Cape Cod, and came across "the little dune house" standing abandoned and in need of care.[289]

Almost immediately David began making repairs to the shack so that he, Connie and their two young daughters could seasonally begin spending time on the dunes in the late 1940s and 1950s (Figure 3.206).[290] These early improvements included repairing the floor and roof with boards salvaged from the beach and building an outhouse. When they first began living in the dunes the Armstrongs did not dig a well, but instead shared a pre-existing one associated with a nearby shack. This structure was known as Joe Oliver's shack, but no longer exists (see further description below).[291]



Figure 3.206. View southwest of the Armstrong shack in its original location undergoing repairs by the Armstrongs, 1948 (David and Connie Armstrong Photograph Collection).

Perhaps in part because of its close proximity to Truro's High Head Road, vandalism was an ongoing issue at the Armstrong shack. After only three or four years issues of property abuse led the Armstrongs to cease maintaining their original outhouse, which had proven particularly vulnerable. To avoid



Figure 3.207. View west of Armstrong shack (far left) and foredune erosion, April 1983 (David and Connie Armstrong Photograph Collection).

further vandalism David Armstrong outfitted the large north window with glass designed to be removable, so that it could be stored indoors each winter.[292]

The Armstrong shack was not furnished with its own well until 1949 or 1950, when the Armstrongs dug one about 300 feet south of the shack. In addition the Armstrongs acquired an ice box and filled it with ice carried out to the shack in a backpack from a store in North Truro. They also outfitted the shack with the first of five wood burning stoves, which replaced each other over the years as the penetrating salt air corroded away the cast iron.[293]

Later in the 1950s, the Armstrongs built a structure attached to the south wall of the shack, which contained a new chemical toilet that could be stored indoors during the winter. In 1959 they installed a flush toilet fed by rainwater in a corner of the bedroom. A new gutter system fed water into an eighty-gallon steel box buried just south of the shack, which was then pumped for toilet use.[294] For years the Armstrongs used a succession of "sun shower bags." Equipped with a shower head, water in the dark bag was heated by sunlight. By the 1960s a gutter system collected rainwater. In 1967 a National Park Service study observed that the shack was regularly used and in good condition.[295]

The Armstrong shack is located on Tract 08-8647, or land previously owned by Edwin J. and Junia M. Hannah of Truro. Upon tracing ownership of the structure back to the Hannahs in 1948, the Armstrongs reached an agreement with the Hannahs for use of the land and building.[296] In the 1960s the land transferred from the Hannahs to the National Park Service. In 1981 the Armstrongs signed a lifetime reservation of use and occupancy with the National Park Service for their tenancy of the shack and surrounding land.

Life on the dunes meanwhile continued, as the Armstrong family remained the seasonal occupants and caretakers of the Armstrong shack. By 1976 the deck on the north side of the structure was in need of repair. At this time the Armstrongs rebuilt the north deck and installed sand fencing around the shack to stabilize the sand beneath it.[297] Yet severe storms during the winter of 1982 to 1983 soon eroded the cliff in front of the Armstrong shack, in three weeks removing 23 feet of sand which separated the shack from the beach, 43 feet below (Figure 3.207 and 3.208). As a result three quarters of the Armstrong shack was moved 400

feet from its original location that autumn, southwest to an inland dune where it currently stands and is protected from falling into the ocean (Figure 3.209).[298] The remaining quarter of the building was left behind at the old site, and was later demolished.[299]

When the old central beam from the original Armstrong shack broke in the course of the building's removal and reconstruction, it was replaced by a beam brought up from the beach that had been used to support the front deck in earlier years. In 1989 concerns about the stability of the sand beneath the newly elevated shack led to the enclosure of the lower level, this increased the building's security against the whipping winds. In the decade that followed additional alterations were also made, so as to more closely reflect the configuration and style on the original shack.[300]

Today the Armstrong shack is one of the four dune shacks located within the town boundaries of Truro. The shack is still used by David Armstrong and his wife Connie, whose extended family has used it for four generations.[301] In recent years maintenance and improvement of the shack has continued, including the stabilization of the surrounding sand against erosion, patching and replacement of worn wood, and water and wind damage repairs.[302]

Existing Condition: The Armstrong shack is located in Truro, and is the furthest east and most secluded shack in the district, standing approximately a half mile from its nearest neighbor. The shack sits atop the inner dune ridge, approximately 400 feet south of the foredune and the ocean (Figures 3.210 through 3.214).

The shack is most accessible from the eastern end of the Inner Dune Route, which begins at the gate at the end of High Head Road. From the main vehicle route, a 200 foot long driveway terminates to the northeast of the shack in a small parking area with the capacity for four vehicles (Figure 3.214). From the driveway, a series



Figure 3.208. View east of Armstrong shack and erosion of the foredune, spring 1983 (David and Connie Armstrong Photograph Collection).



Figure 3.209. View southwest of the relocated Armstrong shack on the peak of the inner dune, with a surrounding deck and sand fencing, 1989 (Cape Cod NS Archives).

of footpaths leads into a nearby scrub pine grove, four cranberry bogs to the east and the foredune and ocean to the north.

Views from the shack include a partial view north to the ocean between the dune ridge, a view west to the Pilgrim Monument, and limited views southwest of Pilgrim Lake. When viewed from the foredune to the north, only the upper level living space and deck are visible, while the lower level service core is concealed below the dune ridge (see Figure 3.214).

Patches of transplanted salt spray rose and compass grass flourish around the shack and surrounding site, including several clusters along the slope of the dune on which the shack sits (Figures 3.215 and 3.216). The Armstrongs transplanted the roses from their former shack site, and have used bales of hay and bags of soil to help establish plants. When viewed from the deck of the shack, the vegetation to the south at a lower elevation consists of beach plum and bayberry shrubs, whereas the areas to the north of the shack on the leeward side of the foredune are more sparsely vegetated with beach grass and salt spray rose (see Figures 3.212 and 3.216). A pine grove, referred to as the "Enchanted Forest" by the Armstrong family, was a popular play area for the Armstrong children (see Figure 3.212). The family has also harvested several food items from the dune landscape including beach peas, beach plums, cranberries and boletus mushrooms.

In good condition, the wood shingled Armstrong shack has a nearly flat roof that slopes south and consists of a one story upper living area and partial lower level, used for service and storage. From the parking area, a set of wooden stairs, which include eight wooden palettes as steps and a series of wooden deck landings, leads up the steep side of the dune to the main door of the shack on the east side (see Figure 3.211 and 3.213). The living space contains a gravity fed toilet and water storage facilities. An additional toilet is located in a separate room in the service space. The main deck wraps around all four sides of the shack and serves as a seating and access area, as well as part of a rainwater collection system to supply water for the gravity fed toilet in the living space. A well is located across the vehicle trail from the entrance to the driveway, approximately 300 feet east of the shack (see Figure 3.215). The Armstrongs noted that this was the third well they

had installed, as over time the pipe rusts. The well required digging to a depth of nine feet. The family remarked upon the high iron content of the water and said that they now find it more convenient to bring bottled water for drinking. A 250-gallon septic tank is buried in the sand near the Armstrong shack.

The north edge of the driveway is lined with sand fencing, which continues around the north and west sides of the shack and up the dune on which the shack sits (see Figure 3.214). The use of sand fencing is one of many techniques employed by the Armstrongs in attempt to stabilize dune erosion. Other similar measures around the base of the Armstrong shack include the use of hay bales and wooden pallets, and the strategic planting of dune grasses and shrubs. While the use of sand fencing is ubiquitous around many of the shacks, the use of wooden pallets and hay bales is unique to the Armstrong shack (see Figure 3.216).

Unevaluated archeological sites near the Armstrong shack may include the former sites of the Concrete and Schmid shacks.

Evaluation: Contributing. The Armstrong shack is a contributing resource in the historic district.

Figure 3.210. Existing conditions map of Armstrong shack, 2007 (OCLP).

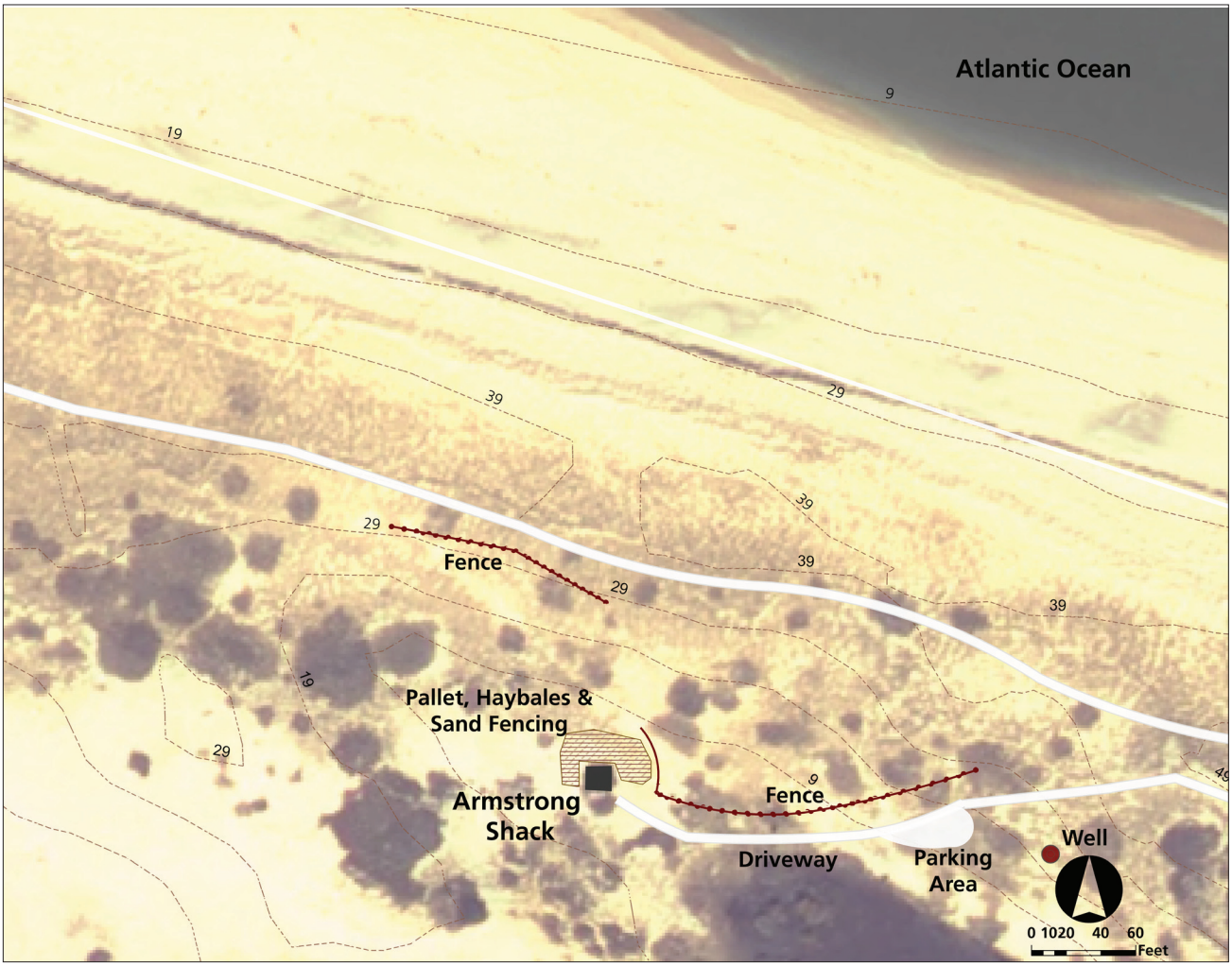




Figure 3.211. View west of the Armstrong shack, deck, stairs, and sand fencing, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.212. View south from the Armstrong shack deck of scrub pine and shrubby vegetation, an area described by the Armstrongs as the "Enchanted Forest," 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.213. View east from Armstrong shack deck of stairs, parking area, and sand fencing, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.214. View southwest from foredune to Armstrong shack and driveway, with Pilgrim Monument and the water tower on the horizon, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.215. View west of Armstrong shack well and the shack on the peak of the inner dune, 2006 (OCLP).



Figure 3.216. View northeast of dune stabilization below the Armstrong shack using pallets, hay bales, and sand fencing, 2006 (OCLP).

BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES - LOST

A few shacks that once perched along the foredune to the east and west of the Peaked Hill Bars are now gone, having fallen victim to severe weather, neglect, demolition, or the relentless shifting of the sands beneath them.[303] The historic conditions of these structures appear below and are arranged roughly according to their locations from west to east.

Squid Woman's Shack

Historic Condition: According to Mildred Champlin, a woman who belonged to the Nelson family once lived in a structure that stood between the Champlin and Malicoat shacks (see Figure 1.55). She was an elderly woman who mostly kept to herself, but once offered Nathaniel Champlin some squid in the early 1950s. Thus she came to be known among dune dwellers as Squid Woman.[304] Her shack is not visible on the 1938 aerial, is visible on the 1947 aerial, and is gone on the 1961 aerial photograph.

Existing Condition: The structure is no longer extant.

Evaluation: Non-contributing, missing.

Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station

Historic Condition: The original Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station was built in 1872 and used by the United States Life-Saving Service until 1918, when it went out of service (see Figures 1.8 through 1.10).[305] Playwright Eugene O'Neill had first lived in the dunes as early as 1917, when a young John Corea remembered him "living in a kind of hut which to the child's mind seemed like an igloo, and which was constructed of beach grass and other found materials."[306] In 1919 O'Neill's father bought the abandoned Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station and converted it for use by Eugene and his second wife, Agnes Boulton (see Figures 1.41 and 1.43). The couple spent their summers there until 1925. During this time O'Neill learned that he had won his first Pulitzer Prize for the play, *Beyond the Horizon*, in 1920.[307] It was the beginning of a long, successful career later marked by a Nobel Prize for Literature and the penning of the plays *The Iceman Cometh* and *Long Day's Journey into Night*, among others.

While Eugene was living in the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station the building came to be known simply as O'Neill's. In his time there O'Neill wrote one of his greatest plays, *Anna Christie*, as well as *The Emperor Jones* and *God's Chillun Got Wings*.[308] Most of these were first performed on a local stage by the Provincetown Players, of which O'Neill was a prominent member. In the early 1920s he also welcomed a number of visitors to the old Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station, including Hazel Hawthorne Werner, Mabel Dodge and Robert Edmond Jones.[309] One modern portrayal of this period of bustling creative and artistic activity can

be found in the 1981 epic film *Reds*, which follows the life of John Reed.

Existing Condition: The Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station was lost in 1931 when a major winter storm eroded the outer beach (see Figures 1.44 through 1.46).

Evaluation: Non-contributing, missing.

Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station Boat House

Historic Condition: The Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station boat house was likely built around the same time as the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station in 1872. It originally stood near the shore, along with the other station buildings (see Figures 1.9 and 1.10).[310] The boat house was used by surfmen to store the extra surfboat, as the larger boat used for drills was kept on the first floor of the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station. Seasonal guests occupied the boat house for the first time around 1929, and were most likely family of Coast Guardsmen during the summer season.[311]

Figure 3.217. View northwest at a portion of the Peaked Hill Bars Life Saving Station falling into the ocean, c. 1931 (Cape Cod NS Archives.



Existing Condition: The structure was lost in 1931 during the same winter storm that claimed the Life-Saving Station (see Figures 1.44, 1.45, 1.46, and 3.217).

Evaluation: Non-contributing, missing.

O'Neill Shack

Historic Condition: Hazel Hawthorne Werner recalled that the shack, later known as the "Eugene O'Neill workshop" was erected in the early 1920s to the southeast of the abandoned Peaked Hill Life-Saving Station sheds (see Figures 1.74 through 1.76).[312] The original shack owner was John Francis, who transferred the shack and 25 acres to Eugene O'Neill in 1924.[313] Hazel Hawthorne Werner recalled that Hayward Canny may have moved the O'Neill workshop up the dune and incorporated it into a shack he built there. However, later records indicate that Carlotta Monterey O'Neill, Eugene's third wife, conveyed the shack in 1955 to Ray Martan Wells, who was still responsible for the structure's care in 1967.[314]

A National Park Service structure study in 1967 notes that the small one story frame shack was in poor condition and surrounded by the remains of platform. It stood on Tract 08-1039, or about 25 acres of the property formerly owned by E. Bennett Beede et al. as Tract 08-1036.

Existing Condition: The structure is no longer extant.

Evaluation: Non-contributing, missing.



Figure 3.218. View south of the Coast Guard Station, tower, boat house, and Snail Road, c. 1950 (GH Fraser Collection).



Figure 3.219. View south of the ruins of the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station, 2006 (OCLP).

Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station

Historic Condition: From 1918 to 1931 the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station stood by the Peaked Hill Bars and functioned as Coast Guard headquarters for this section of the back shore. It appears in this location as the building with the high lookout tower (see Figures 1.31 through 1.36).[315] In 1931 this structure was threatened by the same storm that drove the old Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station into the ocean. In response the Coast Guard moved it back from the coastline about 660 feet, to the current site of the current Coast Guard Station ruins, and likely at the same time reinforced it with a concrete foundation.[316] There it continued to serve as the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station until the Hurricane of 1938. After this storm it was used for watches by Coast Guardsmen Frank and Packett Henderson for two years, before being sold to a doctor for $200 in 1940.

During World War II the United States government bought the building back briefly for use as a lookout station, but near the end of the war returned it to the doctor. The building remained unused and an object of vandalism until the station burned in the mid 1950s, most likely due to arson (see Figures 1.58 through Figure 1.61).[317]

Existing Condition: The old concrete foundation of the building and ruins of a



Figure 3.220. View southwest of the ruins of the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station with the Werner (Thalassa) shack in the foreground, 2011 (Courtesy of Bart Bartelsman).

metal tower remain on Tract 08-1050 (Figures 3.213 and 3.214). Also, the old wreck pole from the station lies on the ground not too far from the Malkin/ Ofsevit shack.[318]

Evaluation: Undetermined. Only concrete foundation walls of the Coast Guard Station remain. This maritime resource belongs to a collection of resources with a larger geographic area than that defined for the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District. As such, the significance of these resource fragments needs to be evaluated separately.

Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Boat House

Historic Condition: The Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard boat house, also known as the Coast Guard Barn or the U.S.A., was likely constructed around the same time as the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station in about 1918. During the early to mid-twentieth century the Coast Guard used the structure to store boats.[319] Measuring 16 feet by 37 feet and one and a half stories high, the building was laid out on a rectangular plan with a double door at its gable end (Figure 1.221).[320]



Figure 3.221. Possible photograph of the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station boat house relocated inland and in use by the Malkin-Ofsevits family, no date (Cape Cod NS Archives).

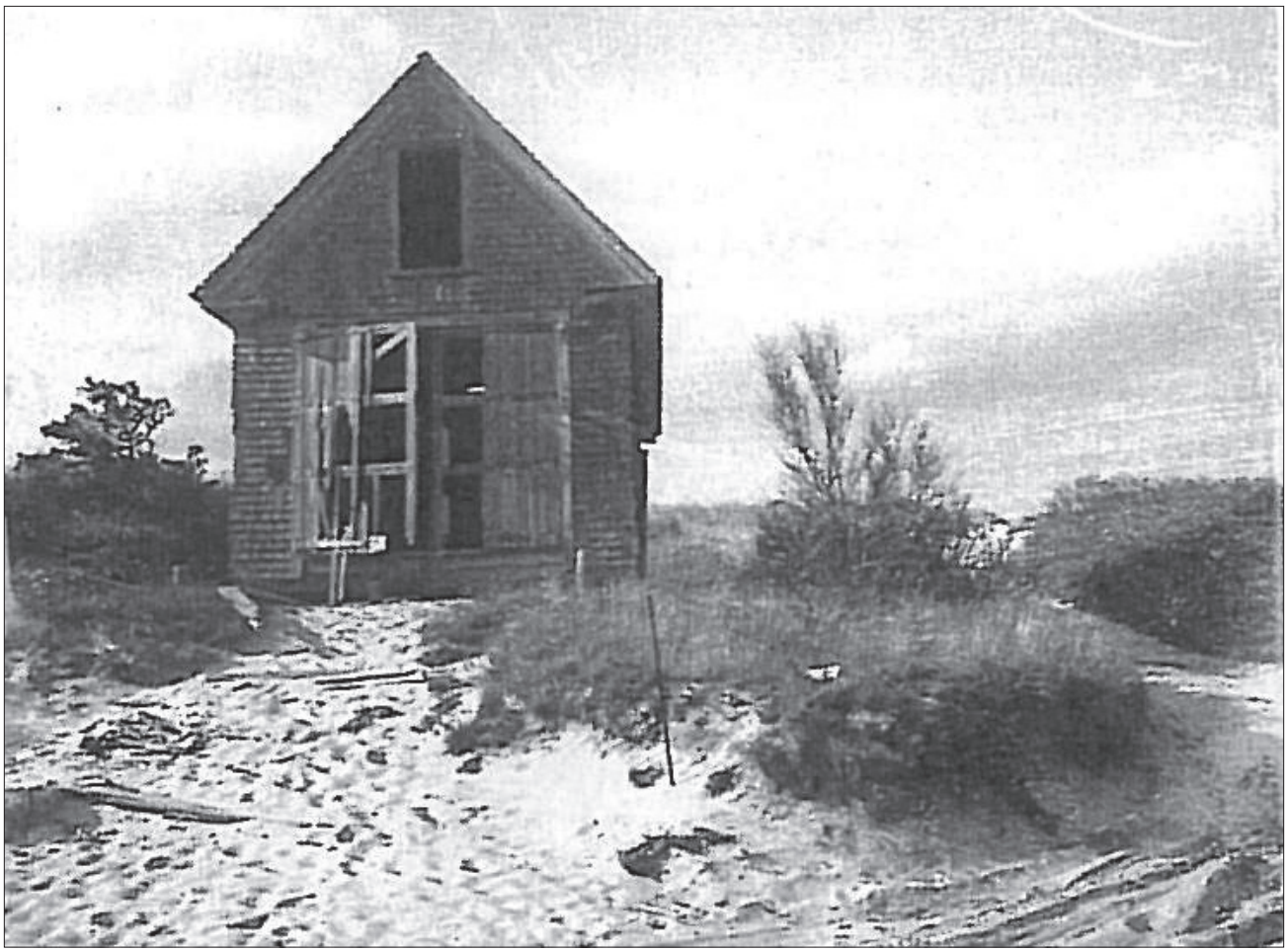


Figure 3.222. The Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station boat house near the Malkin-Ofsevit shack in 1966 (Cape Cod NS Archives).



Figure 3.223. View of the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station boat house in disrepair, 1980 (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

Following the storm of 1931 the structure was moved back from the shore along with the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station, and relocated to a site roughly 100 yards east of where the Malkin/Ofsevit shack stood from 1933 to 1990. [321] When the station subsequently closed in 1938, Leo Gracie purchased the spare boat house in an auction. That same year, or in 1941, he sold the building to Alice Malkin for $75. In the succeeding decades, Alice's daughter Zara occasionally used it for sleep-overs with her friends.[322] Soon afterwards Alice Malkin transferred care of the old boat house to her daughter and son-in-law, and it came into use by various local painters such as Frank Milby and Barbara Baker.[323]

Existing Condition: Over time the structure fell into serious disrepair, and was eventually dismantled and removed by the National Park Service (Figures 3.222 and 3.223).

Evaluation: Non-contributing, missing.

Frank Mayo's Shack

Historic Condition: Hazel Hawthorne Werner recorded recalled Frank Mayo's shack was standing in the 1920s near the original Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station, along the foredune like the other station buildings. Mayo was a Coast Guardsman and chief of the station. The shack he occupied was likely a building associated with the Coast Guard, and was destroyed in the early 1930s.[324] A severe storm, likely the same one that destroyed the old Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station in 1931, ripped the sand out from underneath the building and caused it to descend toward the beach (see Figures 1.47 and 1.48). Afterwards the Coast Guard wrapped a large rope around the structure to drag it back onto solid ground with a tractor, but the shack collapsed and fell into the ocean.[325]

Existing Condition: The structure is no longer extant.

Evaluation: Non-contributing, missing.

Ford (Hill) Shack

Historic Condition: The Ford shack, previously known as the Hill shack, was built in the early 1950s by Esther Hill of West Roxbury, Massachusetts.[326] Esther's husband, Gerald Hill towed a trailer out to the dunes in 1951. The Hills were friends and neighbors of the Fowlers in West Roxbury, and they placed their trailer in the dunes within sight of the Fearing and Fowler shacks (Figures 3.224 and 2.225). Images of moving the trailer from West Roxbury to the dunes are in the Fowler family photograph album, while images of the construction of the shack are from the photograph collection of Geraldine Hill Fraser, daughter of Gerald Hill. In 1951, the Hills added a porch to the side of the trailer, and in 1952, a prefabricated cottage replaced the trailer. Erected by a builder from Hyannis, the structure was referred to as "the Palace" because of its silver color (see Figures 3.226 to 3.230).[327]

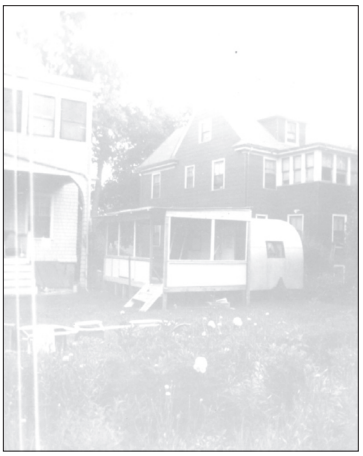


Figure 3.224. The Hill trailer and porch addition at 51 Wren Street in West Roxbury, August 1951 (Fowler album, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection

Esther Hill was the owner of the shack and she sold it to Josephine Ford in 1967 for the sum of $3,000. Initially, Ford used the shack regularly in addition to renting it out. In 1967 the shack was in fair condition, and had an associated outhouse.[328] However, within a few years, her use diminished and the shack fell into disrepair and was lost to arson in the early fall in 1970. The shack stood on Tract 08-1046, a roughly one acre portion of the E. Bennett Beede et al. property in Provincetown known as Tract 08-1036.[329] It was located in the central cluster of shacks, between the Fearing shack and Chanel Shack, but closer to the beach.[330]

Existing Condition: The shack was destroyed by fire on September 5, 1970.[331] After the fire, Josephine Ford conveyed the tract of land associated with the shack to the federal government.[332]

Evaluation: Non-contributing, missing.



Figure 3.225. The Hill trailer and outhouse enroute to or from the dunes, c. 1951 (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).



Figure 3.226. View southwest of Esther Hill's trailer, tent and clothesline, 1951. Note the Fearing shack in the background (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).



Figure 3.227. View east of Hill trailer and porch addition, 1952 (Fowler album, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).



Figure 3.228. View southeast of Gerald Hill and recently completed shack, a prefab constructed by Hyannis builder in 1952 (GH Fraser Collection).



Figure 3.229. View northwest of Hill shack painted silver, c. 1955. Note the additional rear room at left, fencing surrounding the shack, the outhouse at right, picket fence, and clothesline in the distance (GH Fraser Collection).



Figure 3.230. View northeast of Hill shack, 1958. Note the fencing and the flagpole with the American flag (GH Fraser Collection).

Quonset Shack

Historic Condition: According to Annabelle Jones, a Quonset hut was built on a high dune close to the Jones shack in 1946 or 1947. It was occupied for roughly three summers before being abandoned. Jones recounted how both during the time it was occupied and afterwards the shack "attracted people who broke into it either to occupy or ransack or steal or simply to wantonly destroy. The owners invited this by their completely unkempt manner of living."[333] Eventually the Joneses began leasing the land on which the Quonset hut stood in order to help prevent vandalism on the dunes.[334]

Existing Condition: The structure is no longer extant.

Evaluation: Non-contributing, missing.

Halfway House and Schmid Shack

Historic Condition: The Schmid shack once stood to the west of the original Armstrong shack, about halfway between the current locations of that building and the Jones shack.[335] According to maps, the shack stood in close proximity to the USLSS's halfway station between the Peaked Hill Bars and High Head stations (see Drawing 2, and Figures 1.83 and 3.231). According to Conrad Malicoat, the Schmid shack was built by a Coast Guardsman named Meads, and originally used by Margaret Watson.[336] (Note that this could be James Meades, a town builder who constructed the Euphoria shack in 1935 or Jesse Meads, a local builder who constructed the Jones shack in 1935 and helped move the Malkin/Ofsevit shack in 1933.) Sometime in the late 1950s Charlie Schmid assumed care of the structure for $100, after moving to Provincetown from New York City.[337] With time the original structure was buried by sand, and so with Philip Malicoat's help Schmid built on top of it. Thus the first shack was transformed into a kind of basement to the addition, a process which was repeated over the subsequent years.[338] The 1967 National Park Service structure study found the shack to be in fair condition and occupied year round by Schmid. At that time it had apparently undergone many additions and modifications, and was described as a "rambling penthouse style" structure.[339] Friends remembered the Schmid shack as being a rickety structure with a unique and often bewildering design. In the words of Josephine Del Deo:

> By any natural law, the place should have fallen into the sea long before. It was a driftwood "Leggo" [sic.] set no manufacturer had ever produced, a construction that defied gravity. As Charlie careened carefully along the rotting planks of the top level of his crazily cantilevered porch, God, in some kind of tacit arrangement with the odds, always tipped his balancing act in favor of the return trip. Down below, another deck shot out, as Wright would have said…"to fit the contours of the land." Seeing Charlie's castle from a distance, however, one was struck by the remarkable way in which its shape did not adjust to the landscape. At first glance, the easiest conjecture was…"a waiting bonfire," then the second look and the incredible realization that doors and windows were



Figure 3.231. A halfway hut along the Outer Beach, undated (Courtesy of James M. Claflin Collection).

> gazing across at you from various corners of the heap, and that a person might conceivably have built the thing with the intention of maneuvring [sic.] within its pueblo interior.[340]

The distinctive, towering shape of the Schmid shack eventually gave it the name "Prudential Center of the Dunes," because it was so much taller than the other dune structures.[341] The Schmid shack also had an associated well, at one time. This was described by Charlie in a now-lost photograph: "In this picture, my shack is visible on the right, near the water pump which lies at the foot of the stairs rising out of the bottom of the valley."[342] Charlie Schmid lived alone in this shack on the back shore for 23 years, keeping a journal and conscientiously caring for a set of dune swallow houses that stood along a cranberry bog near his shack. Over the course of whole decades he tagged the birds so that he could study their migration patterns, resulting in his nickname, "Bird-Man." Indeed, Schmid became so invested in this project that when his bird colony was at one point devastated by raccoons, the loss brought him to tears .[343] Another of his favorite activities on the back shore was beachcombing, a task often completed with the help of his blue jeep.[344] For example, the supports for the Schmid shack were pieces of "weather-worn" pilings or drift wood found by him along the beaches of the back shore.[345]

The USLSS Halfway House and the Schmid shack once stood on Tract 08-8645, within the boundaries of what was once Pilgrim Spring State Park.[346] In 1981 Charlie Schmid signed a lifetime occupancy agreement for the structure with the National Park Service.[347] However, his health soon declined and he was forced to move out of his home on the dunes. He died in 1984 and the National Park Service destroyed the Schmid shack soon afterwards, triggering a movement to protect the shacks led by the Peaked Hill Trust.[348]

Existing Condition: The structure is no longer extant.

Evaluation: Non-contributing, missing.

Bessay's Small Shack

Historic Condition: Grace Bessay acquired a small shack along the Truro shoreline, east of Charlie Schmid's shack and west of the Armstrong shack (see Figure 1.83). There is little documentation of the shack except several photographs. The shack resembled the Jones shack—a footprint of approximately ten by twelve feet, a shed roof, small windows, an east facing door, and entry ramp. Unlike the Jones shack, it was sided with clapboards, lacked an east facing window, and stood high on the dune on pilings (Figures 3.232 through 3.237). Bessay's small shack was gone by 1968, and was possibly buried by shifting sand.[349]

Existing Condition: The structure is no longer extant.

Evaluation: Non-contributing, missing.



Figure 3.232. Installing a well near Bessay's small shack, 1952 (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).



Figure 3.233. View possibly west of Andy Fuller, Jr. and Grace Bessay on the vehicle trail with the small shack in the distance, 1952 (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).



Figure 3.234. View possibly south of Bessay's small shack, 1952 (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

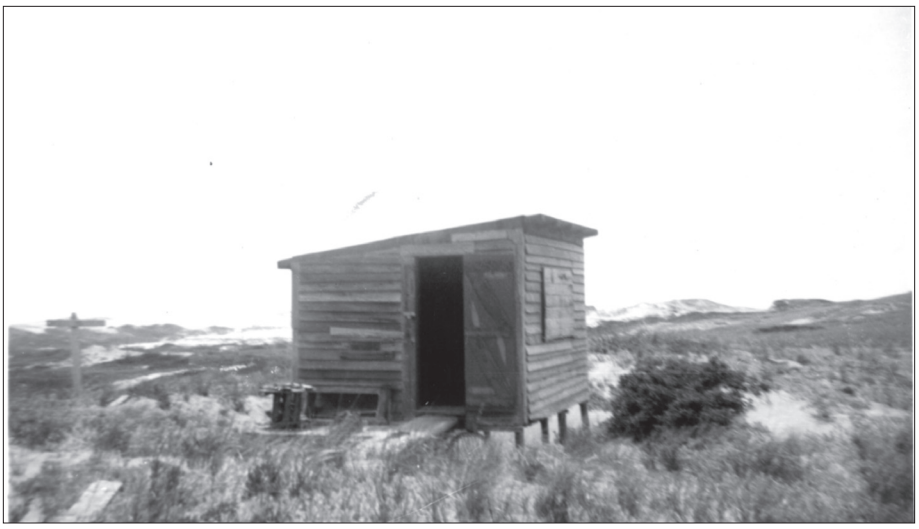


Figure 3.235. View possibly west of Bessay's small shack with clothesline pole to the left, 1952 (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).



Figure 3.236. View possibly southeast of Bessay's small shack in 1952. Note the structure in the distance at far left (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).



Figure 3.237. View possibly looking north at Bessay's small shack, 1952 (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

Joe Oliver's Shack

Historic Condition: Joe Oliver's shack was also known as Patrick's after the man who built it, Pat Patrick, who also built the original Armstrong shack. It was used by Joe Oliver sometime in the mid-twentieth century.[350] Oliver was a local fisherman who tended lobster traps and sold to the Flagship Restaurant, then owned by Patrick. Joe Oliver's shack stood not far to the east of the Armstrong shack, and during the 1940s it shared an associated well with the Armstrongs (see Drawing 2 and Figure 1.83).[351] According to David Armstrong, some people once mixed up the Armstrong shack with Joe Oliver's and tried to break in, after Patrick's widow had told them they could force entry and stay at the shack built by her husband.[352] The shack was later maintained by Andrew Fuller, Jr. and Grace Bessay (Figures 3.238, 3.239 and 3.240). The shack was located in the area that became part of the Pilgrim Spring State Park in 1956. The establishment of the park included the taking of land, but not structures: "Structures are not included and all owners have a period of six (6) months from the date of recording of this instrument to remove them."

Figure 3.238. View south of Joe Oliver's shack, 1967 (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection).



Joe Oliver's shack was demolished by the National Park Service in 1984. Grace Bessay, who was the executrix for the estate of Andrew Fuller, received bills for collection of the cost of demolishing the shack for several years thereafter.[353]

Existing Condition: The structure is no longer extant.



Figure 3.239. View north of Joe Oliver's shack, 1967 (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).



Figure 3.240. View north of Grace Bessay beside Joe Oliver's shack, 1982 (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

Evaluation: Non-contributing, missing.

Concrete Shack

Historic Condition: The Concrete shack, also known as the Stone shack, Cement shack, or Fuller shack, stood midway between the Armstrong shack and High Head Road, between Joe Oliver's and the Stanard shack (see Drawing 2 and Figure 1.83). The construction date is unknown. At first it was used by Andrew Fuller, and later on visited by Michael Sperber.[354] Nearby dune dweller Anne Arsenault recalled a sculptor in residence: "My favorite person was a sculptor who kept his cement house cool for his work with clay...my heart would always lift when I saw the bright orange-yellow nasturtiums he had planted around his shack in dirt he had hauled in over the dunes."[355] The owner of this shack had apparently constructed a wooden frame over the concrete foundation, "which he covered with chicken wire and cement. It does look like a fortification, but it was a welcoming sight to a child."[356] As described by the Armstrongs during a June 2006 interview, the shack included a large stone fireplace and chimney finished with quartz stone. The Armstrongs also noted that a Model-A Ford was buried in the sand near the shack site (Figures 3.241 through 3.244.) Andrew Fuller, Jr. occupied the shack until his death in 1981. Grace Bessay, the executrix for his estate, received bills for collection of the cost of demolishing the shack for several years thereafter.[357]

Figure 3.241. The concrete shack and an abandoned vehicle, 1964 (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).





Figure 3.242. The concrete shack with abandoned vehicle at left and chimney at right, 1967 (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).



Figure 3.243. View of the concrete shack with National Park Service warning sign, 1982. Note the broad mortared beach stone chimney (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).



Figure 3.244. View of the Concrete shack, boarded up, maintained by Grace Bessay, at center, and Andrew Fuller, Jr., in foreground, 1980 (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

Existing Condition: The shack's foundation may remain.

Evaluation: Non-contributing, missing.

Stanard Shack

Historic Condition: The Stanard shack, also known as the New York shack or the New Yorker, used to stand to the east of the Concrete shack, west of the Red shack, and not far from the end of High Head Road in Truro (see Drawing 2). It was used by the Stanard family, who came from New York.[358] The Armstrongs recall that the shack was present when they began coming to the dunes in the late 1940s. Sometime in the 1960s or 70s, when use of the shack diminished, it was demolished by the National Park Service.[359]

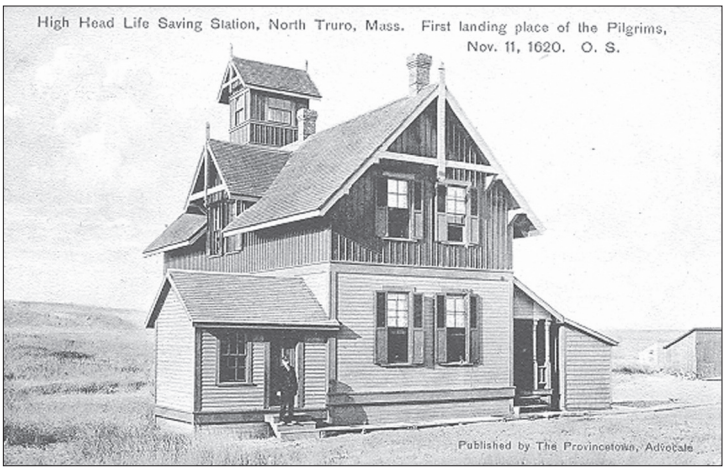
Existing Condition: The structure is no longer extant.

Evaluation: Non-contributing, missing.

High Head Coast Guard Station, Boat House, and Communications Building

Historic Condition: The High Head Life-Saving Station was established in 1882, nine years after Congress established the United States Life Saving Service in 1872. The station was a three and one-half story building that towered over the surrounding open landscape and marked the southern end of the perilous Peaked Hill Bars (Drawing 1 and Figures 3.245 and 3.246). The Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station stood to the northwest and the Highland Light Life-Saving Station to the southeast. In 1915, the U.S. Life Saving Service merged with the Revenue Cutter Service and incorporated as the U.S. Coast Guard. Historic postcards show the original station and images from the 1940s and 50s show the abandoned buildings associated with the station (see Figures 1.57 and 3.248). The boat house stood near the beach and contained a surfboat and beach cart. A small communications building stood nearby. The first keeper of the station also kept a horse that could help drag rescue equipment at the time of a wreck. According to the 1955 U.S. Geological Survey map, the structure was gone by this time, though remnants are visible on the 1960s aerial photograph. The Red Shack stood nearby (see Figure 1.83). Ancillary structures





Figures 3.245 and 3.246. Postcards of the High Head Life-Saving Station (Courtesy of James M. Claflin Collection).

such as the boat house and communications building were likely not recorded on the map.

Existing Condition: Only foundations of the station remain.

Evaluation: Undetermined. Only concrete foundations of the High Head Life-Saving Station remain. This resource dates to an earlier time period and belongs to a collection of maritime resources with a larger geographic area than that defined for the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District. As such, the significance of these resource fragments needs to be evaluated separately.

Red Shack

Historic Condition: The Red shack once stood on former Pilgrim Spring State Park land in Truro, right by the end of High Head Road and not far from the current location of the High Head Life-Saving Station ruins (see Drawing 2 and Figure 1.83).[360] It was constructed of drift wood covered with red tar paper, to which it owed its name. Originally a Coast Guard structure, dune dwellers began using this building not long after it was vacated, sometime in the 1930s.[361] Care of the shack was subsequently conveyed to the Gushee family, who used it seasonally throughout the early 1940s. One of the Gushee daughters, Anne Arsenault, spent two weeks each summer living in the shack with her family from age nine to fourteen, or up until the end of World War II. Her family continued to use the shack regularly until about 1953 (Figures 3.247 through 3.249).[362]

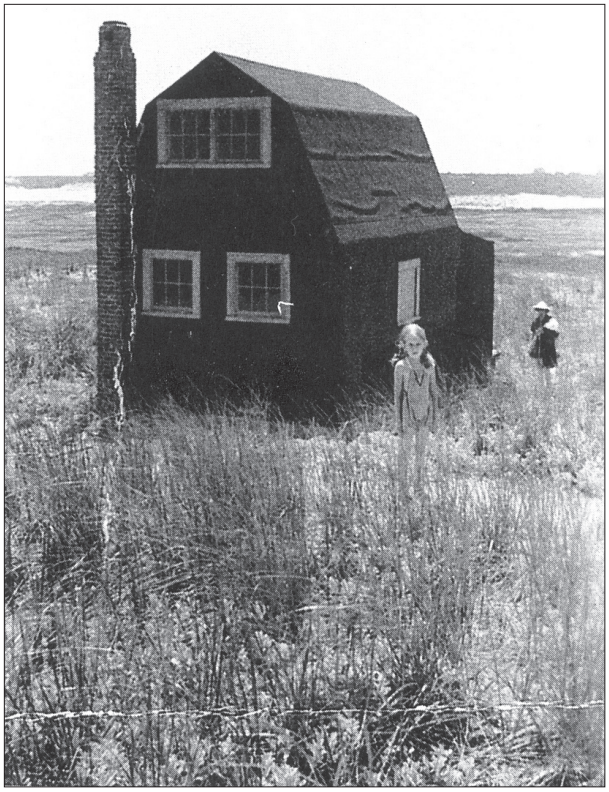


Figure 3.247. Looking possibly northeast at the Red shack in the 1940s (Cape Cod NS Archives, Gushee Collection).

The Gushees used a pump installed in their shack to bring up water from beneath the sand, drawing from a spot later marked by a cluster of reeds. A few planks were used for sitting out in front of the shack, while another set formed a stairway up to a porch. A loft provided a view straight across the dunes to the Highland Light, and a deep hole in the floor



Figure 3.248. Possibly looking west at the Red shack, at right, in the 1940s. Note the outhouse for the shack at far left, and the High Head U.S. Coast Guard Station building, most likely a boat house, visible behind a hill at center (Cape Cod NS Archives, Gushee Collection).

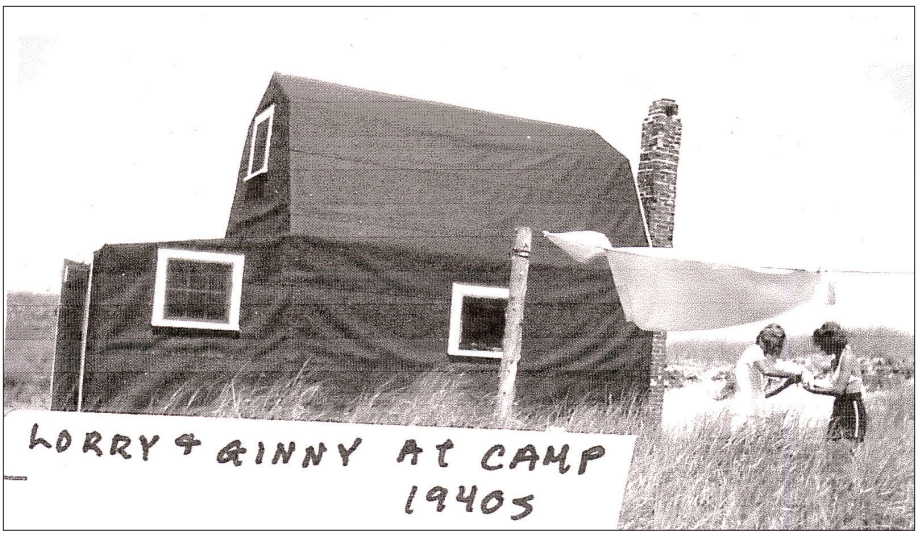


Figure 3.249. Looking possibly southwest of the Red shack in the 1940s with a clothesline in the foreground (Cape Cod NS Archives, Gushee Collection).



Figure 3.250. View possibly northwest of Grace Bessay at the Red shack with a small deck, 1956 (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).



Figure 3.251. View possibly northwest of the Red shack, 1959. Note the water line at left and the loss of the front deck and steps (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

of the kitchen was used as a kind of refrigerator on a string. Arsenault recalled spending very little time indoors, because for the children "the fun was outside," rain or shine.[363] She also remembered fondly how "according to tradition anyone who wanted to could spend their vacation at the shack. And family and friends came when we were not there."[364] Among these was the Franz family, featured in some of the Gushee family photos kept at Cape Cod National Seashore archives.

The Red shack had several neighbors, as it was located to the east of the Jones shack and in close proximity to the High Head Life-Saving Station. Arsenault recalled how being so near to the station meant that "every summer our shack would be vandalized and bullet holes found in the walls." The relatively easy access by automobile to the shack, via High Head Road, likely aggravated this issue still further. In one particularly severe episode all of the family's Caruso records were smashed by "teenage vandals."[365] Around 1953 the Gushees stopped using the Red shack regularly. Grace Bessay tended the shack in the mid to late 1950s (Figures 3.250 and 3.251). In about 1959 the structure was damaged by an fire, but was still evident as documented on a 1960s aerial photograph. Sometime after 1963, the remaining structure burned. Arsenault speculated that the blaze likely resulted from the same kind of irresponsible behavior and vandalism that had previously occurred at the site. Bessay sought rebuilding rights in court but was unsuccessful.[366]

Existing Condition: The structure is no longer extant.

Evaluation: Non-contributing, missing.

Vevers-Pfeiffer-Giese Shack

Historic Condition: The shack known as the Vevers-Pfeiffer-Giese shack previously stood to the east of the other shacks and is identified on a surveyor's map (Figure 3.252). On the 1964 deed it is described as "between Head of Meadow Beach and High Head and approximately one-fourth (1/4) of a mile north of the old U.S. Coast Guard Halfway House and between Pilgrim Spring and the Atlantic Ocean on the Back Shore."[367] Chester Pfeiffer of North Truro constructed the shack in 1939 (see Figure 1.83 and 3.253). Pfeiffer maintained the shack until the mid 1950s, when he was no longer able to use it. He then rented to the shack on a seasonal basis. In 1958 Dr. Graham Giese and his wife and five children of North Truro began renting the shack each summer. Artists Tony and Elspeth Vevers and their two children visited as guests and thereafter returned, sharing the rent of the dwelling with the Giese family. In 1964 Pfeiffer gave the property to Vevers, with the condition that he maintain it. The quitclaim deed included the building, an outbuilding, and a fifty by fifty foot parcel. At that time James Douglas and his wife and three children joined as a third party using the shack. [368]

Until 1963 the Geise and Vevers families resided year round on the Cape and

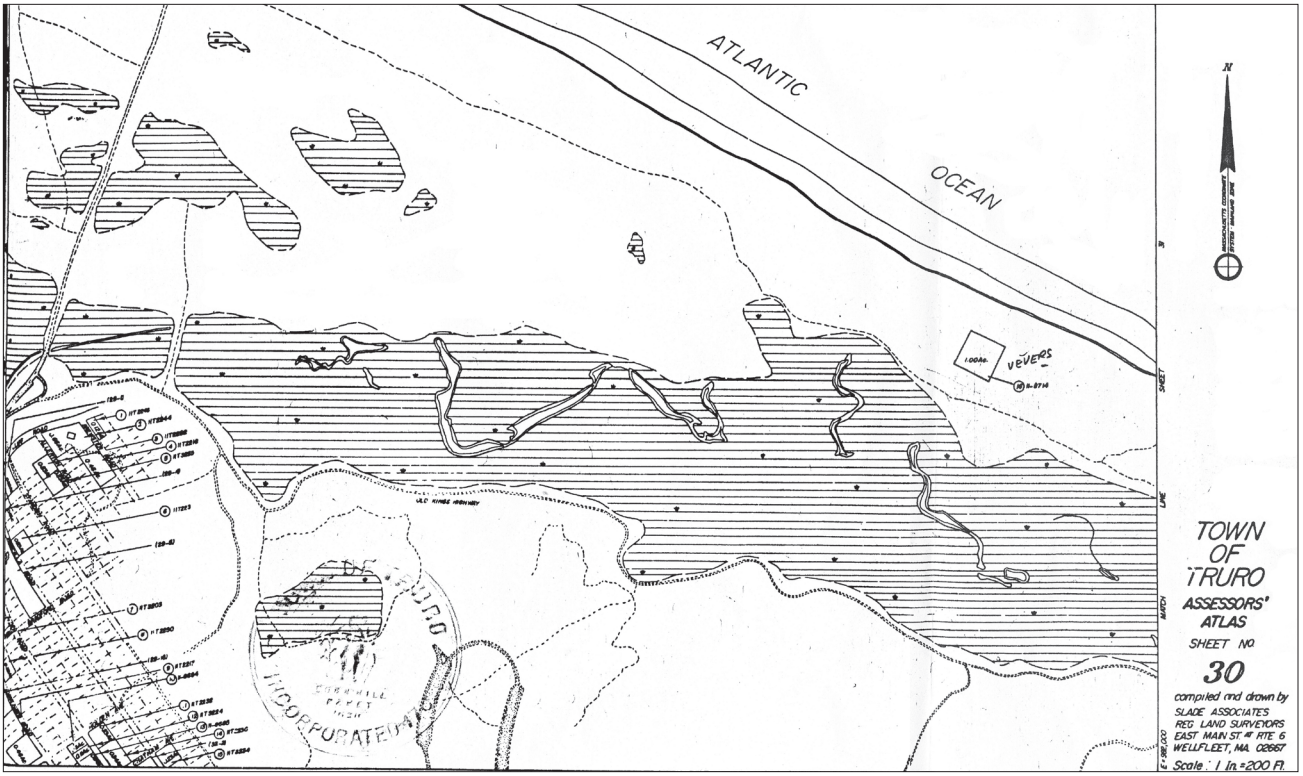


Figure 3.252. Map showing the location of the Vevers-Pfeiffer-Giese shack between the Pilgrim Spring salt meadow and the ocean and within the Pilgrim Spring State Park in North Truro (Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

checked on the shack regularly. However, after this time both families moved away to take up academic positions.[369] Thereafter, every winter the structure was vandalized. When the families returned for the summer, much of their time was devoted to repairs. Continued vandalism required that they remove all bedding, furnishings, and utensils before boarding up the windows and double locking the doors at the end of the summer. When they arrived in June 1967, the shack had been burnt down.[370] National Park Service records indicate that the shack had been vacant for several years and was in poor condition, hence the park destroyed the structure. Others claimed that the Vever's belongings were inside the structure at the time of its destruction.[371]



Existing Condition: The shack was demolished by the National Park Service early in 1967.[372]

Evaluation: Outside of Historic District, non-contributing, missing.

Figure 3.253. View possibly southeast of the Vevers-Pfieffer-Giese shack in North Truro, 1965 (Anthony Vevers correspondence, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection).

CIRCULATION

The minimal and utilitarian circulation network of sand vehicle trails, footpaths, and driveways is a contributing feature within the Peaked Hill Bars landscape. The network is described in greater detail below and consists of the Inner Dune Route, Outer Dune Route, Snail Road, High Head Road, driveways to individual shacks, and footpaths between shacks, to the ocean, and to sites of habitual use.

Circulation Network including Inner Dune Route

Historic Condition: Historically established routes of circulation among the dunes are difficult to trace, due to the forever changing landscape they traverse. It is likely that the most common route of circulation during the early years of the period of significance was along the beach, where the surfmen walked their patrols. Before the days of dune buggies and tourism, a well-traveled route through the inner dunes most likely did not exist. Instead a trip out to the dunes in these years involved a long, rough and unpredictable carriage ride across the barren, shifting sands (see Figures 1.16 through 1.18). Between 1894 and 1901, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts constructed a road between Provincetown and the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station—along a route which may have followed the present Snail Road.[373] With the rise in popularity of the dunes during the first decades of the twentieth century a group of scattered dune shacks soon sprang up, bringing with them a steady trickle of dune dwellers in the 1930s and early 1940s.

Transportation between shacks required traveling perpendicular to the shore and somewhere inside the first barrier dune, either by horse and wagon or in Art's Dune Taxi after he started his service in 1946. Some hint of the flexibility of routes among the dunes can be drawn from a 1950 aerial photograph of some of the dune shacks in the west cluster (see Figure 1.68). In subsequent years, the routes increasingly established by wheels were also traversed by ever greater numbers on foot. Artists and writers coming out to the dune shacks from town or Route 6 would use these paths just as Harry Kemp, Hazel Hawthorne Werner and other dune dwellers regularly used them to run errands. Use of the inner dune route by off-road vehicles was restricted to a permit only policy by the National Park Service, in the 1970s (see Figure 1.92). Also in the 1970s and 80s, parts of the inner dune route were closed because of environmental concerns and a study that showed long term environmental damage from vehicles on dune vegetation.

Existing Condition: Today the inner dune route, also called the main vehicle trail, has come to refer to the entire system of trails leading down the back shore from Race Point into the Historic District (Figure 3.254). Use of the route continues to be restricted due to stabilization concerns. It provides an access path to most of the dune shack driveways, stretching from the Race Point south to the Champlin shack. A second segment extends from west of the Werner (Euphoria) shack to



Figure 3.254. View east of the inner dune route in the central cluster (OCLP, May 2011).

the Jones shack. A third segment can be accessed from the gate to the High Head gate in Truro, at the terminus of High Head Road and leads to the Armstrong shack. The sandy route primarily follows dune hollows but also traverses their crests on occasion, following a line roughly parallel to the shore. Most of the shacks stand to the north of the inner dune route segments, a rule broken only by the Malkin/Ofsevit, Wells, and Armstrong shacks located to the south (see Drawing 4).

Evaluation: Contributing feature as part of the circulation network. The inner dune route segments contribute to the character of the cultural landscape within the Historic District. As an important access route out to the shacks, it represents an artery of human life that feeds the outposts created by the dune shacks. Cutting through hollows and across the rolling peaks of dunes, it also provides glimpses of the various worlds that exist on the back shore, from bogs and stunted trees to sandy, slopes and dune shacks.

Outer Dune Route

Historic Condition: The outer dune route, or what is known as the "Beach Top Route" in the National Park Service dune route pamphlet from 1968, likely developed and was used in a very similar manner to the inner dune route, described above. As it originally stood nearer to the ocean, the outer dune route was heavily damaged by the Blizzard of 1978 and probably other storms as well (see Figure 1.92).

Existing Condition: Little of what was once interpreted as the outer dune route still exists today, and those portions which do survive have been largely integrated into



Figure 3.255. View southeast of the outer dune route between the Armstrong shack and the High Head Road (OCLP, August 2011).

the inner dune route as side tracks or alternative paths to reach the same points (see Figure 3.255 and Drawing 4).

Evaluation: Contributing feature as part of the circulation network. The remnants of the outer dune route contribute to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District.

Snail Road

Historic Condition: Snail Road has provided access to the dunes for almost a century and a half, or since the construction of the first permanent structures as part of the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station in 1872. On an 1880 map and subsequent maps, the route is clearly visible leading from King's Highway out to the back shore and station (see Figures 1.12, 1.14, and 1.43). Later with the construction of U.S. Route 6 in 1926, visitors could easily turn off the highway onto Snail Road and, if they were driving a properly equipped vehicle, head straight out to the dune shacks and Peaked Hill. This road across the dunes provided a direct link from nearby Provincetown to the central cluster of dune shacks on the back shore, offering the first quick and easy alternative to the longer inner and outer dune routes leading east along the dunes from Race Point. As Provincetown thrived culturally and economically in the first few decades of the twentieth century Snail Road was a connection between the two worlds, traversing the barren dunes to be walked and driven by poets, artists, writers, and tourists alike (see Figures 1.29, 1.30, 1.48, 1.55, 1.59, 1.69, and 1.72).



Figure 3.256. View southwest of Snail Road as it transitions from dune landscape to oak forest near Route 6 (OCLP, May 2011).

Existing Condition: Today Snail Road is closed to public automobile traffic with a locked gate, though the Malicoat family retains the right to use it as an access route to their shack. Now a well-used path, it remains the easiest way to reach the central cluster of dune shacks on foot (Figures 3.256 and 3.257). A steep ascent leads out of the wooded area by Route 6 to the sandy crest of an inner barrier dune, and suddenly the pedestrian is transported to a place seemingly without time, with the cars on the highway left far behind.

Evaluation: Contributing feature as part of the circulation network. The Snail Road access to the back shore is a significant feature that contributes to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District. Today it continues to connect dune dwellers, artists, and other visitors to the back shore from Provincetown and elsewhere.

Figure 3.257. View south of the Snail Road footpath connecting the central cluster of shacks to Provincetown (OCLP, May 2011).



High Head Road

Historic Condition: It is likely that High Head Road was constructed around the same time as Snail Road and for similar reasons, to furnish an established path out to the High Head Life-Saving Station constructed in 1882 (see Figures 1.14, 1.43, 1.56, 1.73, and 1.83). Over the years this road provided the same ease of access to the east cluster of dune shacks as did Snail Road to the north, by leading out to the back shore from Route 6. This proved convenient for dune dwellers in that it facilitated transport to the dune shacks, but also made the structures more vulnerable to vandalism in later years. During the late 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s vandals visited a number of shacks in the east cluster including the Jones, Armstrong, Vevers, Quonset, Concrete, Stanard, and Red shacks.

Existing Condition: As reflected in historic maps, the actual route of High Head Road has changed considerably over the years. Today High Head Road continues to connect between Route 6 and the east end of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, serving as the access point for the Armstrong shack as well as permitted beach access (Figure 3.258). The road terminates at a locked gate and parking lot, where visitors can still park their cars and walk out into the dunes.

Figure 3.258. View east of High Head Road (OCLP, August 2011).



Evaluation: Contributing feature as part of the circulation network. The presence of High Head Road contributes to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District. Over the years it has represented an important access point to the dunes from the southeast, helping to balance the flow of visitors from Snail Road to the south and Race Point to the northwest.

Driveways

Historic Condition: When many of the dune shacks were first constructed, they likely were reached from the inner or outer dune routes by mere footpaths leading through the sand. The presence of driveways therefore arose only with the introduction of increasing numbers of automobiles and beach buggies to the back shore, around the mid-twentieth century (see Figure 1.67 and 1.68). For example, a photograph of the Champlin shack in 1935 shows a vehicle likely used for transporting supplies and equipment (see Figure 3.50). Many driveways along the foredune were subsequently lost due to coastal erosion (see Figure 3.207).

Existing Condition: Today most of the dune shacks have driveways of varying lengths depending on their distance from the inner dune route. Some buildings, like the Fearing and Fowler shacks, have rather long, winding drives that separate them entirely from the dune route. Others, like the Malkin/Ofsevit shack, have only a short pull-off or a mere parking space for an automobile, with the building itself visible from the dune route. Dune shack driveways often pitch steeply and end before reaching structures, perhaps in part due to the constant disturbance and erosion caused by vehicle use. Footpaths typically lead from there to the shacks themselves (see further discussion below).

Evaluation: Contributing feature as part of the circulation network. Driveways contribute to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District. They represent a necessary link to the main inner dune route and help distance shacks from automobile traffic.

Footpaths between Shacks

Historic Condition: Various footpaths leading between shacks have likely existed at different times over the years, but have rarely been documented. One exception to this rule is the footpath between the Champlin shack and the Adams Guest Cottage and Adams shack. Dominic Avila, his brother Joseph, and Edward "Jake" Loring were friends who are known to have built the Champlin and Adams shacks, and subsequently used them for entertaining. The Adams and Champlin families, who succeeded them were also friends who subsequently used these shacks beginning in 1953. Thus, it is highly likely that a vehicle path between the two shacks was abandoned due to dune erosion but a footpath persisted between the buildings (see Figures 1.68, 3.46, and 3.48). In similar fashion footpaths have probably crossed the dunes between shacks historically, depending on the ebb and flow of friendships maintained by dune dwellers over the years. Yet their precise locations are unknown.

Existing Condition: Today a well-worn footpath still links the Adams Guest Cottage, Adams shack, and Champlin shack, and leads along the crest of the first barrier dune to the north of the buildings. Current footpaths also connect the Margo/Gelb and Kemp shacks and the Werner (Euphoria), Kemp, and Chanel shacks. These paths often follow the route of least resistance by skirting along the crest of the first barrier dune parallel to the beach, and thus avoid having to go up and down through nearby dune hollows.

Evaluation: Contributing as part of the circulation network. On the whole, footpaths between dune shacks contribute to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District. They are documented for only a few of the shacks, but reflect a consistent pattern of use among some of the dune dwellers.

Footpaths to ocean

Historic Condition: Footpaths to the ocean have likely long been a part of the back shore, beginning with the earliest human inhabitants of the area. The Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station and later Coast Guard Station required immediate access to the water not only to keep watch for shipwrecks but to facilitate patrols of the beach by surfmen and Coast Guardsmen who thus able to launch their boats quickly in times of need. Paths up from the sea would also have been necessary for the early half-way houses established by the Massachusetts Humane Society in the nineteenth century.

More recently, the open Atlantic has been an important resource for artists, writers and other dune dwellers not only as a source of inspiration but of adventure and excitement. A number of historic dune shack users were avid beach collectors, including Leo Fleurant, Charlie Schmid, Annabelle Jones, and Nathaniel Champlin. Over the years their feet, and those of many other wanders, have cut paths through the first barrier dune. Heading out to the beach is also a popular activity for tourists who trek from Snail Road, as the view of the open ocean at the end of their hike across the rolling dunes becomes an end goal.

Existing Condition: All of the dune shacks in the historic district have footpaths leading to the ocean today. In view of the constant rush of sand and crash of waves audible from behind the barrier dune, it is perhaps little wonder that dune dwellers should want to maintain paths to the source of the sound. In some instances, such paths spring from a dune shack driveway, as in the case of the drive between the Fowler and Fearing shacks and the drive which continues past the Chanel shack. It is likely that in these instances vehicles were once allowed to access the beach, at the same point where the footpath now leads out to the ocean.

Some footpaths to the sea and other paths among the dunes have been fenced off or restricted in recent years as a result of overuse and erosion. For example, after heavy tourist use of the Margo/Gelb footpath to the ocean caused severe erosion to the barrier dune, dune dwellers marked it with signs to designate strict usage by locals only (see Figure 3.85). Likewise, footpaths that once accessed the Chanel and Braaten shacks directly from the inner dune route have now been blocked to prevent erosion of sand from around the buildings' foundations.

Evaluation: Contributing feature as part of the circulation network. Footpaths to the ocean on the back shore are significant and contribute to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District.

Footpaths to Sites of Habitual Use

Historic Condition: Footpaths leading to sites of habitual use on the back shore have existed for as long as humans have been known to inhabit the dunes. The surfmen and Coast Guardsmen of the Peaked Hill Bars and other stations along

the Outer Cape first wore paths into the beach, keeping watch for shipwrecks. Paths must also have been established between the various buildings of the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station, and later the Coast Guard Station. Similar trails lead from shacks to wells and outhouses almost as soon as the dune shacks were built, reflecting the needs of their human users. Dune shack wells were usually situated in a low area close to structures, where water could be found near the surface of the sand.

Footpaths to outdoor seating areas also likely arose with the construction of individual shacks, as the leisure habits of dune dwellers marked the surrounding landscape. Routes to popular cranberry bogs or exceptional viewpoints accounted for another type of footpath among the dunes. These trails likely materialized over time, as rising numbers of dune shacks and dune dwellers appeared on the back shore to take advantage of its unique beauty.

Existing Condition: Today, all of the dune shacks except for the Kemp shack have their own footpaths to low spots in the nearby dunes, where associated wells are located. Paths also connect some shacks to outdoor seating areas, which often boast ocean views inaccessible to the nearby structure. These trails frequently turn into footpaths to the ocean, after reaching the seating area. The outdoor seating areas associated with the Fleurant, Adams, Werner (Euphoria), Margo/Gelb, Kemp, Werner (Thalassa), Braaten, and Jones shacks are a few examples of this arrangement (Figures 3.26, 3.47, 3.69, 3.92, 3.156, and 3.203). One exception is the Malkin/Ofsevit shack, where a footpath leads to an outdoor seating area located on the crest of a small dune nearby, but there is no path to the ocean (Figure 3.103). At the Fowler shack, a footpath similarly leads south from the building towards a seating area before continuing on to a second clearing positioned higher on an inner dune (see Figure 3.121).

In those cases where an indoor bathroom has not been installed, footpaths continue to link dune shacks with associated outhouses. The Werner (Euphoria), Margo/Gelb, Malkin/Ofsevit, Fearing, Chanel, Werner (Thalassa), Braaten, Watson, Wells, and Jones shacks are all examples of this arrangement (see Figure 3.204). Some dune shacks, such as the Armstrong shack, also continue to have footpaths leading to cranberry bog areas, which are typically located in nearby dune hollows.

Evaluation: Contributing feature as part of the circulation network. Footpaths to sites of habitual use contribute to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District. They represent the uses and activities of humans in the dunes, which has been one of the distinct characteristics of the back shore's active use since the period of significance.

VEGETATION

Coastal Vegetation (beach grass, bearberry, cranberry bog areas)

Historic Condition: Throughout the historic period, coastal vegetation included beach grass and bearberry in upland areas and cranberry in lowland bogs. The close proximity of the water table provided a kind of low-lying wetland, fostering cranberry and blueberry plants which later became popular among Native Americans and dune dwellers alike. While Native Americans used them for such staples as pemmican, dune shack users harvested them as a special seasonal treat.

Existing Condition: The dunes of the Peaked Hill Bars continue to shelter bog areas today which contain similar plants to the ones that existed in the past. As with so many other elements of the back shore these low, wet areas change and move with the dunes. Where one bog area may be buried by the sand of a walking dune, another is frequently born in the newly created lowland nearby. Due in part to the generally slow movement of the dunes, the hardy bog vegetation has over the years succeeded in migrating to sheltered areas (see Figures 3.3, 3.21, and 3.73).

Evaluation: Contributing as part of the coastal vegetation. The bog areas among the dunes are an important feature of the cultural landscape, and contribute to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District. Their ongoing use by inhabitants of the dunes makes them a significant component of the surrounding environment.

Wooded Inner Dune Areas (including scrub pine, red maple, wild cherry, beach plum, and bayberry)

Historic Condition: The back shore was a wooded landscape in the years before European arrival. Some shadow of this former self still clung to the dune hollows at the beginning of the period of significance, in the late nineteenth century. Thoreau describes buried trees and beach grass, for example. Trees and shrubs have also provided shelter to the various forms of wildlife found on the back shore, such as rabbit, deer, and various birds.

Existing Condition: The hollows of the dunes are today thickly wooded in spots. Some of the more open areas have acquired more vegetation in recent years, due in part to National Park Service's proactive planting efforts of the 1960s. The wooded inner dune areas provide a striking contrast to the blinding, open sand of the dune faces, and bear a strong resemblance to other commonly wooded areas of the Outer Cape. Like the bright sands and windy crests around them, the characteristics of the scrub pine, red maple, wild cherry, beach plum and bayberry have been frequently captured by photographers, artists, and writers of the dunes (see Figures 1.19, 1.28, 1.38, 1.51, and 1.97). The title page of this report includes

an excerpt from Harry Kemp's poem about the spring blossom of beach plums in the dunes.

Evaluation: Contributing as part of the coastal vegetation. The wooded inner dune areas of the back shore contribute to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District. However if these woody species were to dominate the landscape and grow over the dunes, much of the character of the dune landscape would be lost. The trees and shrubs currently aid in stabilizing the exposed sand and help to prevent erosion.

Planted Areas (including beach grass, beach plum, scotch broom, buckwheat, inkberry, shadblow, and arrowwood)

Historic Condition: Beach grass likely began spreading across the back shore following the area's deforestation in the eighteenth century. The first plantings in the area were instituted under an act of the Massachusetts General Court, in 1739. These required that the grazing of animals be prevented in any areas falling victim to erosion, and called upon residents to plant beach grass annually. Scotch broom, native pines, bayberries, and buckwheat were also planted as part of this earliest effort to stabilize the dunes.[374] Another dune stabilization effort in the 1890s resulted in extensive plantings of pine, bayberry, and beach grass (see Figures 1.15 and 1.27).

Figure 3.259. View north of beach plums in bloom with the Margo-Gelb shack on the ridge in the distance (OCLP, May 2011).



During the period of significance little effort was made to control dune movement by planting vegetation, though use of wood slat fencing increased in the late 1950s through 1970s. A 1950 aerial photograph of a few of the dune shacks shows the surrounding area fairly well covered with beach grass (see Figure 1.68). Much of the grassland area on the beach side, or to the north, of the shacks was lost to erosion during the Blizzard of 1978. During the 1960s the National Park Service did a considerable amount of planting to stabilize the dunes of the Province Lands and Race Point, planting acres with beach plum, inkberry, blueberry, arrowwood, shadblow, salt spray rose, and beach grass (see Figure 1.91).[375] More recently the park again planted large areas with beach grass, this time in the vicinity of the Peaked Hill Bars and around Pilgrim Lake, in order to keep Route 6 from being buried by blowing sand. Such efforts have helped cultivate the spread of the plants across the back shore. Some dune dwellers have also contributed to the trend by planting beach grass, salt spray rose, and other vegetation near shacks.

Existing Condition: The vegetation used in planted areas today composes a substantial component of the dune landscape. In many of the spots not shaded by scrub pine or woody vegetation, beach grass, shadblow, inkberry, beach plum, scotch broom, arrowwood, and buckwheat blanket the hills of sand (Figure 3.259). These plants are also highly characteristic of the exposed areas close to the first barrier dune or foredune, and along the edge of the beach. Thus they often provide the surrounding greenery for dune shacks, and to some extent temper the forceful glare of sun against sand.

In certain areas around dune shacks, dune dwellers have continued to plant vegetation to help stabilize the dunes. For example, to the west and east of the Adams Guest Cottage beach grass and seaside goldenrod have recently been planted, while salt spray rose helps to anchor sand near the Margo/Gelb shack. Likewise, several scrub oaks may have been transplanted to the vicinity of the Wells shack.

Evaluation: Contributing as part of the coastal vegetation. The historically planted areas of the dunes contribute to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District. The continued concern of the National Park Service to stabilize the dunes follows historic precedent, and marks the landscape with a cultural significance representative of human activities on the back shore.

Salt Spray Rose

Historic Condition: Salt spray rose was likely introduced to Cape Cod's back shore sometime in the nineteenth century, after its seed likely washed ashore from an Asian shipwreck.[376] According to Mary Heaton Vorse, a clump of the flowers grew to the northeast of the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station, in the early twentieth century, along with some bayberry. Coast Guardsmen also transplanted the roses to their families' gardens.[377] While late nineteenth and early twentieth century photographers captured blooms in the dunes on scenic postcards (see Figure 1.19). Since then the low, tangled plant has spread across the back shore, taking easily to the harsh surrounding environment.

Existing Condition: Salt spray rose was also among the plants used by the National Park Service to encourage dune stabilization during the 1960s.[378] Today clumps of salt spray rose can be found throughout the dunes landscape, nestled into the sides of sand slopes and spreading across their crests with increasing frequency. Its small pink or white flower has become a common sight, often glimpsed from dune routes or the windows of dune shacks. Pink or white varieties were specifically noted in the immediate vicinity of thirteen out of the eighteen shacks including the Cohen, Adams Guest Cottage, Adams, Werner (Euphoria), Margo/Gelb, Fowler, Fearing, Chanel, Werner (Thalassa), Watson, Wells, Jones, and Armstrong shacks (see Figure 3.22).

Evaluation: Contributing feature as part of the coastal vegetation. Though a non-native species, the presence of salt spray rose on the back shore contributes to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District (see Figure 3.255). Introduced to the area sometime before or during the early years of the period of significance, this plant has come to represent a part of the dune landscape, and is equally familiar as the beach grass and cranberry that have been a fixture of the dunes since deforestation.

Japanese Knotweed

Historic Condition: There is no historic evidence for the presence of Japanese knotweed among the dunes of the Peaked Hill Bars. Like salt spray rose it could possibly have washed up onto the shore from the ocean, or may have been brought into the dunes with imported soil.

Existing Condition: Today a large, healthy clump of Japanese knotweed stands about thirty feet to the southeast of the Watson shack (see Figures 3.178 and 3.181). The plant seems to do well in the windy, inhospitable conditions of the Outer Cape and can also be found at the Race Point Beach and Provincetown's Old Dump.

Evaluation: Non-contributing. Japanese knotweed is a non-native invasive species that does not contribute to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District.

VIEWS AND VISTAS

View West of the Open Inner Dunes

Historic Condition: The view looking west from the back shore out over the open inner dunes has been an ongoing and vital piece of the dune landscape throughout the historic period of significance. Starting with the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station in 1872, structures built in this area have always owed their isolation largely to the existence of this gaping expanse of sand, which has proven difficult to traverse whether by horse, car, or foot.

Existing Condition: Today the view west looking out over the open dunes from the Peaked Hill Bars area has undergone minimal change since the period of significance (see Figures 3.36 and 3.97).

Evaluation: Contributing as part of the views of ocean and dunes. The view looking west from the Peaked Hill Bars area at the open inner dunes contributes to the character of the historic district. The rolling mounds of sand visibly separating the dune shacks and their surroundings from the more wooded area around Provincetown serve as a constant reminder of both the physical and psychological distance between these two worlds. The importance of this view,

as well as the gap it represents, has been instrumental in shaping the cultural landscape and development of the dunes.

View South of the Pilgrim Monument

Historic Condition: Construction of the Pilgrim Monument in Provincetown began in 1892 to celebrate the *Mayflower*'s first landfall in the town almost three hundred years before. Its distinctive outline has marked the tip of Cape Cod ever since, an unmistakable shape visible from both land and sea in all directions (see Figures 1.23 and 1.24).

Existing Condition: The Pilgrim Monument continues to distinguish the southern horizon out in the dunes, like a compass point to guide dune wanderers (Figure 3.260). Views of this landmark can be easily attained from dune shack surroundings, if not from the windows or roofs of the structures themselves. Also visible on the southern horizon from the back shore today is the giant water tower for this portion of Cape Cod, an ongoing reminder of the density of human habitation nearby (see Figures 3.176).

Evaluation: Contributing as part of the views of ocean and dunes. The view looking south from the back shore of the Pilgrim Monument contributes to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District. The visibility of the monument from locations throughout the dunes constantly provides a reminder of the contrast between the town and the back shore, thereby emphasizing a key component in the identity of each location.

View of Race Point Coast Guard Station and Province Lands Visitor Center

Historic Condition: From some shacks, the Race Point Coast Guard Station and Province Lands Visitor Center is visible to the northwest. The Race Point station has been an important part of the dune landscape throughout the historic period of significance. Built in 1872, the Race Point Life-Saving Station was likely immediately visible from high points in the historic district as well as from the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station (see Figure 1.6). The Race Point Light also may have been within sight of this area, particularly at night (see Figure 1.20). The height of Life Saving Stations were thus an important feature of their function, allowing not only good visibility to the surfman stationed in the tower, but a better chance of being spotted by one of the unfortunate souls they were meant to serve. The park constructed the Province Lands Visitor Center in 1969 on a high ridge, allowing for views across the dune landscape.

Existing Condition: Today both the former Race Point Coast Guard Station, which now serves as a park ranger station, and the roof of the Province Lands Visitor Center built in 1969 can be seen from most high points along the western end of the historic district, notably from the Fleurant, Adams Guest Cottage, Adams, and



Figure 3.260. View northeast of small sign between the driveway and path to the Werner (Thalassa) shack (OCLP, August 2011).

Champlin shacks. From some of the furthest most west among these the Race Point Light is also visible.

Evaluation: Contributing. The view looking northwest of the Race Point Coast Guard Station contributes to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District. Particularly in the early years of dune habitation, having the nearest outpost of human activity visible just below the horizon likely provided some comfort to surfmen and Coast Guardsmen.

Views North and East of the Ocean

Historic Condition: The views looking north and east over the ocean were an enduring component of the back shore long before the period of significance, and only gained importance as humans began taking up residence in the dunes. The Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station was required to maintain the sea within sight in order to fulfill its purpose of saving the shipwrecked. Dune shack construction later followed this lead as shacks were built either close to or upon the foredune, in order to afford at best an unobstructed view, and at worst a short walk to enjoy the same (see Figures 1.36, 1.61, and 1.62).

Existing Condition: The views north and east of the ocean appear much the same today as it did during the historic period of significance. Most of the shacks still have a vista of the ocean, with the exception of a few. The sea was likely once visible from the Fowler, Fearing, Jones, and Adams shacks, but this view is now blocked by the foredune. It could also be seen from the Malkin/Ofsevit shack before the structure was relocated away from the foredune in the early 1930s. Likewise for the relocated Cohen shack the ocean is now obscured by the growing foredune (see Figures 3.9 and 3.12).

Regardless of whether the shacks themselves have sight lines to the ocean, this view is an enduring and elemental characteristic of the back shore. Its reliable presence and finality are a kind of bookend to the dunes, the satisfying and steadfast conclusion sought by multitudes of hikers who visit the back shore from Provincetown. Meanwhile the persistent sounds made by the sea encourage this pattern, as a certain satisfaction is gained in harmonizing the senses by observing the source of noise. Thoreau himself commented upon this desire while walking in the Peaked Hill Bars area, in 1865:

> . . .we resolved to see the breakers on the Atlantic side, whose din we had heard all morning; so we kept on eastward through the Desert, till we struck the shore again northeast of Provincetown, and exposed ourselves to the full force of the piercing blast. [379]

Evaluation: Contributing as part of the views of ocean and dunes. The view of the ocean looking north and east from the back shore contributes to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District. Over the years the rolling yet comparatively flat expanse of dark ocean has provided a welcome contrast to the glaring, pale dunes it shapes and touches. Indeed, it could be argued that the stark quality of the sand can only be fully appreciated when a view of the sea is readily available for comparison. The unique experiences of painters and literary figures have come here to enjoy the effects of light have thus been complimented and enhanced by the constant presence of a boundless, restless ocean just over the crest of the foredune (see Figures 1.28 and 3.24).

SMALL-SCALE FEATURES AND UTILITIES

Erosion Control Features—Wood Slat Fencing and Plastic Fencing

Historic Condition: Erosion control features in the dunes were little documented before the dune shacks appeared in the twentieth century. However, throughout the mid-twentieth century dune dwellers installed features to protect structures from the perils of the shifting sands around them. For example, starting in the 1950s and 1960s the Champlin family installed wood-slat sand fencing and planted beach grass to help control their shack and surrounding small features from being buried by sand (see Figures 3.52 and 3.53). The same wood-slat sand fencing was also historically documented in the vicinity of the Werner (Euphoria), Werner (Thalassa), Wells, and Armstrong shacks (see Figures 3.64, 3.149, 3.185, and 3.209) while park service also installed 30,000 linear feet of sand fencing in the early 1960s (see Figures 1.88 through 1.90). In another fairly successful effort to stabilize the sand, the vicinity of the Jones shack was at one point covered with fish netting that spread over weeds and brush.

Existing Condition: There is extensive evidence of the erosion control techniques used by dune dwellers today. One of the most common methods is the same

wood-slat sand fencing used over the years by the National Park Service and others. The flat wooden slats are meant to catch and stabilize the sand, and are sometimes stacked in rows achieve this aim. For example, at the Champlin shack fencing of this kind is laid out in a zigzag to the north, and also runs in a single line along the driveway and yard to the south (see Figure 3.57). Extensive wood-slat sand fencing has likewise served a crucial purpose in keeping the Wells shack from tumbling down the slope into the sand (see Figure 3.189). Wood-slat sand fences have been recently used to stabilize other dunes around the Adams Guest Cottage, Werner (Euphoria), Fearing, Braaten, Margo/Gelb, Jones, and Armstrong shacks, and surround the outhouse associated with the Chanel shack (see Figures 3.144 and 3.201). Some old wood-slat fencing to the north of the Wells shack is partially collapsed and largely buried by sand, while similarly worn portions of wooden fence are present in spots around the Malkin/Ofsevit and Armstrong shacks. The outdoor seating areas by the Fleurant and Braaten shacks are ringed with wood-slat sand fencing as well (see Figures 3.26).

More creative methods for combating the erosion represent additional efforts by individual dune dwellers. A fine black plastic mesh meant to collect blowing sand can be observed around several structures, including the Champlin shack. At the Adams shack this mesh has been installed along the footpath leading to the ocean and on the path to the Champlin shack (see Figure 3.48). It also rings the parking area next to the Adams Guest Cottage, while orange plastic fencing has been installed on the north and west sides of this structure (see Figures 3.33 and 3.36).

Using several techniques at once to control the sand is another popular practice among dune shack users. The driveway leading to the Wells shack has been reinforced with a combination of fencing and timbers set in the sand, while salt spray rose has helped complement the efforts of sand fencing at the Margo/Gelb shack. At the Fearing shack, sand fencing has been combined with fish netting in an effort to control erosion to the south and west of the shack (see Figures 3.128). Hay bales and wooden palettes have been installed on the slope to the north of the Armstrong shack, while wooden fencing leads up from the driveway (see Figures 3.211, 2.213, and 3.216).

Evaluation: Contributing / Non-contributing. The erosion control features present on the back shore contribute to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, in cases where they follow the wood-slat sand fencing design. These features serve as important reminders of human impact on the area, and the ongoing incongruity between permanent structures and shifting sand dunes. On the other hand, black or orange plastic fencing, pallets, and hay bales were not present during the historic period and detract from the historic character of the dune landscape, thus are non-contributing features.

Wells and Hand Pumps

Historic Condition: Human habitation out on the dunes has necessitated the digging of wells over the years. Due to the presence of the water table close to the surface of the sand, this has long been a simple task. Though absent from the historical documentation, the earliest wells must have been excavated to service the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station sometime around 1872. Since then almost all the dune shacks have had associated wells, most of which date from the time of shack construction. Though some dune dwellers, like the Armstrongs, put off digging their own water source by sharing the well of a neighboring shack, this was a fairly rare occurrence. Other shacks that have historically shared wells are the Fowler and Fearing shacks and the Adams Guest Cottage and Adams shack.

The wells associated with dune shacks were customarily dug in a nearby lowland (see Figure 3.130 and 3.232). In addition to regular pumps many dune dwellers devised various methods for transporting water from these wells to the structures, over the years. One issue observed by the Armstrongs was the rusting of well pipes, which caused the family to rebuild their well three times in the same spot. For some families, such as the Avilas who first constructed and used the Champlin shack in the 1930s and 1940s, establishing a pump system for running water and indoor plumbing was an early priority. Others, like the Armstrongs, devised complex systems for collecting and using rain water for baths and toilets.

Existing Condition: Today all of the shacks except the Kemp shack are associated with nearby wells, which on average are located between 100 to 300 feet away, such as the Braaten and Armstrong wells. Exceptions are the Malkin/Ofsevit shack where the well is about 60 feet from the shack, the Watson shack where a well pump stands directly in its south deck, and the Jones shack where the associated well is only 35 feet north of the building. The Adams Guest Cottage and Adams shack share a well, while the well and pump for the Champlin shack are located in the same dune hollow. The well associated with the Fearing shack is located over a dune crest some distance to the east, which has meant that the users of this shack sometimes share a well with the Fowler shack. The well associated with the Fleurant shack had the appearance of being abandoned when it was visited in 2007.

Evaluation: Contributing. As enduring mark of the human needs of dune dwellers, the wells and hand pumps associated with dune shacks on the back shore contribute to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District.

Solar Panels

Historic Condition: Use of solar panels in the dunes is a relatively recent introduction.

Existing Condition: Several dune dwellers have installed solar panels on dune shacks in recent years. The Watson and Braaten shacks all have solar panels which feed them with power. In addition, the Adams shack and Adams Guest Cottage share a set of photovoltaic solar panels mounted on a car trailer that is parked between the shacks while they are in use during the summer season. These panels, combined with the one on the roof of the Adams shack (shown in Historic Structure Report), power a myriad of services including an electric well pump, water heater, washing machine, refrigerator, and lighting. The Champlin shack has small solar-powered lights set on either side of its deck steps.

Evaluation: Non-contributing. Solar panels do not contribute to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District.

Wind Turbines

Historic Condition: Use of wind turbines in the dunes is a relatively recent introduction.

Existing Condition: The Braaten shack has a small wind turbine mounted on an attached pole which provides power to the shack.

Evaluation: Non-contributing. The wind turbine does not contribute to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District.

Outdoor Seating Areas

Historic Condition: The establishment of outdoor seating areas in the dunes dates back to the early days of the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station, in the late nineteenth century. In contrast to decks, these were typically places to sit at a small distance from the structures in the dunes, offering a somewhat altered feel and perspective than could be achieved from the buildings. Mary Heaton Vorse recounted how Coast Guardsmen of the Peaked Hill Bars could frequently be found "whittling, on a bench over by the sand bluff looking out to sea."[380] In similar fashion, many of the shacks which sprang up among the dunes during those years and afterwards provided spots for outdoor seating. These small collections of chairs or tables were desirable not only for the often improved view they provided relative to the shacks themselves, but also as an alternative gathering space, set still more closely in the surrounding landscape of the dunes.

Existing Condition: Eleven of the eighteen dune shacks have associated outdoor seating areas today, including the Fleurant, Adams, Werner (Euphoria), Margo/Gelb, Kemp, Malkin/Ofsevit, Fowler, Werner (Thalassa), Braaten, Watson, and Jones shacks. (Other shacks have typically have attached decks.) The outdoor seating areas are often associated with eating, either as the place where food is cooked or consumed, and generally boast views of the ocean. All are simple

arrangements, sometimes assembled using wood and other objects salvaged from the beach.

Evaluation: Contributing. As important and historically documented locations for absorbing the unique atmosphere of the dune landscape, outdoor seating areas contribute to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District.

Bird Houses

Historic Condition: The earliest photographed birdhouse is possibly at the Hill-Ford shack in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and at the Champlin shack in 1970 (see Figures 3.230 and 3.53). Birdhouses are seen in photographs taken in the late 1980s at the Werner (Euphoria) and Malkin/Ofsevit shacks (photographs in the Historic Structure Report) and proliferated by the 1990s. Over the years, birds of land and sea have caught the attention of Henry Beston, Henry David Thoreau, Charlie Schmid, Frenchie Chanel, and countless others out in the barren and otherwise largely lifeless dune landscape. Their society provided endless joy and entertainment to Charlie Schmid in particular, who maintained a bird colony near the Schmid shack for many years. Schmid passed away in 1982 and his shack was demolished by the National Park Service in 1984.

Existing Condition: Structures with associated birdhouses include the Cohen, Adams Guest Cottage, Adams, Champlin, Werner (Euphoria), Margo/Gelb, Malkin/Ofsevit, Fowler, Chanel, Werner (Thalassa), Braaten, and Watson shacks. The bird houses occur in clusters or can be scattered around the shacks, and in some cases stand in close proximity to outdoor seating areas (see Figures 3.59 and 3.158). Shack owners have purportedly installed numerous birdhouses in an effort to reduce the mosquito population.

Evaluation: Contributing. The current practice among dune dwellers of building a birdhouse or two near shacks, apparently adopted in the 1950s or 60s, has meant the assurance of having visible life and activity within easy reach, a vital part of creating a place for humans in the otherwise wild and windy dunes. A certain utilitarian element also exists in the association of birdhouses and shacks, in that the birds drawn to these shelters helped to cut down on the insect populations and mosquitoes present in the vicinity of structures.

Swing Sets

Historic Condition: The Malkin/Ofsevit shack had a swing set in the 1930s. The swing set consisted of two large posts dug into the sand and a cross beam, from which two sets of ropes were hung to hold wooden board seats. The Champlin shack erected two similar frames to the west of their shack in the early 1960s, one of which supported the mission bell and the other which was part of a playing yard for their children (see Figures 3.53, 3.62, and 3.100).

Existing Condition: Both swing sets are gone.

Evaluation: Non-Contributing. The Malkin/Ofsevit and Champlin swing sets, present during the historic period, are no longer extant.

Flagpoles

Historic Condition: The Race Point and Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station prominently displayed the American flag on a tall flagpole (see Figure 1.31). The Hill-Ford shack, constructed in 1951–52 also flew the American flag from a pole (see Figure 2.230).

Existing Condition: Today the Adams shack is the only structure in the dunes with an associated flagpole. It stands on top of the foredune to the north of the building, fully exposed to the whipping winds from the ocean as well as the dunes (see Figure 3.34 and 3.48).

Evaluation: Contributing. Flagpoles present during the historic period included those associated with the Coast Guard Stations, which displayed the American flag. Flagpoles associated with dune shacks were present and contribute to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District.

Clotheslines

Historic Condition: Clotheslines are recorded in photographs during the historic period in association with the dune dwellers. Some lines were supported by two posts, but most extended off the corners of shacks and were supported at the other end by one wooden post driven into the sand. These features would have represented the only way for early dune dwellers to dry their laundry, and were likely erected not far from shacks at the same time the buildings themselves were constructed (see Figures 1.64, 3.30, 3.40, 3.159, . In other cases, a porch railing served as a clothesline such as for the original Werner (Thalassa) shack (see Figures 3.146).

Existing Condition: In part due to the continued scarcity of electrical appliances in the dunes, many shacks still have associated clotheslines or a remnant clothesline post including the Adams Guest Cottage, Adams, Fleurant, Champlin, Werner (Euphoria), Margo/Gelb, Malkin/Ofsevit, Fowler, Fearing, Chanel, Werner (Thalassa), Braaten, and Jones shacks (see Figure 3.205).

Evaluation: Contributing. The presence of clotheslines in the dunes contributes to the character of the district, a testament to human habitation and enduring use of the dunes.



Figure 3.261. View northeast of small sign between the driveway and path to the Werner (Thalassa) shack (OCLP, August 2011).

Signs

Historic Condition: Dune dwellers placed small signs in the landscape, often at driveway entrances or along paths leading from the beach.

Existing Condition: Several signs remain, though some are heavily weathered or half buried (Figure 3.261).

Evaluation: Contributing Feature. The existence of small signs in the dunes contributes to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District.

Found Object Ornamentation

Historic Condition: There is no documented historic evidence of found object ornamentation in the dunes, but the rich history and creativity of artists and others who have lived here helps support the apparent trend of collecting artistic objects on the back shore, including driftwood, shells, stones, lobster buoys, rope and other flotsam. Devoted to scouring the dunes and beach for items of interest, noted collectors among historic dune dwellers included Leo Fleurant, Nathaniel Champlin, Charlie Schmid, and Annabelle Jones.

Existing Condition: Various pieces of found object artwork stand near many of the shacks today, such as a pyramid sculpture at the Jones shack and a unique piece of beach wood created from a tree trunk, outside the Champlin shack. A birdbath sculpture stands outside the Werner (Thalassa) shack, constructed from stones

found on the beach, while other pieces of found object artwork or sculpture made from found items exist near the Cohen and Margo/Gelb shacks.

Evaluation: Contributing. The existence of found object ornamentation in the dunes contributes to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, as it continues a trend begun by some of the earliest characters to frequent the back shore and complements the artistic inspiration of the dunes.

ARCHEOLOGICAL SITES

Sites of Former Buildings

Historic Condition: The history of the back shore is full of discoveries laid bare by the sand, particularly along the beach where the ancient hulls of shipwrecks have periodically been known to surface.[381] Documentation is limited regarding the remains of structures being discovered during the historic period of significance. There is little information about the location of these sites. Accounts from the historic period indicate that early shack dwellers dumped their trash in the ocean, and later buried or burned their trash in the dunes.[382]



Figure 3.262. View east of remnants of Charlie Schmid's vehicle half buried in the dunes (OCLP, August 2011).

Existing Condition: Today the ruins of the Concrete shack, the Schmid shack and Charlie Schmid's vehicle are buried near the shore to the east and west of the Armstrong shack (Figure 3.262).

Evaluation: Undetermined. The archeological sites of former buildings, if located, would have the potential to contribute to the character of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District. However, at this time their location and significance is undetermined.

Table 3.1: Summary of Landscape Characteristics and Features for Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District

Characteristic or Feature Name	Present in c. 1920	Present in 1991	Present in 2011	Evaluation	Comments	Page
SITES, SPATIAL ORGANIZATION, AND CLUSTER ARRANGEMENT						
Peaked Hill Bars landscape	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing Site		130
Clustered shacks	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing		130
Isolated shacks	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing		132
TOPOGRAPHY AND NATURAL SYSTEMS						
Sand dunes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing		134
LAND USE AND CULTURAL TRADITIONS						
Development of the arts	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing		135
Recreation and leisure	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing		136
Hunting	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing		137
Fishing	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing		138
Foraging	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing		138
Life saving	Yes	No	No	Contributing		139
BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES						
Jean Miller/Cohen Shack (#1)	No	Yes	Yes	Contributing	LCS #040397, MHC# PRO.1495 Built 1940; moved late 40s or early 50s and 1978	141
Leo Fleurant Shack (#2)	No	Yes	Yes	Contributing	LCS #040394, MHC# PRO.1497 Built 1935–38; moved 1978	148
David and Marcia Adams Guest Cottage (#3)	No	Yes	Yes	Contributing	LCS #040392 MHC# n/a Built late 1930s; moved 1950, 1978, and 1992	154
David and Marcia Adams Shack (#4)	No	Yes	Yes	Contributing	LCS #040391, MHC# PRO.1498 Built 1935; moved 1978 and 1992	160
Nathaniel and Mildred Champlin Shack (#5)	No	Yes	Yes	Contributing	LCS #040395, MHC# PRO.1496 Built 1936–38	166
Malicoat Shack (#6)	No	Yes	Yes	Outside of Historic District	Privately owned Built 1948–49; burned c. 1960; rebuilt 1960	175

Characteristic or Feature Name	Present in c. 1920	Present in 1991	Present in 2011	Evaluation	Comments	Page
Hazel Hawthorne Werner (Euphoria) Shack (#7)	No	Yes	Yes	Contributing	LCS #040403, MHC# PRO.1500 Built c. 1936; moved 1952	177
Hazel Hawthorne Werner (Euphoria) Outhouse	No	Yes	Yes	Non-contributing	Built 1991 (as early as 1980s)	182
Boris Margo/Jan Gelb (Zimiles) Shack (#8)	No	Yes	Yes	Contributing	LCS #040393, MHC# PRO.1494 Possibly built 1930s; reconstructed 1942; moved and rebuilt 1960–67	185
Boris Margo/Jan Gelb (Zimiles) Outhouse	No	Yes	Yes	Non-contributing	Built 1991	189
Harry Kemp Shack (#9)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing	LCS #040399, MHC# PRO.1504 Possibly built as hen house c. 1900; dwelling c. 1920–25; used by Kemp 1932–1960	192
Zara Malkin Ofsevit Shack (#10)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing	LCS #529744, MHC# PRO.1493 Built 1917, moved 1931, 1933, 1958; burned 1990; rebuilt 1991; used by Kemp 1927–31	198
Zara Malkin/Ofsevit Outhouse	No	Yes	Yes	Non-contributing	Built 1991	202
Stanley and Laura Fowler Shack (#11)	No	Yes	Yes	Contributing	LCS #040400, MHC# PRO.1503 Built 1949	206
Al and Dorothy Fearing/Andrew Fuller/Grace Bessay Shack (#12)	No	Yes	Yes	Contributing	LCS #040401, MHC# PRO.1502 Built c. 1931; unburied in 1951	212
Al and Dorothy Fearing/Andrew Fuller/Grace Bessay Studio	No	No	Yes	Non-contributing	Built 2009	215
Al and Dorothy Fearing/Andrew Fuller/Grace Bessay Outhouse	No	Yes	Yes	Non-contributing	Rebuilt c. 2008	215
Jeanne Chanel Shack (#13)	No	Yes	Yes	Contributing	LCS #040402, MHC# PRO.1501 Built 1940–46, Built on top of 1976	218
Jeanne Chanel Outhouse	No	Yes	Yes	Non-contributing	Built 1988	222

Characteristic or Feature Name	Present in c. 1920	Present in 1991	Present in 2011	Evaluation	Comments	Page
Hazel Hawthorne Werner (Thalassa) Shack (#14)	No	Yes	Yes	Contributing	LCS #040398, MHC# PRO.1505 Built c. 1931; moved 1949	225
Hazel Hawthorne Werner (Thalassa) Outhouse	No	Yes	Yes	Non-contributing	Built 1991	229
Theodore and Eunice Braaten Shack (#15)	No	Yes	Yes	Contributing	LCS #529727, MHC# n/a Built 1931; moved 1946	232
Theodore and Eunice Braaten Outhouse	No	Yes	Yes	Non-contributing	Built c. 1991	235
Margaret Watson Shack (#16)	No	Yes	Yes	Contributing	LCS #040408, MHC# n/a Built 1931–32; lifted 2004	238
Margaret Watson Outhouse	No	No	Yes	Non-contributing	Built c. 1995	242
Nicholas and Ray Wells Shack (#17)	No	Yes	Yes	Contributing	LCS #040407, MHC# n/a Built 1935–36; moved by 1960	245
Nicholas and Ray Wells Outhouse	No	Yes	Yes	Non-contributing	Built c. 1991 or earlier, no longer used	248
Randolph and Annabelle Jones Shack (#18)	No	Yes	Yes	Contributing	LCS #040405, MHC# n/a Built 1935; moved 1973–74	251
Randolph and Annabelle Jones Outhouse	No	No	Yes	Non-contributing	Built 1994	254
David and Connie Armstrong Shack (#19)	No	Yes	Yes	Contributing	LCS #040406, MHC# n/a Built c. 1926; half buried in 1948; moved 1983	257
Squid Woman's Shack	Unknown	No	No	Non-contributing	Described in the 1950s, visible on 1947 aerial	264
Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station	Yes	No	No	Non-contributing	Built in 1872; decommissioned in 1918; used by O'Neill in 1920s; collapsed 1931	264
Peaked Hill Bars Life Saving Station Spare Boat House	Yes	No	No	Non-contributing	Built c. 1872; collapsed in 1931	265

Characteristic or Feature Name	Present in c. 1920	Present in 1991	Present in 2011	Evaluation	Comments	Page
O'Neill Shack/ workshop	Yes	No	No	Non-contributing	Built between 1921 and 1926; possibly moved; gone c. 1960s	265
Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station	No	No	Yes	Undetermined	Formerly LCS #40438, removed from LCS in 2008 Built 1918; moved 1931; closed 1938; reactivated 1940s; burned c. late 1940s; foundation walls remain	266
Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Boat House	Yes	No	No	Non-contributing	Built 1918; moved 1931; closed 1938; demolished 1980s	266
Frank Mayo's Shack	Unknown	No	No	Non-contributing	Built c. 1920s; collapsed 1931	269
Ford (Hill) Shack	No	No	No	Non-contributing	Built 1952–53; burned 1970	269
Quonset Shack	No	No	No	Non-contributing	Built 1946-47; abandoned 1950s	272
Schmid Shack	No	No	No	Non-contributing	Built c. 1930s; built on top of in the 1950s; demolished 1984	272
Bessay's Small Shack	Unknown	No	No	Non-contributing	Origin unknown; photographed 1952; gone by 1968	273
Joe Oliver's Shack	No	No	No	Non-contributing	Origin unknown; used in 1940s and 50s; demolished 1984	276
Concrete (Cement) Shack	Unknown	No	No	Non-contributing	Origin unknown; photographed in 1960s and 80s; demolished in 1980s	277
Stanard Shack	Unknown	No	No	Non-contributing	Lacking documentation, present in late 1940s, gone by 1970s	279
High Head Coast Guard Station, Boathouse, and Communications Bldg	Yes	No	No	Undetermined	Built 1883; gone by the 1950s; foundation remains	279
Red Shack	Unknown	No	No	Non-contributing	Origin unknown; burned 1950s	280

Characteristic or Feature Name	Present in c. 1920	Present in 1991	Present in 2011	Evaluation	Comments	Page
Vevers-Pfeiffer-Giese Shack	No	No	No	Outside of Historic District	Built 1939; demolished 1967	282
CIRCULATION						
Circulation network including Inner Dune Route	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing	Sections remain and are in use	284
Outer Dune Route	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing	Sections remain, but most are not used	285
Snail Road	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing	Remains as walking route	286
High Head Road	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing	In use	288
Driveways	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing	In use	288
Footpaths between shacks	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing	In use	289
Footpaths to ocean	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing	In use	290
Footpaths to sites of habitual use	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing	In use	290
VEGETATION						
Coastal vegetation (beach grass, bearberry, cranberry bog areas)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing		292
Wooded inner dune areas (pitch pine, etc.)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing		292
Planted areas	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing		293
Salt spray rose	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing		294
Japanese knotweed	No	No	Yes	Non-contributing		295
VIEWS						
View west of the open inner dunes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing		295
View south of the Pilgrim Monument	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing	Pilgrim Monument built in 1892	296
View of the Race Point Coast Guard Station and Province Lands Visitor Center	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing	Station built in 1872 and visitor center in 1969	296
View north and east of the ocean	Yes	Yes	Yes	Contributing		297
SMALL-SCALE FEATURES AND UTILITIES						
Erosion control features - wood slat sand fencing	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Contributing		298
Erosion control features - plastic fencing	No	No	Yes	Non-Contributing		298

Characteristic or Feature Name	Present in c. 1920	Present in 1991	Present in 2011	Evaluation	Comments	Page
Wells and Hand Pumps	No	Yes	Yes	Contributing		300
Solar panels	No	Possibly	Yes	Non-Contributing		300
Wind turbines	No	Possibly	Yes	Non-Contributing		301
Outdoor seating areas	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Contributing		301
Bird houses	No	Yes	Yes	Contributing	First evident in 1970s photos	302
Swing sets	No	Yes	No	Non-Contributing	Present during the historic period, but gone	302
Flagpoles	Coast Guard only	Yes, Adams shack	Yes	Contributing	Present during the historic period	303
Clotheslines	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Contributing		303
Signs	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Contributing	Small signs associated with shacks	304
Found object ornamentation	No	Yes	Yes	Contributing		304
ARCHEOLOGICAL SITES						
Sites of former buildings	Yes	Yes	Unknown	Undetermined	The sites of former shacks have not been located	305

ENDNOTES

1 According to the National Register, historic significance may be present in districts, sites, buildings, structures or objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, or association and must meet at least one of the four criteria defined by the National Register of Historic Places Program: (A) Be associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of history; (B) Be associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; (C) Embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, method of construction, or represent the work of a master, or possess high artistic values, or represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or (D) Yield or be likely to yield information on prehistory or history.

2 Scofield, Jenny Fields, Kristen Heitert, Virginia H. Adams, and Stephen A. Olausen, PAL. "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, Cape Cod National Seashore," May 2011, 25-27.

3 Ibid, 26.

4 Ibid, 3.

5 Ibid, 26.

6 Ibid, 22.

7 Ibid, 4, 56.

8 The study was prompted by two alternative boundary proposals for the southern edge of the district. One proposal placed the boundary at the Provincelands Road (Route 6) and the other placed the boundary at an existing jeep trail among the dunes. Neither approach addressed the importance of the landscape setting and viewsheds from the dune shack area. Knoerl, John and Betsy Chittenden. "Boundary Analysis of the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, Cape Cod, Massachusetts." Cultural Resources Information Management Series, Interagency Resources Division, National Park Service, September 1990, 2-3.

9 The purpose of the study was also to demonstrate the utility of using GIS viewshed analysis techniques to translate abstract historical values into concrete terms. Knoerl, John and Betsy Chittenden. "Boundary Analysis of the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, Cape Cod, Massachusetts." Cultural Resources Information Management Series, Interagency Resources Division, National Park Service, September 1990.

10 Knoerl, John and Betsy Chittenden. "Boundary Analysis of the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, Cape Cod, Massachusetts." Cultural Resources Information Management Series, Interagency Resources Division, National Park Service, September 1990, 3-6.

11 Knoerl, John and Betsy Chittenden,4, 14.

12 Ibid, 4.

13 Scofield, Jenny Fields, Kristen Heitert, Virginia H. Adams, and Stephen A. Olausen, PAL. "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, Cape Cod National Seashore," May 2011, 48.

14 National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, "Determination of Eligibility Notification, National Register of Historic Places: Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District," May 12, 1989, Cape Cod NS archives.

15 Ibid.

16 Scofield, Jenny Fields, Kristen Heitert, Virginia H. Adams, and Stephen A. Olausen, PAL. May 2011, 28.

17 National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, "Determination of Eligibility Notification, National Register of Historic Places: Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District," May 12, 1989, Cape Cod NS archives.

18 A complete list of artists who have painted in the vicinity of Provincetown can be found in Dorothy Gees Seckler's *Provincetown Painters: 1890s–1970s* (1977).

19 The diverse population of creative minds drawn to the dunes during these years was emphasized by the multitude of letters sent to the National Park Service over the years by a variety of literary and other figures including Edmund Wilson, Norman Mailer, Jack Kerouac, and Hazel Hawthorne Werner in addition to artists, historians, a number of long-time residents, members of Congress, the Provincetown Board of Selectmen, and other parties interested in preserving the dune shacks.

20 National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, "Determination of Eligibility Notification, National Register of Historic Places: Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District," May 12, 1989, Cape Cod NS archives.

21 Vorse, 53.

22 National Park Service, "Determination of Eligibility Notification for the Dune Shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, Cape Cod National Seashore," May 1, 1989, Cape Cod NS archives.

23 James C. O'Connell, *Becoming Cape Cod: Creating a Seaside Resort* (Hanover, NH: University of New Hampshire, 2003), 87.

24 Scofield, Jenny Fields, Kristen Heitert, Virginia H. Adams, and Stephen A. Olausen, PAL. May 2011, 38.

25 The same pattern can be traced still further back to the town's unprecedented rise to national recognition in the 1920s, when its social and artistic prowess rivaled New York City's Greenwich Village, a time immortalized in the Hollywood film about John Reed, *Reds* (1981).

26 Brevda, 1986, 216 in Scofield, Jenny Fields, Kristen Heitert, Virginia H. Adams, and Stephen A. Olausen, PAL. May 2011, 37.

27 Robert J. Wolfe, *Dwelling in the Dunes: Traditional Use of the Dune Shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, Cape Cod* (Boston, MA: National Park Service, 2005), 18.

28 Scofield, Jenny Fields, Kristen Heitert, Virginia H. Adams, and Stephen A. Olausen, PAL. May 2011, 39.

29 National Park Service, "Determination of Eligibility Notification for the Dune Shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, Cape Cod National Seashore," May 1, 1989, Cape Cod NS archives.

30 For a more detailed description of features that contribute to the Peaked Hill Bars landscape as a National Register site, see Scofield, Jenny Fields, Kristen Heitert, Virginia H. Adams, and Stephen A. Olausen, PAL. "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, Cape Cod National Seashore," May 2011, 5-6, 23-24.

31 Wolfe, 202, 145.

32 Josephine C. Del Deo, "The Dune Cottages of the Peaked Hill Bars: A Survey" (Provincetown, MA, 1986), 1; Josephine C. Del Deo, *Compass Grass Anthology: A Collection of Provincetown Portraits* (Provincetown, MA: "Three Dunes" Press, 1983), 35-6.

33 Regina T. Binder, "Comprehensive Conservation Treatment and Management Plan for the Dune Shacks of Provincetown, Massachusetts," (Columbia University, 1990), 14-6.

34 Wolfe, 128.

35 Cape Cod National Seashore, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, "Hunting Information," 2007.

36 Mary Heaton Vorse, *Time and the Town: A Provincetown Chronicle* (New York, NY: The Dial Press, 1942), 66.

37 Henry Beston, *The Outermost House* (New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company, 1988), 121.

38 Brian Pfeiffer, *Historic Structure Inventory, Cape Cod National Seashore* (Boston, MA: United States Department of the Interior, 1987); Wolfe, 105.

39 Wolfe, 105.

40 Ibid, 103.

41 Pfeiffer, 1987.

42 Sullivan, 26.

43 David Jenkins, "Dune Shack: A Description and Assessment of the Land Acquisition Files, Cape Cod National Seashore," (Typescript for National Park Service, 2004), 30.

44 Ibid, 15-6; Sullivan, 27.

45 Stanley C. Joseph, "Study of Structures in Great Beach Area," memorandum for Cape Cod National Seashore on August

6, 1968, Cape Cod NS archives.

46 Jenkins, 2004, 15-6.

47 Pfeiffer, 1987; Sullivan, 27.

48 Del Deo, 1986, 1; "Ask Art: The Artists' Bluebook," (www.askart.com, accessed December 2007); Great Beach Cottage Owners Association Archive, Cape Cod NS; Josephine Del Deo corresponce to park, August 20, 2011; review notes by Mildred Champlin, December 8, 2011; email from Marcia and David Adams, December 26, 2011.

49 Jenkins, 2004, 20.

50 Ibid, 25-7; Wolfe, 105.

51 Jenkins, 2004, 17-8.

52 Jenkins, 2004, 25-7; Wolfe, 105; Correspondence from Mildred Champlin to authors, December 8, 2011.

53 Sullivan, 26-7; Correspondence from Mildred Champlin to authors, December 8, 2011.

54 National Park Service, "Master Deed List by Tract Number: Status of Lands as of 06/11/1998," Cape Cod NS archives; Joseph, 1968.

55 Wolfe, 132-3; 52 Sullivan, 26-7; Correspondence from Mildred Champlin to authors, December 8, 2011.

56 Jenkins, 2004, 29; Sullivan, 28.

57 Ibid, 29.

58 Don Wilding, "Dune Shacks: The Temples Rise on the Dunes," *Barnstable Patriot* (www.barnstablepatriot.com/webtest/SummerScape/Dunes.htm, 2004); Wolfe, 105.

59 Sullivan, 29.

60 Joseph, 1968.

61 Sullivan, 62.

62 Ibid, 62.

63 Pfeiffer, 1987.

64 Jenkins, 2004, 3.

65 Pfeiffer, 1987; Wolfe, 40.

66 Sullivan, 63.

67 Del Deo, 1986, 1; Josephine C. Del Deo, *Compass Grass Anthology: A Collection of Provincetown Portraits* (Provincetown, MA: "Three Dunes" Press, 1983), 35-6.

68 Joseph, 1968.

69 Jenkins, 2004, 2.

70 Jenkins, 2; Sullivan, 63.

71 Jenkins, 3-4.

72 Wolfe, 54; Sullivan, 62.

73 Sullivan, 64-5.

74 Ibid, 106.

75 Pfeiffer, 1987; Sullivan, 106.

76 Joseph, 1968.

77 Ibid.

78 Pfeiffer, 1987.

79 Wolfe, 51; Sullivan, 107-8, 124.

80 Pfeiffer, 1987; Marcia and David Adams, email to authors, December 26, 2011.

81 Joseph, 1968; Sullivan, 125; Marcia and David Adams, email to authors, December 26, 2011; Mildred Champlin, review notes to authors, December 8, 2011.

82 National Park Service, "Master Deed List by Tract Number: Status of Lands as of 06/11/1998," Cape Cod NS archives; Sullivan, 132.

83 Sullivan, 124-5.

84 Joseph, 1968.

85 Sullivan, 124; Joseph, 1968.

86 Pfeiffer, 1987.

87 David W. Adams, letter to Irving Tubbs, District Ranger, July 10, 1988, NARC Waltham.

88 Sullivan, 125.

89 Jenkins, 9.

90 Sullivan, 148.

91 Pfeiffer, 1987; Wolfe, 80.

92 Jenkins, 9.

93 Sullivan, 148.

94 Jenkins, 9; Nathaniel Champlin, affidavit for Commonwealth of Massachusetts, July 3, 1975, NARC Waltham; Pfeiffer, 1987.

95 Sullivan, 149.

96 Ibid, 149.

97 Nathaniel Champlin, affidavit for Commonwealth of Massachusetts, July 3, 1975, NARC Waltham; Sullivan, 149; review notes from Mildred Champlin, December 8, 2011.

98 Wolfe, 80.

99 Champlin, July 3, 1975, NARC Waltham.

100 Ibid.

101 Sullivan, 150.

102 Stanley C. Joseph, 1968.

103 Nathaniel Champlin, affidavit for Commonwealth of Massachusetts, July 3, 1975, NARC Waltham.

104 Ibid.

105 Josephine C. Del Deo, "The Dune Cottages of the Peaked Hill Bars: A Survey" (Provincetown, MA, 1986), 2.

106 Jenkins, 2004, 11.

107 Wolfe, 23; Joseph, 1968.

108 Del Deo, 1986, 2-3.

109 Joseph, 1968.

110 Del Deo, 1986, 2-3.

111 Wolfe, 23.

112 Reffe, 101.

113 Barnstable County Registry of Deeds, November 29, 1971, Book 1575, Page 182, NARC Waltham.

114 Jenkins, 2004, 31-2.

115 Ibid, 37-8.

116 Victoria McKee, "Dune Shacks on Cape Cod National Seashore up for Review" in *Provincetown Journal*, 2006 (provincetownjournal.com/life/entry/dune-shacks-on-cape-cod-national-seashore, accessed January 2008).

117 Hazel Hawthorne Werner sketches and deed notes, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA.

118 Sullivan, 190; Joseph, 1968.

119 Del Deo, 1986, 19.

120 Sullivan, 190.

121 Sullivan, 376.

122 Pfeiffer, 1987.

123 Cynthia Huntington, *The Salt House: A Summer on the Dunes of Cape Cod* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999), 5; Wolfe, 105.

124 Reffe, 94.

125 Josephine C. Del Deo, 1986, 4; Reffe, 1988, 102; Sullivan, 191.

126 Pfeiffer, 1987.

127 Hazel Hawthorne Werner sketches and deed notes, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA.

128 Joseph, 1968.

129 Reffe, ed., 69.

130 Pfeiffer, 1987; Sullivan, 191.

131 Pfeiffer, 1987.

132 Reffe, ed., 102.

133 Ibid, 93.

134 Ibid, 93.

135 Ibid, 102.

136 Del Deo, 1986, 4.

137 Joseph, 1968.

138 Hazel Hawthorne Werner deed notes, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA.

139 Reffe, ed., 102; Don Wilding, "Dune Shacks: The Temples Rise on the Dunes," *Barnstable Patriot* (www.barnstablepatriot.com/webtest/SummerScape/Dunes.htm, 2004).

140 Wolfe, 19.

141 Murray Zimiles, "Boris" (www.borismargo.net, accessed December 2007).

142 Del Deo, 10.

143 "Boris's Hill" name from interview with Geraldine Hill Fraser, August 18, 2011; Pfeiffer, 1987.

144 Hazel Hawthorne Werner sketches and notes, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA.

145 Joseph, 1968.

146 Sullivan, 212.

147 *Provincetown Banner*, July 21, 1966, Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

148 Wolfe; Murray Zimiles, "Boris" (www.borismargo.net, accessed December 2007).

149 Reffe, ed., 101.

150 Pfeiffer, 1987.

151 Sullivan, 212.

152 Murray Zimiles, "Boris" (www.borismargo.net, accessed December 2007).

153 Del Deo1986, 10.

154 National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, "Determination of Eligibility Notification, National Register of Historic Places: Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District," May 12, 1989, Cape Cod NS archives.

155 Sullivan, 212.

156 Joseph, 1968.

157 Wolfe; Sullivan, 212.

158 Anne Fitzpatrick (www.annefitzpatrick.com, accessed December 2007).

159 Del Deo, 1986, 11; Pfeiffer, 1987; Michael Steinitz, message to Betsy Friedberg, National Register Director, "Cape Cod Dune Shacks, Historic and Cultural Associations," c. 1989, Cape Cod NS archives; Sullivan, 238.

160 Josephine C. Del Deo, "The Dune Cottages of the Peaked Hill Bars: A Survey" (Provincetown, MA, 1986), 11.

161 Pfeiffer, 1987; Michael Steinitz, message to Betsy Friedberg, National Register Director, "Cape Cod Dune Shacks, Historic and Cultural Associations," c. 1989, Cape Cod NS archives; Sullivan, 238.

162 Pfeiffer, 1987; Del Deo, 1986, 11-12; Joseph, 1968; National Register Documentation, 2011, 34.

163 Reffe, 102; Sullivan, 238; Del Deo, 1986, 11-12.

164 Josephine C. Del Deo, *Compass Grass Anthology: A Collection of Provincetown Portraits* (Provincetown, MA: "Three Dunes" Press, 1983), 2.

165 Del Deo, 1986, 12.

166 Ibid, 11-12.

167 Joseph, 1968.

168 Reffe, 102.

169 Del Deo, 1986, 13.

170 Ibid, 13.

171 Sullivan, 238.

172 Wolfe; Sullivan, 260.

173 Wolfe, 20, 145; Josephine Del Deo, corresponce to park, August 20, 2011.

174 Del Deo, 1986, 21; Pfeiffer, 1987; Wolfe, 150; Sullivan, 260.

175 Joseph, 1968; In a 1971 letter, Zara Malkin Ofsevit writes that Charles Rogers put the deed in someone else's name because he was involved in a town scandal and was sent to jail. Correspondence from Zara Ofsevit to Andrew D. Fuller, Jr., March 13, 1971, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA.

176 Del Deo, 1986, 21; Pfeiffer, 1987; Wolfe, 150; Sullivan, 260.

177 Correspondence from Zara Ofsevit to Andrew D. Fuller, Jr., March 13, 1971, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA.

178 Wolfe, 56.

179 Pfeiffer, 1987; Del Deo, 1986, 14.

180 Joseph, 1968.

181 Sullivan, 261.

182 Joseph, 1968.

183 Sullivan, 262; William S. Fitts, "A Barn Raising in the Dunes" in *Provincetown Arts* (Provincetown, MA: Provincetown Arts Press, 1992), 145.

184 Pfeiffer, 1987.

185 Sullivan, 262; Fitts, 145.

186 Wolfe; Fitts, 145; Sullivan, 261-2.

187 Del Deo, 1986, 14; Wolfe, 63.

188 Pfeiffer, 1987; Del Deo, 1986, 15.

189 Sullivan, 304.

190 Laura and Stan Fowler photograph album, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA; Geraldine Fraser Hill, letter to authors, July 21, 2011.

191 Joseph, 1968.

192 Del Deo, 1986, 15.

193 Sullivan, 305.

194 Joseph, 1968, Cape Cod NS archives.

195 Provincetown Community Compact, "The Provincetown Community Compact, Inc. will Expand Dune Shack Residencies with the Management of the Fowler Dune Shack," (www.thecompact.org, 2007).

196 Wolfe, 19; Josephine Del Deo corresponce to park, August 20, 2011; Hazel Hawthorne Werner sketches and notes, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA.

197 Del Deo, 1986, 15; Pfeiffer, 1987.

198 Hazel Hawthorne Werner sketches and deed notes, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA.

199 Materials from the Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection are also contained within the Great Beach Cottage Owners Association archives, copies are held at the Cape Cod NS archives.

200 Sullivan, 326.

201 Joseph, 1968.

202 Hazel Hawthorne Werner sketches and deed notes, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA.

203 Laura and Stan Fowler photograph album, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA.

204 Sullivan, 326.

205 Joseph, 1968.

206 David Jenkins, "Brief History of Bessay Tract 08-1045: Land Acquisition Files and Others," n.d., NARC Waltham.

207 Ibid.

208 Wolfe, 124.

209 David Jenkins, "Brief History of Bessay Tract 08-1045: Land Acquisition Files and Others," n.d., NARC Waltham; Josephine C. Del Deo, "The Dune Cottages of the Peaked Hill Bars: A Survey" (Provincetown, MA, 1986), 15; Brian Pfeiffer, *Historic Structure Inventory, Cape Cod National Seashore* (Boston, MA: United States Department of the Interior, 1987.

210 Wolfe, 30.

211 David Jenkins, "Brief History of Bessay Tract 08-1045: Land Acquisition Files and Others," n.d., NARC Waltham; Sullivan, 305.

212 Joseph, 1968.

213 Del Deo, 1986, 8; Pfeiffer, 1987; Wolfe, 17.

214 Norton M. Bean, *Study of Structures in Great Beach Area* (Washington DC: National Park Service, 1968); Hazel Hawthorne Werner sketches and notes, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA.

215 Del Deo, 1986, 16.

216 Reffe, ed., 101; Del Deo, 1986, 16-17.

217 Del Deo, 1986, 17.

218 Ibid, 17-18.

219 Pfeiffer, 1987.

220 Sullivan, 351.

221 Pfeiffer, 1987; Del Deo, 1986, 17.

222 Pfeiffer, 1987.

223 Sullivan, 351.

224 Reffe, 101; Newspaper clipping, "A Nice Memory" by Schatzi, GH Fraser Collection, Dennisport, MA.

225 Sullivan, 350; Joseph, 1968.

226 Pfeiffer, 1987; Reffe, 69; Del Deo, 1986, 19; National Register Documentation, 2011, 15.

227 Reffe, 69; Del Deo, 1986, 19; Wolfe, 105.

228 Documents in Fearing Bessay Clemons private collection, Somerville, MA.

229 Joseph, 1968.

230 Sullivan, 377.

231 Ibid., 377-8.

232 Joseph, 1968.

233 Sullivan, 376.

234 Reffe, 101; Don Wilding, "Dune Shacks: The Temples Rise on the Dunes," *Barnstable Patriot* (www.barnstablepatriot.com/webtest/SummerScape/Dunes.htm, 2004); Victoria McKee, "Dune Shacks on Cape Cod National Seashore up for Review" in *Provincetown Journal*, 2006 (provincetownjournal.com/life/entry/dune-shacks-on-cape-cod-national-seashore, accessed January 2008).

235 Reffe, 102.

236 Wolfe, 19; Del Deo, 1986, 20.

237 Sullivan, 396; Wolfe, 125.

238 Pfeiffer, 1987; Del Deo, 1986, 20; Wolfe, 63.

239 Pfeiffer, 1987; Josephine Del Deo corresponce to park, August 20, 2011 (source: occupant Lawrence Schuster).

241 Sullivan, 396-7.

242 Del Deo, 1986, 20.

243 Wolfe, 55; Sullivan, 396.

244 Sullivan, 396-7; Wolfe, 55.

245 Wolfe, 55; Sullivan, 396.

246 Sullivan, 397.

247 Pfeiffer, 1987; Del Deo, 1986, 20.

248 Del Deo, 1986, 20.

249 Ibid.

250 Joseph, 1968.

251 Sullivan, 416; Joseph, 1968.

252 Joseph, 1968.

253 Del Deo, 1986, 20; Pfeiffer, 1987.

254 Sullivan, 417.

255 Wolfe, 56.

256 Bill Burke, Cultural Resource Manager, Cape Cod National Seashore, National Park Service, personal communication October 10, 2007; Wolfe, 18, 151.

257 Sullivan, 417-9.

258 Del Deo, 1986, 21; Pfeiffer, 1987; Josephine Del Deo corresponce to park, August 20, 2011; Sketch by Ray Wells in Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA and Great Beach Cottage Owners Assocation files, Cape Cod NS archives.

259 Del Deo, 1986, 21.

260 Ibid., 6, 21.

261 Pfeiffer, 1987.

262 Joseph, 1968.

263 Sullivan, 444-5.

264 Joseph, 1968; Josephine Del Deo corresponce to park, August 20, 2011; Wells to Robert Meade, attourney, Feb 9, 1969 and Wells to Thomas B. Coleman, Department of the Interior, May 28, 1977, Great Beach Cottage Owners Assocation files, Cape Cod NS archives.

265 Jenkins, 2004, 7.

266 Jenkins, 2004, 7.

267 Del Deo, 1986, 6, 21; Wolfe, 63.

268 Reffe, 102.

269 Sullivan, 444.

270 Pfeiffer, 1987; Annabelle Jones, n.d., Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

271 Wolfe, 17.

272 Del Deo, 1986, 22; Pfeiffer, 1987; Joseph, 1968.

273 Annabelle Jones, n.d., Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

274 Pfeiffer, 1987; Annabelle Jones, n.d., Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

275 Annabelle Jones, n.d., Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434; Judith Q. Sullivan, *Dune Shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic Structure Report, Cape Cod National Seashore, Wellfleet Massachusetts* (Lowell, MA: National Park Service, 2007), 476.

276 Junia H. Curtin, Indentures for the Trustees of Ye Eastern Harbor Great Beach Proprietors, January 1954 and 1955, Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

277 Joseph, 1968.

278 Annabelle Jones, n.d., Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

279 Joseph, 1968.

280 Randolph Jones, letter to Edward J. O'Hara, January 13, 1969, Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

281 Charlie Schmid, letter to Annabelle and Randolph Jones, August 21, 1968, Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

282 Del Deo, 1986, 22-3; K.C. Myers, "Scrapbook Offers Detailed Account of Outer Cape Dune Shacks," *Cape Codder*, March 25, 1994, Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434; Annabelle Jones, n.d., Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

283 Sullivan, 477.

284 K.C. Myers, "Scrapbook Offers Detailed Account of Outer Cape Dune Shacks," *Cape Codder*, March 25, 1994, Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434; Wolfe, 55.

285 Sullivan, 477.

286 Ibid, 494.

287 Pfeiffer, 1987; Wolfe, 17, 76; Sullivan, 494.

288 Sullivan, 494.

289 Ibid, 494.

290 Pfeiffer, 1987; Wolfe, 17, 91.

291 Sullivan, 496.

292 Ibid, 496.

293 Ibid, 496-7.

294 Ibid, 497.

295 Stanley C. Joseph, "Study of Structures in Great Beach Area," memorandum for Cape Cod National Seashore on August 6, 1968, Cape Cod NS archives.

296 Sullivan, 495.

297 Ibid, 498.

298 Wolfe, 76; Sullivan, 498.

299 Pfeiffer, 1987.

300 Sullivan, 499-501.

301 Wolfe, 53.

302 Sullivan, 501-2.

303 Wolfe, 36.

304 Wolfe, 148-9.

305 Del Deo, 1986, 4-5.

306 Ibid, 9.

307 Laurel Guadazno, "History Highlights: Agnes Boulton," Pilgrim Monument and Provincetown Museum (www.pilgrim-monument.org, accessed January 2008).

308 Don Wilding, "Dune Shacks: The Temples Rise on the Dunes," *Barnstable Patriot* (www.barnstablepatriot.com/webt-est/SummerScape/Dunes.htm, 2004).

309 Del Deo, 1986, 9.

310 Wolfe, 150; Pfeiffer, 1987; Michael Steinitz, message to Betsy Friedberg, National Register Director, "Cape Cod Dune Shacks, Historic and Cultural Associations," c. 1989, Cape Cod NS archives.

311 Del Deo, 1986, 21; Pfeiffer, 1987.

312 Date and location based on sketches by Hazel Hawthorne Werner, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA.

313 Werner suggests that Hayward Canny may have moved the O'Neill workshop up the hill in the late 1930s and incorporated it into a shack he built there, however, a deed in 1955 indicates O'Neill's heirs retained ownership. Relocation and date based on sketches by Hazel Hawthorne Werner, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA.

314 Joseph, 1968.

315 Del Deo, 1986, 6.

316 Ibid, 7.

317 The date that the structure burned may be August 3, 1958. Newspaper article, park archives. Betsy Friedberg, National Register Director, message to Candace Jenkins, Preservation Consultant, "Dune Shacks Property Type," c. 1989, Cape Cod NS archives.

318 Del Deo, 1986, 8.

319 Wolfe, 153; Del Deo, 15.

320 Pfeiffer, 1987.

321 Wolfe, 153; Del Deo, 1986, 15.

322 Wolfe, 150; The 1941 date is from notes and sketch by Ray Wells, Great Beach Cottage Owners Association archives, Cape Cod NS.

323 Pfeiffer, 1987.

324 Del Deo, 1986, 6; Wolfe, 22.

325 Wolfe, 22.

326 Dates based on Geraldine Hill Fraser, Dennisport, MA (daughter of Gerald Hill), letter to authors, July 21, 2011. Shack depicted in sketches by Hazel Hawthorne Werner and photographs are in the Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provinc-

etown and Somerville, MA.

327 Geraldine Hill Fraser, Dennisport, MA (daughter of Gerald Hill), letter to authors, July 21, 2011.

328 Joseph, 1968.

329 Ibid.

330 Location based on sketches by Hazel Hawthorne Werner and property boundary description of 1971 Quitclaim Deed, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA. "Starting at a point on the northernmost post of a fence located about halfway on a line between the middle point of the easterly side of the house (or remains thereof) now or formerly occupied by me, which is show as Building "K" on Tract 33 on Plan of Land in Provincetown dated October 31, 195.

331 Bill Burke, Cultural Resource Manager, Cape Cod National Seashore, National Park Service, personal communication October 10, 2007; Wolfe, 36; Josephine C. Del Deo, "The Dune Cottages of the Peaked Hill Bars: A Survey" (Provincetown, MA, 1986), 15.

332 Ibid.

333 Annabelle Jones, n.d., Provincetown Heritage Museum archives, Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

334 Ibid.

335 Wolfe, 152.

336 Ibid, 19.

337 Reffe, 103.

338 Wolfe, 37.

339 Joseph, 1968.

340 Josephine C. Del Deo, *Compass Grass Anthology: A Collection of Provincetown Portraits* (Provincetown, MA: "Three Dunes" Press, 1983), 43.

341 Wolfe, 152; Phone conversation with Connie and David Armstrong, with co-author Margie Coffin Brown, August 3, 2011.

342 Reffe, 57.

343 Josephine C. Del Deo, *Compass Grass Anthology: A Collection of Provincetown Portraits* (Provincetown, MA: "Three Dunes" Press, 1983), 43.

344 Ibid., 44; Reffe, 56-7.

345 Reffe, 56.

346 Joseph, 1968.

347 Jenkins, 2004, 7.

348 Wolfe, 38.

349 Phone conversation with Connie and David Armstrong, with co-author Margie Coffin Brown, August 3, 2011.

350 Ibid, 153.

351 Sullivan, 496.

352 Wolfe, 153.

353 Bill for Collection from Interior, National Park Service to Ms. Grace E. Bessay, Executrix for Estate of Andrew Fuller, March 7, 1989. Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA.

354 Wolfe, 153.

355 Anne G. Arsenault, letter from Palm Bay, FL on January 30, 2007, Cape Cod NS archives.

356 Ibid.

357 Bill for Collection from Interior, National Park Service to Ms. Grace E. Bessay, Executrix for Estate of Andrew Fuller, March 7, 1989. Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA.

358 Wolfe, 153.

359 Phone conversation with Connie and David Armstrong, with co-author Margie Coffin Brown, August 3, 2011.

360 Anne G. Arsenault, letter from Palm Bay, FL on January 30, 2007, Cape Cod NS archives; Wolfe, 153.

361 Wolfe, 153.

362 Anne G. Arsenault, letter from Palm Bay, FL on January 30, 2007, Cape Cod NS archives.

363 Ibid.

364 Ibid.

365 Ibid.

366 Bill Burke, Cultural Resource Manager, Cape Cod National Seashore, National Park Service, personal communication October 10, 2007; Anne G. Arsenault, letter from Palm Bay, FL on January 30, 2007, Cape Cod NS archives; United States Court of Appeals, First Circuit, United States of America, Plaintiff, Appellee, v. Certain Land Located in the County of Barnstable, Appeal of Grace Bessay, No. 88-2029, Heard May 4, 1989, Decided Nov. 17, 1989.

367 Surveyor's map, Town of Truro Assessors Atlas and Quitclaim Deed Chester D. Pfeiffer to Anthony M Vevers, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA.

368 Correspondence from Tony Vevers to Mr Angoff (and Andrew Fuller, Jr.), December 14, 1969, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA.

369 Anthony (Tony) Vevers (1926–2008) taught in the Department of Creative Arts at Purdue University in Indiana. Correspondence from Tony Vevers to Mr Angoff (and Andrew Fuller, Jr.), December 14, 1969, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA.

370 Correspondence from Tony Vevers to Mr Angoff (and Andrew Fuller, Jr.), December 14, 1969, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA.

371 "Subcomitte's Report on the Preservation and Use Plan/Environmental Assessment for the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, for the Cape Cod National Seashore Advisory Commission," Cape Cod NS, July 19, 2010, 17.

372 Correspondence from Tony Vevers to Mr Angoff (and Andrew Fuller, Jr.), December 14, 1969, Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA.

373 J.M. Westgate, Reclamation of Cape Cod Sand Dunes (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, US Department of Agriculture Bureau of Plant Industry, Bulletin No. 65, 1904).

374 Richard D. Holmes, Carolyn D. Hertz and Mitchell T. Mulholland, *Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey of Higgins Hollow, Cape Cod National Seashore, Truro, Massachusetts* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts, 1995), 17.

375 James H. Bowman, "Face Sheet for Completion Report: Sand Dune Stabilization," April 13, 1966, NARC Waltham, RG 79, Box 11.

376 Cynthia Huntington, *The Salt House: A Summer on the Dunes of Cape Cod* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999), 60.

377 Vorse, 57.

378 Bowman, April 13, 1966.

379 Henry David Thoreau, *Cape Cod* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1987), 244.

380 Vorse, 55.

381 J. W. Dalton, *The Life Savers of Cape Cod* (Boston, MA: Barta Press, 1902), 9-10.

382 Notes in the Fearing-Bessay-Clemons collection, Somerville and Provincetown, MA.



CHAPTER 4. TREATMENT

During the period of significance for the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, from 1920 to 1991, the seasonally habitable shacks evolved from a small cluster of buildings around the Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station to over thirty dwellings dispersed along the back shore. The number of shacks fluctuated as several were lost to coastal erosion or could not be saved by moving, while others burned down in intentional or accidental fires. Fifty years have passed since Cape Cod National Seashore was established in 1961. During this time major changes have occurred within the dune landscape, and eighteen shacks remain on park land. High winds and storm waves continue to alter the dune landscape, while active management of vegetation helps to stabilize the dunes. Views from the historic district remain largely unchanged from the historic period, but could be affected by adjacent development. The severity of the climate in the area accelerates the need for ongoing maintenance of the shacks, active stewardship through partner organizations and shack users, as well as stable access routes.

This chapter provides guidance for the long-term management of the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District cultural landscape. The chapter begins with a treatment framework based on applicable policies, standards, and regulations that establish an overall treatment philosophy for the landscape character of the historic district. Based on this framework and summary of general treatment issues, the chapter provides narrative guidelines and tasks to preserve and enhance the historic character of the landscape.

The purpose of treatment in a cultural landscape report is to prescribe how a landscape should look in the future based on the goal of preserving and enhancing its character. Guidance on the long-term management of the cultural landscape is intended to be both broad, encompassing the overall character of the landscape, and specific, relating to individual features. Recommendations focus on the landscape characteristics and features that contribute to the significance and integrity of the historic district. However, many landscape recommendations relate to other park management goals, such as public access, natural resources conservation, recreation, and interpretation as outlined in the park's General Management Plan, *Forging a Collaborative Future: General Management Plan for Cape Cod National Seashore* (1998). In addition to reinforcing the goals and strategies set forth in the General Management Plan, treatment recommendations also take into consideration the defining characteristics identified in the ethnographic study, *Dwelling in the Dunes: Traditional Use of the Dune Shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District* (2005); the character-defining features identified

Figure 4.0 (above). View south of the front of the Tasha (Harry Kemp) shack painted by David Forest Thompson, oil on board, 2008 (Permanent Collection, Pilgrim Monument and Provincetown Museum).

in the *Historic Structure Report for the Dune Shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars* (draft, 2007); and the management objectives set forth in the *Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District Preservation and Use Plan Environmental Assessment/ Assessment of Effect* prepared in 2011. The information in this chapter will also guide future compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act.

FRAMEWORK FOR TREATMENT

The framework for treatment of the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District is guided by the mission of the National Park Service stated in the Organic Act of 1916, "to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for future generations." The application of this mission is defined in *National Park Service Management Policies* (2006), which calls for the National Park Service to "provide for the long-term preservation of, public access to, and appreciation of, the features, materials, and qualities contributing to the significance of cultural resources." These policies are based on *The Secretary of Interior's Standards for Treatment of Historic Properties* (1995) and the *Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes* (1996), and are further articulated in *NPS-28 National Park Service Cultural Resource Management Guideline* (1998).[1]

ENABLING LEGISLATION

The enabling legislation that created Cape Cod National Seashore in 1961 articulated the need to preserve a special ambiance and feeling on Cape Cod. The legislation states: "Lower Cape Cod cannot be considered solely as a geographical area with certain physical characteristics. The Lower Cape must also be viewed as a way of life—a culture—which though conditioned by its environment finds its essence in the people who have lived and are living there. This bill seeks to preserve the way of life which these people have established and maintained on the Cape."

The legislation further detailed the types of activities which would promote the public enjoyment and understanding of the unique natural, historic, and scientific features of Cape Cod, specifying: "that the Secretary [of the Interior] may develop for appropriate public uses such portions of the seashore as he deems especially adaptable for camping, swimming, boating, sailing, hunting, fishing, the appreciation of historic sites and structures and natural features of Cape Cod, and other activities of similar nature."

In the spirit of the park's enabling legislation, the recommendations in this chapter aim to preserve the unique culture associated with the dune shacks, and foster the activities and relationships that promote the appreciation and protection of the dune landscape.

PARK PLANNING

The framework for treatment of the dune shacks landscape is also derived from park planning. The park's 1998 General Management Plan notes that the Cape Cod landscape is like no other, as "Cape Cod's beauty, sense of solitude, and other aesthetic values have created a place for people to come for inspiration and renewal for over 100 years."[2] Echoing the values stated in the park's enabling legislation, the stated purpose of the Cape Cod National Seashore is to: "Preserve the nationally significant and special cultural and natural features, distinctive patterns of human activity, and ambience that characterize the Outer Cape, along with the associated scenic, cultural, historic, scientific, and recreational values" and to "provide opportunities for current and future generations to experience, enjoy, and understand these features and values."

Recognizing the particularly unique setting of Provincetown, virtually surrounded by National Park lands, the plan also states: "The National Seashore is committed to efforts to be mindful and respectful of the towns and their residents and to use the collective knowledge to improve national seashore operations. Some local residents feel a profound connection to the lands within the national seashore that have been long-standing sources of spiritual as well as physical health; this has been expressed most strongly by Provincetown residents."

Eight management objectives set forth in the General Management Plan are relevant to the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District. In particular the park's objective to: "Encourage a commitment to the stewardship of the buildings, places, activities, and artifacts of Cape Cod that best exemplify its traditional character, and conserve them to ensure their continuing contribution to the culture of Cape Cod, in collaboration with local communities."

More recently the park prepared the *Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District Preservation and Use Plan Environmental Assessment/Assessment of Effect* in April 2011 (hereafter Preservation and Use Plan.) This plan focuses on the management and use of the dune shack historic district and provides direction for park managers, dune shack dwellers, users, and advocates. Recommended management actions focus on the long-term protection of the historic district as a whole, including the structures, cultural landscape, and natural environment.

While the General Management Plan lays out a broad vision for the use of the dune shacks, the more recent Preservation and Use Plan addresses stewardship, access, and occupancy in greater detail. The vision set forth in General

Management Plan states, "Historic property leasing (or a combination historic property lease and concession operation) for residential use, and cooperative agreements for artist-in-residence programs consistent with historical uses of the shacks, will be considered. These options will provide for use by a variety of public and private individuals and organizations. Individuals in the artists program will be asked to share their works with the public as a way of interpreting the shacks without disturbing the setting." The Preservation and Use Plan preferred alternative defines a balanced mix of uses that would perpetuate historic district tradition of private residential use while allowing opportunities for overnight stays by the general public.

Specific objectives listed in the Preservation and Use Plan, all of which are relevant to the management of the cultural landscape, include:[3]

- Continue to provide the opportunity for contemplative solitude in support of art and literature.
- Support the unique and long-term relationships as highlighted in Robert Wolfe's report, *Dwelling in the Dunes: Traditional Use of the Dune Shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, Cape Cod*.
- Provide appropriate opportunities for the public to experience the themes and resource values of the historic district.
- Take advantage of partnership opportunities where appropriate.
- Minimize interference with the natural dune processes that are part of the overall dune system.
- Establish preservation maintenance practices and consultation processes between the national seashore and dune shack occupants that will protect the historic structures and cultural landscapes and adhere to the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*.

TREATMENT PHILOSOPHY

In accordance with applicable policy, legislation, and park planning, the overall treatment philosophy for the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District is to balance the ongoing use of the area for tourism, recreation, and literary and artistic inspiration with the preservation of the historic structures and surrounding landscape. As articulated by the General Management Plan "The landscape encompassing the dune shacks will be preserved as a setting associated with the humanities and the arts. . . . This strategy will be achieved by continuing to perpetuate the dune shack's use as a remote, inspirational retreat."

To balance use and preserve the vibrancy of the shack setting, the General Management Plan states that "a collaborative approach to stewardship among the six Outer Cape towns and all seashore partners is essential."[4] For the management

of the dune shacks, collaborators include the individual dune dwellers, the towns of Truro and Provincetown, the dune taxi concession, and organizations that care for the shacks including the Peaked Hill Trust, Provincetown Community Compact, and the Outer Cape Artist in Residency Consortium.

TREATMENT ALTERNATIVES

To implement the treatment philosophy, the treatment approach for the Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District is derived from the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*. The Standards outline four approaches to treatment: *Preservation* (maintenance of the landscape as it currently exists); *Restoration* (returning the landscape to its historic condition); *Reconstruction* (rebuilding a lost landscape); and *Rehabilitation* (enhancing the historic character of the landscape while making compatible modifications to address contemporary uses and needs). These four treatments share a common philosophical approach that emphasizes retention of historic character and the repair, rather than replacement, of historic materials.[5]

While the park's General Management Plan and the recent Preservation and Use Plan emphasize preservation of the dune setting, neither document explicitly states a preferred treatment in accordance with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards. Both recognize that management and maintenance of the dune shacks and landscape needs to be flexible, adaptable, inventive, and respectful of the cultural and natural features within the historic district, thereby suggesting a rehabilitation approach. Implications for alternative treatments are described below and in Table 4.1. In selecting a treatment approach, considerations include existing physical conditions, natural resource protection, use of the landscape, interpretation, public access and safety, maintenance requirements, environmental sustainability, and park operations.

Preservation

Preservation standards require retention of the greatest amount of historic fabric, including the landscape's physical form, features, and details as they have evolved over time. Preservation focuses on the maintenance and repair of existing historic materials and the site features as they currently exist, and allows existing features to be replaced in-kind, while discouraging the addition of new features.[6] Since the end of the period of significance in 1991, natural succession continues to diminish the amount of open dune landscape. Intense storms, most notably the Blizzard of 1978 and Hurricane Bob in 1991, have altered the profile of the Outer Beach. Shacks have been moved, removed and reconstructed. Evolving technology has resulted in the introduction of new and often more sustainable power sources for the remote shacks, such as photovoltaic units and in one case a portable solar trailer. A preservation approach requires replacement of features in-kind and in

location. Shifting dunes or changes in the coastline would require extensive dune stabilization work to preserve the shacks in their current locations.[7]

Rehabilitation

Rehabilitation acknowledges the need to meet continuing or changing uses through alterations or new additions while retaining the historic character of the property. A rehabilitation approach allows for improving the utility and function of landscape features, replacing missing features as they existed historically based on documentary evidence, or replacement with compatible features. For some historic properties, changes are necessary to accommodate visitor use, interpretation or enjoyment of a historic property, or to improve the safety of an area. In other cases, modifications are necessary for sustainable management, such as the relocation of a shack, outhouse, driveway, footpath or vehicle trail to minimize erosion. For example, sections of the Inner Dune Route have been closed to minimize erosion. Under the rehabilitation approach, one must constantly assess the impacts of minor changes to the property's overall historic integrity. The cumulative effect of many changes to the landscapes surrounding the shacks or other modifications to the dunes could compromise the historical setting, materials and feeling of the district.

Restoration

Restoration is undertaken to depict a property at a particular time in its history, while removing evidence of other periods. A treatment date is defined, which could be the end date of the period of significance, 1991, or a key date in the evolution of the historic district, such as the establishment of the Cape Cod National Seashore in 1961. A restoration strategy would be difficult in the dune shack landscape because shacks that have been moved inland cannot be moved back to their original locations.

Reconstruction

Reconstruction recreates vanished or non-surviving landscapes with new materials, primarily for interpretive purposes. This treatment option is rarely selected for landscapes and is not considered an appropriate or necessary option for the dune shack landscape, which is largely sculpted by natural conditions, and is therefore not included in Table 4.1. As a point of clarification, the reconstruction of the Malkin/Ofsevit shack was based on ample documentation and is considered a replacement in-kind. In the future, if shacks are destroyed by a storm, they would be allowed to be reconstructed.

TABLE 4.1. TREATMENT ALTERNATIVES

Landscape Characteristics	Preservation	Rehabilitation	Restoration
Spatial Organization and Cluster Arrangement of Dune Shacks	Preserve pre-1991 shacks but do not move existing shacks or reconstruct missing shacks; replacement in-kind and in location is acceptable	Preserve pre-1991 shacks, but move shacks that are in unstable or environmentally sensitive locations	Preserve shacks and restore missing shacks in their original clusters based on a selected restoration date (for some shacks this is impossible due to coastal erosion)
Land Use and Cultural Traditions	Preserve use for recreation, tourism, leisure, and as a place of literary and artistic inspiration	Preserve use for recreation, tourism, leisure, and as a place of literary and artistic inspiration; allow additional uses and user groups	Preserve use for recreation, tourism, leisure, and as a place of literary and artistic operation, but limit access to enhance a feeling of isolation to degree evident for the selected restoration date
Topography, Natural Systems and Features	Preserve sparsely vegetated landscape of parabolic dunes	Preserve sparsely vegetated landscape of parabolic dunes; allow natural succession to occur; stabilize dunes when necessary	Preserve sparsely vegetated landscape of parabolic dunes; prevent or reverse natural succession to a more wooded dune landscape
Circulation	Preserve the Inner Dune Route, driveways and footpaths	Preserve the Inner Dune Route, driveways and footpaths; modify alignments as needed to mitigate erosion	Restore a more extensive network of vehicle trails that predated the Inner Dune Route; allow more direct access between the Outer Beach and the dune shacks
Views	Preserve open views	Preserve open views	Restore views according to selected restoration date—documentation is likely inadequate
Vegetation	Preserve natural vegetation and manage species composition as needed to preserve the pre-1991 vegetation composition, including heathlands, cranberry bogs, and other vegetation communities	Preserve natural vegetation and manage species composition as needed to preserve heathlands, cranberry bogs, and other plant communities in accordance to resource management objectives	Restore vegetation composition and density, possibly by using aerial photographs according to selected restoration date
Buildings, Structures and Utilities	Preserve extant buildings, structures, and utilities as close as possible to their 1991 appearance and materials	Preserve extant buildings, structures, and utilities as close as possible to their 1991 appearance and materials, but allow different locations and more environmentally efficient minimal utilities that do not detract from the dune setting	Restore buildings, structures and utilities to their appearance and materials according to selected restoration date
Small-Scale Features	Preserve all small-scale features that date to 1991 or earlier	Preserve all small-scale features that date to 1991 or earlier	Restore all small-scale features to their appearance according to the selected treatment date
Archeology	Preserve archeological resources	Preserve archeological resources	Preserve archeological resources and use information to locate and restore missing shacks where feasible

RECOMMENDED TREATMENT

Based on this analysis, both preservation and rehabilitation treatments recognize the continuity of the landscape as it has evolved with respect to the landform, continued active use, and the built features and materials that suit and conform to the current environment. While preservation is a reasonable approach, certain situations are more appropriately addressed by rehabilitation, which is defined as "the act or process of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations and additions while preserving those portions or features which convey its historic, cultural, or architectural values."[8] This treatment option is the most appropriate due to the relocation of several shacks, the likelihood of future shack relocations due to erosion, the need to modify circulation routes to adapt to changes in dune topography, and the need to close or reroute circulation routes to protect the nesting habitats of rare, endangered or threatened species such as the piping plover. This approach also allows for the consideration of sustainable, environmentally sensitive treatments for generating electricity and managing waste and gray water. The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for rehabilitation follow:

- A property shall be used as it was historically or be given a new use that requires minimal change to its distinctive features, spaces and spatial relationships.
- The historic character of a property is to be retained and preserved. The removal of distinctive materials or alterations of features, spaces, and spatial relationships that characterize a property is to be avoided.
- Each property shall be recognized as a physical record of its time, place and use. Changes that create a false sense of historical development, such as adding conjectural features or elements from other historic properties, shall not be undertaken.
- Changes to a property that has acquired historic significance in its own right shall be retained and preserved.
- Distinctive materials, features, finishes, and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize a property shall be preserved.
- Deteriorated historic features shall be repaired rather than replaced. Where the severity of deterioration requires replacement of a distinctive feature, the new shall match the old in design, color, texture and where possible, materials. Replacement of missing features shall be substantiated by documentary and physical evidence.
- Chemical or physical treatments, if appropriate, shall be undertaken using the gentlest means possible. Treatments that create damage to historic materials should not be used.

- Archeological resources shall be protected and preserved in place. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures shall be undertaken.
- New additions, exterior alterations, or related new construction shall not destroy historic materials, features, and spatial relationships that characterize the property. The new work shall be differentiated from the old and shall be compatible with the historic materials, features, size, scale, proportion and massing to protect the integrity of the property and its environs.

New additions and adjacent or related new construction shall be undertaken in such a manner that, if removed in the future, the essential form and integrity of the historic property and its environment would be unimpaired.

While rehabilitation standards allow for new additions and alterations, the emphasis of treatment in the historic district should be on preservation and in-kind replacement as defined in standards 1 through 8. Standards 9 and 10 are warranted because of the need to adapt the landscape to public visitation and environmental conditions. Rehabilitation provides the philosophical basis for adding erosion control fencing, altering the circulation system to respond to changes in the dunes, or moving shacks that are threatened by coastal erosion. Rehabilitation also provides flexibility to address contemporary site issues such as the use of solar panels to generate electricity and the need to protect natural resources including rare and threatened species.

TREATMENT DATE

A treatment date provides a reference to guide treatment efforts by identifying a time during the period of significance when the landscape reflects the characteristics for which it is significant and the park's interpretive themes. Definition of a treatment date provides a benchmark for managing historic character in a landscape. However, with rehabilitation as the recommended treatment approach, there is a degree of flexibility with respect to a treatment date, allowing for a more adaptable approach. The year 1991, which corresponds with the end of the period of significance, is an appropriate treatment date for the following reasons:

- All of the extant shacks were present in 1991 and no significant extant features were added after this date, hence the district retains a high level of integrity. The landscape is well documented at this time, with both photographs and aerial surveys.
- The Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars were determined eligible for the National Register in 1989 due to the involvement of local groups that were established by this time, including the Great Beach Cottage Owners Association, formed in 1962, and the Peaked Hill Trust, formed in 1984. Through the involvement of local groups, a partnership approach for

managing and maintaining the dune shacks was established. The approach was exemplified by the rebuilding of the Malkin/Ofsevit shack in 1991, after it was destroyed by an accidental fire.

GENERAL TREATMENT ISSUES

The following are general treatment issues related to the ongoing use, condition, and rehabilitation of the landscape that inform the treatment guidelines and tasks in the second part of the chapter.

Preserving historic character

The minimalist character of the dune shacks and their landscape setting could be lost by excessive improvements or damaged by overuse. Guidelines describe the features that contribute to the character of the dune landscape that should be preserved.

Shifting sand associated with access and circulation

High winds and storm waves continue to alter the dune landscape. Minimizing disturbance to the dunes, particularly vehicle and foot traffic, allows vegetation to take hold and reduces the amount of blowing sand. The treatment guidelines describe a variety of methods and materials that are used for trapping sand, without detracting from the landscape setting.

Managing vegetation

While vegetation helps stabilize the dunes, the open character of the dune landscape will diminish as succession continues. Some non-native species have colonized in the dune landscape. The introduction of non-native invasive plants requires ongoing monitoring and management to preserve the historic character of the dune landscape and native diversity of plant species. The treatment guidelines describe vegetation that should be preserved or eliminated in the historic district.

Protection of viewsheds

Spanning over 1,900 acres, views from the historic district remain largely unchanged from the historic period. The treatment guidelines discourage the construction of additional structures within the viewshed of the historic district that would diminish its setting and feeling.

Land use

Current uses within the historic district include occupation of the dune shacks, recreation, leisure, permitted hunting and fishing, foraging, wildlife observation, and swimming. Treatment guidelines relate to the adequate stewardship, access, and responsible use of the dune landscape within the historic district.

Maintenance requirements

The severity of the climate in the area accelerates the need for ongoing maintenance of the shacks and access routes. Guidelines are provided that relate to the appropriate materials, methods of construction, feeling, and setting associated with landscape features within the historic district.

TREATMENT GUIDELINES AND TASKS

Based on the historical development and the existing conditions of the dune landscape, numerous treatment guidelines and tasks have been identified. The treatment guidelines and tasks presented below are intended to guide future management of the historic district. They are organized by landscape characteristics including spatial organization, cluster arrangement, natural systems and features, topography, land use, cultural traditions, circulation, buildings and structures, utilities, vegetation, views, small-scale features, and archeology. Guidelines and tasks apply to landscape characteristics throughout the district and to specific areas and features.

SPATIAL ORGANIZATION AND CLUSTER ARRANGEMENT

Preserve character of dune shack landscape

The dune shacks are sited in isolation or in clusters on the leeward side of the foredune and further inland. Some shacks are visible from other shacks, while others are hidden between dune forms. Domestic features surrounding each shack are minimal, and typically include an outdoor seating area, clothesline, outhouse, birdhouses, sand fencing, and a parking area. Shacks are linked by the dune vehicle trails and include driveways and footpaths, but disturbance to the landscape is minimal to reduce the movement of loose sand and the associated effects of erosion or accretion of sand. Vegetation is sparse and predominantly native, including beach grass, beach plum, scrub oak, pitch pine, and other drought tolerant seaside species. Wet lowland areas in the inner dune valley contain heathland communities and cranberry bogs. Salt spray rose is the only prevalent non-native species and was likely introduced during the period of

significance by dune dwellers, as it is more abundant around shacks. The minimal development of the landscape associated with each shack should be preserved.

Retain dune shack setting

The location of shacks in isolation or clusters contributes to the historic setting and feeling of the district. If future relocations are necessary due to erosion, shacks should be moved to retain their character in either an isolated setting or as part of a cluster. In the analysis and evaluation chapter, the shacks are categorized as either located in an isolated setting or in a cluster with other shacks.

Similarly, if a secondary structure is built, such as an outhouse or, most recently, a studio in association with the Fearing shack, these secondary structures should be sited carefully so as not to alter the isolated setting of individual shacks or the feeling of a cluster arrangement. In an isolated setting, secondary structures should be located out of site of the individual shacks. Currently there are several examples of concealed outhouse placements near isolated shacks.

Recommended considerations for locating secondary structures associated with shacks in cluster arrangements include making them smaller in dimensions than the shacks themselves, less prominent and at a lower elevation, on the leeward or southern side of the shack (not between the shack and the ocean), and placed at a distance of at least one hundred feet from the shacks, with the exception of an outhouse. Outhouses may be attached to the structure, as in the case of the Cohen shack, placed in close proximity such as the Fowler shack, or set at a greater distance away, as in the case with several shacks, such as the Jones Shack (see Table 3.1).

CIRCULATION, TOPOGRAPHY, AND NATURAL SYSTEMS

Monitor erosion and accretion of sand

Wind and wave action along the Outer Beach will continue to alter the dune landscape, as it has for centuries. Albeit a challenge to manage, the shifting sands contribute to the character of the area and to the setting and feeling within the historic district. However, erosion and deposition of the dunes should be monitored. This erosive action is particularly apparent near the Fleurant, Adams Guest Cottage, Adams, Champlin shacks, which are near the shoreline, and the Wells and Armstrong shacks located inland but susceptible to wind erosion (see Figures 3.37 and 3.62). Relocation of shacks may be necessary in the future, in which case proposals should be evaluated using the considerations set forth in the General Management Plan on "historic structures threatened by natural coastal processes."[9]

Accretion of sand can also affect the dune shacks. Hand-shoveling may be necessary to remove the build up of wind blown sand along the exterior of a shack to prevent wet-rot or to gain access. For example, a shovel hangs on a hook by the front door of the Braaten shack (see Figure 3.164).

When excessive sand accretion occurs, sand-moving machinery may be needed as was the case of at the Fearing Shack in the 1950s (see Figures 1.65 and 1.66). Actions associated with the management of sand that require consultation with the National Park Service, Massachusetts Historical Commission, and/or local conservation commissions include moving sand with machinery, moving sand within 100 feet of a wetland or the coastal bank, changes to existing driveways or the vehicle route, and installing more than 1,000 feet of sand fencing for erosion control.[10]

Monitor and mitigate erosion caused by vehicle trails, driveways, and footpaths

As the past century on the dunes has shown, concentrated areas of vehicle and foot traffic can lead to erosion. This issue is of greatest concern along the Outer Beach and foredune, where vehicle trails or wide pedestrian paths can exacerbate erosion. Without beach grass and other stabilizing vegetation, the sand is more susceptible to erosion by high winds and tides.

The park eliminated several vehicle access roads from the Outer Beach through the foredune in late 1960s resulted in the stabilization and expansion of the foredune (see Figure 3.207). Dune dwellers have minimized vehicle routes and parking areas and foot paths associated with shacks. Fencing protects vulnerable foredune areas (see Figures 3.24 and 3.57). Small weathered directional signs have also been added to direct foot traffic (see Figures 3.85 and 3.261) .

The condition and location of vehicle trails should be monitored to ensure safe driving conditions and minimum impact to significant cultural and natural resources. In 2004 the vehicle trail near the ruins of the Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station was rerouted to prevent people from driving through the foundation of the former structure and rerouted away from a vernal pool, which is a breeding location for the eastern spadefoot toad. This toad is listed as a threatened species in Massachusetts and the Province Lands possibly support the largest population in the Northeast. Future reroutes may be necessary to protect significant cultural or natural resources.

The movement of sand can be controlled to a certain extent with wooden sand fencing and beach grass plantings, which contribute to the character of the cultural landscape. Yet engineered solutions such as groins, jetties, revetments, or seawalls would detract from the character of the historic district. Furthermore, the General Management Plan states that the National Park Service will explore

alternatives to prevent the construction of such structures on all lands within the National Seashore.[11]

Vehicle trails throughout the historic district should remain as sand. Hardened surface materials, such as asphalt or concrete, would detract from the historic character of the setting and would be inappropriate. Footpaths in proximity to shacks may be stabilized with wooden slat walkways.

Directional signs, sand fencing, or other methods may be employed to direct visitors to specified routes and protect resource areas as well as the privacy of shack occupants.

LAND USE AND CULTURAL TRADITIONS

Continue to promote use of the shacks by artists and writers and for recreation and leisure

The Peaked Hill area has been a remote destination for artists and writers, and for recreation and leisure since the early 1900s. Recreational and leisure activities include residing in the dune shacks, dune tours, walking, swimming, fishing, hunting, foraging, and wildlife observation. Three gated vehicle trails currently serve the area, along with one foot path from the junction of Snail Road and Route 6. Active use of the area and access to the area should be retained, but the level of use should remain low so as to protect the fragile dunes and perpetuate the feeling of isolation in a vast, open landscape (see Figures 1.60 thorugh 1.71 and 1.97).

Limit introduction of visible modern features but promote environmental adaptations that do not detract from the setting

The dune shacks derive their character from human responses to natural features and systems. Thus, the introduction of features that isolate and separate the dune shacks from the surrounding environment, such as generators or arrays of solar panels, should be limited. At the same time the continuity of use should be demonstrated by new adaptations to the environment, such as small wind and solar power units associated with individual shacks.

BUILDINGS, STRUCTURES, AND UTILITIES

Preserve and maintain buildings that contribute to the historic district

Buildings and secondary structures that contribute to the historic significance of the historic district should be preserved and maintained. A *Historic Structure Report*, now in draft, provides documentation to aid in the long-term preservation of the character-defining features of these buildings and structures. Recognizing that there is inevitably some disturbance around each shack, many shacks are

constructed on pilings to facilitate their raising or lowering in the ever shifting dune environment. Both the shack and associated landscape features should rely on the use of local, recycled, simple materials, wood rather than plastic, and the use of found objects for ornamentation.

Provide site interpretation for existing buildings, structures and archeological sites that contribute to the historic district

In accordance with the 1998 General Management Plan, it is recommended that an effective interpretation program be implemented for the historic district. The 1998 plan states that the National Park Service will "interpret cultural landscapes to educate the public about their significance through the techniques of wayside exhibits, guided walks, talks, brochures and publications."[12] Currently, there are guided ranger walks into the district, talks, and exhibits in the park and in off-site venues by dune shack arts organizations. Future brochures, publications, and other media should be carefully considered to ensure that they do not encourage use that may negatively affect district resources.

Preserve limited utilities

The dune shacks are characterized by predominantly seasonal use and limited utilities. Actions associated with the shacks and associated utilities in the landscape that require consultation with the National Park Service, Massachusetts Historical Commission, and/or local conservation commissions include changing the materials or configuration of a character-defining features as defined in the *Historic Structure Report*, relocating a shack, or installing or replacing a septic system or well.[13]

VEGETATION

Preserve heathland plant community

Heathland communities are relatively rare in the United States and restricted throughout the world. They contain rare species which include purple needle grass (*Aristida purpurascens*), Commons' panic grass (*Dichanthelium ovale*), Eastern spadefoot toad (*Schaphiopus holbrookii*), and chain dot geometer moth (*Cingila catenaria*). Heathlands are characterized by nutrient poor acidic soil which is often sandy and free draining. Few plants can flourish in this type of soil and in coastal areas the harsh climate also stunts tree growth. Suitable management is essential to the survival of heathland, a 'semi-natural' habitat created and maintained mostly through the influence of people. Without management, heathlands will revert to woodland. As stated in the General Management Plan, preservation of heathlands requires vegetation management techniques, including the use of controlled burning to reverse natural succession

to woodland areas. The location of heathlands may change over time if areas naturally succeed to other communities and new disturbances create heaths in other areas.[14] At present the heathlands in the dunes are in good condition but their condition should continue to be monitored to determine whether management intervention is needed.

Preserve wetland areas

Wetland areas, most notably cranberry bogs, contribute to the way of life in the dunes, as well as the character of the back shore. As stated in the General Management Plan, in accordance with the Massachusetts Wetland Protection Act, the park will ensure that wetlands, dunes, and coastal bank areas are protected.[15]

Remove non-native, invasive vegetation

Very few non-native invasive species have been found in the dunes. Areas most susceptible to the introduction of non-native invasive species include the perimeter of the dune area along Route 6, the parking lots and access gate areas, and around the shacks, where non-native seeds can be carried and deposited from vehicles. For example, near the Watson shack there is a robust patch of Japanese knotweed. Seeds or viable root sections may have been brought into the dunes by a vehicle or in soil or fill used during a construction project. The General Management Plan states that some non-native species that threaten native species or habitat may be controlled or eliminated.[16] Furthermore, Japanese knotweed is identified as an invasive species in the park's 1993 "Management Plan and Environmental Assessment for Invasive Exotic Plant Species Control at Cape Cod National Seashore."

Preserve salt spray rose around the dune shacks

Salt spray rose (*Rosa rugosa*) has been an integral part of the dune landscape since it was introduced to the area, most likely in the nineteenth century. Salt spray rose is currently found around shacks and throughout the dune landscape. While this particular non-invasive species has associations with the dune shacks, extensive additional plantings of salt spray roses or the introduction of other non-native species should be discouraged.

Use a sterile plant mix for planters

A few shacks have small planters with annual flowers, vegetables, and herbs. While these small plantings are not typical of most shacks, they have been a part of the history of some of the shacks and may be preserved. Several guidelines will ensure that these small plantings do not result in the introduction of non-native invasive species. Plantings and gardens should not be installed directly into the dune landscape as this is more likely to result in the introduction of non-native species.

For example, a small garden with perennial herbs should be removed from the vicinity of the well at the Adams shack. Planters should use a sterile growing mix (peat moss and perlite or vermiculite) rather than soil gathered in the dune landscape or dirt dug from an area that could contain non-native seeds. Planters should be stored from year to year with the planting mix retained in the container, rather than dumping the contents in the dune landscape.

Preserve native vegetation, plant beach grass as needed

Historic photographs from the 1960s depict the vegetation around the shacks as predominantly beach grass. At present, however, a variety of shrubs, native perennials, and some stunted trees surround the shacks, particularly on the inner dune. This successional growth is indicative of the relative stability of the dunes at these sites. Areas surrounding shacks that are not vegetated, particularly those that are near shacks in the foredune, should be stabilized with beach grass plantings. In particular, the dune landscape should be monitored for blow outs and other areas with no vegetation. A recent beach grass planting near the Jones shack has helped stabilize the south side of the steep foredune, which was blown out by high winds. Beach grass plantings should be carried out in consultation with the National Park Service science staff.

VIEWS

Preserve views that contribute to the significance of the historic district

Distant views abound in the open dune landscape—across the dunes, to the ocean, to Pilgrim Monument, and the Provincetown water tower. These views contribute to the historic significance of the district and should be preserved and protected. Construction of additional structures within the viewshed of the historic district, such as wind turbines and cell towers, should be discouraged.

SMALL-SCALE FEATURES

Encourage the use of wooden sand fencing and beach grass plantings for sand management

Most shacks employ some fencing to control the movement of sand. Historic photographs from the late 1950s and about 1960 show the introduction of wooden sand fencing during the historic period (see Figures 3.53 and 3.65). Subsequently, the National Park Service installed extensive wood slat fencing in the 1960s for dune stabilization (see Figures 1.88 through 1.90). Many other materials are currently used as well—such as plastic orange fencing and black erosion mat cloth—which accomplish the same function but detract from the character of the historic district (see Figures 3.33). The use of wooden sand

fencing, also known as snow fencing, should be encouraged. Consisting of 1 ½" wide wooden slats held with double strands of twisted wire, sand fencing is typically installed in parallel rows and placed at right angles to the prevailing offshore wind. Long sections of fence, multiple rows of parallel fence, and a gap below the fence aid in trapping sand. The installation of more than 1,000 feet of fencing should be done in consultation with the National Park Service to ensure that it is installed property to achieve the desired stabilization results.

Discourage the use of pallets, hay bales, and synthetic fencing for sand management

Wooden pallets, consisting of planks of wood nailed together, hay bales, and synthetic fabrics have been used to stabilize sand. Sand is held between the wooden slats of the pallets and on the leeward side of the hay bales or synthetic fabrics. Dwellers have also use pallets to form a series of steps ascending the dune to the shack. While the use of wooden pallets for steps is in keeping with the resourcefulness of the dune shack occupants and the general reliance on natural materials rather than plastics, the overall visual effect of the pallets laid across the dunes to catch sand is obtrusive. Over time the pallets are buried in the sand and new pallets are installed over them. However, the practice of using pallets to stabilize sand is relatively recent and not employed during the historic period. The use of wooden fencing to stabilize sand is recommended. As noted above, National Park Service science staff should be consulted on the placement of extensive sand fences.

The use of hay bales to accrete sand is discouraged because they can potentially introduce non-native invasive seeds to the dune landscape. This should therefore be monitored in the areas where hay bales have been used. The National Park Service natural resource staff should be consulted prior to bringing hay bales into the dune landscape. The use of wooden sand fencing is recommended.

The use of synthetic fabrics, such as the type used for erosion control or weed mats, is discouraged because it was not used during the historic period and does not harmonize with the landscape setting.

Minimize signs

The use of signs in the dune landscape should be minimized and used where necessary to provide place name, directional, or regulatory information. Examples of place name signs include the names of shacks hung on the building façade, which are typically painted signs on driftwood. Directional signs are rare, one example being a small driftwood sign directing pedestrians and vehicles to the beach (see Figures 3.85 and 3.261). Regulatory signs include National Park Service signs that delineate nesting areas for piping plovers, road and path closure signs, and no trespassing or keep out signs mounted on the sides of some of the shacks.

Preserve small-scale features

Small-scale features, typically simple and rustic in character, contribute to the character of the district. Examples include clotheslines and poles, outdoor showers, rustic picnic tables, chairs, benches, flagpoles, birdhouses, sand fencing (discussed above), small planters, and sculptures made of found objects such as driftwood and lobster buoys.

These small-scale features should be preserved to ensure the integrity of the setting, vernacular design, and feeling of the historic district. Many of them reflect the dune shack lifestyle. For instance, clotheslines are necessary due to the fact that many shacks lack indoor washing and drying facilities. Outdoor showers are uncommon in the district but reflect the transparency of indoor and outdoor living during the summer months. Exterior tables and benches not only expand the dwelling's domestic living and working space, but also serve a social purpose for users and guests. During the historic period, two shacks had associated flagpoles and one had an associated bell. Birdhouses attract birds who in turn consume insects, and appear to have been introduced to the dune shacks in the 1970s. Planters are uncommon in the district, but are in some cases used to grow summer vegetables, herbs, and flowers. Sculptures made of found objects reflect the presence of artists in the dunes.

ARCHEOLOGY

Protect significant ruins and archeological resources

During the historic period, several additional features and buildings were located within the historic district. Extant objects include the remains of a metal tower near the ruins of the Peaked Hill Coast Guard Station and the old wreck pole from the station which lays on the ground near the Malkin/Ofsevit shack. These features should be retained if evident.

Buildings were lost to coastal erosion, fire, and deterioration and may lack any associated archeological resources. However, the sites of inland shacks that were removed by the National Park Service between 1961 and 1989 may contain archeological resources that contribute to the significance of the historic district.

The sites of shacks that are no longer standing but have not been lost to coastal erosion should be located and documented. These include:

- Hill/Ford shack site, north of the Fearing shack
- Squid Woman shack site, between the Champlin and Malicoat shacks
- O'Neill shack site (location unknown)
- Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station spare boat house site, near the former Malkin/Ofsevit shack site

- Quonset shack site, near the Jones shack
- Schmid shack site, near the Jones shack
- Joe Oliver's shack site, near the former site of the Armstrong shack
- Concrete shack site, between the Armstrong shack and the High Head Road
- Stanard shack site, also between the Armstrong shack and the High Head Road
- High Head Life-Saving Station ruins, near High Head Road
- Red shack site, near the High Head Life-Saving Station ruins

Any known or potential Native American sites should also be protected and preserved. Future relocations of shacks should include an archeological review prior to excavating for foundation posts.

TABLE 4.2. SUMMARY OF TREATMENT GUIDELINES AND TASKS

Treatment Guideline or Task	Page
SPATIAL ORGANIZATION AND CLUSTER ARRANGEMENT	
Preserve character of dune shack landscape	335
Retain dune shack setting	336
CIRCULATION, NATURAL SYSTEMS, AND TOPOGRAPHY	
Monitor erosion and accretion of sand	336
Monitor and mitigate erosion caused by vehicle trails, driveways, and footpaths	337
LAND USE AND CULTURAL TRADITIONS	
Continue to promote use of the shacks by artists and writers and for recreation and leisure	338
Limit introduction of visible modern features but promote environmental adaptations that do not detract from the setting	338
BUILDINGS, STRUCTURES, AND UTILITIES	
Preserve and maintain buildings that contribute to the historic district	338
Provide site interpretation for existing buildings, structures and archeological sites that contribute to the historic district	339
Preserve limited utilities	339
VEGETATION	
Preserve heathland community	339
Preserve wetland areas	340
Remove non-native, invasive vegetation	340
Preserve salt spray rose around the dune shacks	340
Use a sterile plant mix for planters	340
Preserve native vegetation, plant beach grass as needed	341
VIEWS	
Preserve views that contribute to the significance of the historic district	341
SMALL-SCALE FEATURES	
Encourage the use of wooden sand fencing and beach grass plantings for sand management	341
Discourage the use of pallets, hay bales, and synthetic fencing for sand management	342
Minimize signs	342
Preserve small-scale features	343
ARCHEOLOGICAL SITES	
Protect significant ruins and archeological resources	343

ENDNOTES

1 http://www.nps.gov/history/hps/tps/standguide/

2 U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Forging a Collaborative Future: General Management Plan, Cape Cod National Seashore* (Washington, D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998), 3.

3 Dune Shack Historic District Preservation and Use Plan/Environmental Assessment/Assessment of Effect, April 2011, 2.

4 General Management Plan, 17.

5 *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* (1995), http://www.cr.nps.gov/local-law/arch_stnds_8_2.htm

6 Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes, 3, 6.

7 Ibid., 33.

8 U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Secretary of the Interior Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*, (Washington, D.C: U.S Government Printing Office, 1992).

9 General Management Plan, 51.

10 Dune Shack Historic District Preservation and Use Plan/Environmental Assessment/Assessment of Effect, April 2011, 28; "A Quick User's Guide to Dune Shack Maintenance and Repair," Cape Cod National Seashore, no date, 1.

11 General Management Plan, 31.

12 Ibid., 47.

13 Dune Shack Historic District Preservation and Use Plan/Environmental Assessment/Assessment of Effect, April 2011, 28; "A Quick User's Guide to Dune Shack Maintenance and Repair," Cape Cod National Seashore, no date, 1.

14 General Management Plan, 39.

15 Ibid., 35.

16 Ibid., 39-40.

REFERENCES

PUBLICATIONS

Bean, Norton M. *Study of Structures in Great Beach Area*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1968.

Beston, Henry. *The Outermost House*. New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company, 1988.

Brevda, William. *Harry Kemp, The Last Bohemian*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1986.

Burling, Francis P. *The Birth of the Cape Cod National Seashore*. Plymouth, MA: Leyden Press, Inc., April, 1979.

Chamberlain, Barbara Blau. *These Fragile Outposts: A Geological Look at Cape Cod, Marthas Vineyard, and Nantucket.* Garden City, NY: Natural History Press, 1964.

Champlain, Samuel de. "Journal of Samuel de Champlain." In *Forerunners and Competitors of the Pilgrims and Puritans*, Vol. 1. Brooklyn, New York: The New England Society of Brooklyn, 1912 [1605].

Chase, Susan A. "The Ethnohistory of Outer Cape Cod." In Chapters in the *Archaeology of Cape Cod I, Results of the Cape Cod National Seashore Archaeological Survey, 1979-1981 Vol. 1.* Boston, MA: National Park Service, 1984.

Clemensen, Berle. *Historic Resource Study, Cape Cod National Seashore,* Massachusetts. Denver, CO: National Park Service, n.d.

Dalton, J. W. *The Life Savers of Cape Cod*. Boston, MA: Barta Press, 1902.

Del Deo, Josephine C. *Compass Grass Anthology: A Collection of Provincetown Portraits*. Provincetown, MA: "Three Dunes" Press, 1983.

Driver, Clive. *Looking Back*. Provincetown, MA: Pilgrim Monument and Provincetown Museum, 2004.

Fitts, William S. "A Barn Raising in the Dunes." In *Provincetown Arts*. Provincetown, MA: Provincetown Arts Press, 1992.

Holmes, Richard D., Carolyn D. Hertz and Mitchell T. Mulholland. *Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey of the Atwood-Higgins Complex, Cape Cod National*

Seashore, Truro, Massachusetts. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts, 1995.

Holmes, Richard D., Carolyn D. Hertz and Mitchell T. Mulholland. *Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey of Higgins Hollow, Cape Cod National Seashore, Truro, Massachusetts*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts, 1995.

Holmes, Richard D., Carolyn D. Hertz and Mitchell T. Mulholland. *Historical Contexts of Lower Cape Cod: A Study of the Historical Archaeology and History of the Cape Cod National Seashore and the Surrounding Region.* Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts, 1994.

Holmes, Richard D., Carolyn D. Hertz and Mitchell T. Mulholland. *Historic Cultural Land Use Study of Lower Cape Cod: A Study of the Historical Archaeology and History of the Cape Cod National Seashore and the Surrounding Region*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts, n.d.

Huntington, Cynthia. *The Salt House: A Summer on the Dunes of Cape Cod*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999.

Kuchta, Ronald A. "Foreword." *Provincetown Painters: 1890s-1970s*. Syracuse, NY: Everson Museum of Art, 1977.

Lambert, Adam. "Art's Dune Tours of Provincetown: Celebrating Fifty Years of Kennedy, Chrysler, Kemp and Mailer." In *Cape Cod Life Magazine*. Hyannis, MA: Cape Cod Life Publications, 1996.

Lombardo, Daniel. *Wellfleet: A Cape Cod Village*. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2000.

McManamon, Francis P. and Christopher L. Borstel. "The Natural Environment and Natural Resources." In *Chapters in the Archaeology of Cape Cod I, Results of the Cape Cod National Seashore Archaeological Survey, 1979-1981* Vol. 1. Boston, MA: National Park Service, 1984.

Noble, Dennis L. "A Legacy: The United States Life-Saving Service." Coast Guard Historian, 1987.

O'Connell, James C. *Becoming Cape Cod: Creating a Seaside Resort*. Hanover, NH: University of New Hampshire, 2003.

Page, Robert, Cathy A. Gilbert and Susan A. Dolan. *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques*. Washington, DC: United States Department of the Interior, 1998.

Pfeiffer, Brian. *Historic Structure Inventory, Cape Cod National Seashore*. Boston, MA: United States Department of the Interior, 1987.

Reffe, Candice, ed. *From the Peaked Hills: A Collection of Writing and Drawing*. Provincetown, MA: Peaked Hill Trust, 1988.

"Residents Vote to Establish a 'Clothing Optional' Beach." Associated Press, April 12, 2001.

Sheaffer, Louis. *O'Neill: Son and Artist.* Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1973.

Thoreau, Henry David. *Cape Cod*. New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1987.

U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Forging a Collaborative Future: General Management Plan, Cape Cod National Seashore*. Washington, D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998.

Vorse, Mary Heaton. *Time and the Town: A Provincetown Chronicle*. New York, NY: The Dial Press, 1942.

Walker, G.H. *Atlas of Barnstable County*. Boston, MA: George H. Walker, 1880.

Wolfe, Robert J. *Dwelling in the Dunes: Traditional Use of the Dune Shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, Cape Cod*. Boston, MA: National Park Service, 2005.

York, Mary Lee, Sandra C. Krein and Mark Wamsley. *People and Places on the Outer Cape: A Landscape Character Study*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts and National Park Service, 2004.

UNPUBLISHED REPORTS AND TECHNICAL DOCUMENTS

Binder, Regina T. "Comprehensive Conservation Treatment and Management Plan for the Dune Shacks of Provincetown, Massachusetts." Columbia University, 1990.

Del Deo, Josephine C. "The Dune Cottages at Peaked Hill Bars: A Survey." Provincetown, MA, 1986.

Jenkins, David. "Dune Shack: A Description and Assessment of the Land Acquisition Files, Cape Cod National Seashore." Typescript for National Park Service, 2004.

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation. "Cultural Landscapes Inventory for the Dune Shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars, Cape Cod National Seashore." Boston, MA: National Park Service, 2000, revised 2008.

Quarles, Hillary. "Cultural Landscapes Inventory Summary Report Province Lands Dune Shacks." Boston, MA: National Park Service, Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, 1995.

Scofield, Jenny Fields, Kristen Heitert, Virginia H. Adams, and Stephen Olausen, PAL. "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District, Cape Cod National Seashore, 2011.

Sullivan, Judith Q. Dune Shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic Structure Report, Cape Cod National Seashore, Wellfleet Massachusetts. Lowell, MA: National Park Service, July 2007.

U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Dune Shack Historic District Preservation and Use Plan/Environmental Assessment/Assessment of Effect," April 2011.

ARCHIVES

Cape Cod National Seashore Archives, Eastham, MA.

Arsenault, Anne G. Letter from Palm Bay, Florida on January 30, 2007.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Department of Public Works. "Province Lands." Boston, MA, n.d.

Doane, Doris. "Atwood-Higgins House." Typescript, no date.

Friedberg, Betsy. National Register Director message to Candace Jenkins, Preservation Consultant. "Dune Shacks Property Type." c. 1989.

Great Beach Cottage Owners Association files.

Graham, J.D., U.S. Topographic Engineer, Washington, D. C. "A Map of the Extremity of Cape Cod including the Townships of Provincetown & Truro: A Chart of their Sea Coast and of Cape Cod Harbor , 1833 to 1835

Johnson, Joyce. "Congressmen Call for Access to Outer Cape Dune Shacks." The Cape Codder. January 6, 1995.

Joseph, Stanley C. "Study of Structures in Great Beach Area." Memorandum for Cape Cod National Seashore. August 6, 1968.

Savage, Beth L. "Review Comments, Dune Shacks, Cape Cod National

Seashore," Determination of Eligibility for the Dune Shacks Cape Cod National Seashore, May 1989.

Steinitz, Michael. Message to Betsy Friedberg, National Register Director. "Cape Cod Dune Shacks, Historic and Cultural Associations." c. 1989.

"Determination of Eligibility Notification, National Register of Historic Places: Dune Shacks of Peaked Hill Bars Historic District," May 12, 1989.

"Master Deed List by Tract Number: Status of Lands as of 06/11/1998."

Fearing-Bessay-Clemons Collection, Provincetown and Somerville, MA

Fowler photograph album.

Grace Bessay documents and photographs.

Peter Clemons and Marianne Benson documents and photographs.

Lighthouse Antiques, James W. Claflin Collection, Worcester, MA

Postcard collection.

Pilgrim Monument and Provincetown Museum, Provincetown, MA

Kingsland, Ailene. "Historical Map of Provincetown, Cape Cod, Mass." n.d.

Postcard collection.

David Forest Thompson. "Tasha Shack." Oil painting on board. n.d.

Provincetown Art Association and Museum, Provincetown, MA

Painting collection.

Provincetown History Project Archives, Provincetown, MA

Banner, Earl. "Keeping Massachusetts' Shorelines Attractive: Too Many Beach Cottage Colonies." *The Boston Sunday Globe*. July 22, 1956. Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

Curtin, Junia H. Indentures for Ye Eastern Harbor Great Beach Proprietors. January 1954 and 1955. Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

DesChamps, Grace. "Truro Tales and Trails: Millions Visited National Seashore in 1968 – And Towns Felt Impact." *Provincetown Banner*. October 13, 1968. Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

Falacci, Frank. "Cape Cod Mounties." *Sunday Herald Traveler*. July 14, 1968. Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

Foster, Charles H.W. Letter to Allan F. Jones, August 29, 1962. Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

Great Beach Cottage Owners Association. "Bulletin Report #1." N.d. Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

Hawthorne, Roger. "Cape Cod Beach Owners Have a Problem." *Sunday Standard Times*. October 14, 1962. Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

Henderson, Frank. Letter to Randolph and Annabelle Jones, January 16, 1963. Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

Jones, Annabelle. N.d. Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

Jones, Randolph. Letter to Edward J. O'Hara, January 13, 1969. Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

Joseph, Stanley C. Letter to Mr. and Mrs. Randolph Jones, April 23, 1968. Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

Meade, Robert L. Letter to Lee Strange, July 14, 1967. Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

Myers, K.C. "Scrapbook Offers Detailed Account of Outer Cape Dune Shacks." *Cape Codder*. March 25, 1994. Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

National Park Service. "Over-Sand Vehicle Routes." N.d. Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

"Need to Preserve 'Shacks' Defended." April 4, 1963. Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

Provincetown Banner. July 21, 1966. Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

Schmid, Charlie. Letter to Randolph Jones, August 16, 1965. Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

Schmid, Charlie. Letter to Annabelle and Randolph Jones, August 21, 1968. Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

Schmid, Charlie. Letter to Randolph Jones, June 29, 1966. Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

Strange, Richard N. Letter to Randolph Jones, September 10, 1967. Box 44, Article 729, Sheet 434.

Towler, Dan. "Series of 10 Pictures Showing 'Hunting on the Back Shore.'" 1901. Box 148, Article 815, Sheet 521.

National Archives and Records Center, Cape Cod National Seashore files, Waltham, MA

Adams, David W. Letter to Irving Tubbs, District Ranger, July 10, 1988.

Arnberger, Leslie P. "Minutes of Cape Cod National Seashore Staff Meeting." November 5, 1969. RG 79, Box 3.

Barnstable County Registry of Deeds. November 29, 1971. Book 1575, Page 182.

Bean, Norten M. "Minutes of Cape Cod National Seashore Staff Meeting." July 3, 1967. RG 79, Box 3.

Bowman, James H. "Face Sheet for Completion Report: Demolition and Grounds Improvement Planting, Race Point." September 21, 1965. RG 79, Box 11.

Bowman, James H. "Face Sheet for Completion Report: Sand Dune Stabilization." April 13, 1966. RG 79, Box 11.

Bowman, James H. "Face Sheet for Completion Report: Stabilization of Sand Dunes." March 16, 1964. RG 79, Box 11.

Champlin, Nathaniel. Affidavit for Commonwealth of Massachusetts, July 3, 1975.

Jamison, Lyle. "Minutes of Cape Cod National Seashore Staff Meeting."

June 4, 1969. RG 79, Box 3.

Jenkins, David. "Brief History of Bessay Tract 08-1045: Land Acquisition Files and Others." N.d.

Joseph, Stanley C. "Dune Stabilization Session," memorandum to the Regional Director. August 16, 1966. RG 79, Box 6.

Marcus, Marcia letter to Stuart Udall, Secretary of the Interior, Provincetown, MA, September 1, 1965. RG 79, Box 1.

INTERVIEWS AND PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS

Sally Adams email to Betsy Friedberg, Massachusetts Historical Commission, September 15, 2011.

Bart Bartelsman, letter and photographs to authors, September 10, 2011.

Mildred Champlin, Bristol, RI, letter to authors, December 8, 2011.

Peter Clemons, at Fowler and Fearing shacks, June 6, 2006.

Marianne Benson and Peter Clemons, in Somerville, MA, January 14, 2010.

Bill Burke, Cultural Resource Manager, Cape Cod National Seashore, National Park Service, October 10, September 26, and October 31, 2007.

Connie, David, and Janet Armstrong, at Armstrong Shack, June 5, 2006.

Connie and David Armstrong, by phone in Brunswick, Maine, August 3, 2011.

Connie and David Armstrong, letter to authors, December 26, 2011.

Josephine Del Deo to Bill Burke, Cape Cod National Seashore, August 20, 2011.

Geraldine Hill Fraser, Dennisport, MA, letter to authors, July 21, 2011

Geraldine Hill Fraser, by phone and in Dennisport, MA, August 4, 18, 2011

Lawrence Schuster, at Braaten Shack, June 6, 2006.

David Forest Thompson, email and photographs to authors, August 30, 2011.

WEBSITES

Anne Fitzpatrick. www.annefitzpatrick.com. Accessed December 2007.

"Ask Art: The Artists' Bluebook." www.askart.com. Accessed December 2007.

Guadazno, Laurel. "History Highlights: Agnes Boulton." Pilgrim Monument and Provincetown Museum. www.pilgrim-monument.org. Accessed Jan. 2008.

"History of Cranberries." www.cranberries.org/cranberries/history.html. Accessed November 2007.

Kaiser, Laurie. "Literary Provincetown." *Cape Cod Travel Guide*, 2007. www.capecodtravelguide.com/literay-provincetown.php.

Kerrigan, Lynn. "Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Cranberries." www.globalgourmet.com/food/sleuth/1298/intro.html. Accessed November 2007.

Lyrics on Demand. www.lyricsondemand.com/onehitwonders/pinacoladalyrics.html. Accessed November 2007.

McKee, Victoria. "Dune Shacks on Cape Cod National Seashore up for Review." *Provincetown Journal*, 2006. provincetownjournal.com/life/entry/dune-shacks-on-cape-cod-national-seashore. Accessed January 2008.

Newman, Donna. *Geologic History of Cape Cod, Massachusetts*. United States Department of the Interior, United States Geological Survey, 2001. http://pubs.usgs.gov/gip/capecod/glacial.html

Outer Cape Artist in Residence Consortium http://www.castlehill.org/ResidencyProgram.html

Provincetown Community Compact. "The Provincetown Community Compact, Inc. will Expand Dune Shack Residencies with the Management of the Fowler Dune Shack." 2007. www.thecompact.org.

Ron's Log. www.rbgilbert.com/log/ronslog016.html. Accessed November 2007.

The Provincetown Community Compact. www.thecompact.org.

Wilding, Don. "Dune Shacks: The Temples Rise on the Dunes." *Barnstable Patriot*, 2004. www.barnstablepatriot.com/webtest/SummerScape/Dunes.htm.

Zeigler, John M., Sherwood D. Tuttle, Herman J. Tasha and Graham S. Giese. "The Age and Development of the Provincelands Hook, Outer Cape Cod, Massachusetts." *Limnology and Oceanography* Vol. 10:298-311, November 1965. http://aslo.org/lo/toc/vol_10/supplement2/R0298.pdf.

Zimiles, Murray. "Boris." www.borismargo.net. Accessed December 2007.

APPENDIX A: LANDSCAPE CHRONOLOGY

Start Year	Start Era	End Year	End Era	Major Event	Major Event Description
21000	BC	21000	BC	Established	Hills and hollows of the Lower Cape are formed by streams of melt-water draining westward into Glacial Lake Cape Cod (Newman 2001).
13000	BC	13000	BC	Established	Outwash plains of Cape Cod are formed by rising sea levels and marine erosion (McManamon and Borstel 1984, 96).
10000	BC	8000	BC	Inhabited	Paleoindians are present on Cape Cod (UMass 2004, 70).
7000	BC	7000	BC	Established	Cape Cod landscape is vegetated by red maple, tupelo, black gum and other shrubs (McManamon and Borstel 1984, 102).
6000	BC	5700	BC	Inhabited	The earliest pottery and arrowhead remains date from sometime around this period (UMass 2004, 70).
1003	AD	1003	AD	Explored	Legend has it that Leif Ericson explores Cape Cod and describes it as "long and sandy strands" seen by the Norse (Vorse 1942, 62).
1602	AD	1602	AD	Explored	The European, Bartholomew Gosnold, encounters a Native American in the Provincetown harbor, and Samuel de Champlain visits the area (Holmes et al. n.d., 42; Vorse 1942, 52).
1620	AD	1620	AD	Colonized	The Pilgrims anchor the *Mayflower* in the harbor at Provincetown, their first landfall in the New World and the location where the Mayflower Compact is signed (Dalton n.d., 7).
1629	AD	1630	AD	Land Transfer	Plymouth Colony is granted jurisdiction over all of the Cape Cod coast, from Cohasset to Narragansett Bay, by a British royal patent. This land is later deeded out to establish different towns, with the exception of the very tip (Driver 2004, 55).
1650	AD	1650	AD	Preserved	The Province Lands are set side by the Plymouth Colony as a fishing reserve (Driver 2004, 55).
1714	AD	1786	AD	Preserved	As early as 1714, Provincetown enacts laws to prevent deforestation of the landscape, in response to the realization that deforestation would lead to instability of the dune landscape. However, deforestation continues (Cape Cod NS archives).

Start Year	Start Era	End Year	End Era	Major Event	Major Event Description
1727	AD	1727	AD	Established	By 1727, the "Kings Highway"/"County Road" extends all the way to Provincetown (UMASS 2004, 90).
1739	AD	1739	AD	Preserved	The Massachusetts General Court passes an act forbidding the grazing of animals in areas affected by erosion, and requires residents to plant beach grass each April as well as Scotch broom, native pines, bayberries and buckwheat in an effort to control the drifting sand dunes (Holmes et al. 1995, 17).
1778	AD	1778	AD	Military Operation	The *H.M.S. Somerset* is the first ship wreck to be recorded off of the Peaked Hill Bars in a winter storm off the coast, and 200-500 shipmen perish (Lambert 1996, 51).
1786	AD	1786	AD	Established	Massachusetts Humane Society is founded, representing the first attempt to organize relief for the shipwrecked seafarers in the US and Cape Cod (Dalton n.d., 23).
1794	AD	1794	AD	Built	The first beach hut, or dune shack, is built near the head of Stouts Creek, and by 1802 six similar shelters had been constructed between Race Point and Monomoy. (Reffe 1988, cover).
1797	AD	1797	AD	Land Transfer	To the south of the Province Lands, the Town of Truro sells a tract of land to the US Government on which the Highland Light is built (Dalton n.d., 23).
1800	AD	1825	AD	Preserved	In the early 1800s, laws are enacted requiring the planting of beach grasses to control dune erosion. However, these laws are largely ignored, like those imposed from 1714 to 1786 (Binder 1990, 25).
1802	AD	1802	AD	Built	Fishing huts are noted near Race Point (Quarles 1995, 7).
1816	AD	1816	AD	Cultivated	Captain Henry Hall of Dennis is the first to cultivate cranberries on his property in Cape Cod (UMASS 2004, 80).
1840	AD	1840	AD	Expanded	The Massachusetts Humane Society is awarded $500 by the state legislature, which it uses to purchase 11 lifesaving boats. Their amount of funding is more than doubled by the state the subsequent year (Holmes et al. n.d., 80).
1847	AD	1847	AD	Established	The federal government begins its own program of building lifesaving boats and stations, along the sea coasts as well as the shores of the Great Lakes. Crews are at first made up entirely of volunteers (Holmes et al. n.d., 80).
1848	AD	1848	AD	Built	The Railroad first reaches the Cape at Sandwich, MA. This made Cape Cod more accessible for tourists (UMASS 2004, 90).
1849	AD	1849	AD	Memorialized	Henry David Thoreau first visits Cape Cod (UMASS 2004, 97).

Start Year	Start Era	End Year	End Era	Major Event	Major Event Description
1849	AD	1849	AD	Established	The Life Saving Benevolent Association of New York is chartered, the only other government effort to organize relief for the shipwrecked in the US (besides the Humane Society) (Dalton n.d., 24).
1854	AD	1854	AD	Altered	The federal government reorganizes its lifesaving stations following mismanagement and a terrible sea disaster off the New Jersey coast. Keepers are awarded a salary for the first time (Holmes et al. n.d., 80).
1863	AD	1863	AD	Established	Regular steamboat service is established between Boston and Cape Cod (NR Nomination 1989, 8).
1865	AD	1865	AD	Memorialized	Henry David Thoreau publishes *Cape Cod*, recounting his remarkable experiences hiking the back shore of the Cape (Thoreau 1987).
1872	AD	1872	AD	Developed	Congress authorizes the U.S. Life Saving Service and nine lifesaving stations on Cape Cod, including those at Race Point and Peaked Hill Bars in Provincetown (Wolfe 2005, 16; Dalton n.d., 30).
1872	AD	1916	AD	Built	US Lifesaving Service halfway huts and stations are located along beach, including the Peaked Hill Life Saving Station (later known as the US Coast Guard Station) (Quarles 1995, 7; Del Deo 1986, 5).
1873	AD	1873	AD	Built	The Old Colony Railroad is extended from Wellfleet to Provincetown (NR Nomination 1989, 8).
1888	AD	1888	AD	Established	Cape Cod Cranberry Growers Association is formed (UMASS 2004, 80).
1894	AD	1894	AD	Stabilized	Experimental beach grass planting begins, marking the first successful attempt at dune stabilization. Stabilization is achieved within one year. Pine and oak seeds are also scattered at this time (Quarles 1995, 11; Binder 1990, 25).
1899	AD	1899	AD	Established	Cape Cod School of Art is established in Provincetown by Charles Hawthorne (Determination of Eligibility 1989).
1900	AD	1900	AD	Established	The Summer School of Painting is established in Provincetown by Ambrose Webster (Determination of Eligibility 1989).
1900	AD	1900	AD	Altered	By the 1900s fisheries are declining, and a counterculture emerges which includes new traditions in art and literature amongst academics and bohemians (Quarles 1995, 9).
1914	AD	1914	AD	Built	The Cape Cod Canal is constructed (UMASS 2004, 39).
1915	AD	1915	AD	Established	The US Coast Guard is established and the life saving stations on Cape Cod are incorporated into this institution (UMASS 2004, 39).

Start Year	Start Era	End Year	End Era	Major Event	Major Event Description
1915	AD	1915	AD	Established	The Provincetown Players are established, a group which would become highly influential in American theater history (Del Deo 1986, 21; Vorse 1942, 116).
1916	AD	1916	AD	Established	The Beachcombers Club is established, a favorite hangout of Provincetown locals and some dune dwellers (Del Deo 1986, 21; Del Deo 1983, 24).
1917	AD	1917	AD	Built	Ofsevit shack is built by Charles Rogers (Wolfe 2005).
1918	AD	1918	AD	Built	The "2nd Peaked Hill Life Saving Station" is built. It has a high lookout tower and occupies the site of the Chanel shack (Del Deo 1986, 6).
1919	AD	1924	AD	Inhabited	Eugene O'Neill uses the Peaked Hill Life Saving Station as a summer cottage (Del Deo 1986, 6).
1920	AD	1920	AD	Established	The Sixes and Sevens Coffeehouse is established, a popular meeting spot for Provincetown's artists and socialites (Determination of Eligibility 1989).
1920	AD	1920	AD	Inhabited	Hazel Hawthorne Werner observes nine structures on the Peaked Hill Dunes: the "new" coastguard station, the "old" station (then used by Eugene O'Neill), Captain Frank Mayo, Frank Cadose, Charles Rogers, the coastguard boathouse, and three "old" station sheds (Wolfe 2005, 18).
1920	AD	1920	AD	Exploited	Eugene O'Neill writes "Anna Christie," "The Emperor Jones," and "Diff'rent" (Determination of Eligibility 1989).
1921	AD	1926	AD	Built	A shed is built for Eugene O'Neill (Wolfe 2005, 19).
1925	AD	1925	AD	Built	Harry Kemp shack is built/occupied (Binder 1990, 32).
1926	AD	1926	AD	Built	Armstrong shack is constructed around this year, likely by Pat Patrick (Sullivan 2007, 260).
1928	AD	1928	AD	Memorialized	*Outermost House* is written by Henry Beston (Beston 1988).
1929	AD	1929	AD	Purchased/ Sold	Alice Malkin purchases the Malkin/Ofsevit shack from Charles Rogers (Sullivan 2007, 260).
1931	AD	1931	AD	Destroyed	The Peaked Hill Life Saving Station falls into the ocean in January and in response the "2nd Peaked Hill Life Saving Station" is moved 661 feet back from the coastline (Del Deo 1986, 6-7).
1931	AD	1931	AD	Built	Thalassa shack is built by Louis "Spucky" Silva. The original shack was a 9 foot by 12 foot structure, with windows from Eugene O'Neill's Life Saving Station shack (Del Deo 1986, 20).

Start Year	Start Era	End Year	End Era	Major Event	Major Event Description
1931	AD	1931	AD	Built	The Braaten shack is built by U.S. Coast Guardsmen P.C. Cook and Joe Medeiros (Del Deo 1986, 20).
1931	AD	1932	AD	Built	The Watson-Schmid shack is constructed by Phillip S. Packett and Norris Worth, both of whom are Coast Guardsmen stationed at Peaked Hill (Del Deo 1986, 20).
1931	AD	1931	AD	Built	The Fearing shack is built by P.C. Cook and Joe Medeiros as a rental unit (Del Deo 1986, 15).
1932	AD	1934	AD	Purchased/ Sold	The Braaten shack is sold to the Braaten family (Del Deo 1986, 20).
1935	AD	1935	AD	Built	A new bridge is built across the Cape Cod Canal (UMASS 2004, 91).
1935	AD	1935	AD	Built	The Adams shack is built. Adams Guest Cottage is probably built in the late 1930s or early 1940s (Binder 1990, 32).
1935	AD	1936	AD	Built	The Wells shack is built by Bunny Ellis, a U.S. Coast Guardsman (Del Deo 1986, 21).
1935	AD	1935	AD	Built	The Jones shack is built for Lorraine Catheron of Boston by Jesse Meade of Provincetown (Jones, n.d.; Pfeiffer 1987).
1936	AD	1936	AD	Built	Werner (Euphoria) shack is built sometime in 1936 by James Meads for Cora Holbrook (Werner notes, GBCOA archives).
1936	AD	1936	AD	Purchased/ Sold	The Wells shack is sold to Ray Martin Wells (Del Deo 1986, 21).
1938	AD	1938	AD	Abandoned	The Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station is discontinued (Noble 1987).
1938	AD	1938	AD	Built	The Champlin shack is built (Binder 1990, 32).
1938	AD	1938	AD	Built	The Fleurant shack is built (Binder 1990, 32).
1939	AD	1939	AD	Purchased/ Sold	Fearing shack is transferred to Alfred and Dorothy Fearing.
1940	AD	1940	AD	Built	The Cohen shack is built (Binder 1990, 32).
1942	AD	1942	AD	Built	The Chanel cottage is constructed on the site of the 2nd Coast Guard Station.
1942	AD	1942	AD	Built	The Margo shack is built near the site of the Peaked Hill Life Saving Station (Del Deo 1986, 5).
1946	AD	1946	AD	Memorialized	Art's Dune Tours becomes a formal tour service of the back shore (Lambert 1996, 50).

Start Year	Start Era	End Year	End Era	Major Event	Major Event Description
1946	AD	1946	AD	Built	Work on Frenchie Chanel's cottage begins (Wolfe 2005, 19).
1948	AD	1954	AD	Built	The Malicoat shack is built in the late 1940s and early 1950s (Del Deo 1986, 3).
1949	AD	1949	AD	Built	The Fowler shack is built (Binder 1990, 32).
1950	AD	1952	AD	Built	Esther and Gerald Hill tow a trailer to the dunes and set up a camp north of the Fearing and Fowler shacks. In 1951 they add a porch to the trailer. In 1952 a builder from Hyannis constructs a prefabricated cottage on the site (Interview, Geraldine Fraser Hill; Fowler album from Fearing Bessay Clemons collection).
1948	AD	1948	AD	Reconstructed	The Armstrong shack is discovered half-buried by sand and rebuilt by David and Connie Armstrong (CACO, OCLP Notes 2006).
1959	AD	1960	AD	Reconstructed	The Malicoat shack is rebuilt in its "present location" (Del Deo 1986, 3)
1960	AD	1960	AD	Planned	Eastham Hearings take place for the National Park on Dec. 17, 1960, and the Cape Cod National Seashore is established (Del Deo 1986, 4; Determination of Eligibility 1989).
1960	AD	1960	AD	Memorialized	Prominent dune shack literary figure Harry Kemp dies (Determination of Eligibility 1989).
1961	AD	1961	AD	Planned	Pres. Kennedy signs the National Seashore Act, which creates more than 26,000 acres of protected land encompassing six Cape Cod towns. The Province Lands become part of CACO, and the dune shacks are deeded for life tenancy to residents (Lambert 1996, 51; Public Law 87-126).
1961	AD	1961	AD	Planned	Cape Cod National Seashore is authorized, preventing future private development in the Seashore, 600 private residences are left inside park boundaries, and leases are negotiated with the residence owners (UMASS 2004, 10).
1962	AD	1962	AD	Established	The Great Beach Cottage Owners' Association is established to protect the shack way of life on the dunes (Hawthorne 1962).
1964	AD	1964	AD	Established	The Provincetown Group Gallery is established, where Ray Martan Wells frequently exhibits (Del Deo 1986, 21).
1966	AD	1966	AD	Established	Cape Cod National Seashore is officially established on June 1, 1966 (CCNS GMP 1998, 9).
1971	AD	1972	AD	Established	Truro Center for the Arts at Castle Hill is established and later becomes part of the Outer Cape Artist in Residency Consortium (Castle Hill website)

Start Year	Start Era	End Year	End Era	Major Event	Major Event Description
1976	AD	1976	AD	Built	The Chanel cottage is "raised up" to avoid being buried by blown sand from the surrounding dunes. During construction, evidence of the old Coast Guard metal cots and foundation bricks are revealed (Del Deo 1986, 17; Pfeiffer 1987).
1983	AD	1983	AD	Moved	The Armstrong shack is moved to its current location due to the threat of collapse from erosion (Sullivan 2007, 498).
1984	AD	1984	AD	Destroyed	The Schmid shack is destroyed by the National Park Service following the death of Charlie Schmid (Wolfe 2005, 38).
1985	AD	1985	AD	Reconstructed	The previous existing bedroom at Chanel shack is reconstructed on a new level as a closed entryway. Alterations are made by Salvatore Del Deo (Del Deo 1986, 17; Sullivan 2007, 351).
1985	AD	1985	AD	Established	The Peaked Hill Trust is established to protect the dune shacks of the Peaked Hill Bars.
1989	AD	1989	AD	Preserved	The Dune Shack of the Peaked Hill Bars Historic District is determined eligible as a historic district (Moynihan 2006).
1990	AD	1990	AD	Established	The Cape Cod Commission is formed to regulate land use planning throughout Barnstable County (UMASS 2004, 2).
1990	AD	1990	AD	Destroyed	The original Ofsevit/Zara shack burns to the ground (Fitts 1992, 145).
1991	AD	1991	AD	Reconstructed	The Malkin-Ofsevit shack is rebuilt in 1991, as allowed under the shack's lease agreement, and Zara Ofsevit agrees to let the Peaked Hill Trust manage it (Fitts 1992, 145).
1993	AD	1993	AD	Established	The Provincetown Community Compact is founded by Jay Critchley and later assumes management of two shacks (The Compact website).
1995	AD	1995	AD	Planned	Outer Cape Artists in Residence Consortium established (OCARC website).
1998	AD	1998	AD	Planned	Cape Cod National Seashore General Management Plan is completed (UMASS 2004, 2).

APPENDIX B: DUNE SHACK NAMES

CLR #/ LCS #	Park File Name	Date First Built	Historic or Alternate Names	Historic Users, Builder, and Notes	Current Users (2011)	Tract #
EXTANT SHACKS						
1/ 040397	Jean Miller/Cohen shack	1940	C-Scape	Albert and Edward (Eddie) Noons (Nunes), Howard Lewis, Donald Burns and Jean Cohen Burns, Michael Miller, John Grillo, Lawrence E. McCreedy and Robert Abramson, Marcia Marcus, Jan Muller Moved late 1940s or early 50s, and in 1978.	Provincetown Community Compact: Artist in Residence	04-8713
2/ 040394	Leo Fleurant shack	1935–38	Lewis Camp, Beebe-Simon shack	Howard Lewis, Emma R. Lewis, Paul Dyer, Susan J. Dyer, Hannah L. Dyer, Philip W. Conrad, Leo Fleurant/ Eddie and Albert Noons, Edward "Jake" Loring Moved in 1978.	Emily Beebe and Simon families	04-1051
3/ 040392	David and Marcia Adams Guest Cottage	Late 1930s to mid 1940s	Adams Shed	David Adams First visible on 1947 aerial. Moved in 1950, 1978, and 1992.	Adams family	04-1006
4/ 040391	David and Marcia Adams shack	1935	Adams Cottage	David and Marcia Adams/ Edward "Jake" Loring and Dominic Avila Visible on 1938 aerial. Moved 1978 and 1992.	Adams family	04-1005
5/ 040395	Nathaniel and Mildred Champlin shack	1936–38	Mission Bell Cottage, Mission Bell	Dominic and Joseph (Almeda) Avila, Manuel and Mary Taves, Francis T. and Patricia A. Villimain, Nathaniel and Mildred Champlin Not visible on 1938 aerial.	Nat and Mildred Champlin	04-1053
6	Malicoat shack (privately owned)	1948–49	Malicoat shack	Philip and Barbara Malicoat Burned c. 1960 and rebuilt 1960.	Malicoat and Lord families	04-8618

CLR #/ LCS #	Park File Name	Date First Built	Historic or Alternate Names	Historic Users, Builder, and Notes	Current Users (2011)	Tract #
7/ 040403	Hazel Hawthorne Werner (Euphoria) shack	c. 1936	Euphoria	James Meads, Cora Holbrook, Hazel Hawthorne Werner, Jan Gelb and Boris Margo, e.e. cummings, Edmund Wilson, Jack Kerouac, Norman Mailer, Cynthia Huntington and Bert Yarborough Moved in 1952.	Peaked Hill Trust, Fitts family	08-1042
8/ 040393	Boris Margo/Jan Gelb shack	Possibly 1930s, recon-structed in 1942	Margo-Gelb shack, Gelb-Margo-Zimiles shack, Boris's shack	Jan Gelb and Boris Margo, Murray Zimiles Reconstructed in 1942 and moved and rebuilt in 1967.	Outer Cape Artist and Residence Consortium: Margo, Gelb and Zimiles families, Artist in residence	08-1040
9/ 040399	Harry Kemp shack	c. 1900 as hen house, used in 1920s as shack	Tasha shack, Kemp shack, Frank Cadose's cottage	Ray Wells, Harry Kemp, Rose Savage (Sunny) Tasha, Frank Henderson or Frank Cadose	Tasha family	08-1043
10/ (shadow record 529744)	Zara Malkin/ Ofsevit shack	1917 moved 1930s	Jackson shack, Zara's shack, Bowen's shack, Chief of Police Charles Rogers' cottage	Alice Malkin, Zara Malkin, Irving Rogers, Samuel Jackson, Harry Kemp, Frank Milby, Barbara Baker, Jim Bowen, Charles Rogers Moved in 1930s and 1958; burned in 1990. Completely rebuilt in 1991.	Jackson family (formerly Malkin and Ofsevit families), cared for by Peaked Hill Trust	08-1041
11/ 040400	Stanley and Laura Fowler shack	1949	Stan Fowler cottage, Hunzingers' shack	Stanley and Laura Fowler, Peter Clemons and family	Provincetown Community Compact	08-1044
12/ 040401	Al and Dorothy Fearing/ Andrew Fuller/ Grace Bessay shack	Late 1920s	The Grail, Bessay-Fuller shack, Bessay shack, Clemons-Benson shack, Raymond Brown's cottage, Brownies'	Alfred and Dorothy (Doe) Fearing, Andrew Fuller, Grace Bessay. P.C. Cook and Joe Madeiros Unburied in 1951.	Clemons and Benson families	08-1045
13/ 040402	Jeanne Chanel shack	1940–42 (rebuilt 1976)	Schnell-Del Deo shack, Frenchie's	Jeanne "Frenchie" Chanel, Salvatore and Josephine Del Deo, Adrienne Schnell Built on top of in 1976.	Del Deo and Schnell families	08-1047

CLR #/ LCS #	Park File Name	Date First Built	Historic or Alternate Names	Historic Users, Builder, and Notes	Current Users (2011)	Tract #
14/ 040398	Hazel Hawthorne Werner (Thalassa) shack	c. 1931	Thalassa, Louis Silva's cottage	Hazel Hawthorne Werner, e.e. cummings, Edmund Wilson, Norman Mailer, Louis "Spucky" Silva Moved in 1949.	Peaked Hill Trust, Fitts family, Nell Husted	08-1049
15/ 529727	Theodore and Eunice Braaten shack	1931	Schuster shack	Theodore and Eunice Braaten, Lawrence Schuster, P.C. Cook and Joe Madeiros Moved in 1946.	Schuster family	08-8655
16/ 040408	Margaret Watson shack	1931–32	Isaacson-Schecter shack, Watson-Schmid shack, Peg's shack, Schmid cottage	Margaret (Peg) Watson, Charlie Schmid, Phillip S. Packett, and Norris Worth Lifted in 2004.	Isaacson and Schecter families	08-8654
17/ 040407	Nicholas and Ray Wells shack	1935–36	Wells shack	Joyce Johnson, Nicholas and Ray Martan Wells, Bunny Ellis Moved before 1960.	Peaked Hill Trust	08-8653
18/ 040405	Randolph and Annabelle Jones shack	1935	Frank Henderson Beach Shack, Dunn shack	Frank Henderson, Edith Thomas, Lorraine Catheron, Nathan Sharfman, Randolph and Annabelle Jones/ Jesse Meade Moved 1973–74.	Scott and Marsha Dunn	08-8644
19/ 040406	David and Connie Armstrong shack	c. 1926		David and Constance Armstrong, John Armstrong, David Armstrong Half buried in 1948. Moved in 1983. The structure is ¾ of an old building that stood elsewhere and was moved—the ¼ left behind in the old location was demolished.	Janet Armstrong family	08-8647

CLR #/ LCS #	Park File Name	Date First Built	Historic or Alternate Names	Historic Users, Builder, and Notes	Current Users (2011)	Tract #
-	Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Station Foundation	(c. 1918) Relocated to current site in 1931		United States Coast Guard, Frank and Packett Henderson Foundation dates to 1931. The structure was abandoned in the 1940s and burned in the 1950s, when it was deteriorated and had become an object of local vandalism.	Only foundation remains	08-1050
LOST SHACKS AND LIFE-SAVING BUILDINGS						
-	Halfway House and Squid Woman's shack	1800s to 1930s for halfway house and Pre 1947 for Squid Woman's	Squid Woman's	"Squid Woman" (a member of the Nelson family). Visible on 1947 aerial, but not 1938. A nearby halfway house was still present in the 1930s. Gone by 1960. Built between the Champlin and Malicoat shacks.		
-	Peaked Hill Bars Life-Saving Station and Boathouse	1872	O'Neill shack	Eugene O'Neill Erosion caused the station and boathouse to fall into the ocean in January of 1931.		
-	Peaked Hill Bars Coast Guard Boat House	c. 1918	Dune Cottage #11, Irving Ofsevit Dune Cottage, boat station, Coast Guard spare boat house	Coast Guard Barn, the U.S.A., Irving Ofsevit, Frank Milby, Barbar Baker Moved in 1931. Used by Coast Guard to store the extra surfboat; purchased at auction in 1938; severely deteriorated in 1987 and burned in c. 1990.		08-1050
-	Eugene O'Neill shack	1921–26		John Francis, Eugene O'Neill, Ray Wells Disappeared sometime after 1967.		08-1039
-	Frank Mayo's shack	c. 1920s		Frank Mayo Destroyed in 1930s when Coast Guard tried to save it.		
-	Ford/Hill shack	1951–52	Hill-Ford cottage, The Palace	Esther Hill, Josephine Ford Trailer in 1950, trailer and porch, 1951, shack 1952. Sold in 1967. Destroyed by fire on September 5, 1970.		08-1046

CLR #/ LCS #	Park File Name	Date First Built	Historic or Alternate Names	Historic Users, Builder, and Notes	Current Users (2011)	Tract #
-	Quonset shack	1946–47	Quonset hut	Built near the Jones shack. Abandoned in 1950s.		
-	Halfway House and Schmid shack	c. 1930s	Charlie's, The Prudential Center of the Dunes	Philip S. Packett, Morris Worth, Norman Lowenstein, Margaret Watson, Charles Schmid/ Meads No documentation on the adjacent halfway house. The Schmid shack was buried by sand and built on top of in the 1950s. Removed by the National Park Service in 1984, after it was abandoned by Charles Schmid in 1982 (he died in 1984).		08-8645
-	Bessay's small shack	Pre 1952		Grace Bessay Gone by 1968, possibly buried.		
-	Joe Oliver's shack	Used in 1940s	Joe Oliver's, Patrick's	Joe Oliver/ Pat Patrick Demolished by National Park Service in 1984.		
-	Concrete shack	Pre 1960s	Fuller shack, The Bunker, Cement shack, Stone shack	Andrew Fuller, Michael Sperber Demolished by National Park Service in 1980s.		
-	Stanard shack	Pre 1948	Stanard's, the New Yorker, New York shack	Mr. and Mrs. Howard Stanard Armstrongs recall in 1948 and gone in 1960s or 70s.		
	High Head Coast Guard Station, Boathouse, and Communications Bldg	1882	High Head Life-Saving Station	Gone (burned) by the 1950s; portions visible on 1960s aerial; foundation remains.		
-	Red shack	Pre 1950s	Bessay shack, Grace's	Grace Bessay, Gushee family, Franz family Origin assoc. with High Head USLSS; partially burned 1950s; completely burned 1960s.		

CLR #/ LCS #	Park File Name	Date First Built	Historic or Alternate Names	Historic Users, Builder, and Notes	Current Users (2011)	Tract #
-	Vevers-Pfeiffer-Giese shack	1939	Vevers shack	Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Vevers, Mr. and Mrs. Chet D. Pfeiffer, Graham Giese Burned by the National Park Service in the late 1960s after sitting vacant for four years.		

Appendix B Sources: Aerial photographs, 1938, 1947, 1960; Pfeiffer 1987; Del Deo 1986; Wolfe 2005; Huntington 1999; Arsenault 2007; Jenkins 2004; Provincetown Heritage Museum archives; documents in the Fearing Bessay Clemons Collection; Cape Cod NS archives; David and Connie Armstrong 2011; Geraldine Hill Fraser 2011; Mildred Champlin, 2011; Marcia Adams, 2011; Josephine Del Deo, November 2011.

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior



Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation
Boston National Historical Park
Charlestown Navy Yard, Quarters C
Boston, MA 02129
Phone: 617.241.6954
Fax: 617.241.3952
www.nps.gov/oclp/