MHC Reconnaissance Survey Town Report

PROVINCETOWN

Report Date: 1985

Associated Regional Report: Cape Cod and the Islands

Reconnaissance Survey Town Reports, produced for MHC's Statewide Reconnaissance Survey between 1979 and 1987, introduce the historical development of each of the Commonwealth's municipalities. Each report begins with an historic overview, a description of topography, and political boundaries. For the purposes of the survey, the historic period has been subdivided into seven periods: Contact (1500–1620), Plantation (1620–1675), Colonial (1675–1775), Federal (1775–1830), Early Industrial (1830-1870), Late Industrial (1870–1915), and Early Modern (1915–1940/55). Each report concludes with survey observations that evaluate the town's existing historic properties inventory and highlight significant historic buildings, settlement patterns, and present threats to these resources. A bibliography lists key secondary resources.

Town reports are designed for use together with a series of town maps that demarcate settlement patterns, transportation corridors and industrial sites for each historic period. These maps are in the form of color-coded, polyester overlays to the USGS topographic base map for each town on file and available for consultation at MHC. For further information on the organization and preparation of town reports, readers should contact MHC.

Users should keep in mind that these reports are now two decades or more old. The information they contain, including assessments of existing knowledge, planning recommendations, understanding of local development, and bibliographic references all date to the time they were written. In some cases, information on certain topics was not completed. No attempt has been made to update this information.

Electronic text was not available for digital capture, and as a result most of the reports have been scanned as PDF files. While all have been processed with optical character recognition, there will inevitably be some character recognition errors.

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MHC RECONNAISSANCE SURVEY REPORT

DATE: 1985a COMMUNITY: Provincetown

I. TOPOGRAPHY

Provincetown is located at the top of the Cape Cod peninsula. The township is centered at approximately 43° 3' north latitude and 70° 9' west longitude. It is 55 miles from Boston by sea and about 120 miles by land. The township is formed in the shape of a hook and bounded by Truro on the southwest, the Atlantic Ocean on the north, Cape Cod Bay on the west, and Provincetown Harbor inside the hook in the south.

Geologically, Provincetown or the Provincelands was made from deposits of shore drifting sand extending westerly from glacial plain deposits in the High Head/Pilgrim Heights area of North Truro. The deposits form hilly dunes across the northern portion of the township which slope southerly into Provincetown Harbor. Ground elevations range up to 100 feet in the drifting dune areas to sea level along the shore. Below the dunes, elevations average 50 feet or less north and south of Route 6.

Soils in the town of Provincetown are generally poor, particularly in regard to agriculture. Dune deposits are present over the northern half of the township in the hilly drifting sand areas. Between the base of the dunes and the Provincetown Harbor shoreline light, sandy loams are present. These are the only areas where even the most marginal forms of agriculture could be practiced. Cranberries have been the major crops.

Due to the sandy nature of Provincetown, drainage is predominantly subsurface. Springs may be found in many areas of the town immediately below the ground surface. Brooks and creeks are not common in the town. However, one creek, Mill Creek historically flowed into the western portion of Provincetown Harbor (Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society Vol. 8, 1802). Several ponds re present in the town including Shank Painter Pond, Clapps Pond, Duck Pond, Pasture Pond, Great Pond, and Grassy Pond. Several smaller ponds also exist. Pilgrim Lake is located along the town's border with Truro and was once open to the sea. At that time, the lake was known as East Harbor, but was closed to the sea in 1869.

While Provincetown may have been wooden historically, little wooded area remains today. Most of the town is currently covered with grass in hilly areas with some shrubs and scrub wood. Some pine, maple, and beech also remains as well as wild cherry, beach plum, and bayberry.

Provincetown's shifting shoreline have been responsible for harbor areas which in some instances have proved an economic boom to the town. Hatches Harbor (really unnavigable) was formed in the Race Point area. East Harbor, predominantly in Truro, was formed by

the sand spit along Pilgrim Peach which eventually closed the harbor. Lastly, but of greatest economic importance, is Provincetown Harbor, formed by the hooking sands of Wood End and Long Pond.

II. POLITICAL BOUNDARIES

Initial southern boundary was established in 1714, with the establishment of the precinct of Cape Cod from the town of Truro (incorporated 1709). The precinct was incorporated as Provincetown in 1727. Subsequent boundary adjustments occurred with the annexation of lands from Truro in 1813, 1829, and 1836.

III. HISTORIC OVERVIEW

Provincetown is a resort community and fishing center located on the outer tip of the Cape Cod peninsula. Seasonal native and European use as a fishing station in the 16th and 17th centuries seems highly probable. European explorations occurred in the mid 16th and early 17th centuries, and Provincetown Harbor was the first landing site of the Mayflower immigrants in 1620. Seasonal occupation by colonials as a base for fishing and whaling continued through the 17th and 18th centuries, while the size of permanent local settlement remained small. With the creation of the Cape Cod precinct of Truro in 1717, the first meetinghouse site was established northwest of Bradford Street. While the local economy suffered from the British embargo and the town's exposed position during the Revolution and the War of 1812, prosperity from the expansion of fishing and saltmaking in the late 18th and early 19th centuries led to the efflorescence of an extended linear village along the Provincetown Harbor Shore. Wharf construction and harbor improvements stimulated further local growth and helped secure Provincetown's place as the primary maritime, fishing, and commercial center on Cape Cod by the mid 19th century. Overland rail connections reached the town in 1873. Meanwhile, maritime-related employment opportunities attracted a large Portuguese-speaking immigrant population, focused in the town's West End. Late 19th century decline in fishing was followed by the influx of summer season tourists and the establishment of an art colony with the creation of the Cape Cod School of Art in 1901. Artists were soon joined by writers, and the opening of the Provincetown Players theatre in 1915 marked the establishment of a bohemian, counter-culture enclave with ties to New York and Europe. With the rise of automobile tourism, resort-related growth continued, and while the permanent population decline, the numbers of seasonal residents rose dramatically. Much of the 19th and early 20th century building stock remains, including the 1885 town hall, the landmark 1910 Pilgrim Monument tower, and commercial, residential, and institutional structures along the main Commercial Street/Bradford Street axis. However, alterations, additions, and reuse for intensive residential or commercial purposes have been widespread and continue to transform the resort village streetscape.

IV. CONTACT PERIOD (1500-1620)

A. Transportation Routes

Little evidence is present regarding potential native trails in the Provincetown area during this period. However, some trails undoubtedly existed. Coastal trails along the northern Atlantic shorelines are inferred, but likely were not permanent, as the sands continually shift in this area. In the southern part of the township trails also probably existed along the harbor shoreline and to the major ponds in the area. A shoreline trail in the vicinity of Commercial Street likely connected the Provincetown area with Truro and other Cape areas.

B. Population

Little prehistoric or historic period evidence is present on which to base Contact period population estimates. Native Americans were present with some transient European visitors. Some evidence exists for Late Woodland habitation and/or use of the area. However, evidence at hand indicates the area was not intensively settled. In addition, later historic period accounts by explorers and settlers make few, if any, references to a substantial native presence in the area.

C. Settlement Pattern

European settlements did not exist in Provincetown during this period. However, some contact between natives and Europeans in the Provincetown area did take place, as records exist of the encounters. For example, in 1602, Gosnold visited the area and met natives in the harbor. Other whites may also have visited this area as early as the late 15th century. Provincetown Harbor has always been valued as a prime fishing station and afforded excellent protection for vessels seeking anchorage for rest or from storms. However, beyond these temporary stays, no permanent white settlement is known.

Native Americans were present in Provincetown as the Gosnold example above illustrates. However, little, if any, evidence is present indicating the area was the site of large village locations. Artifacts of the Late Woodland period are known for the Provincetown area as well as one potential Late Woodland site. This information suggests a Late Woodland precedent exists for native habitation and/or use of the Provincetown area during the later Contact period. Because of the low nature of much of the Provincelands, any settlement was likely in the harbor area or near one of the wetlands nearby. In light of this, the fact that Gosnold met only one native may be of great significance since, should a major of permanent camp have been nearby, he would have likely met more natives or recognized more signs of Indian settlement. One possible interpretation for native land use of the Provincetown area may be that like the later Europeans, natives used the area primarily for fishing, limited hunting and gathering on land, and the hunting of sea mammals, particularly whales. Provincetown's maritime emphasis may well have extended

back to the prehistoric period. Other factors also point to the fact that large-scale native land use of the Provincetown area did not take place. For example, few, if any, native place names survive for Provincetown locales compared with other Cape areas where Native Americans were present. It is also worth noting that the Pamet Indians (Nauset group) of the Truro area are the only historically recorded natives for this end of the Cape. Rights to Truro lands were purchased from these natives. Perhaps the Provincetown area was an outlying territory of natives based in the Truro area.

D. Subsistence Pattern

Since European settlements were not present in the Provincetown area during this period, European subsistence probably followed that of the native inhabitants of the area. While some food was undoubtedly carried with early explorers, traders, and fishermen, the bulk of their subsistence was probably secured through hunting, fishing, the gathering of wild plants and shellfish, and the trade, stealing, or purchase of agricultural products (corn, beans, etc.) from the local natives.

Native American subsistence during the Contact period in the Provincetown area was probably similar to that practiced in other Cape areas. The combined use of wild and domesticate food resources formed the basis of their subsistence system. It is unknown at present exactly when agriculture or, more specifically, horticulture was introduced to the natives of the Cape Cod area. However, by the Contact period, sufficient quantities of corn, beans, and squash were being produced for storage and at times for sale or trade to English settlers. It should be noted, however, that should some form of agriculture have been practiced in the Provincetown area it was of limited scope. Provincetown's agricultural potential is and was poor. Shellfishing, fishing, and hunting were also important subsistence pursuits. However, hunting, like agriculture, may have been poor in the Provincetown area. On the other hand, the fisheries were quite good. Subsistence activities in the Provincetown area may have focused on the various fisheries in the area. An alewife run is now present in Pilgrim Lake on the Provincetown/Truro town line. Shellfish beds are also present in the area. Species present in these beds include surf clams and quahaugs. Other species may have also existed at one time, including oyster, soft shelled clam, bay scallop, and mussels. The bay and ocean waters surrounding Provincetown also provided numerous species of fish and sea mammals available to natives of the area. Fish species included bass, bluefish, shark, tuna, swordfish, flounder, tautog, and others. Sea mammals available included seals and numerous species of whales. Coastal flats in the vicinity of Provincetown Harbor may have provided an excellent location for native weir fishing, much the same as it did for the later colonial fishermen.

The wetlands and wooded areas of Provincetown provided numerous species of mammals for hunting. However, limited woodland areas would also limit the quantities of game available. The dune areas in the northern portion of the township provided little potential

for hunting. Waterfowl would also have been available in wetlands and coastal areas.

V. PLANTATION PERIOD (1620-1675)

A. Transportation Routes

Inferred Contact period native trails likely continued in use by both natives and transient Europeans in the area. Europeans in vessels staying over in Provincetown Harbor probably explored and/or gathered food resources along the coast and at wooded areas near inland ponds. This pattern was followed by the passengers aboard the Mayflower as they anchored in Provincetown Harbor in 1620 and explored the local area. Fishermen may also have had temporary camps and used coastal trails along the harbor during this period.

B. Population

Some natives were present in the Provincetown area during this period. However, little new information is present regarding their population over that noted for the previous Contact period.

Europeans were also present in Provincetown during this period. However, their presence was again of a transient or temporary nature. Explorers and early settlers often anchored vessels in Provincetown Harbor for short periods, but no population developed. Fishermen probably stayed the longest in Provincetown during this period seasonally camping along the harbor shore while fishing in the area.

C. Settlement Pattern

Little evidence is present regarding native settlement in Provincetown over that noted for the Contact period. However, we do know that natives were present as the early colonial settlers aboard the Mayflower met natives in Provincetown Harbor in November and December of 1620. Whether or not these natives actually resided in Provincetown remains open to debate, as there may have been Pamet Indians residing in Truro.

As noted above, the first documented Europeans after Gosnold to explore the Provincetown area were the Pilgrims aboard the Mayflower in 1620. At that time they explored much of the area and signed the Mayflower Compact in Provincetown Harbor.

Following an possibly before the Mayflower landing in Provincetown, the harbor was visited yearly by fishermen from Europe and from other towns in the colony. From the days of first exploration the Provincetown area was highly valued by Europeans and possibly by natives as well, as one of the better fishing stations in the New World. Unfortunately, no physical evidence remains of these early temporary fishing stations, as permanent settlement was not made until later, in the Colonial period.

D. Economic Base

Little evidence exists describing native subsistence activities during the Plantation period. However, both natives and any whites in the area likely continued to combine wild and domesticate food sources as a basis for subsistence. Corn agriculture may have continued for natives in the area, but little, if any, information exists to support this hypothesis. Natives may have fished in the Provincetown area, but again, no evidence supports this hypothesis.

Europeans did not establish permanent settlements in the Provincetown area during this period. They did, however, establish yearly or temporary fishing camps and had the rights to various fisheries in the area. The practice arose early (17th century0 of leasing the bass fishery at the Cape to various transient fishermen. This fishery and others were so important that in 1671 Thomas Paine of Eastham was made water bailiff to have charge of the fisheries at the Cape. Vessels from the Cape were not taxed or restricted to leases. As early as 1673, the income derived from fishery leases was appropriated to support school in Barnstable, Plymouth, Duxbury, Rehoboth (1678) and other towns in the colony. Fishery funds also supported the widows and veterans of native wars as early as 1675. The mackerel fishing was also started during this period. In 1671 the Massachusetts General Court granted men of Hull permission to fish for mackerel at the Cape as long as they paid "what was due to the colony from foreigners" (Deyo 1890: 960). An organized cod and haddock fishery was also likely started during this period as well as fisheries for whales, pollock, and sharks.

VI. COLONIAL PERIOD (1675-1775)

A. Transportation Routes

Most, if not all, European settlement occurred in a concentrated area along Provincetown Harbor. A coastal trail in the general area of Commercial Street gradually developed into a radius, linking with the Old County Road in Truro. The road or street may have existed prior to 1727, since by that date the long street in Provincetown was extended into Truro (Deyo 1890: 925). In 1715 the King's Highway was laid out in Truro connecting the Provincelands with Eastham. As this road was really a continuation of the Old County Road, it may have followed the coastal location noted above or a more island area. Some street networks may also have developed during the period. However, many may not have been of a permanent nature.

B. Population

No evidence exists indicating there were natives residing in Provincetown during this period. Some transient natives may have been present aboard fishing vessels.

Actual census reports are not available for Provincetown until 1765. However, evidence indicates that population rose

sufficiently enough to warrant incorporation of the town in 1727. An estimate during this period might to 100 to 200 individuals, several of whom may have been transient fishermen. Population declined after 1727 following an apparent slump in the fishery. by 1748, only two or three families remained in the town. Prior to the Revolutionary War, Provincetown's population rose again. In 1755, ten or fifteen families were present (Deyo 1890: 979). In 1765 and 1776, 205 individuals are listed in the town. Deyo (1890: 979) also notes 36 families in 1776. At the close of the Revolutionary War, Provincetown was reportedly again without a population.

C. Settlement Pattern

Much of Provincetown's early history was under the jurisdiction of persons and the government of Eastham. In 1668 the lands at Pamet as far the the Cape head was noted to be within the constablerick of Eastham. At that time, Cape Cod was under the authority of Massachusetts Bay Colony. It was not until 1692 that Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colony united, at which time Massachusetts Bay succeeded to all the rights of Plymouth Colony in the lands of Cape Cod. At that time, the Provincelands came under the jurisdiction of the government of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Prior to 1714 the Provincelands were regarded as part of Truro for municipal purposes. At that time a public act was made establishing a municipal government at Cape Cod. Provincetown was then called the Precinct of Cape Cod, which included all lands at the Cape. This act established the boundaries between Truro and Cape Cod (Provincetown), but it was not an act of incorporation; the two towns were still affiliated. In 1715 the inhabitants of Truro petitioned the General Court to declare that Cape Cod was or was not a part of Truro. This petition was generally overlooked, for it was not until 1727 after continual population increase at Provincetown that the town was finally incorporated. The original name selected for the town was Herringtown, which the General Court disliked. The name Provincetown was first used in the act of incorporation.

The Provincelands, or the Cape as it was commonly called, continued to be valued as an important colonial fishing station throughout the Colonial period. Temporary settlements were made but little permanent settlement was made until the 18th century. No evidence exists regarding private occupation of distinct tracts of land in Provincetown until ca. 1700. In fact, it was not until 1724 that the earliest records pertaining to the town existed (Deyo 1890: 958). Some settlement may, however, have occurred before that date, as birth records from 1698 exist at the Provincetown's Clerk's office. Unfortunately, the circumstances of early settlement are obscured by the absence of any recorded transfers of real estate. In 1717-18 a meetinghouse/place of worship was built; its exact location is unknown, although it was thought to have been located northwesterly from Bradford Street. A second meetinghouse was built in 1773 on the same site.

Provincetown's settlement continued to be concentrated in a small area along the harbor. Actual settlement fluctuated greatly with

the status of the fishery. By 1705 Provincetown had undergone considerable growth during a short period of time. Freeman (cited in Deyo 1890: 692) noted that the population of Cape Cod (Provincetown) was 130 men. Actual population may have been higher, considering women, children, and natives. However, a substantial number of these men also may have been transient residents involved in the fisheries. After incorporation in 1727 the settlement began to decline, so that by 1748, only two or three families remained.

By 1755 only three houses were reported in the town (Deyo 1890: 979). That number rose to 20 houses in 1775 at the start of the Revolution. At the close of the war, Provincetown was reportedly without a population.

D. Economic Base

Little, if any, evidence exists indicating Native Americans were still living in Provincetown during this period. However, natives may have been present as crew members aboard fishing vessels, as this practice was common in many fishing ports at the time.

Fishing grew and continued to be the mainstay of Provincetown's economy during the Colonial period. In fact, fishing had increased by the late 17th century to the point that further legal measures were taken to protect the interests of local residents regarding the fishery. In 1678 a notice was given to all towns of the Colony that if they wished to fish at the Cape, one-half of the men employed in the fishery had to be from Cape towns. The bass and herring fishery continued to prosper in Provincetown Harbor, as did fisheries for whales and sharks. Weir fishing along the coastal shoals was rapidly gaining in important, as was schooner fishing in offshore waters for cod, haddock, pollock, and halibut. Shellfish fisheries were also important in the area. Mussels, sea clams, and quahaugs were all available in the area.

While the Provincetown fishery underwent several periods of rapid growth, slumps or depressed periods in the fishery were also present. Fishing's importance fluctuated economically. After incorporation of the town in 1727 the fishery declined to where only two or three families lived in Provincetown in 1748. Subsequently, the fishery rose again to preRevolutionary War prosperity, after which the town nearly lost its entire population. Rapid growth again characterized the postwar period.

Any efforts at farming in Provincetown were always limited and of secondary importance to the fisheries. Some corn and vegetables were probably grown before the Revolutionary War. After the war, efforts at cranberry production were also attempted. Some attempts at husbandry were also made. However, these attempts, like those at agriculture, were never of great economic importance. Salt marshes toward Truro would have been important for livestock. However, they may have been of greater importance to the residents of Truro rather than Provincetown.

One mill may have existed in Provincetown during the Colonial period on Mill Creek, which ran into the western portion of the harbor. However, little is known of its construction or purpose. Salt works were also important in the post-Revolutionary War period.

E. Architecture

Residential: There is little chance that many structures survive from this period of transient habitations by small numbers of settlers. Four possible survivals are story-and-a-half, gable roof, double-pile, five-bay, center chimney and entry houses.

Institutional: The General Court voted money to build a meetinghouse here in 1717, 32x20 feet with eight-foot stud and three galleries (?); at least one source claims no house built until 1763 (Jennings: 1890). A second house was constructed in 1773, 30x27 feet with eight-foot stud; this was replaced in 1796.

VII. FEDERAL PERIOD (1775-1830)

A. Transportation Routes

The town's location at the tip of Cape Cod, and the shifting sands of the local dunes made overland travel into town difficult. The route from Truro to the east passed along the bay shore and led into Commercial Street, the principal local road was that extended along the harbor. The large, sheltered Provincetown Harbor was used by British war ships during the Revolution and the War of 1812. By 1830, small-scale wharf facilities are likely to have been built along the shore.

B. Population

After its decline in the Colonial period to near oblivion, Provincetown made a rapid recovery after the Revolution, primarily as a result of the revival of the fisheries. P'town in the Federal period was the fastest growing town of any in the study unit. Between 1790 and 1830, the town had a growth rate of 276.6% -- over four times the county average of 64.3%, and over 100 points above that of Chatham, its nearest rival. Between 1790 and 1830, P'town grew from 454 persons to 1710, nearly quadrupling the size of the town in four decades. But for the Embargo & War decade 1800-1810, most of this growth averaged over 30 persons per year, climbing to 45.8 persons/year in the 1820s.

Itinerant Jesse Lee found many converts to Methodism during his visit in 1790, and this society was the first formally organized in the region. In spite of this, other residents protested their plans for constructing a meetinghouse in 1795 with the burning of the frame that had been brought in by boat as well as an effigy of Lee. By 1810 the town minister was a Methodist, and the Congregationalist went into decline. In 1820 a small number were converted to the doctrine of Universal salvation after reading Murray's biography (which had floated ashore); a Unitarian society was formed by this group in 1829.

The town formed a lodge of Masons in 1795. An outbreak of smallpox was experienced in 1800-01. A house for the poor was constructed in 1806.

C. Settlement Pattern

Only twenty dwellings stood in Provincetown in 1776, these primarily along the bayside harbor. Development accelerated after the close of the Revolution, and by 1800, 144 dwellings, 90 stores, five shops, ten salt works, and five herring smokehouses formed an extended fishing village along the Provincetown Harbor shore. In 1793, the third Congregational Meetinghouse was built southeast of the First Cemetery (later Prince Street). By 1830 the society had dwindled to the point that this edifice, known as the Old White Oak, was closed. In 1795, the Methodists built a church. The same year three schoolhouses were built, as was a Masonic Hall on Commercial Street. In 1817, the Methodists replaced their church with a new structure located at Bradford and Ryder. Outside the village, lighthouses were built at Race Point in 1816, and at Long Point in 1826. At Long Point, a small fishing hamlet had developed by period's end.

D. Economic Base

No resources but the fisheries left Provincetown extremely vulnerable to the cessassation of maritime commerce during the Embargo and War decade 1800-1810. The close of the war, however, "marks the beginning of a period of prosperity which ... has continued with slight interruptions to the present time," historian Deyo wrote in 1890.

The period showed the greatest rise in the cod fishing fleet: 20 vessels in 1790 became 33 vessels in 1802; by the 1830s, Provincetown reported 98. The fleet developed the practices which, with little modification, would last until the introduction of gasoline and diesel motors. Newfoundland, the coast of Labrador, and the Bay of Charleur were the chief fishing grounds, to which the cod fleet made three voyages a year, returning to port in May, July, and October. About half the fish caught was cured at Provincetown, and all the contemporary accounts describe the hundreds of fish flakes drying cod in the sun. (Though picturesque, the effect evidently rendered unpleasant the otherwise "pure air.") Some whaling was still carried on: 5-6 vessels were reported in 1802. In the early 1820s, as many as nine schooners frequented the whaling grounds around the Western Islands, though evidence for this activity disappears after 1823 (Starbuck). Provincetown would not re-enter the whaling industry in a major way until the 1840s.

The other contemporary industry was the salt works. Solar evaporation was begun in 1800 in P'town, and by 1802 the town reported ten salt works; its 11,404 feet capacity ranked sixth in the county. (By 1832, this would rise to fourth.) The town's 1802 description noted that because of the town's particular situation, the works yielded more salt than the same number in any other part of the county.

Testimony to Provincetown's maritime growth was the erection of lighthouses on Race Point in 1816 (NR, #35) and on Long Point a decade later (NR, #23). Along with the lighthouse on Long Point, a small fishing village was established convenient to the local mackerel and shad fishing.

Two windmills for grinding grain were also in operation, one of which was located on the site of the Monument.

E. Architecture

Residential: The town's earliest homes date from this period during which the area was established as a successful fishing community. As in other Cape communities, the majority of houses were story-and-a-half, gable roofed, double-pile houses. Nearly equal numbers survive of both four- and five-bay examples, with interior chimneys behind entries located in the third bay; ca. 20 survive of each. Three-bay examples are also known from about five examples. Later in the period, about five were constructed with extended stud height, primarily among four-bay examples. One five-bay example employs extended stud height and rare double interior chimneys. The town includes more two-story houses than commonly found in outer Cape towns, most constructed after 1800. Most numerous are center-chimney, five-bay examples with low hip roofs common to the period and known from about three examples. A single example each survives of three- and four-bay variations of this form, as well as a single five-bay example with end chimneys; all have hip roofs.

Institutional: No period institutional buildings survive. With the coming of Methodism, a small meetinghouse was constructed, one-story and 30x40 feet, in 1795. A second house was constructed in 1817 with a large bell tower and spire. The Congregationalists constructed their third house in 1793-96 and it was replaced in 1843. In 1797 the Masons built a lodge modelled on that in Wellfleet, but ten feet larger, with schoolrooms in the first floor. A home for the poor, also of unknown appearance, was built in 1806.

Economic: A 1792 description of the town listed the following: "ninety stores in which fish is deposited, five houses for the smoking of herring, four or five shops, twenty barns, and two windmills."

VIII. EARLY INDUSTRIAL PERIOD (1830-1870)

A. Transportation Routes

Some roadway improvements were made during the period. The County Road was established in 1835 and extended through town as 22-foot wide Commercial Street. A wood plank sidewalk was built along the sandy street through the village in 1838, with the aid of the Federal-State grant. A bridge was built over East Harbor in 1854. This was destroyed by a storm in 1856, and replaced the next year. Significant wharf construction occurred at the harbor, particularly during the first decades of the period. Union Wharf was built in 1831; Central Wharf in 1839. Several others were

established in the 1840s. Bailey's (later Steamboat) Wharf was constructed in 1863. Steam packet service to Boston via Plymouth was initiated in 1842, and was soon followed by direct service to Boston and several Cape Cod ports. Marine railways were built at Central Wharf in 1848; at Union Wharf in 1852. The Eastern Marine Railway opened in 1864.

B. Population

Provincetown's population continued her record-breaking growth. Her 126% rise in this period was 85 points above her nearest competitor, Dennis. Between 1830 and 1870, P'town's population more than doubled, rising from a rank of 10 to 2 in the number of residents in the county. Much of this increase was due to the port's success in the fishing industry, particularly during the Civil War and after, when many other towns were declining.

Provincetown also developed her diverse ethnic background in this period. Her 12.3% foreign-born population in 1855 was second only to Sandwich in the study unit. Of this number, 37.5% were from "British America" (predominantly maritime provinces?); 32.8 from Ireland; and 20% from Portugal. The 77 Portuguese residents were the only substantial number of that group in the county (though about half the number reported in Nantucket). The first Portuguese had signed on in the Azores and Cape Verde Islands to fill out the crews of American whaling vessels. A decade later, this group had more than tripled (237 Portuguese), making up nearly 40% of P'town's ethnic base, followed by British America (31.3%) and Ireland (20.2%).

The Methodists continued to prosper and dominate the religious life of the town. A subgroup rejected episcopal organization and formed a Wesleyan Methodist church ca. 1848. The Unitarian Society reorganized as the Christian Union (1833) and finally as Universalist (1847). A group of Congregationalists reorganized a society in 1841. By 1851, Roman Catholic masses were being celebrated, and a mission (of Harwich) formed in 1853-54.

The Odd Fellows organized in the town in 1845; and the Masons reorganized in 1869. Also in 1845 the town instituted a lockup. In 1853 a a high school was organized. The Sons of Temperance formed a library in 1863.

C. Settlement Pattern

Linear development continued to extend along Commercial Street through the period, with clusters of merchant homes, warehouses, and stores at the many wharves that jutted into the bay. Maritime shops and industries also located near the water. By period's end, the village of tightly packed houses lined over two miles of the shore, and residential development extended inland on several streets, including Pearl and Alden Street east of High Pole Hill, and Prince, Carver, Court, Pleasant, Franklin, and Mechanic Street to the west. Business activity concentrated along Commercial Street between Union Wharf and Steamboat Wharf, with hotels, banks, insurance offices, grocers, dry goods dealers, and the customs office. By ca. 1860, at least thirty wharves had been

built along the shore, including Union (1831), Freeman's (1836), Central (1839), Hillard's (1850), and Bowley's (1863).

Civic development included three dispersed schoolhouses built in 1844, a jail built in 1845 on Winthrop Place near the First Cemetery, an almshouse on Alden Street near the Old Cemetery, and a town house (1851) on High Pole Hill, northwest of Commercial Street. A new Masonic Hall was built on Commercial Street in 1870. Church building continued through the period. In 1833, the Universalist Society took over the Union Meetinghouse in the west side of town. Here they remained until 1847, when they built a new church north of Commercial Street between Winslow and Carver. Meanwhile, a new Congregational Society had built an edifice nearby, east of Winslow Street, in 1843. The Methodist Society split in 1847, and the center group built a new church that year in front of High Pole Hill (Bradford Street), while the West End group established Wesleyan Chapel in the old Universalist Church. A new Center Methodist Church was built on Commercial Street at Center Street in 1860, and the Wesleyan Chapel group built a new Centenary Church six years later, also on Commercial Street, but to the west near Atlantic Avenue.

In 1870, then, the town hall stood on its hilltop site, while the local churches were all located along the Commercial Street axis, except for the Catholic Society (1853) which continued to meet in the Wesleyan Academy building on Bradford Street. Interspersed among the buildings along the Commercial Street boardwalk were fishflakes, but most of the saltworks had stopped operating. Little development had occurred outside the village. The small fishing hamlet that had been established at Long Point persisted for several decades, but by 1860 it had been abandoned and the houses moved elsewhere. A smaller cluster remained at Wood End in the west.

D. Economic Base

Provincetown continued to rely on the fisheries for virtually all her income. In 1832, of the "470 polls, 300 are constantly employed in the coasting trade or fisheries and one half of the remaining, 170, are employed several months in each year in boat fishing." By 1850 the fisheries had made Provincetwon the richest town in the state per capita. Wharf construction was a major part of the growth of the fisheries. Thomas Lothrop (1800-1881) is credited with building the first wharf in Provincetown in 1826 (the same year he built the Union House), and its new pile construction sparked a wave of pier construction responsible for dozens of wharves in the next three decades.

Of the fishermen, much the largest number were employed in the cod and mackerel fishery. Ninety-eight boats and 1078 men were reported in 1837. The cod returned that year was valued at $154,200 and the mackerel at $126,000. The number of men was more than double that of the next highest town (Truro) and amounted to nearly a third of the entire fishery employment in the study unit. Cod and mackerel fishing remained dominant in P'town, though other Cape towns took up the industry following her success. Not until the Civil War census of 1865 did P'town report higher figures

[than those of 1837], when 1260 men went to sea in 105 boats, returning with cod valued at $566,264. The Civil War brought a new maritime technology into play. The demand for fish created "flush times" and the new and larger vessels often had steel hulls and larger crews. (Jennings, p. 99)

In the 1840s, Provincetown became a major whaling port, but Provincetown's role in the whaling industry was very different than the industry's other ports. The vessels were small, mostly schooners or brigs, and with few exceptions under 200 tons. And the whaling grounds were almost always in the Atlantic, allowing a return to P'town the same year. In the 1830s, James Smalley's brig Imogene made almost yearly 8-month voyages, occassionally joined by other schooners. The first major increase in the number of whaling vessels occurred in 1842 when suddenly 5 schooners, 4 brigs, 2 barks, and the ship Carter Braxton left port for the Atlantic grounds. (The Carter Braxton was owned by Joseph Atkins (1765-1851), who had built the Central Wharf three years before.) The first Provincetown whaler to enter the Indian Ocean was Abraham Small's 186-ton bark Fairy in 1843, but it was not until 1855 that twomore ventured that far. In 1856 three new barks (all three above 200 tons for the first time) also sailed for the Indian Ocean. But for a schooner in 1868, however, the Atlantic remained the home grounds to most. The first and only vessel to sail into the Pacific -- the dominant whaling ground for Nantucket, the Vineyard, Falmouth, and New Bedford -- was the schooner Mary E. Nason in 1868. In 1845, as many as 26 ships and 520 men were reported on whaling voyages -- then one of only five towns in the study unit reporting this activity, and second only to Nantucket's 77 ships and 1900 men. In 1860, with 26 vessels, Provincetown passed Nantucket; in 1862 she passed New London; and in passing Fairhaven in 1863, Provincetown became the second largest whaling port in the U.S. following New Bedford. Provincetown reached her peak year in the year 1869, with 54 whaling vessels registered, though virtually all were schooners. Probably the last vessels to be built in the study unit were constructed by Maine native John G. Whitcomb (1834-1901), who between 1865 and 1873 constructed six schooners.

Many of those who didn't fish (often those retired from the sea) tended the salt works. In 1831, Provincetown had nearly 148,000 feet of saltworks, fourth largest quantity in the county. Among the eight largest operators in the county were Jonathan Nickerson and Joseph Atkins. In 1837 Provincetown reached the peak of the business supplying the fishing fleet. Its 78 sets of works were second only to Dennis, but its employment, 156 men, was the highest in the study unit. Its output, 48,960 bushels, was third after Yarmouth and Dennis. The removal of the bounty and protective duty killed the business in P'town more quickly than almost anywhere else. By 1855 only five works were left, manned by two men.

E. Architecture

Residential: The largest number of surviving houses date from this period. Story-and-a-half gable roofed, double-pile houses with extended stud height remain popular; about 17 examples of five bays survive, about seven of four bays, one of three bays. Small numbers of two-story, double-pile houses continued to be

constructed, in three- , four- , and primarily five-bay, double

interior chimney, center entry versions; the latter group includes some of the town's most heavily ornamented Greek Revival houses, incorporating pilasters and wide cornice boards.

During this period the gable front house types were introduced, and as a group constitute the most common surviving structure. The most common of these types is a story and a half in height, three bays in width, with entry into a side bay, and interior chimney; about 40 of these survive. The town holds a number of significant related houses of four bays (about six examples), five bays (about four), and some three-bay examples with the appearance of two tiers of rooms beneath the gable roof. An additional 35 examples are a full two-and-a-half stories in height, with over 20 in the three-bay form. Several (about ten) of the type include a lateral ell to form an L-shaped plan. The majority of these are ornamented with simple Greek cornices, pilasters, and door surrounds. Isolated examples of more elaborate stylistic modifications include single- and double-story porticoes, occasionally over porches under the primary roof form. Later in the period, these house types were built with Italianate ornament at doors and bracketed cornices; about ten are two-and-a-half stories in height; about five are story-and-a-half.

In about 1850, houses were moved off Long Point.

Institutional: The town's religious denominations actively expanded and rebuilt during this period. The Unitarian Society built a house in 1829-30; it was renamed Christian Union until 1847 when it was sold to the Wesleyan Methodists. That same year the group became avowedly Universalist and built their meetinghouse; it is a gable front structure with a square tower in three stages and four pilasters on its facade; its interior trompe l'oeil is exceptional. The Congregationalists built their fourth church in 1843, remodelled in 1873; it is gable front in form with bracketed ornament.

The Methodists built a meetinghouse of unknown appearance in 1847; it was replaced in 1860 by the Center Methodist Episcopal Church, now the Heritage Museum. The gable front form employs a deep projecting entry portico and two-tiered octagonal tower; the ornament is a Renaissance Revival vocabulary employing round headed windows, tiers of arcades in the portico, and tower. In 1865 the Wesleyan Methodists also rebuilt, but the appearance of the Centenary Church is unknown.

The town constructed a town house in 1851, 2 1/2 stories in height, gable front, with four Ionic columns surmounted by a square and octagon clock tower; this burned in 1877. Masons constructed a two-story mansard hall in 1870. The school of 1844 on Commercial Street is a two-story structure with square tower and center entry into the gable end.

Commercial: Gable front shops with retain space and storage/residential space in the garret and story about survive on Commercial STreet. The Seaman's Savings Bank (1851) is a 2 1/2-story gable front structure with center entry.

Transportation: The Bradford Bilford Hotel of 1858 is an L-plan three-story gable roofed structure.

IX. LATE INDUSTRIAL PERIOD (1870-1915)

A. Transportation Routes

The Cape Cod Branch of the Old Colony Railroad finally extended service to Provincetown in 1873, and the line was extended to Railroad Wharf in the central part of town. The same year, Bradford Street, running parallel to Commercial Street one block inland, was opened. In 1877, the bridge over East Harbor was discarded, and a solid roadway was built.

B. Population

Provincetown was one of the only towns in the study unit to show any net gain at all in population (the others being Barnstable and Falmouth). Between 1870 and 1915, the town grew by 11%, reaching 4295 in the latter year. The town's all-time peak population was reached in the census year of 1890 when, with 4,642 persons, P'town was the largest town in the study unit. (For most of the period, P'town ranked second behind Barnstable.) The largest part of this growth was in the five year period 1870-1875.

The increase in the number of Portuguese-born residents was responsible for much of this growth. Between 1875, when native Portuguese made up 13.5% of the population, and 1905, when they made 23%, the Portuguese were much the largest single ethnic group in the study unit. By the 1890s, when Wadlin descibed the decline of the fishing industry on the Cape, ethnicity was closely related to the nature of the fishery a man engaged in. The Portuguese supplyed fresh fish to Boston markets, while the cod fishermen fishing off the banks were largely from Nova Scotia. The men of the whale and mackerel fisheries, and the shore fishermen were mostly native born (Wadlin, p. 57).

Over the period, Provincetown had a moderate gain of 11% in the population. In 1875, its foreign-born population of 23% was the largest concentration in the region. The Portuguese-speaking made up the largest immigrant group, with 59% of the town's foreign-born. Canadians made up 20%, and Irish made up 9%. By 1905, the foreign-born proportion had grown to 28%, still the highest in the study unit. Portuguese-speaking immigrants were by far the largest group, making up 81% of the foreign-born total. Nova Scotians comprised 10% of the town's immigrants. The number of employment opportunities in 1905 were not much greater than that in 1875. Fishing, however, became an even more widespread occupation, growing from 37% to 47% of the male employment force. While 29% of working males were classified as mariners in 1875, only 15% were employed in transportation in 1905. Employment in mechanics and manufacturing also declined, from 14% to 10%.

St. Peter's Church was built in 1874 to serve the town's large Roman Catholic population. Numerous voluntary associations were formed in the 1880s, including the Knights of Honor, the Daughters of Rebecca, the Order of the Iron Hall, Royal Arcanum, the Royal

Society of Good Fellows, and a Women's Christian Temperance Union. Mutual benefit societies were also organized, including the Seamen's Relief Society, Provincetown Mutual Benefit Society, Firemen's Mutual Life Insurance Association, and St. Peter's Aid Society.

The last decades of the 19th century saw a rise in the numbers of seasonal resort visitors. The pictureque setting of the fishing village and the remarkable quality of the area's light soon attracted a summer artist contingent. In 1899, the Cape Cod School of Art was founded by Charles Hawthorne, and by period's end, five summer art schools were in operation and attracting numbers of students. The Provincetown Art Association was formed in 1914. The next year the organization had 147 members. By the end of the period the artists had been joined by a group of literary and political bohemians. Poets, novelists, journalists, socialists, radicals, critics, and dilletantes congregated to form a small antiestablishment summer colony. This group formed the Provincetown Players Theater in 1915, located in a converted fish house on one of the town's wharves.

C. Settlement Pattern

Settlement expansion continued through the first two decades of the period, stimulated by growth in the fishing industry and the coming of the railroad in 1873. Development after the population peak of ca. 1890 was oriented increasingly toward the growing summer resort industry, although maritime activity continued to have an impact on the local landscape.

Growth along the Commercial Street waterfront continued, and at the peak of ship traffic, 54 different piers extended into the bay. After the arrival of rail service in 1873, the local business focus shifted eastward to the Old Colony Wharf (now MacMillan Wharf), with the passenger station to the north of Bradford Street at Standish, and car and engine house facilities to the northeast adjacent to the cemetery. The new public library was located on Commercial Street a block to the east of the new railroad focus in 1874. When the town hall/high school burned in 1877, a high school (1880) was rebuilt on the highland to the west of the old site, but a monumental town hall was relocated to Commercial Street at Ryder Street, at the newly emerging commercial center. In contrast, the Catholic Community in 1874 built its new edifice, Saint Peter's, on a relatively peripheral site on Prince Street near the First Cemetery.

By the 1880s, continuous development extended along Commercial Street for three miles. Intensive residential growth between Commercial and Bradford Street reached east to Dyer, and had pushed north of Bradford on Pearl and Conwell to the railroad corridor. West of the railroad development extended north of Bradford toward the cemeteries, as well as along Race road, and a concentration of Azorean and Cape Verdean fishing families had developed in the town's West End. Little new development took place outside the bay shore, but small clusters existed at Race Point Light, Long Point Light, and Wood Point Light (1872).

Settlement expansion slowed after 1890. New cold storage fish plants were built along the shore, and by period's end, six of these were operating in town. The waterfront declined, however, and half of the town's long-wharves were swept away by the Portland Gale of 1898. The growing local orientation toward tourism and the local historic environment was symbolized by the successful promotion of a monumental commemorative tower at the onset of the 20th century. In 1907 construction began on the Pilgrim Monument on High Pole Hill, and in 1910 the tower was dedicated. By the 1890s, the railroad had been bringing increasing numbers of summer resort seekers, and by the beginning of the 20th century, a small summer artist colony had also developed in the town's East End. By period's end, Day's Lumberyard on Pearl Street had opened rental artist lofts for the growing artist population, and the concentration of students at the summer painting schools had been joined by a bohemian literary contingent that also located in this area in the summer months.

D. Economic Base

In 1875, Provincetown reported 251 coastwise and 36 ocean vessels in service -- both figures exceeding every other community in the state including Boston. The railroad came to Provincetown at a fortuitous moment, coincident with the early development of the fresh-fish demand from the west and other places no longer content with dried cod. The Portuguese were the first to attempt the fresh fish industry, during the off-season when they were home from the Grand Banks. (The Portuguese reached Provincetown during the years 1885-90, when the Grand Banks fishery was at its lowest ebb as regards the number of vessels engaged and catch per craft, and failing to find places awaiting them on salt cod fishing vessels as their predecessors had in former years, they took the work that offered-- fresh fishing. [Yarmouth Register 8/31/1895: 2]) Ice harvests were begun in Provincetown about 1870, but the business expanded rapidly in concert with rail shipments. Between 1870 and 1890, all types of fishing boomed in Provincetown: the cod fishery was second only to Gloucester as large schooners brought home from the banks as much as 3500 quintals of salt cod from hand-line dories; there was also a large fleet of mackerel catchers; a considerable number of fishermen took fresh fish to market; and a numerous fleet of small boats engaged in shore fisheries. The town was full of bustle, Wadlin wrote in 1897, with ship carpenters, calkers, painters, riggers, sail makers, blacksmiths, three marine railways, and a large number of fitting stores.

The depression of the early 1890s, however, brought ruin to many of the fishing firms, while the low price of oil ruined the whaling industry. The Banks' cod fishery suffered severly from the low price of Nova Scotia cod which P'town men could not match. "For the past few years," Wadlin wrote, "the fisheries have decayed very rapidly, owing to small fares and inadequate cash returns. This has brought the vessels in debt, pushing the fishing firms into bankruptcy, and resulting in the sale of the fishing craft and their removal from the town." Between 1885 and 1895, the number of schooners in Provincetown fell from 114 to 47. Adding to the industry's woes was the Portland Gale of 1898,

which swept away nearly half of the town's nearly fifty wharves. In 1900 650 fishermen manned 62 vessels. Of these, only six went salt-banking to the Grand Bank, while the rest fished on Georges Bank and other nearby grounds. By the end of the period, in 1914, there were only fifteen vessels over 35 tons, 14 of them schooners.

At the same time, local fisheries picked up, and the number of weirs jumped from 5 to 13, to which mackerel fishermen attributed the disappearance of that fish. Weirs caught large numbers of bait fish, as well as mackerel, cod, whiting, pollock, and other fish. The trap fishermen were generally paid by the local cold storage plants to tend the weirs and traps. The first cold storage freezer on the Cape, made possible by the introduction the year before of the first ammonia freezers in the U.S., was constructed in 1892 by D. F. Small, who formed the Provincetown Cold Storage Company. Two more cold storage companies were organized in 1900 and 1907.

When the Provincetown schooners were laid up for the winter, German noted, her fishermen spent the off season setting trawls from the recently introduced power dories, prepared fish weirs or traps, or dragged for flounder with beam trawls. The number of trawls in use climbed from 27 in 1898 to 126 in 1908. By 1910 most of the beam trawls had been replaced by the new otter trawls, first introduced by a Boston steam vessel in 1905.

Despite the decline in the number of cod and mackerel schooners, the value of fish taken in 1915, $679,544, exceeded every other community in Massachusetts except Gloucester and Boston. In the study unit, its next nearest rival was Barnstable. In cod, mackerel, flounder, haddock, and herring, no other community in the study unit came close to approaching the figures reported by the Provincetown fishing fleet.

Whaling continued throughout the period. Until surpassed by San Francisco in 1884, Provincetown was the second largest whaling port in the country after New Bedford. As late as 1899, the town still had 10 whalers registered and 8 in 1906.

Other related industries of the period included two factories for fish canning, cordage, and carriages, as well as 17 ship and boat building establishments. Nickerson's Whale and Menhadden Oil Works, a fertilizer company established on Herring Cove in 1886, was said to be one of the most perfect plants of its kind on the coast. One of the only non-maritime industries was the Puritan Shirt Company (1886-1896), a branch of the Leominster Shirt Company. About 1890, the company employed 100-200 women. (The Nickerson family appears to have been connected with the firm at various times, and the company's presence in Provincetown may have been due to their influence.) A shoe factory, the Provincetown Boot & Shoe Co., which ran for a year or so "proved a complete and disastrous failure."

E. Architecture

Residential: As the resident population total stabilized, the number of new structures declined. Smaller numbers were built, however, in an increasing number of stylistic motifs, and a wider range of house types. Most numerous were story-and-a-half, three-bay mansard roof houses, a continuation of the most common gable roof type in size; both four- and five-bay examples are known, as are side and center entries. Larger 2 1/2 story examples employ towers at their center entries. The Queen Anne style houses in the town are 2 1/2 stories in height with corner towers, porches, bay windows, and facade gables or dormers. Shingle Style houses, too, are 2 1/2 stories in height and employ large gambrel roofs or multiple dormers in their gable roofs and full porches; one example resembling an Oak Bluffs large campground house is known. Smaller and plainer houses, said to have been built by/for the Portuguese (?) are story-and-a-half, gable roof houses, with entry into one end of the four-bay facade and a small kitchen annex at the house's opposite end.

Institutional: During this period, the shift from ecclesiastical to secular institutions' activities became complete. Only one church, St. Peter the Apostle, was constructed, in 1874; the simple gable front structure is a single story in height with a square belfry surmounted by an ogee dome, small porch over the entry, as well as a rose window, and round heads on all windows. The town replaced its burned town house in 1877; it is a large 2 1/2-story gable roofed structure with projecting pedimented entry extending the full height; it is ornamented by many paired pilasters and a central clock tower whose brown color may reflect the original. The town library is housed in a three-bay, three-story, center entry mansard structure. The town's surviving 1880 fire stations are unique in the region; gable front in form, they are 2 1/2 stories in height with a first floor wide door to accommodate a single engine, a side entry to the second and attic storage areas, with cupolas for hose drying. Five survive, the center example the most elaborate and well preserved. The Odd Fellows constructed a large 2 1/2-story gable front structure in 1880 with ornamental shingles and stickwork trim.

Commercial: Period shops were housed in gable front structures with large windows into retail space and a garret, or full floor and garret above for storage and/or residence. Similarly, the 1892 bank is 2 1/2 stories in height, fully windowed on the first floor with bracketed center entry and cornice. The 1873 depot, single-story and gable roofed, has been altered.

X. EARLY MODERN PERIOD (1915-1940)

A. Transportation Routes

At the start of the period, local roads remained unpaved. By the mid-1920s, however, U.S. Route 6 (now 6A) was extended into town from Truro to the east, and followed Commercial Street into the town center. By the mid 1930s, Bradford Street was also improved and a scenic paved route looped through the Provincelands Reservation, with a branch to Race Point (Province Land Road-Race

Point Road). By the early 1930s, air service was provided by the Provincetown Airport, with a landing strip south of the Race Point Coast Guard Station.

B. Population

Provincetown, unlike most of the towns in Barnstable County, lost population between 1915 and 1940, declining from 4295 to 3668 between the two dates. The only discrepancy from this pattern occurred in the five-year Depression period 1930-35, when the town grew at an average rate of 52.6 persons per year -- a rate not seen since the boom period of the Panic of 1872. (When all else fails, catch fish for a living!)

The immigration acts of 1921 and 1924 sharply curtailed the influx of native Portuguese, and by 1940 the number of foreign-born residents in Provincetown (not broken down ethnically) was half that at the beginning of the period. Nevertheless, the percentage of foreign-born in P'town, 15.1%, was still the highest in the study unit, but for Oak Bluffs' 15.3%.

Provincetown had a resident population loss oof 15% during the period, in contrast to the study unit gain of 26%. In 1915, the town's 27% foreign-born remained the largest concentration of immigrants in the study unit. The foreign-born population remained overwhelmingly Portuguese-speaking (83%). Canadians made up an additional 11%. By 1940, the foreign-born population had declined to 15%, still, however, the highest in the region. Employment opportunities remained about the same in 1915, with 41% of the male workforce employed in the fisheries. Mechanics and manufacturers made up 16%, and; 18% of the town's males were engaged in trade, the highest proportion in the study unit.

Provincetown continued to attract summer visitors, and the seasonal and permanent artistic and literary community continued to grow, as Europeans and returning expatriate Americans joined the ranks of the bohemian colony. For this group, the Beachcombers Club (1916) and the Sixes and Sevens Coffeehouse (1920) were established as nocturnal gathering places. By period's end, the town had become the focus of art and literary production of international repute.

C. Settlement Pattern

The continued increase in summer tourists through the period stimulated new construction of seasonal resort residences--primarily cottages--at the edges of the village area. In the east, development extended along Commercial Street to the Bradford Street intersection. At the town's eastern border, cottage development was initiated at Mayflower Heights. New residences were scattered in the area north of Bradford, with a new concentration in the Race Road area. New houses were also built in the West End in the Tremont Street area and at the western extreme of Commercial Street. Some institutional additions were made, including a ca. 1930 post office building on Commercial Street, a new high school (1933) and St. Mary of the Harbor Episcopal Church (1936) in the East End. New rental artist

studios were built in 1923 on Brewster Street. More significantly, the artist and bohemian communities initiated a process of building reuse, marked in 1916 by the opening of both the Beachcombers Club and the Lewis Wharf Provincetown Playhouse in converted fish houses, and the period saw continued alteration of warehouses, sail lofts, and barns into studios, galleries, and resort-oriented shops.

D. Economic Base

Provincetown's industrial activity was largely confined to those industries collateral to the fishing trade: a cannery, cod-liver oil plant, and by 1922, seven fish freezers, thought to be more than any other town in the United States (Millett, p.47).

The growth of the fish freezers reflects a basic change in the Provincetown fishing industry, the last to maintain a large fleet engaged in salt cod fishing on the distant banks of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. Millett (1922) reports that by his time, the cod fleets had shifted to Boston, where the fleet could market their catch fresh. Flounder became one of the chief products of the Provincetown fleet, about 87% of which was shipped to the New York market; the rest to Boston. The freezers were filled principally with herring, whiting, squid, and mackerel, largely caught from traps and weirs.

E. Architecture

Residential: New buildings continued to be rare during this period. Some gambrel roofed, Shingle Style houses, as well as Dutch Colonials, were constructed. Five-bay, 2 1/2-story, Georgian Revival houses were also built. Two-and-a-half-story, pyramidal roof houses of three and five bays were built, although larger numbers are known of the smaller, bungalow version of this type. Most common during the period was the rehabilitation and modification of existing housing, as well as many wharf structures, for new residents.

Institutional: The Episcopal church, St. Mary of the Harbor, was built from a former salt house between 1919 and 1936; the gable roofed, long, low structure has its entry at one end of the long side, a bell tower at the opposite end; the chancel was once the Sand Bar Club.

Theatres: A number of buildings in the town were once theatres, or were reused as theatres, including a chandlery; some built exclusively for assemblies include the 1919 triumphal arch facade brick theatre, and a Classical/Beaux Art example, both on Commercial Street.

Commercial/Maritime: Reuse of these structures during this period has resulted in a large number of surviving waterfront structures now serving as shops, restaurants, etc.

XI. SURVEY OBSERVATIONS

While this inventory includes many of the town's structures, it has several problems that make it difficult to use: there appears to be duplication of structures, and the information on the structures is meager and confusing. This town's building stock continues to undergo use changes, repair, expansion, etc. that requires close monitoring of the resources. Accurate identification and analysis of the buildings may require professional assistance due to these changes.

The existing survey is inadequate to determine 19th-century economic uses of most of Provincetown's historic structures. Noteable work, however, has been done by George Bryant in the area of his own grocery store (467 Commercial Street). This area included the site of John Whitcomb's shipyard, the Eastern Marine Railway, and at least three wharves. In this area remain fish houses and a sail loft (both from the 1840s), a blacksmith shop (still a small foundry), and several other buildings. If the survival rate is this good in a locality where some work has been done, what must it be like in the other parts of town?

Particularly noteable among survivals is the unusual five-story brick and concrete cold-storage facility from c.1900, when most similar facilities (there were seven others in P-town alone) were built of wood. It has recently become the "Ice House Condominiums."

The oldest wharf in town appears to be the deteriorating structure west of MacMillan Wharf. In its deterioration, some elements of early wharf technology are visible. In this example, 15 stringers rest directly on 15 rows of piles, marching out into the harbor. Piles were originally fitted with wooden tenons. One of the piles with such a tenon is still in place next to its replacement. Piles were later fastened to stringers using wrought-iron pins, perhaps 1-1.5 inches diameter.

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