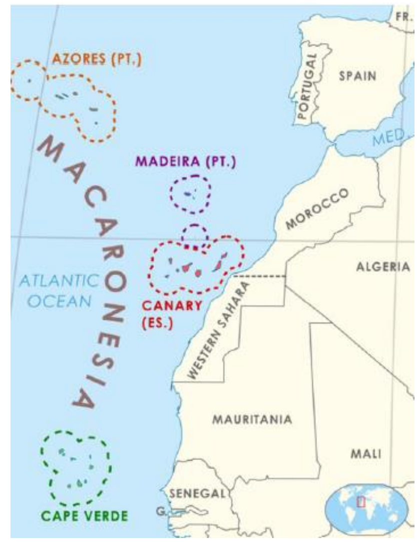
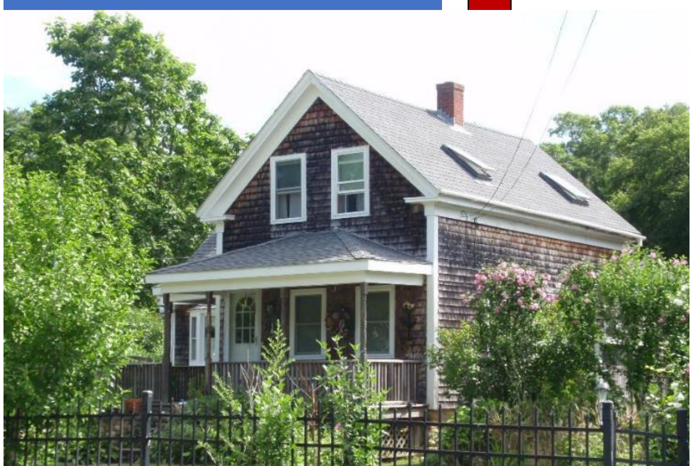
MARION'S PORTUGUESE, AZOREAN AND CAPE VERDEAN COMMUNITY

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH REPORT





Prepared by: Claire Dempsey, April, 2022

INTRODUCTION

The Marion Historical Commission is pleased to present this report on the history of Marion's Portuguese, Azorean and Cape Verdean Community. It was prepared by historical consultant Claire Dempsey during 2020-2022. The report reflects the consultant's research of primary source materials and historic records, as well as several oral history interviews conducted by members of the Sippican Historical Society. Any inaccuracies are solely the responsibility of the consultant and were unintentional.

The results of the study are the first major exploration and formal documentation of the history of Marion's Portuguese, Azorean and Cape Verdean population.

We view this report as a *starting point* for a larger conversation on the history of these important community groups. We are confident that more knowledge will become available from additional personal recollections and historic photographs and from review of other materials in private collections.

We are grateful to the Massachusetts Historical Commission and to the Marion Community Preservation Committee for awarding us funds for this purpose. We look forward to continuation of this effort to gather knowledge on this important aspect of Marion's history.

Marion Historical Commission
Members: Meg Steinberg, Chair; Sidney Bowen, Bryan McSweeny, William N. Tifft, Jane Tucker

October, 2022

Acknowledgement of Federal Assistance:

The activity that is the subject of this report has been financed in part with Federal funds from the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, through the Massachusetts Historical Commission, Secretary of the Commonwealth William Francis Galvin, Chairman. However, the contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of the Interior, or the Massachusetts Historical Commission, nor does mention of trade names or commercial products constitute endorsement or recommendation by the Department of the Interior or the Massachusetts Historical Commission.

Marion's Portuguese, Azorean, and Cape Verdean Community: Preliminary Research
Claire W Dempsey, 2022

Introduction

Like many communities in Southeastern Massachusetts, Marion has a significant number of residents who identify their ancestry as Portuguese, as well as a large number of residents who identify specifically as Cape Verdean. In earlier efforts to survey Marion's cultural resources, this community was largely ignored. But the *Survey Plan* of 2020 drew attention to this overlooked community and recommended that research focusing there be a high priority for the Marion Historical Commission. This report summarizes two phases of research on that community in Marion in 2020 and 2021, designed to serve as background for an examination of the buildings and landscapes associated with them, undertaken with support from the Massachusetts Historical Commission and from the Marion Historical Commission. See also the Summary Report for this project and the Massachusetts Historical Commission Building and Area forms prepared for it.

Research began with a review of scholarly research on the Portuguese American experience, and then sought local sources to illuminate the contours of local experience. Of particular importance was the US Census of Population manuscript schedules, which provided basic demographic information about these households, including age, gender, household composition and size, and especially information about place of birth and race. Marion's Portuguese community arrived at the end of the 19th century and grew steadily over the decades of the 20th. Initially, Marion's Portuguese residents came from the Azores, but eventually Cape Verdeans dominated and made up the majority of the town's non-white population. Marion's earliest Portuguese residents were largely single males working in a variety of positions subsumed under the title "laborer," but soon they were joined by women and children and purchased land and dwellings. Two Portuguese neighborhoods emerged in the first decades of the 20th century, including upper Mill Street or Gifford's Corner, with both Azoreans and Cape Verdeans in residence, and Point Road at Hamblin's Corner, primarily Cape Verdean. The Point Road community continued to grow into a large Cape Verdean neighborhood, extending along Wareham Street and Creek Road and including meeting places as well as dwellings. The story of the Point Road School revealed the racial tensions that underlay community relationships at a time when pseudo-scientific racial hierarchies held sway. Indeed, throughout this research, the question of race was critical, as some Portuguese, Cape Verdeans especially, are of European and African descent, complicating their identity in official records and in the community.

The report is presented in seven parts:

A note on terminology:

In part because Portugal claimed a global empire, the term "Portuguese" as a designation of national origin or of ethnicity can be confusing to modern American readers. Most of the "Portuguese" who came to the United States came not from the Iberian peninsula, but rather from Portugal's Atlantic colonies of Macaronesia, the archipelagoes off the coast of Portugal and northwest Africa. The islands of the Azores and Cape Verde sent forth the largest number of immigrants, and these immigrants were often officially identified as Portuguese, their nation of allegiance, in census records in particular, wherever they were born or resided before they came to the US. Later they might be identified as from the Atlantic or Western Islands of Portugal rather than from a particular archipelago, before eventually being identified as from the Azores or Cape Verde. It is also notable that an individual might identify her origin as far more local than these governmental designations, commonly noting their island or village.

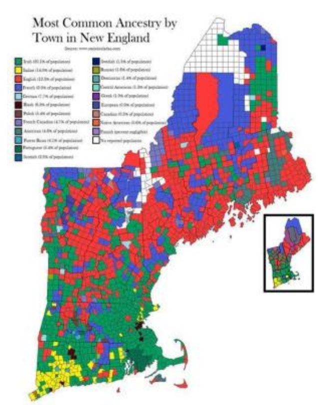
Popular early 20th century racial taxonomies meant that Portuguese immigrants were identified by their race, nationality, and color in public records, sources which were not consistent in their terminology over time or for the same individual. They also may not correspond to an individual's self-identification, which was less likely to be based in the black/white dichotomy of the US and more likely to emphasize village and island origin rather than nation. Broadly speaking and particularly in more informal contexts, Azoreans were usually identified as white and the group most commonly indicated by the general term Portuguese. By contrast, those from Cape Verde were designated as Black or Negro, might also be known as Black Portuguese or Bravas, and were regularly distinguished from the general Portuguese immigrant community.

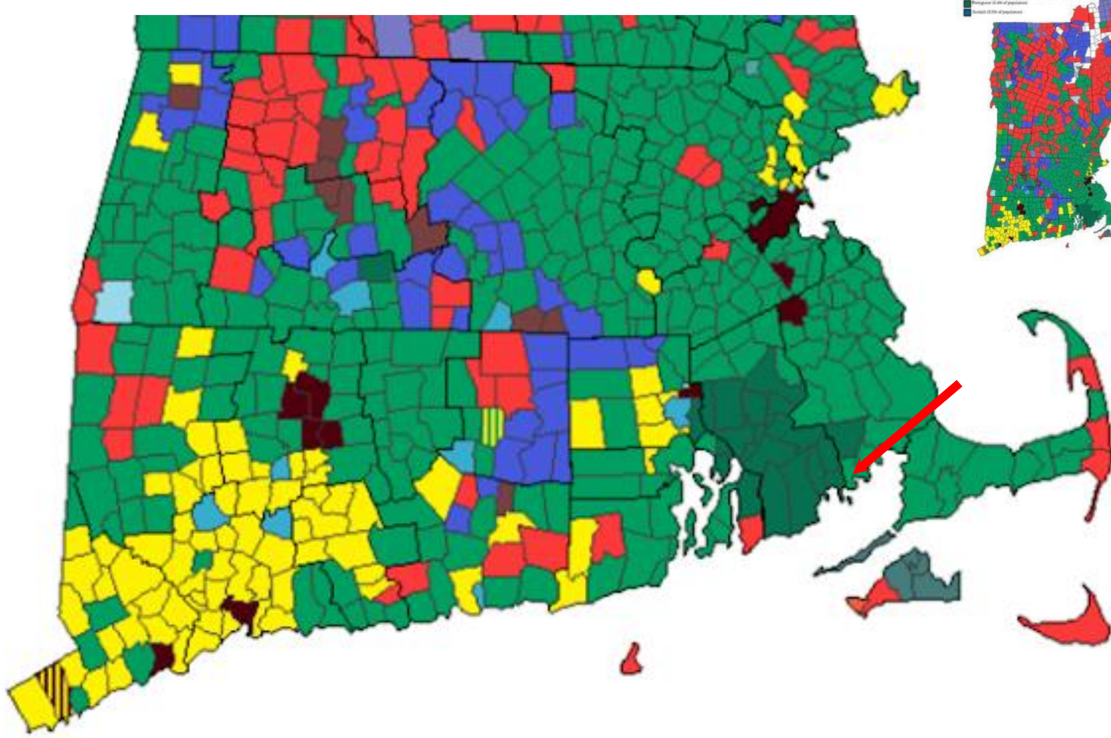
For the purposes of this report, the term Portuguese will be used more generally to refer to individuals from Portugal and its island colonies, as that is often the only information available. Where more specific identification of place of origin is available, it will be noted. Although race is well known to be a cultural construct rather than a biological fact, that term and related terms will not usually be presented in quotations as that practice can be cumbersome to the reader. When references to race and color in an original source require clarification, they will be noted in quotation marks.

Portuguese, Azorean, and Cape Verdean Immigration to Massachusetts

Southern New England is well known as home to some of the largest Portuguese communities in the United States. The largest percentages of individuals in the US reporting Portuguese ancestry reside in Rhode Island (9.1%) and Massachusetts (4.1%) and, of the states known for the largest number of residents who claim Portuguese ancestry, Massachusetts ranks second, below only California. Small numbers made their way to Massachusetts from Portugal and its colonies in the colonial and early national eras, but the major waves of immigration to the region came at the turn of the 20th century and again in the late 20th century. These newcomers came not from continental Portugal but rather from the Atlantic Island colonies, primarily from the Azores, now an Autonomous Region of Portugal, as well as from Cape Verde, now the independent Republic of Cabo Verde. Most Portuguese Americans in Massachusetts live in Bristol County, especially in Fall River and New Bedford, but many also live in smaller towns to the east like Marion. Interstate 195 has been described as the Portuguese American Interstate Highway, connecting these communities and extending east toward Cape Cod. [1]

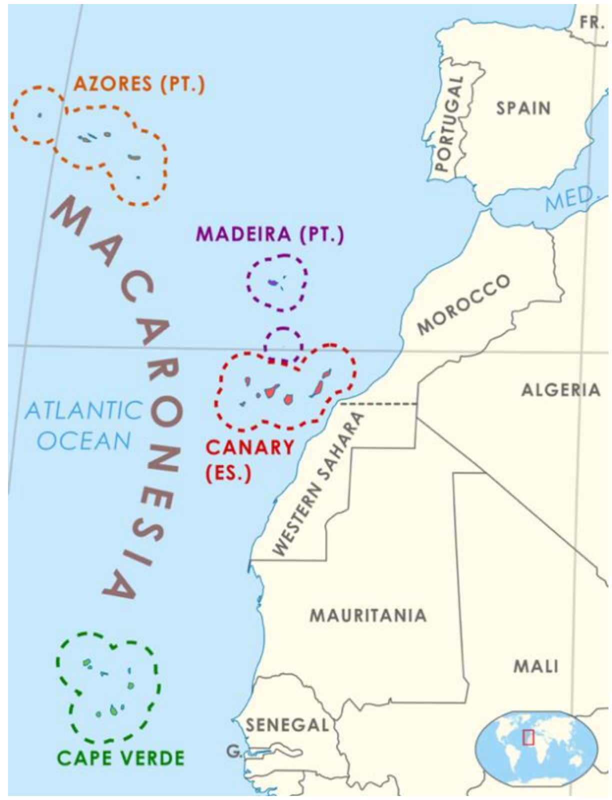
Common Ancestry in the vicinity of Marion, dark green is Portuguese, paler green is Irish, red is English, yellow is Italian, blue is French. Marion, indicated with an arrow, is noted as Irish. alternatehistory.com





[1] Key sources on the Portuguese in Southern New England include Leo Pap's overview *The Portuguese Americans* (1981), Marilyn Halter's work on Cape Verdeans, *Between Race and Ethnicity: Cape Verdean American Immigrants, 1860-1965* (1993), and geographer James W Fonseca's *Making History – Creating a Landscape: The Portuguese American Community of Southeastern New England* (2018). See also Kimberly DaCosta Holton and Andrea Klimt, eds, *Community, Culture and the Makings of Identity: Portuguese Americans Along the Eastern Seaboard* (2009).

Although some migrants to Massachusetts came from continental Portugal, far more came from its island colonies in Macaronesia in the Atlantic Ocean off the coast of the Iberian peninsula and West Africa.[2] This grouping includes four archipelagoes, the Azores at the north followed by Madeira, the Canary Islands (held by Spain), and the Cape Verde Islands at the south end. These islands were claimed and settled as part of Portugal's extraordinary period of exploration and colonization in the 15th and 16th centuries, which resulted in an empire whose largest colonies included Brazil, Angola, and Mozambique, but which also included port settlements across the globe. These islands were in a sense the jumping off point for many of these excursions and most are believed to have been unoccupied when the Portuguese arrived. The islands are volcanic in origin and their climate is mild, but efforts to develop profitable staple crops (sugar, grapes, citrus, for example) were sporadic and many were not successful. The islands often served as supply stations along the trade routes between Europe, Africa, and the Americas. But they were plagued by drought and famine, slavery and share cropping, as well as exploitative practices in taxation and conscription.



Wikipedia:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Macaronesia_location.svg

With their critical location and especially with the rise of whaling, ships regularly stopped at these island colonies and took on sailors who welcomed this opportunity, in spite of its drawbacks, because of the poor conditions they faced at home. Gradually the sailors settled in New England's ports, especially New Bedford, where there were an estimated 800 Portuguese after the Civil War. They would find employment in the maritime industries (merchant marine and longshoremen) and later in textile manufacturing and the garment trades. Transportation to the US came on increasingly regular routes served by Portuguese, British, and American lines, as well as on Cape Verde vessels that had been turned from whaling ships to passenger packets. The vast majority of the Portuguese who emigrated to the United States and to New England are believed to have been from the Azores, although both immigration and census records can make it challenging to identify specific origins. The number of Portuguese immigrants in Massachusetts as a whole increased significantly with each decade, from over 2,500 in 1870, over 8,000 in 1890, over 38,000 in 1910, and over 56,000 in 1920. By 1905, Portuguese communities of more than 7,000 could be found in Fall River and New Bedford, and over 1,000 in Taunton, Provincetown, Cambridge, and Boston. Over 200 were resident in Dukes, Nantucket, Plymouth, and Norfolk counties combined. The Portuguese were primarily Roman Catholic, and the growth of Portuguese churches paralleled the expanding population. National parishes or churches with Portuguese services were founded first in New Bedford (St. John the Baptist, 1871) and Fall River (Santo Christo, 1876), and these communities would eventually have nine more Portuguese churches. Other Portuguese churches in Southeastern Massachusetts could be found in Provincetown, East Falmouth,

[2] Continental Portuguese more commonly migrated to Brazil, those from the islands to the US.

Taunton, and Somerset.[3] Immigration by Portuguese dropped precipitously with the imposition of literacy requirements in 1917 and of the country quotas that restricted immigration in 1921 and 1924.

The Cape Verde Islands were distinct from the other Portuguese islands in a number of ways, most stemming from their location closest to Africa, with which they are often identified. In the 15th and 16th centuries, Portugal was the leading empire in the global slave trade and developed trade relations in western Africa. While all of the Islands included enslaved Africans in their workforce and resident population, Cape Verde was also a key link in the slave trade which was initially based there. Enslaved Africans worked on sugar and other plantations on the islands and were eventually sent across the Atlantic to work in Brazil and later in the Caribbean. Cape Verdeans of mixed Portuguese and African heritage were often employed as intermediaries between the continental Portuguese and their African colonies. With increased competition from other European empires in the West African region, the Portuguese investment in the islands diminished and conditions deteriorated; most of the residents of all of these islands were peasants engaged in agriculture. Because of this history and the continued importance of its position along the trade routes, the Cape Verde Islands had an exceptionally diverse population, with settlers from Portugal, from many West African ethnic groups, and from a number of other European countries as well. Cape Verde emerged as a multi-racial and mixed-race community, which distinguished the islands and their citizens from other Portuguese.

The Cape Verdean immigrant experience has been identified as the first voluntary mass migration from Africa to the United States. Cape Verdeans first came on whaling ships in the early 19th century, and their number increased significantly over the turn of the century. Halter's study of crew and passenger lists for ships arriving in New Bedford from Cape Verde allows for a general sense of the scale of this immigration and its character. Over 20,000 left between 1860 and 1935, most from the islands Brava and Fogo on locally owned packets. The earliest reports from the 1860s averaged 28 per year, 204 annually in the 1890s, and 896 annually between 1900 and 1921. She estimates that these New Bedford figures are likely to represent 85 to 90% of all Cape Verde immigrants to the US, and that Cape Verdeans represented 10 to 20% of the entire Portuguese migration. Like so many immigrant groups, those from Cape Verde were overwhelmingly male, over 83%. And even more than other groups, it appears that the Cape Verdeans did not plan to stay, and connections to the islands remain strong today with many moving back and forth. Cape Verdeans remain more concentrated in southern New England than in any part of the United States.[4] Marion saw groups of Portuguese immigrants as early as 1880, at first including immigrants from both the Azores and Cape Verde; after 1910, the Cape Verdeans were most numerous.

It is also worth noting that Azoreans and Cape Verdeans came to the US at a time when racial hierarchies were an active and widespread part of academic and popular culture. To the formerly dichotomous emphasis on black and white were added elaborate taxonomies of the peoples of Europe, based on color, nationality, customs, aptitudes, known collectively as "race." These groups were "scientifically" arranged to place southern and eastern Europeans in positions below the various northern European groups, and these relative positions were well known and widely accepted as true. Many of the period sources that describe Portuguese immigrants and immigration were steeped in this rhetoric, and the terminology of official documents and public media often reflected these views.

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[3] See Fonseca, *Making History*, Table 6: Portuguese Churches Founded in Southern New England, pp 81-82.
[4] Halter, Chapter 1, "Becoming Visible: A Demographic Profile, *Between Race and Ethnicity* (1993). Of the estimated 265,000 Cape Verdean immigrants and their descendants in the US, about 53,000 reside in Massachusetts alone. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cape_Verdean_Americans#cite_note-16.

Widespread discussion and popular literature suggested that these groups were inferior and therefore less desirable to the nation as immigrants, as employees, as neighbors. Although there are few explicit examples of this attitude in Marion sources, it would be a mistake to assume that the Azoreans and Cape Verdeans did not experience the ill effects of these prejudices.

The cultural identification of these immigrants was further complicated by the social history of these islands, settled from Europe and from Africa, and the population of Cape Verde in particular has long been identified as of mixed European and African descent. For Cape Verdeans, racial and ethnic identity was complex and racialized designations were variously applied to these groups and individuals, varying over time and in official as well as more casual contexts. [5] In Massachusetts in the 19th and 20th century, the most common options presented to them or for them included white, a term used consistently over the period, and Black or Negro depending on the source; in some contexts the term mulatto was an option, to indicate an individual of mixed race. By others they might be known as African or Black Portuguese or as Bravas, and in some contexts "Portuguese" was employed as a racial designation. Some Cape Verdeans sought ways to distinguish themselves from the African American community, and many sought to be identified simply but uniquely as Cape Verdean. With the civil rights movement and after the creation of the Republic of Cabo Verde in 1975, it became more common for Cape Verdean Americans to identify as both Cape Verdean and Black. But as will be noted below, more recent trends may be to identify as multiracial or as "other." [6]

Portuguese, Azorean, and Cape Verdeans Arrive in Marion

Like many towns and cities in Southeastern New England, Marion has a significant number of residents who identify themselves as Portuguese in ancestry. Today, 8.3% identify their heritage as Portuguese, third in size after the Irish and English, a significant part of the population in Marion and reflective of the broader patterns of southeastern New England.[7] Although statistics like these do not distinguish the place of origin of the immigrant ancestors of these individuals, it is well known locally and confirmed by recent research that most of them arrived in Massachusetts from Cape Verde. And the multi-racial character of Cape Verde has contributed to a distinct race profile in Marion, as recorded in 2000. Marion is whiter (91.8%) than Massachusetts as a whole (81.9%), but the distribution of its population of color is quite distinct. In Marion the next largest racial groups after whites are those identifying as other (3.4%) and as two or more races (2.2%). By contrast, in Massachusetts generally, the largest groups of color are those who identify as Hispanic (6.8%) or Black (5.0%), while individuals identifying as other account for 0.7% and those of two or more races account for 1.7%. It is also of interest that these groups are not uniformly distributed across Marion, with many more people who

[5] Pew Research Center, What Census Calls Us, February 6, 2020, https://www.pewresearch.org/interactives/what-census-calls-us/.

[6] For discussions of Cape Verdean ethnic and racial identity, see Gina Sanchez Gibau, "Contested Identities: Narratives of Race and Ethnicity in the Cape Verdean Diaspora," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 12 (2005), 405-438; Halter, *Between Race and Ethnicity*. One local example of the variety of designations applied to Cape Verdeans is found in Marion's US Census of 1940, where in one enumeration district, most of the Cape Verdean-born and their family members were identified in the race category as "Portuguese," and in the other district as "Negro."

[7] http://www.city-data.com/city/Marion-Massachusetts.html (accessed 27 August 2020). Today in Marion, 27.7% identify their ancestry as Irish, 21.9% as English, 8.3% as Portuguese, 7.2% as German, 6.2% as Italian, 5.7% as French. See also Wikipedia Portuguese Americans https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portuguese_Americans (accessed 27 August 2020).

identify as other or multi-racial living in the census block groups in the north (15.8% and 10.1% respectively) and the west (7.0% and 4.8% respectively) of the town. Other groups of color in Marion are found in smaller proportions than in the Commonwealth at large, including Blacks (1.7%) and Hispanics (5%).[8] This distinct ethnic and racial profile reflects the choice of Cape Verdeans to make Marion their home at the turn of the 20th century and to remain there today.

The relative diversity of Marion's population before the end of the 19th century can be a challenge to track, but it appears to have closely paralleled the broad patterns of Massachusetts over that long period. Very few figures are available for the colonial era when Marion was part of the town of Rochester, which rarely reported these statistics in the censuses of the period. What is known generally is that the indigenous population of Wampanoag had been severely diminished by disease in the early 17th century, but had not disappeared. Many had been enslaved and were traded for African slaves in the Caribbean, while others remained in small numbers clustered in the so-called praying towns, including Mashpee and Herring Pond in Plymouth, both to the east. The number of enslaved Africans grew over the colonial period until it reached about 4% of the regional population, but these individuals were not evenly distributed, more concentrated along the Atlantic and the region's rivers, and in southern Rhode Island. As many as half of Massachusetts' Black residents lived in Boston in 1754 (about 1350 individuals), but closer to Marion were the large enslaved populations of Rhode Island, where in 1755 the towns of South Kingston and Charlestown (to the west) were 30 and 40% black respectively. Most communities had smaller numbers by far, including one or two individuals per family.[9] By 1790, the largest Black communities in Plymouth County included Bridgewater with 129 and Scituate with 65. That same year, when Rochester's population total was 2644 individuals, 54 of them were Black, the same number as Plymouth, the county seat. The proportion of Blacks and whites remained quite stable in Massachusetts, in spite of emancipation locally or nationally, hovering around 1% of the total population between 1790 and 1940.[10]

Although some communities with maritime economies may have had more diverse populations, because global travel brought migrants to them, this does not seem to have been the case for Marion. In 1860, the first US census year after it was incorporated as an independent town (1852), Marion was a very homogenous community, with the vast majority of its 918 residents born in Massachusetts as reported in the US Census of Population. A handful of individuals were foreign born, but most were from Britain and her colonies including 10 from England, four from Ireland, two from Scotland, and two from Nova Scotia; one individual was born in France. Those from other states came primarily from New England (11 from Maine and one each from Rhode Island and Vermont), with three from New York, one from Maryland, and one from Missouri. All of Marion's residents were white in 1860 and remained so in

[8] http://www.city-data.com/races/races-Marion-Massachusetts.html (accessed 7 June 2021). Marion includes five census block groups, and mapping of the race data for those areas can be found at http://www.city-data.com/races/races-Marion-Center-Massachusetts.html. Marion also includes 0.4% Asians, 0.1% American Indians, and 0.08% Native Alaskans and Pacific Islanders.
[9] Key sources for the history of African Americans in Massachusetts include Lorenzo J Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776* (1942, the classic work), William D Pierson, *Black Yankees: The Development of an Afro-American Subculture in Eighteenth-Century New England* (1988); and Jared Ross Hardesty, *Black Lives, Native Lands, White Worlds: A History of Slavery in New England* (2019, a popular summary of recent research).
[10] Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, "Historical Census Statistics by Race….," Population Division Working Paper No. 56 (2002). https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/working-papers/2002/demo/POP-twps0056.pdf .

1870.[11] At the turn of the century, the town became more diverse. In 1895, the town reported nine "colored" residents and 31 foreign-born residents of a total of 728. In 1905, of the total 1019, 124 were foreign born and 55 were "colored." By 1915, the number of the foreign born had grown to 332 of the total 1155 and the number of "colored" residents grew to 219. Marion counted 211 Portuguese immigrants, while 99 were from the British Empire (Great Britain, Canada, and Ireland). A significant proportion of the immigrant community was "colored," 173 individuals, indicating that a significant number of the Portuguese were likely from Cape Verde. Marion's neighboring towns also reported Portuguese residents, including 634 in Wareham, 153 in Mattapoisett, and 99 in Rochester in 1915. [12]

In order to more fully understand the history of the Portuguese/ Azorean/ Cape Verdean community in Marion, the US and Massachusetts censuses of population were identified as the historic source with the most detailed information about individuals.[13] Although other sources might point to earlier Portuguese residents in town, two individuals from the "Western Islands" likely indicating the Azores and identified as white were enumerated in Marion in the Massachusetts census of 1855 and 1865, "Chs" A Silva and Henry Grey respectively. Silva was a 16-year-old painter born in the Western Islands and living in the household of John S Gorham, also a painter, whose family was all born in Massachusetts; unfortunately, there was not enough information available to construct his biography. Henry Grey was a 20-year-old mariner born in the Azores, WI and living in the household of Russell Grey, also a mariner and whose family were all born in Massachusetts. This appears to be the individual who was living in Fall River and working as a night watchman when he applied for US citizenship. That documentation noted his birth in Fayal and his arrival in Marion in 1860.[14] It is not clear how either of these men came to be in Marion, though maritime connections to the islands seem likely, and it is not surprising that they apparently did not settle in the town. It was the 1880 US Census of Population that enumerated the first group of Portuguese immigrants resident in Marion.[15] Four households included individuals, again born in the Western Islands or the Azores and identified as white. One of these households included three young males, headed by Manuel Silva (age 18) and including his 22-year-old boarders Manuel Labio and Antone Ione, all employed as laborers. Teamer Frank Enos, age 28, lived with his Massachusetts-born wife and son. Joseph Silva, age 20, boarded in the household of farmer David Lisson, his wife and daughter, all born in Massachusetts; he "works on farm," likely theirs. Jeaneth Cabra, age 37, was a laborer in the household of farmer Asa F. Holmes, his wife, and young daughter.[16]

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[11] US Census of Population, Marion, 1860 and 1870. These pages were initially scanned to locate Portuguese and Cape Verdean individuals, but were then more closely examined in order to characterize the community's racial composition and its relative proportions of those born in Massachusetts and elsewhere.

[12] Horace G Wadlin, *Census of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts: 1895*, Vol. 1; *Census of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts: 1905*, Vol 1, pp. 350-351; Charles F Gettemy, *The Decennial Census: 1915*, pp. 233, 439.

[13] For this project, the manuscript population pages for Marion (for Massachusetts and for the US) were scanned for individuals who identified their place of birth or the place of birth of a parent as Portugal or its Atlantic island colonies. As will be seen below, the official languages of color and race changed over time, as employed in official records and as assigned to the same individual, and many of them might not correspond to the individual's self-identification. These islands were identified in different ways in different decades, which will be described below for each decade. The pages were also scanned for individuals whose race was described as other than white, and these terms will also be described for each decade as they too vary over time and even within the same decade.

[14] Ancestry.com: Find-a-grave; MA US Naturalization Records; Masonic Membership Cards. That Henry shared a surname with the rest of the household is of interest but the connection is not clear. Both Rufus (1831-1872) and Abby (1830-1884) died comparatively young.

[15] Scanning other documents might yield other candidates – vital records for example, which include place of birth for individuals and their parents, is another source that would expand this search.

[16] US Census 1880 Marion, p 12, 18, 22, 24, Ancestry.com.

Also of note is the fact that mariner Andrew Jackson (1834-1903) was born in the Canary Islands. He had lived in Marion since at least 1870 and was a long-time resident at 62 Creek Road.[17] Only one resident was identified as Black: Loveanne Keiling was a 56-year-old servant in the household of Samuel and Sophronia McKeown; she was born in Nova Scotia.[18]

No US Census records survive for 1890, and in 1900 the number of individuals with Portuguese ancestry remained small, and most were apparently new to Marion. The senior household was likely that of Marion J. Sylvia (ca. 1849-1924), who is also the first of the Portuguese immigrants to be identified as a long-term resident in Marion. Born on St. Michael's in the Azores in about 1849, he arrived in the US in about 1869. By 1880, he was living in Fairhaven with his wife Mary Bethiah Payne Delano, her father, her children with her first husband Irving Delano, and their daughter, on what may have been Delano's farm. But that same year, he purchased land in Marion that had been "the homestead of the late Jonathan Dexter," purchasing an existing house that is believed to be that at 20A Giffords Corner Road, well away from the main north-south thoroughfare of the road to Mattapoisett or Mill Street, near what is known as Gifford's Corner. By 1900 Sylvia was a naturalized citizen (1892), a homeowner, and a farmer in Marion with three children. In 1910 he was a teamer living on Mill Street with his wife and the family of their son Reuben. In 1920, Marion and Mary were living on Sylvia Road, a road that apparently was not accepted by the town and located between Clark and Pitcher, with their grandson Walter Rhodes.[19] The family sold the property in 1934 to Joseph S. Zora (1887-1967), whose family still owns the property today. He and his wife Anna M. Medeiros (1889-1966) were born on Fayal in the Azores, and he reported his occupation as gardener on a private estate. The family was identified as white in US Census of 1920 and 1940 and Negro in 1930.[20]

Individuals with Portuguese parents were also noted in the census in 1900, including Isabel Chase and Susan Sylvia who both had fathers born in Portugal; both were 20 years old. Isabel lived with her husband Amos, a day laborer, while Susan was a servant in the household of storekeeper Stephen D Hadley and his wife and four children. These individuals were all identified as white, but three other individuals were indicated with no racial designation. Two of these were born in the Cape Verde islands, Antoine Santo and Mary Perry, and resided in the household of Ebenezer Holmes, a boatbuilder, and his wife and daughter. He was a gardener, age 21, she a housemaid, age 41. A third individual with no race identification was Manuel, who had no listed surname and no known place of birth; he was a servant in the household of farmer William T Briggs and his household.[21] This lack of information for what seem

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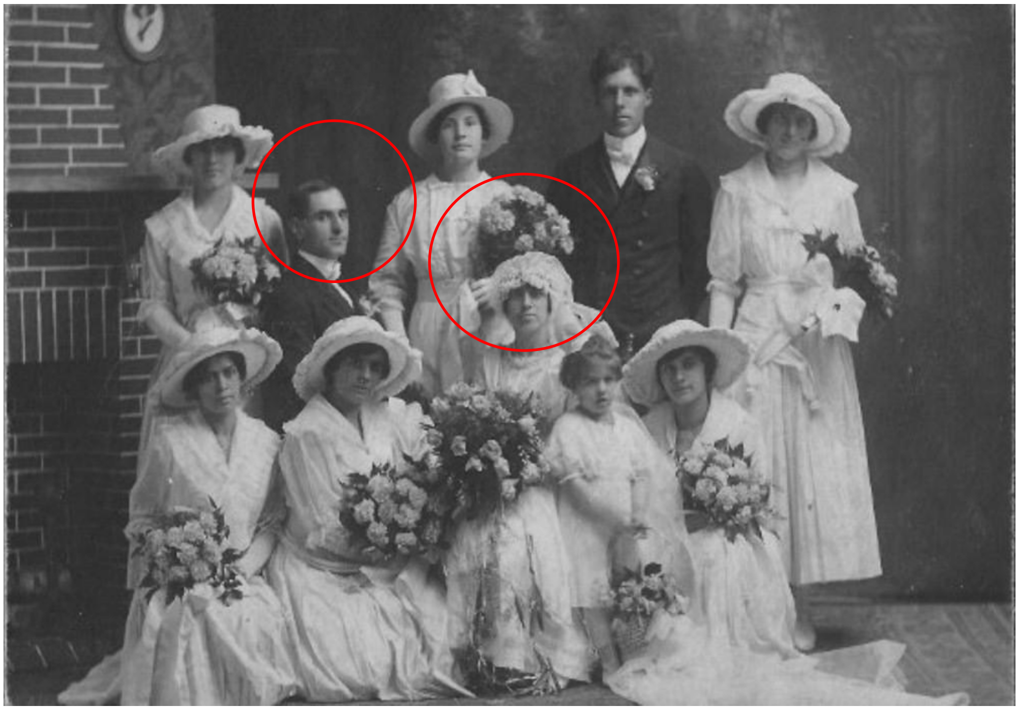
[17] Ancestry.com: Gifford Family Tree: https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/30034269/person/12236342242/facts. His Massachusetts and Marion Death Records and Marion Marriage Record report his parents as Marshall Cabrera and Isabella Marbrega and the MA death record added "Cabrera" after Andrew Jackson. The family tree notes that Marshall Cabrera was the son of William Jackson and a woman surnamed Cabrera. The other Jacksons lived in various locations in Lancashire, England. US Census of Population 1870 (where his birthplace was listed as Spain), 1880, 1900.

[18] US Census 1880, Marion p 18, Ancestry.com.

[19] Ancestry.com: Pam and Jeff Wilson's Family Tree, https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/1647403/person/-1860863502/facts. Massachusetts Vital Records (Marion); US Census of Population 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920; US Naturalization Records. Plymouth County Registry of Deeds (hereafter PCRD) 460:131 (1880).

[20] PCRD 1680: 255, 256 (1934). Ancestry.com: Turnbull Family Tree, https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/60384488/person/46058557818/facts?_phsrc=JWn7&_phstart=successSource; US Census 1920, 1930, 1940.

[21] US Census of 1900, Marion, pp 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 14.

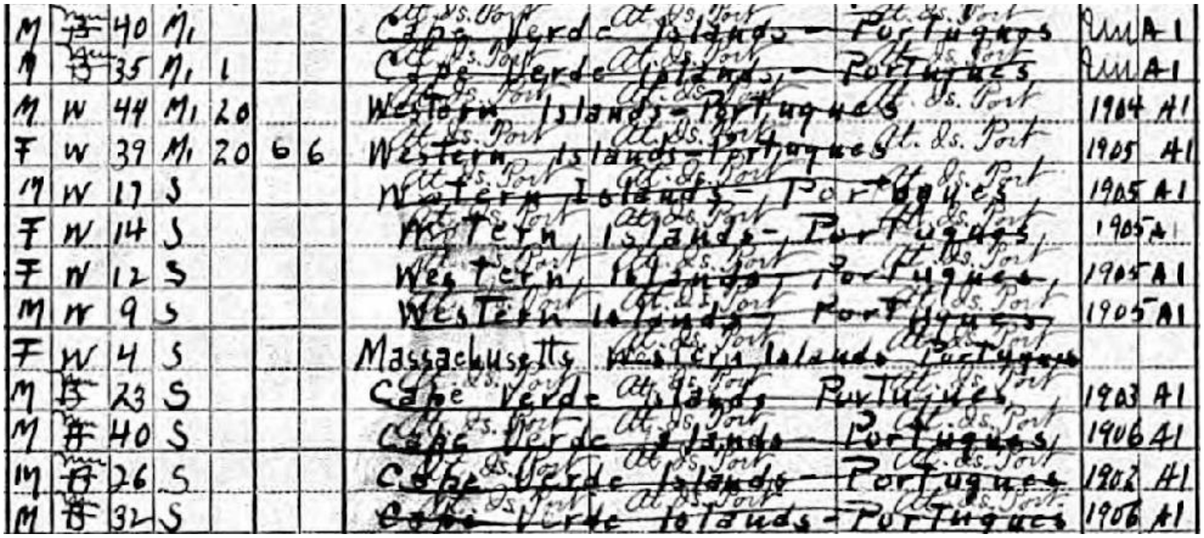


Wedding of Joseph Zora & Ana Medeiros, Turnbull Family Tree, Ancestry.com.

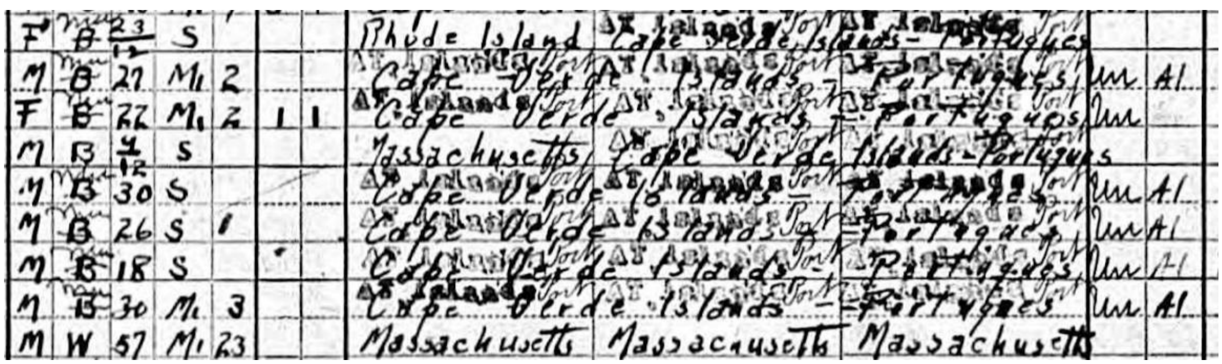
likely to be people of color speaks to the ambiguity of the Cape Verdean racial status and the extent to which a person of color could be invisible in Marion.

By 1910, the number of Portuguese immigrants had expanded significantly, and indeed the entire population of the town had experienced its greatest decadal expansion, from 902 in 1900 to 1,460 a decade later. Because street names had been added to the census sheets for the first time, it is also now possible to note at least the general location of residents, and two areas of Marion attracted most of the Portuguese immigrants: The largest was along Mill Street, in the southwest part of Marion, where most of the Azoreans lived. Another cluster was on Point Road and nearby on Delano, Wareham, and Creek roads, where most of the Cape Verdeans lived. In this census, there continued to be confusion or disagreement about how to categorize the Portuguese in Marion. Information on these individuals' place of birth and race were often written over or "corrected" after the fact. Many individuals were initially identified as Black and later changed to mulatto, and those initially identified as born in Cape Verde or the Western Islands "Portugues" were later changed to Atlantic Islands "Port." Those identified as from the Western Islands are believed to be more specifically from the Azores.

Fifteen households lived along Mill Street, most having recently arrived in the US from the Atlantic Islands, most identified as white, and most living in families in homes they owned. While many reported their occupation simply as laborer, they often specified work at a sawmill or in a cranberry bog, both of which are noted in this area on the atlas plate of 1903 (below). It was common for these families to include other relatives beyond the nuclear family, while others took in boarders, commonly from their own Portuguese community. Manual Agustus (Augustus), a 38-year-old carpenter, lived with a large houseful of relatives. He reported his place of birth and that of his brother-in-law as Portugal, while his wife, sister-in-law, and other brother-in-law were born in the Atlantic Islands. Those brothers-in-law worked on a farm and as a jointer in a sawmill. Domingo Silvia was living with his wife, two sons born in Massachusetts, and three boarders, including one female. He and his cousin worked as sawmill

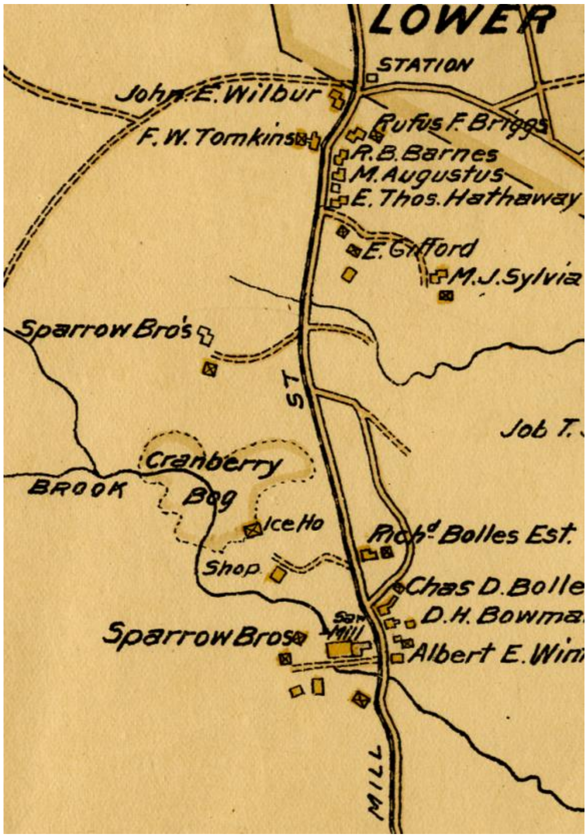


A detail from page 20 of Marion's 1910 census of population, showing households on Mill Street. Note that each of the individuals initially labelled "Western Islands Portugues" were changed to "At Is Port" and were identified as white. Note that each of the individuals marked "B" (to the left side) were changed to "Mu" and those marked "Cape Verde Islands Portugues" were changed to "At Is Port.".



A detail from page 28 of Marion's 1910 census of population, showing households on Creek Road. Note that each of the individuals marked "B" (to the left side) were changed to "Mu" and those marked "Cape Verde Islands Portugues" were changed to "AT Islands" with a stamp and "Port" written in. There was apparently no effort to learn when they arrived in the US (columns at right).

laborers, two male boarders as laborers. Manual M. Costa was a gardener at a private estate. He and his wife were from the Atlantic Islands, their children born in Rhode Island and Massachusetts. Teamer Manuel Brazil and his wife were also born in the Atlantic Islands, his children in Massachusetts; she worked as a laundress. Antone S. Siappa was a laborer in construction, the adults born in the Atlantic Islands, the two children in Massachusetts. Anton S. Diez worked as a gardener and florist, his son was born in Massachusetts. Miriam Wittet identified her father as having been born in the Atlantic Islands, but her brother did not; her brother-in-law was Finnish. Three families were renters: Joseph Brown, his wife, and all but the youngest of his children were born in the Atlantic Islands. His occupation was laborer, his son was a teamer, while the women were in domestic service; the family had five male boarders. Manuel Creva and his wife were from the Atlantic Islands, their three children born in Massachusetts, and he was a laborer at odd jobs. The most distinctive perhaps of the Azorean households in this neighborhood was that of 29-year-old Manuel Mendez who had 12 male boarders and all worked as laborers at the bog.[22]

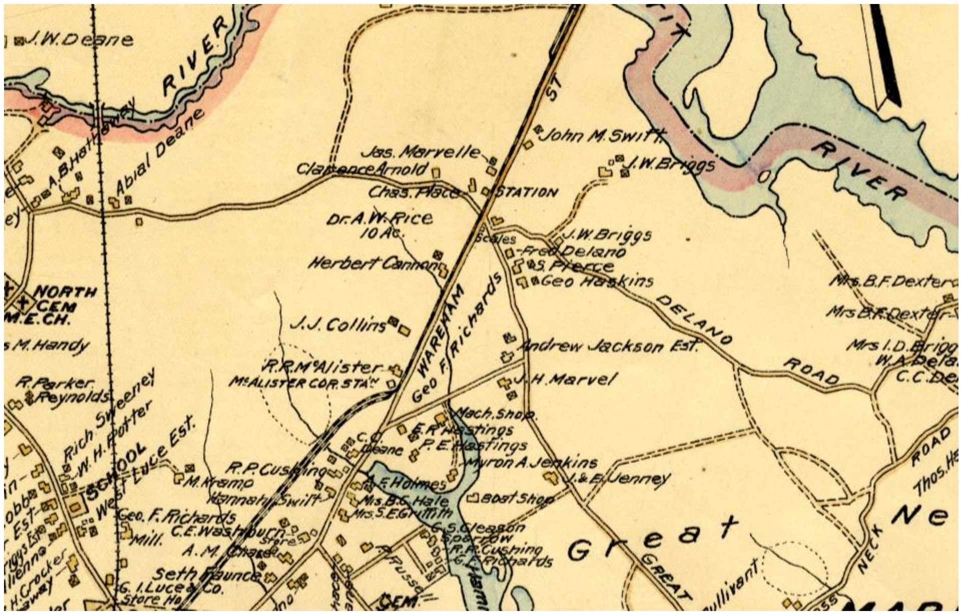


L J Richards & Co, *New Topographic Atlas of Surveys of Plymouth County*, 1903, detail showing Mill Street, Marion. Two places of employment for these immigrants are seen here – the Cranberry Bog and the Sparrow Brothers Sawmill. Two Azoreans are identified on this page, M Augustus and MJ Sylvia, in the upper right corner.

The smaller number of Cape Verdeans in this neighborhood were living in more various households and all were renters. Married couple John and Mary Gomes lived on their own; he was a laborer at odd jobs: The remainder lived in all male Cape Verdean households or as boarders in Azorean households. Sam Pina and his five boarders all worked as laborers in the bog. Two other households each included three Cape Verdean laborers, one headed by Manuel Gomes and one by Gerard C Gonsalves; five worked at odd jobs, one in a garden. Five Cape Verdeans lived in the Brown household, laborers of various sorts, including three at odd jobs, one in the bog, and one a gardener. Three lived in the Creva household, also laborers, one in a stable and two at odd jobs.

In 1910 the largest cluster of Marion Cape Verdeans lived on Point Road at the intersection of Wareham Road. Here there was exceptional uniformity in the reported data. There was one Azorean female, Belle Manuel age 22, who lived with her husband Andrew, his brother John, and son Joseph. But otherwise all were males, most in their 20s and 30s, working as laborers at odd jobs, and all were Initially identified as Black, changed to mulatto; seldom was there information about their date of arrival in the US. Peter Pina, age 38, was the only homeowner in the group, and lived with four brothers and five boarders. John Texiera, age 31, lived with his brother, three cousins, and two boarders. Benedict Monteiro, age 33, lived with his brother and a boarder. Leopold Gomes, age 36, had six boarders, while Manuel Gomez, age 23, had three men identified as boarders though two shared his surname. Peter Currica, age 36, had two boarders, Ugenie Peterson, age 41, had one. A similar pattern continued nearby on Wareham Road, where Manuel Pina lived with his five cousins, and on Delano Road where Thomas Lopes, age 27, had five boarders, two sharing his surname, three named Santos. Manuet Fernand, age 35, had three boarders, while Jack Ruberio, 22, had one boarder and another household with him consisting of the Galvin brothers. Only slightly more variety was found nearby on Creek Street where two dwellings included Cape Verdeans. Moses Pina headed a household of five men between the ages of 21 and 35. He was a mason's helper, as were his cousins John Barrows and Jim Consalves; his brother Isaac was a teamer and boarder Joseph Rose worked as a laborer in a bog. A second dwelling included

[22] US Census of Population 1910, Marion, pp. 20, 21, 22, 23, 28, covering next paragraph as well as this one. It is useful perhaps to note that the Finns were another ethnic group identified with cranberry culture; see below.



L J Richards & Co, *New Topographic Atlas of Surveys of Plymouth County*, 1903, detail showing the intersection of Wareham Street and Point and Delano roads, Marion. Note that although there were a number of Cape Verdeans identified in this neighborhood in 1910, none were identified as property-owners seven years earlier.

four households, two including all young men and two including young families. Philip Rose worked as a laborer on a private estate, his brothers Manual and Nicholas and his cousin Manuel worked in the bogs. Antone and John Lopes and their boarder Manual Gomes were all laborers; cousin Louis reported no occupation. Laborers John Mott and Daniel Francis each lived with their wives and infant children born in Massachusetts.[23]

Only a small number of Portuguese immigrants lived in Marion outside these two neighborhoods. Cape Verdean farm laborer Manuel Corriez, age 26, lived alone on County Road, while Azorean Carl Perry, age 46, lived on Main Street with his wife and son; he was a gardener; both were renters. On Hiller Street, Azorean John Silva and Cape Verdean Michael Fonseca were both laborers, odd jobs and gardener, respectively. Two Cape Verdean families shared a house nearby, William Silva with his wife, brother, and cousin, Joseph Montes with his wife and four children, all but the youngest born in Cape Verde. All the males in these families worked as laborers at odd jobs. Teamer Marion Costa and his wife Mary were born in the Atlantic Islands, their son in Massachusetts; they lived on South Street. Two Atlantic Island-born women were acting as servants and living with their employers: Mary G Brown, 18, lived with physician Albert C. Vose and his family on Main Street, and Emma Berto, 15 (whose mother was Brazilian), lived with real estate and insurance agent William A. Andrews and his family on Pleasant Street.[24] There were also three non-Cape Verdean people of color in Marion in 1910. Margaret Griffen (26, Black, and born in South Carolina) was a servant in the household of contractor George F. Richards on Front Street. Mary Parker (age 31) and her stepdaughter Alice (age 14) were both born in Massachusetts and identified as mulatto; her husband teamer Charles Parker was white and they all lived on Wareham Street.[25]

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[23] US Census of Population, Marion, pp 8, 9, 28.

[24] US Census of Population, Marion, pp 5, 13, 15, 19, 29, 30.

[25] US Census of Population, Marion, pp 2, 11.

Working in the Cranberry Bogs

Although only a small proportion of these Marion residents identified their primary occupation as cranberry bog worker, it seems likely that it was the bogs that first brought them to Marion and influenced their decision to live there. One of the most distinctive economic engines in Plymouth County at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century was the cultivation of cranberries, an industry that would eventually provide employment to thousands of Cape Verdeans. Cape Verdeans began to find employment in the cranberry bogs just as technological advances meant larger bogs were feasible and exceptional marketing efforts made the crop more popular. Most were seasonal workers who travelled to the different bogs during the fall picking season and might return to the larger cities like New Bedford or even to Cape Verde after the harvest. They likely became familiar with Marion in these travels, and eventually, like those Cape Verdeans who settled in Wareham and Harwich, smaller towns with significant Cape Verdean populations, found opportunities to lease and buy property here. Many of the young men noted above, who reported occupations as general laborers, likely found seasonal work during the cranberry harvest. While no 19th century maps of bogs are currently known, USGS Topographic Maps show a scattering of cranberry bogs in the early 20th century, and the WPA Maps of Marion may indicate bogs as "other cultivated crops." And, as can be seen in the recent color aerial view of Marion, bogs are located in the same sections of town, where the town's Portuguese residents were located in 1910. It is also the case that significantly more and larger bogs were located quite nearby, to the east in Carver and Wareham, as well as in Rochester to the west, all within easy reach of Marion.[26]

Wild cranberries had always been popular in the region and became more common in Southeastern Massachusetts after the berries were first cultivated in Dennis in about 1816. The transplanted berries grew well in swampy areas and converting swamp to bog became a profitable endeavor. At first they were harvested by hand usually by family members and neighbors, with larger bog development financed through the sale of shares, like ships had been, and the fall harvest employed men, women, and children in seasonal work. The industry's core expanded from the Cape to Plymouth County, which became the focus of the industry as it expanded at the close of the 19th century; the Commonwealth's Cranberry Experiment Station was located in East Wareham in 1909. Technological improvements contributed to the expansion of the industry, with the increased popularity of various cranberry scoops for picking and the invention of the cranberry separator, both at the turn of the century. Stephen Cole argues that local residents, happy to do seasonal and informal work in the bogs in the past, were not willing to work for the larger enterprises. And as the bogs expanded, the owners began to hire immigrant labor to work seasonally in their bogs, Finns, southern Italians, and Poles, but especially Cape Verdeans, and for several decades, the labor-intensive system relied almost exclusively on their labor and skills. [27]

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[26] Thanks to Peter Stott for retrieving and photographing the WPA maps in the collections of the Archives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; they deserve to be better known.

[27] Joseph D Thomas, ed, *Cranberry Harvest: A History of Cranberry Growing in Massachusetts* (1990); and especially Stephen Cole and Lindy Gifford, *The Cranberry: Hard Work and Holiday Sauce* (2009); thanks to Michael Steinitz for bring this work to my attention. See also "Cape Cod, Massachusetts: Bravas, or Black Portuguese, Cranberry Pickers," pp 539-554, Chapter VII, Part 24, Recent Immigrants in Agriculture, *Immigrants in Industries*, Report of the US Immigration Commission (Government Printing Office, 1911).

Aerial Map of 2001 showing cranberry bogs in Marion and in neighboring towns of Wareham, to east or right, and in Rochester, on the west or left. One area of bogs in Marion is located between I-195 and Mill Street shown at the lower left of this image. Another is at the upper center of the image between I-195 and Rt 6, on either side of the upper end of Point Road.

Cape Verdeans came to dominate work in the bogs, and that community was described in detail by the US Immigration Commission report *Immigrants in Industries* in 1911. Although some of these Cape Verdeans were praised for hard work and cooperation, much of the tone of the report was pejorative and disrespectful. The report noted that "in a period of ten or twelve years [they] have practically monopolized the labor of the cranberry bogs of eastern Massachusetts . . . and are proving themselves the best pickers and the best wheelbarrow men who ever came on the bogs . . . ". Many worked only as pickers, as many as 2500 to 3000 at this time, and some worked strawberry, mayflower, and blueberry harvests as well, or returned to the cities or to the islands. As in Marion, most were young men living in groups and comparatively few women and children joined them. Picking gangs might include 20 to 30 men, and each of the white bosses "carries a stick and gives orders in a positive voice." A small portion were able to work close to full time caring for the bogs and complementing that work with roadwork and wood cutting. They might then establish households in the bog neighborhoods, "scattered through the woods in the bog district, living in little huts hastily thrown together, or in abandoned houses where, with their wages and their little gardens, they manage to exist and to save a little money." And indeed they noted "the disposition to save is universally commented on," and local savings banks had many Cape Verdean accounts; about half of these savings went back to Cape Verde. The report noted that many of the Cape Verdeans had rural roots, were illiterate, and spoke little English, and the conclusions the report drew from these facts do not bear repeating. The report looked back to the time when "it was easily possible to put a Brava on the back seat in a street car and to make the 'jim-crow' car idea a practicable expedient," but those days were gone, replaced by an "independent attitude" and "making themselves more offensive to us on the cars and to the public generally every year." The work was hard and Cape Verdeans had little recourse to improve their working conditions. An effort to establish Cape Cod Cranberry Pickers Union Local No. 1 in 1933 found 600 to 700 willing to sign, but in the end the strike was unsuccessful. [28]

Young Picker, Rochester vicinity, Eldridge Bog, Lewis Hine, 1911.
National Child Labor Committee Collection, Library of Congress, ncic 00133.

Although it is likely that many Marion families operated small bogs, one individual identified as a pioneer of modern cranberry growing was Robert Hiller (1863-1937). Born in Mattapoisett, Hiller and his brother Isaac were in the livery business in Marion Center, and he was a well-respected horse trader. At the end of the 19th century, he began to establish bogs and had between 75 and 100 acres of bog in the town. Later he turned his efforts to East Over Farm in Rochester, where they operated a dairy farm and also had cranberry bogs. The land and the building complex are today held by the Trustees of Reservations and the towns of Marion and Rochester, in a number of parcels located on the bounds between the two towns north of Marion and Front streets and between Mary's Pond and County

[28] Cole and Gifford (2009), especially chapter 6 "Living a Postcard Life," pp. 83-105, and the 1911 report "Cape Cod…Cranberry Pickers," quotations from pp. 539, 546, 543, 551.

roads.[29] Several Portuguese families have been identified who purchased land in Marion for cranberry bogs, but the best known of these are the Pinas, living on the north side of Point Road where the bog extended further north. Manuel Pina II (1885-1974) was a native of Cape Verde who came to the United States in 1905, and in 1910 he was recorded in the census on Wareham Road near Delano Road living with five other Cape Verde men, all identified as cousins and odd job laborers, except for Manuel Pina I (b. ca. 1870, a cousin) who was a retail merchant in a store. In 1910, 1913, and 1920, Manuel Pina II purchased long narrow lots and then in 1923 a much larger parcel, including a cranberry bog, from Amos C. Delano. Pina operated the bog and also worked at the Kittansett Club, and in 1940, three of his sons were cranberry workers and another did road construction. Pina probably lived in a house set back from the road that has been replaced and gradually subdivided lots along Point Road to other Cape Verdeans in the 1930s and to his sons in the 1940s.[30] Most of the Cape Verdean individuals interviewed by the Sippican Historical Society or by Cole and Gifford recall working when they were young in the seasonal cranberry harvest.

Cape Verdean Neighborhoods in Marion

By 1930, Marion's Portuguese immigrant community had again expanded and also seems to have become more settled in the town. Far fewer households consisted solely of young men and the majority were nuclear families, in some instances with other relatives and boarders in residence. Employment opportunities continued to include most commonly laborers at odd jobs, but more are noted as employed as laborers or gardeners on private estates, where women sometimes found employment as domestics or laundresses. Also of note for the 1930 Census was its new method of counting and identifying people of color, where "Blacks" became "Negroes" and the mulatto category was eliminated. As the instructions to enumerators noted: "Any person of mixed white and Negro blood should be returned as a Negro, no matter how small the percentage of Negro blood."[31] Cape Verdeans were consistently described as Negroes and now so were those of Azorean ancestry, although this is not the racial identity usually assumed nor reported in earlier census documents. The handful of individuals identifying their place of birth or their parents as Portugal were, except in one instance, identified as white. The vast majority of Marion's people of color were Azorean or Cape Verdean, but there was as well one man, Joseph Cabral, from Brazil, living with the white Anderson family on Mill Street, while the Massachusetts-born Robbins family lived on Rochester Road and the mixed-race Parker couple on Wareham Road. Two neighboring households included Native Americans, Juliette Osberg, born in Massachusetts and married to a Swede, and fisherman Lagare Bourgeault and his two sons, born in Maine and French Canada.

At this time, the largest group of Portuguese were living at Hamblin's Corner, on Point Road, 32 households, and nearby on Wareham Road, 10 more households; the number living on Delano had dropped to one household. The vast majority were born or their parents were born in Cape Verde. As in the past, the most common employment by far was laborer, most often at odd jobs, sometimes described as general, as at a private estate, or in two cases at the golf links and at the filter bed. Two were described as gardeners on private estates, one was a sawyer, and one was a weeder in a cranberry

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[29] Sippican Historical Society, "Robert Hiller is dead at 74," 1937.
[30] See MHC Area Form for the Manuel Pine II Area (MRN.AF).
[31] US Department of Commerce, *Instructions to Enumerators, Population and Agriculture* (1930). p 26, para 150-155, where all the rules about persons of mixed race are described, employing this "one drop" rule of racial classification.

bog. Most significantly, almost every household constituted a nuclear family, and only a handful consisted solely of single or small groups of men. Women seldom worked outside the home. Fewer than ten of the households were renters. The Mill Street neighborhood remained in place with about 30 households, but neither the sawmill nor the cranberry bog seem to have continued as employers. Carpenter Manuel Augustus remained in residence here, one of those shown here as early as 1903. While in 1910 most residents here were born in the Atlantic Islands, only about a third or ten households were born or had parents born in the Azores, and now, most residing on Mill Street were reporting their birth or their parents' as Cape Verde. Most were homeowners. Only a small proportion of Portuguese residents lived outside of the two neighborhoods already established as the most common residences, four families on Rochester Street, two on Front, and one each on Pitcher, Lewis, Converse, County, and Spring streets and on Great Hill Farm.

Preliminary research into the land-ownership history of the Mill Street neighborhood has revealed some of the story of how it became a focus for Cape Verdean settlement. The first of the Portuguese neighborhoods to emerge as a cluster of dwellings, the area at the intersection with Converse Road and Parlowtown Road was known as Gifford's Corner after one of the local families that lived there in the late 19th century. Other homesteads in the neighborhood were owned by well-known local families, including the Briggs (south of Giffords Corner Road, demolished), Dexters (8 Parlowtown Road and 20A Giffords Corner Road), and Wittets (678 Mill Street), and some of the houses had been converted to seasonal use. A handful of houses were added at the turn of the century, although for reasons that are not entirely clear, the USGS New Bedford 1918 shows no buildings in this vicinity. Several were on land owned by the Blankinship family that had been purchased, apparently for subdivision, by Lizzie W. Rickerton Allen (1850-1934) and her husband, John Mitchell Allen (1842-1912). Son of Marion mariner Henry Allen, John reported his occupation as surveyor and architect, but in 1910 he described himself as in real estate, "buying and selling." They had sold land to Manuel Augustus at 690 Mill Street, and while they sold other lots to white often local families, most of them were soon purchased by Azoreans, including John Silva at 11 Giffords Corner Road (built in the 1910s), and Cape Verdeans, including John and Caroline Sylvia, who purchased the Hathaway house at 704 Mill Street in 1920, and Antone Santos, who purchased the house between 682 and 690 Mill Street (demolished) in 1938. Augustus was succeeded at 690 Mill Street by Maria and Antone Serpa, who then sold a lot where Manuel Craveiro and his Azorean wife Isabell built 692 Mill Street in 1915. In 1906, Azoreans Manuel T. Brazil (1875-1945) and his wife Lucy C. Brazil (1881-1921) purchased the Wittet house at 678 Mill Street, and in 1915 Cape Verdean Christian Monteiro purchased the Dexter house 8 Parlowtown Road. [32]

Development accelerated in the next three decades at the denser cluster, and the land of the east side of Mill Street was developed more intensively than that on the west. Cape Verdean Marion de Costa purchased a large parcel of the Gifford property on the east side of Mill in 1914 and built the house at 10 Giffords Corner Road in about 1915. In 1919 he sold a lot and dwelling to Samuel Pina and his family where they built the house at 20 Gifford's Corner Road in 1930. In the 1930s, more Blankinship land was developed on a spur stretching east from Mill (and still known as Mill), and at 694 B Mill Street lived Peter and Maria Gomes Monteiro and their family. A second house was added on the large lot that had been associated at 678 Mill Street, later known as 682 Mill Street, probably in about 1936, but its occupants are not known. Land on the west side of Mill Street had been purchased by East Marion developer Amos Delano (see below), who in turn sold the land to Cape Verdean Julius Martin (1891-1980) in 1923, where he built his own house at 703 Mill Street and sold an adjacent lot at 701 Mill

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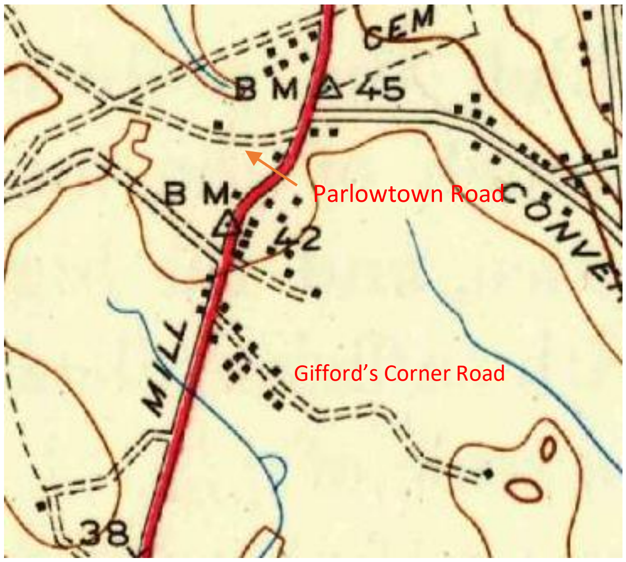
[32] For this paragraph and the next see MHC area from for Gifford's Corner (MRN.AD) and B forms for 678, 690, and 704 Mill Street (MRN 44, 410, 411), and for 8 Parlowtown Road (MRN.44).

Street where another Cape Verdean, Charles Cruz (1883-1938), built his house. A third house, 707 Mill Street, was added next door by Cape Verdean Antonio Santos, on a narrow lot sold off by owners of land to the south. As can be seen on the 1941 Marion USGS map below, there are more buildings indicated there than have been identified during this research. And development in this area slowed considerably after that time.



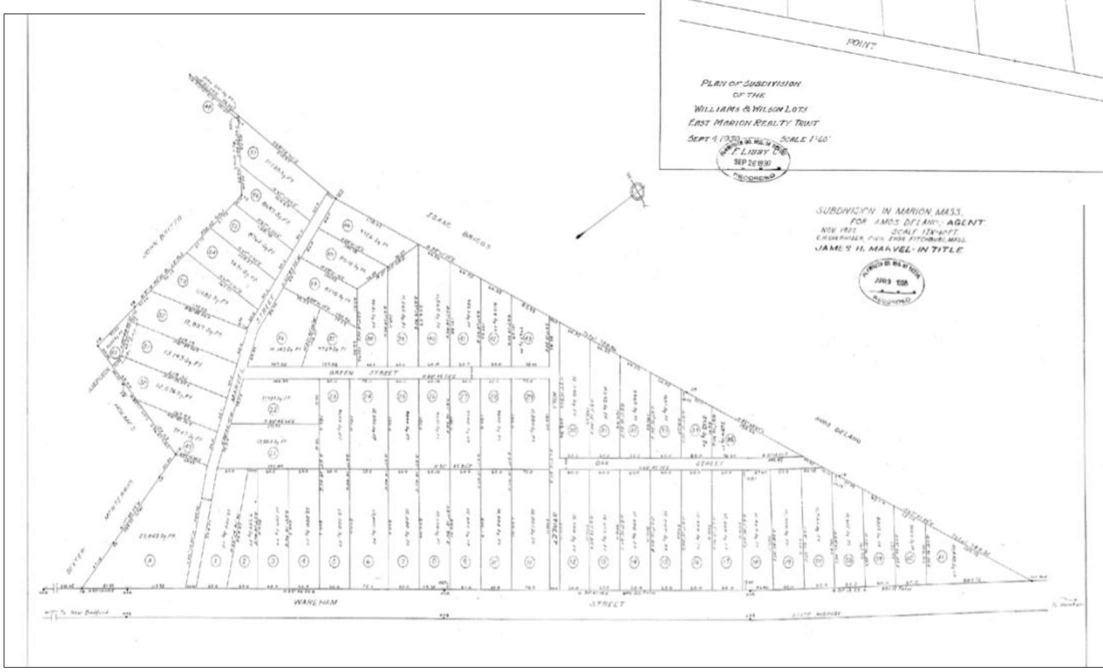
USGS Topographic Map, Marion, 1941.

A similar pattern emerges from the land-ownership history of the Point Road neighborhood, although a larger area and often larger parcels were involved. This area had been known as Hamblin's Corner after an early resident, Harvey M Hamblin, and for most of the 19th century the area was quite rural, no buildings noted beyond the property that gave the intersection its name (961 Point Road) and only a handful in the surrounding neighborhood. Some appear to have been local residents who began dividing out ample lots for residential rather than agricultural uses, as were the one-acre parcels along the east side of Point Road below Wareham at 921, 929, and 933 Point Road where four houses were constructed at the turn of the 20th century, by George Haskins, Samuel Pierce, and Frederick Delano.[33]

But after the turn of the century, as the town's population increased, as did its popularity with wealthy summer residents, the former agricultural land became attractive to investors and real estate developers. Some of these were local men and women, others were from neighboring communities or were deep-pocketed summer visitors, and their motives were various and in some instances unclear. One individual who purchased land in this vicinity early in the 20th century was Brookline stockbroker Galen Stone, who redeveloped an enormous estate (313 acres) at Great Hill beginning in 1909. He purchased land that included a large triangular parcel at the corner of Wareham Street and Point Road in 1913 and held it undeveloped until after his death. Farther south on Point Road, a very large parcel, of 122 acres and extending as far south as Cross Neck Road, was another part of the extensive holdings of the heirs of Galen Stone under the name Devonshire Manor Inc. This too was held undeveloped and eventually one section was taken by the town from the Stone heirs in 1975, and the Marion Fire Department building was built there in 1998.

[33] See MHC forms MRN.418, 414, 416, 417 (order of addresses in this paragraph).

A local man, Amos C. Delano, had a more ambitious scheme in mind, reflected in his numerous purchases and sales of land in Marion and especially in the Hamblin's Corner neighborhood. Son of mariner Charles Cudwurth and Sarah Howard Briggs Delano, he was raised on Delano Road and lived there after his parents' death; he worked first as a bookkeeper and later as a contractor before becoming a real estate agent and developer. Delano was briefly involved with the East Marion Realty Trust, to whom he sold much of the land he acquired in this neighborhood. Like many real estate trusts, this one was set up to purchase land, sell shares, develop, subdivide, sell, and rent over a period of ten years from 1925. One of their subdivision plans has been located, for land on the east side of Point Road that included generous house lots. Trustees changed over time but later included local summer residents Frederick C Hood, founder of the Boston Rubber Company, and his son Donald T Hood, residents at Cedar Point. Delano and a Wareham Street landowner, James Marvel(le), planned a 1927 subdivision on the west side of Wareham along Marvel, Green, Hill, and Oak Streets as well as Wareham and including 61 smaller lots, many measuring 60 feet across the frontage and 150 or 200 feet in depth.[34]

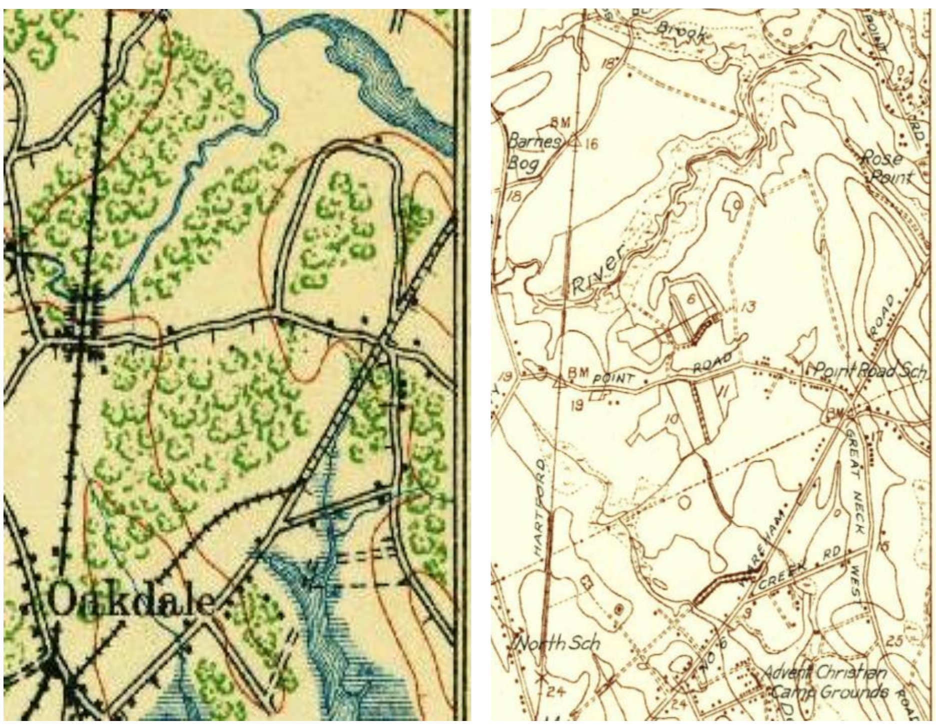


Top right: A subdivision of the East Marion Real Estate Trust for land on the west side of Point Road, below Delano Road, later reorganized for a different subdivision plan by Peter Rezendes; PCRD book 4, plate 988 (1930). Bottom left: A subdivision planned by Amos Delano and James Marvel(le) on the west side of Wareham Street, north of the Point Road intersection, still discernible on the landscape; PCRD book 4, plate 416 (1927).

34 See MHC forms Delano-Cross Neck Area, MRN.D, Cedar Point, MRN.X, Rezendes Area, MRN.AG.

Of particular interest are the early purchases made in the area by Cape Verdean immigrants. One of these early owners was Theophilo Gonsalves, who lived in Wareham and was associated with the Cape Verdean Trading Company, Inc. Gonsalves (1870-1940), arrived at the end of the 19th century and had been naturalized in Providence in 1899. He and his wife Mathilda A F Farria Gonsalves (b. 1872) were born in Cape Verde and he held a number of occupations: contractor in a cranberry bog in 1910, employee of the Cape Verde Trading Company in 1918, clerk in a lawyer's office in 1920, and real estate agent in 1930.[35] He may be the T F Gonsalves who was a leader of the 1933 strike.[36] He, his wife, and their nephew George (b. 1892) were party to many transactions, and in the 1910s and early 1920s he owned multiple parcels in this neighborhood, but he would then sell them to the East Marion Real Estate Trust in 1924.[37] They held the property until 1944.

Although Gonsalves did not build here, other Cape Verdeans did buy property in this vicinity in the interwar era, especially, as can be seen in USGS maps below, on the upper part of Point Road. As noted earlier, Manuel Pina began accumulating land on the north side of upper Point Road where he established a bog and sold lots to other Cape Verdeans. Anselmo and Leonora Lopes bought land from the Pinas and Delano for the house they built at 1009 Point Road in about 1920, and Louis and Anne Lopes, relationship not known, built at 1019 Point Road in about 1930. Houses on the east side of Point



USGS Topographic Quads, details showing the Point and Wareham roads intersection. On the left, 1918 (New Bedford), on the right 1936 (Marion), showing the increase in the number of houses along both streets and the addition of the Point Road School on the north side of Point Road.

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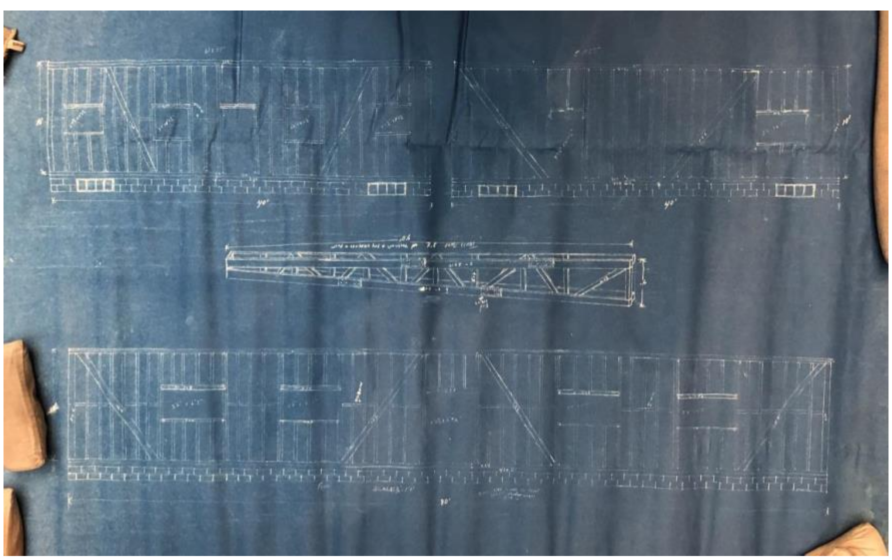
[35] Ancestry.com: Richardson Family Tree: https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/150825611/person/232005415589/facts?_phsrc=djJ1&_phstart=successSource; RI State and Federal Naturalization 1899; US Census 1910, 1920, 1930; US WWI Draft Registration.

[36] Cole and Gifford, *The Cranberry*, 98.

[37] PCRD: 1471:299 (1924); 1472:297 (1925), 1509:81 (1926), 1504:179 and 199 (1926).

below Wareham were gradually sold to Cape Verdeans. The Haskins house at 921 Point was owned by Arryo Barros after 1915 and an adjacent lot and after 1912, the Pierce house at 929 was rented to Veincelano and Mary Pina; it was owned after 1920 by Henry and Laura Silva. A new house at 917 Point was built in 1916 by Faustino Lopes Brito and 927 Point was built in about 1919 and owned by Aurelio and Carolina Rose. The first house across from these, on the west side of Point (918), was owned first by Caesar Fernandez after 1920 and for many years by Samuel and Mary Santos.[38]

With this expansion of the Cape Verdean population came social institutions and meeting places to serve the community. Marion's Roman Catholics were first served from St Patrick's in Wareham, until its own church, St Rita's, was built in 1916 (121 Front Street). Said to have been built for the employees of summer residents, it was not winterized until 1940 and did not become an autonomous parish until 1972. St Rita's does not appear to have offered Portuguese language services, but weekly services and catechism served the community, while major events were celebrated at St Patrick's in Wareham and many Marion Cape Verdeans were buried there. There was a Portuguese American Club in Marion, located on Wareham Road, but additional information is needed to flesh out its history.[39] A private meeting place came with the construction of what was initially known as the Al Craftman Hall in 1938 on Barros Road (10 Barros), a short street off the south side of Point Road above Wareham Street. The land was purchased by Manuel Santos Barros (1888-1940) and built and operated by his son Alfred H Barros (ca. 1920-2016). It seems that perhaps this was a workingman's club oriented to Atlantic Island immigrants. It has long been known as the Casanova or the Caz, offering music and dancing on weekends.[40] Reminiscences focus on more informal gatherings, especially along Point Road, where families were mostly Cape Verdean and frequently related. Sitting on the stone walls along the road each evening after dinner, coming together at individual houses for "kitchen dances" where women cooked and shared and music and dancing spread throughout the house, these gatherings provided entertainment and fostered close community relationships.



Framing plan for the Portuguese American Club, undated, showing a long low building under a nearly flat roof. Massachusetts Archives Public Safety Records, file 77890.

[38] See MHC forms MRN.419, 420, 414, 416, 412, 415, 413 (order of listing in this paragraph).
[39] The file for this building among the state's Public Safety Records is not labelled or dated. It appears to have been a simple frame rectangle.
[40] See MHC form MRN.409.

Point Road School

Among the most important public gathering places in this neighborhood was the Point Road School, built in 1930 and demolished in 1967. The story of its construction and use provides insights into the experience of Marion's Cape Verdeans beyond those provided by the demographic snapshots of the census records. Over the early years of the 20th century, as Marion's population grew, the number of school-age children was expanding as well, from 154 pupils in the 1901-02 academic year to 302 in 1930-31. This caused a number of concerns for the school superintendent and school committee: Marion's schools were aging and had too few classrooms, bringing congested rooms and buses.[41] The town had considered several solutions to the problem, proposing consolidating its schools as early as 1910, but choosing instead to build a new Center School in 1914, and thereafter to repair its existing schools and to work gradually toward consolidation. By 1929, they chose to add another elementary school rather than to proceed with those consolidation plans, and because of the rapid growth at Hamblin's Corner, that neighborhood was identified as the location for the new school. The budget was proposed and increased, and the plan was for a two-room building to accommodate 42 students on land acquired on the north side of Point Road (985) that is now a playground.

The town estimated the cost of the school at $24,000, selected Edwin C Luce as architect, and accepted the bid of F Losardo & Co as contractor for the project. Luce (1888-1948) was born and raised in Marion, his namesake father a carpenter living on Mill Street. An obituary included on an Ancestry family tree notes he graduated from New Bedford High School and MIT. He lived and practiced in Somerville and Boston, also living in Marion with his sister's family.[42] The school he designed was broadly classical in design, a single-story over a basement and under a hip roof, with a classical entry and cupola above, and many windows providing light to the classrooms. As in Marion's other schools, each classroom included two grades, here including 16 students in grades 1 and 2 and 26 in grades 3 and 4 in 1930. Shortly after the school was completed, the continuing congestion led the town to add a third classroom here in 1934 which would accommodate students from the neighborhood in the 5th and 6th grades. Luce was rehired for the project, and offered two alternatives, an addition to the rear and an addition expanding the length of the building; the town chose the last alternative. The school provided a local community center, and in addition to educating its elementary school children, evening classes were offered to teach English and to provide assistance with the naturalization process.[43]

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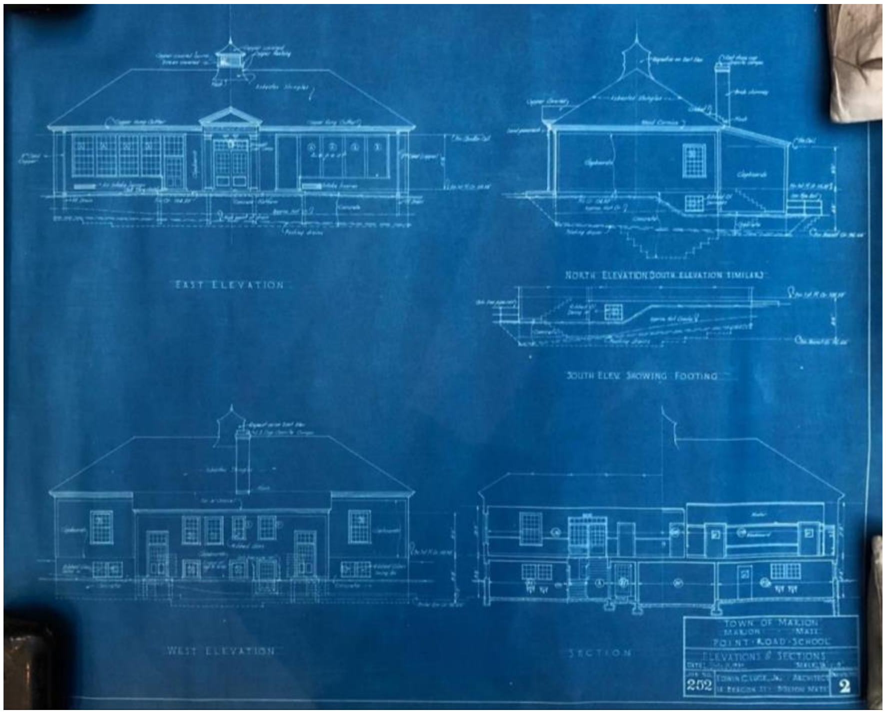
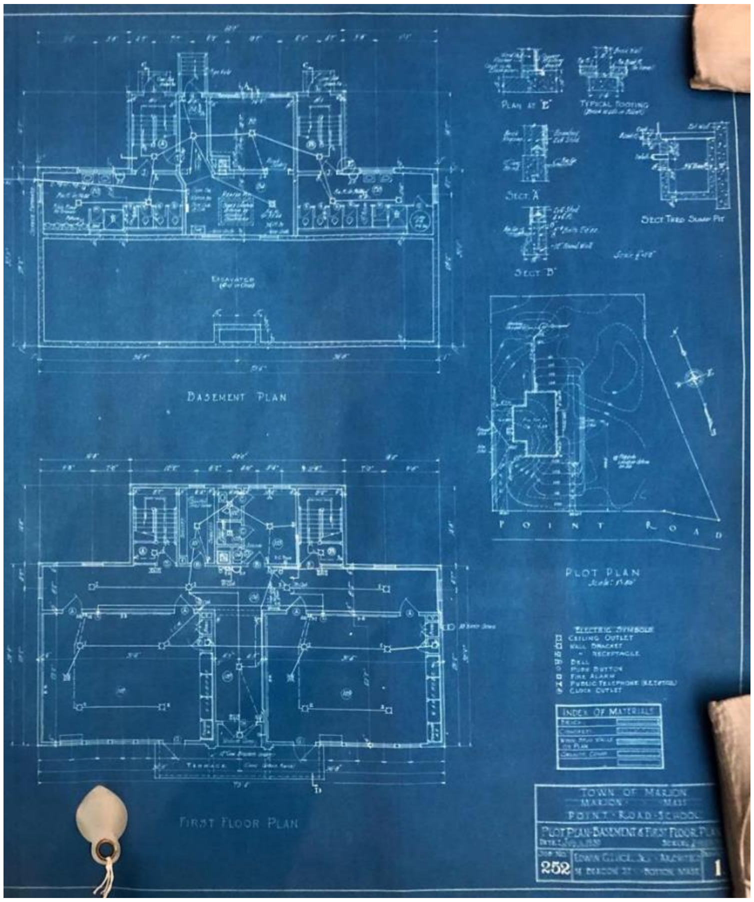
[41] At this time, Marion provided local schools for grades one through nine, with students attending high school at Tabor Academy, at Wareham High School, or at the New Bedford Vocational School. There were four school buildings besides the new Point Road School, two in the Center on Front Street, at the Brick Building or Grammar School (for junior high students, 7 to 9) and at the Red Rock School for elementary students (1 to 4), as well as the South School and the North School for the lower grades in those neighborhoods. The North School was apparently in sore need of heavy repair or replacement. This crowding also prevented the town from meeting state requirements for special classes for students described at the time as "mentally retarded."

[42] Ancestry.com: Massachusetts Masonic Membership Cards; US Census 1900, 1910, 1930, 1940; US Directories, misc Boston and Somerville; WWI Draft Registration; WWII Draft Registration. https://www.ancestry.com/familytree/person/tree/166130446/person/302158547529/facts?_phsrc=gxH25&_phstart=successSource. MACRIS lists Luce as designer for one Massachusetts building, the Oak Bluffs High School (Oak.765), with the firm Gordon-Robb Luce but with no source for the attribution.

[43] This section of this report is based on the reports of the superintendent of schools and the school committee included in Marion's Annual Reports of 1929, 1931, 1933 through 1937.





Plans, to the left, and elevations, above, for the Point Road School, 1930. Note that the building was placed perpendicular to Point Road.
Massachusetts Archives Public Safety Records, file 38532

Shortly after the initial construction of the Point Road School the town began to more seriously consider consolidating its schools, bringing elementary and junior high students together into a single school building. In 1935, the North, South, and Red Rock schools were all about 50 years old, the Center School 21 years old, and the Point Road School was the newest and most modern town school. The town hired an education consultant from Boston University to inform them on the research available for such a plan while a local committee considered multiple sites that might be acquired to accomplish it. Dr Herbert Blair's report recommended the advantages to pedagogy and budget of a single school, citing a number of studies on the issue by educators from Stanford, Cornell, and Harvard. One plan offered to the town meeting was to renovate and improve these buildings. But the three other plans were for consolidated schools that would be located on land the town would acquire, a continuation of the incremental consolidation already ongoing and reflecting an acceptance of the advantages a single school would provide. It was at this time that the town undertook the "Tabor swap" whereby Academy land and buildings on Spring Street were exchanged for town land on Front Street, so that Tabor's buildings were consolidated at the waterfront and the town acquired land that could accommodate a large new school. The Sippican School was built in 1937 (10 Spring Street), with an array of amenities heretofore missing from the town's schools, including lunchrooms, special classrooms, and an auditorium.

One issue the town had to address during this planning process was the future of the Point Road School, which, after all, was brand new when these debates unfolded in 1934 through 1936. While this is of course a reasonable concern on the part of town officials and voters, it is at the same time difficult to ignore the role played by the race of the students who were attending the Point Road School. In 1934, all of the plans proposed for consolidation included continued investment in the Point Road School, adding an additional classroom so that fifth and six graders would be taught there instead of at the consolidated Center Junior High. School superintendent Charles H. Thibault made the following observation after noting the partial consolidation already in place: "It also follows, from the present start, that no matter what plan of development is accepted [,] the Point Road School is to remain a distance unit from grade one through grade six. This should be emphatically kept in mind." It is also notable that, in the very brief summaries of the experts' advice, Blair's report shares their views on racial segregation in schools: In summarizing Butterworth of Cornell's study, he notes: "The only exception he makes [to the consolidated school] is that where strong racial feeling exists, separate schools should be maintained but the control should still be unified." Blair noted further that "The children of one racial group are already well cared for in the only desirable school building in Marion."[44]. The superintendent of schools predicted the effect on the town of the new consolidated school "…so will the community use of the building build up a community spirit that is impossible with interests divided among several schools. It will be 'OUR school' not the North, South, or Center School." It appears that on some occasions the Point Road School was conveniently forgotten.[45]

It appears that there was sustained interest in the racial composition of Marion's schools, and that the town preferred to maintain a separate school for Marion's Cape Verdeans, a practice that continued for the next thirty years. As the school superintendent reported in 1937, in response to "frequent inquiry as to the racial and national background of the student population," he prepared a report on the "pupils classified by birthplace of parents." In this chart, he reported that, of 327 students in December of 1936, 186 or 56.8% of students had parents both born in the US and 86 or 26.3% had parents both born in the Cape Verde Islands; another 28 students had one parent born in Cape Verde.

[44] School Committee Report of 1934, pp 206-207, 193.
[45] School Committee Report of 1935, pp. 228-229.

Far fewer students had one or both parents born in other countries. [46] According to Andrew Santos (b. 1933), who grew up on Creek Road, white students in the neighborhood went to Sippican School but Black students to the Point Road School. His mother preferred that he attend the new and better equipped Sippican School, and after consulting the regional office of the state department of education, he recalls that he was walked into Sippican School between his mother and a sheriff.[47] As noted above, as the town planned its consolidated school, it continued to invest in and expand Point Road as what would remain as a "distant unit." While the Point Road School was identified as the best school before the construction of Sippican, there seems to have been little concern about its comparative condition and amenities thereafter. Here, classrooms had two grade levels rather than one as at Sippican, and few of the other amenities of that new school were available to students at this small building. The addition to Sippican School in 1954, including six classrooms, cafeteria and kitchen, and other specialized space, did not include a plan to bring Point Road students to Sippican.

The school operated this way until 1961 when Marion joined with neighboring towns to build the Old Rochester Regional High School which included students from junior high grades. This freed up enough space so that the Point Road elementary students could finally be accommodated with the rest of the town at Sippican.[48] At about this time, the town considered an array of new uses for the Point Road School building, including moving it, using for other school-related purposes, including as a kindergarten for the town. The school was then offered to the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Fall River, but because the town required that it revert to the town if it ceased to serve religious, educational, or recreational purposes, that offer was declined. The building was demolished in 1967 and recast as a playground, the purpose it serves today.[49]

Postwar Development at Mill Street and Point Road

In the years after World War II, the Cape Verdean community continued to grow, in population as well as in the size of the core neighborhood at Point Road. While in early periods, many of the adult Cape Verdeans had been born on the islands, the proportion of migrants had diminished over time. In part this is simply the maturing second and third generations. But it is also the case that US immigration law brought this phase of movement to a close. Laws that required adult literacy, imposed in 1917, blocked many from leaving the islands where education had not been universal. Then in 1921 and 1924, severe restrictions were put in place by the Emergency Quota Act and the National Origins Act. Immigration from the Islands would not rebound until after the revisions of the acts in 1952 and their replacement in 1965, but this does not seem to have resulted in significant movement to Marion.

It becomes more difficult to certainly identify Marion residents of Portuguese descent in the mid to late 20th century for a variety of reasons, not the least of which is the absence of US Census of Population records after 1940. Thereafter, researchers must rely on intensive biographical research,

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[46] Other students with both foreign-born parents included those from Canada (9), the Azores (4), Armenia and Scotland (2 each), and Portugal (1). Those with one foreign-born parent included those from Canada (4), Greece or Ireland (2 each), Brazil and Sweden (1 each). Two students were foreign born, in Canada and Japan. Ten students had both parents born in Marion and 72 had one parent born in Marion. School Superintendent Report, Annual Report 1936, p. 195.

[47] Sippican Historical Society oral history and personal communication with Dempsey.

[48] Unsourced and undated clipping provided by Andrew Santos, ca. 1966, "School Awaits Disposition."

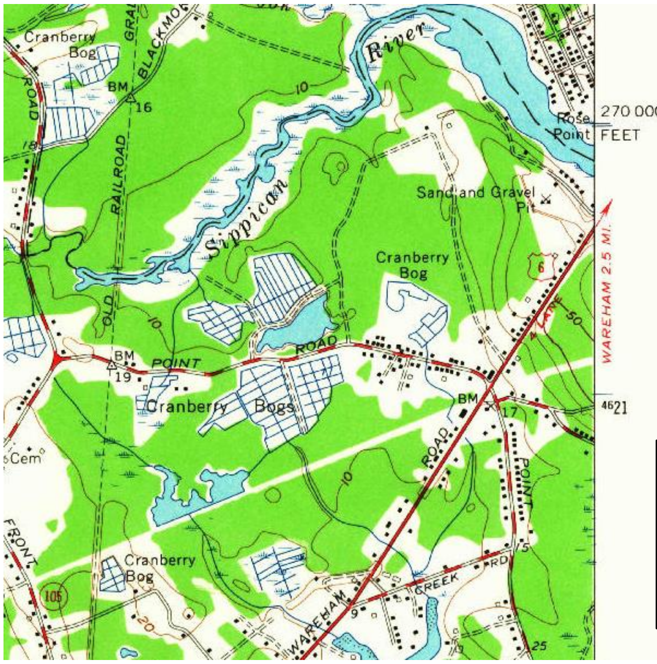
[49] School Superintendent and School Committee reports, Annual Reports, 1963 through 1967.

only feasible for selected individuals, or the considerably blunter tool of Portuguese name identification.[50] The former approach is reflected in the research undertaken for the building and area forms produced for this project, where a number of individuals are profiled, in addition to those noted in this report. For a more general view, the best source uncovered to date is the town's Street List of 1966, the earliest historic document which organizes information about Marion residents by street address, in a typescript in the Town Clerk's office. This document suggests that Marion's Portuguese neighborhoods remained in place and that the Point Road neighborhood continued to grow. Mill Street included about 16 households identified in this way, suggesting a comparatively stable neighborhood, and small numbers of Portuguese were listed in other locations across the town. But it is the Point Road neighborhood that includes the largest number by far of those considered in this exercise. There were more than 40 households on Point Road, about 17 on Wareham Street, and still more on the short streets that were added in the vicinity when larger parcels were subdivided. Rezendes Terrace to the east of Point below Wareham, Barros Drive to the south of Point north of Wareham, Hastings off Creek, and Green and Marvel streets north of Wareham east of Point were all newly developed and included at least 10 more Portuguese households in the general neighborhood. In that year there were 36 individuals on the list whose citizenship was Portuguese.

It appears that employment opportunities became more varied in the 1950s and 60s for men and women, and many achieved higher status and wages. Many of the occupations that Cape Verdeans had taken up earlier in the century remained popular, and the single largest employment category for men remained laborer (21), and many remained gardeners or landscapers (10) or caretakers (7); there was only one bog worker. The next largest employment category was military service, including seven each in the US Army and Air Force, and one each in the Coast Guard and the Navy. Many were involved in the building trades in a variety of categories including one contractor, ten in construction, and five carpenters, as well as a mason and a bricklayer, and perhaps the three foreman. Other common job categories included truck driver (7), machinist (4), janitor or custodian (3). Two each were self-employed, mill workers, or worked at Braincon (a local business); others worked for town departments (one each in water, highway, filter beds). Single individuals pursued a variety of occupations including shipper, bank super, cook, real estate agent, caddie master, club super, tv serviceman, barber, and welder, in the merchant marine, or at a country club, a boatyard, Sippican Corp (another local business), or TWA ramp services. A significant number of the men were retired (14, including two specifying that they had been farmers) and three were in rest homes; one male was disabled, one a student, and one unemployed. The vast majority of women were recorded as housewives (49) and many, likely older women, were "at home" (18) or in a rest home (2). But 18 worked in textile mills, likely in New Bedford or Fall River, while two did housework, eleven were domestics, two were nurses. Single workers were employed as a welder, floor super, receptionist, "govern prod," police dispatch, custodian, meat wrapper, supervisor, secretary, cook, in electronics, or did home sewing, and there was one Navy WAVE.

As can be seen on USGS Map of Marion (1962), the Point Road neighborhood experienced a second wave of growth in the postwar period, especially to the south of Wareham Road. This rapid growth marked a significant increase in the number of Portuguese property-owners in the area and their role in subdividing and developing the land there. Neighborhoods continued to include many related

[50] This method is of course prone to error, as names may be mis-identified, others have anglicized names, and "mixed" marriages would not be discernible. Households were counted which had an apparently Portuguese surname, and only the most general conclusions are noted here.



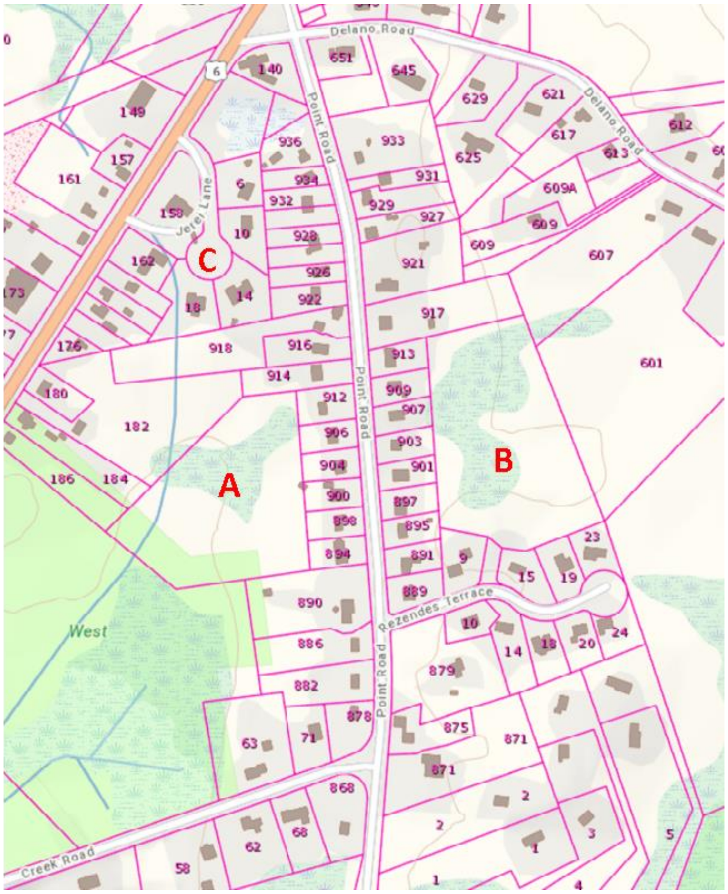
USGS Topographic Quad (Marion) 1962, details showing the Point and Wareham road intersection, showing the further increase in the number of houses along both streets, and a clear indication of the cranberry bogs.

families, and the pace of dwelling construction increased as succeeding generations accumulated capital and large families came of age. Although some residences were constructed on single lots, it became more common in this period for larger parcels to be subdivided into regular parcels of similar size and dimensions. And these parcels were uniformly acquired and developed by Cape Verdeans.

In 1944, the East Marion Real Estate Trust sold land it had purchased from the Gonsalves family on the east side of Point Road and which extended west to Wareham to Louis G Lopes and Frank Cruz of Marion. They sold the land on the east on Point to Ebenezer and Evelyn Holmes in 1946 and subdivided the land to the west on Wareham in 1947. Lopes (b. ca. 1917) lived on Point Road with his Cape Verdean family in 1930, his father a laborer, but further details and information on Cruz will require additional research. Holmes' father was a Marion boatbuilder who had Cape Verdeans in his household in 1900; the son was a plumber, his wife had a beauty shop. The Holmes would subdivide the lots on the east side of Point and many of those lots would be purchased by Portuguese individuals. The purchasers of some of the residual land were Cape Verdeans well known in the neighborhood, Belmiro and Mary Barros and Domingo and Amelia Pina. Belmiro J Barros purchased and developed additional land nearby (see below). Domingo R Pina (1920-2001) was the son of Manuel II and Felizarda Pina, the family living on upper Point Road. When he enlisted in the Army in 1942, he reported his occupation as gardener and groundskeeper. He married Amelia Ann Molizone (1920-2004). Eight houses were built on these lots between 1949 and 1964, and three more were added in the next two decades. [51]

In 1946, Belmiro Jose (de) Barros (1917-1987) purchased a large triangle of land at the southwest corner of Wareham Street and Point Road from Galen Stone's son Robert. Barros was born on Fogo and came to the US with his parents Carmino and Mary, and father and son worked as gardeners on a private estate, the son's employer identified as Francis Countway, owner of the property off lower Point

[51] See MHC Area form for Lopes/ Cruz/ Holmes Area, MRN.AE.



MassGIS Map of a section of Point Road below Wareham Street and Delano Road, marked with the large parcels subdivided in the postwar period, A by Lopes & Cruz and Holmes, B by Rezendes, and C by Barros.

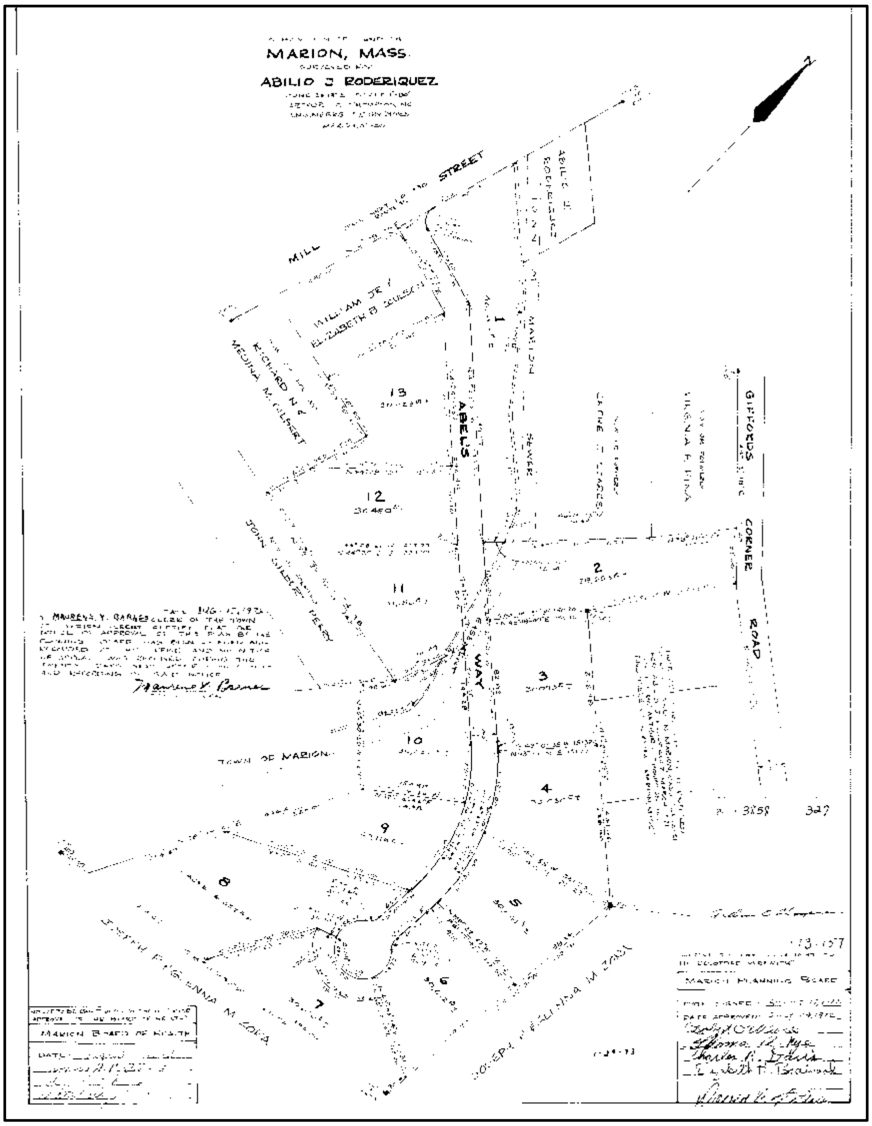
Road known as the Spanish Castle (MRN.W) where significant landscape features survive.[52] Shortly after his purchase, Belmiro platted five lots on Wareham and nine on Point Road, most measuring 50 feet across their frontage and 200 feet in depth, with a significant part of the lot (4.75 acres) undivided. The rest of the large lot was subdivided around the Jerei Lane cul-de-sac in 1960. The development in this area was more gradual than in the other two areas to the south, much occurring in the 1970s and 90s, and much of it was still held by Belmiro J Barros jr as late as 1994.[53]

Peter Gomes Rezendes (1903-1987) purchased a significant tract of land from the East Marion Real Trust in 1949 and he and his wife Maria DePina Rezendes (1915-1999) would be responsible for the subdivision of uniform parcels along the east side of Point and on Rezendes Terrace. While Rezendes was born on Fogo, Cape Verde, his wife was born in Marion and had lived for a time on Point Road (1920) before moving to Wareham; her parents were also from Fogo. Home-owner and naturalized citizen, Rezendes reported his occupation as stone spreader in the 1940 census and working at Firestone Tire & Rubber in New Bedford in 1942. The couple had 11 children, many of whom also settled in Marion or in neighboring communities. Rezendes subdivided the section along Point first, into nine lots

[52] Ancestry.com: Jaya Miller Family tree (no sources); MA Death Index; US Census 1930, 1940; WWII Draft Registration Card.
[53] PCRD:1938-480 (1946); plans 7:125 (1946) and 2875-978 (1961-573).

in 1949, and then divided Rezendes Terrace in 1961, adding sixteen houses to the neighborhood in 1949 and in the 1960s.[54]

Residential development continued around Gifford's Corner a little later in 20th century, spearheaded by local Cape Verdean developer Abilio Roderiques (ca. 1914-1994). Born in Brava, Cape Verde, Roderiques worked as a pipe fitter in Boston and then as a builder and developer in Marion after his retirement.[55] Roderiques acquired and subdivided the undeveloped eastern portions of what had been the Gifford's homestead and land to the south and west. To the south of Gifford's Corner, Abel's Way was laid out in the 1970s with houses constructed in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Giffords Corner Road itself was extended southeast in the 1980s, with eight lots laid out and sold off during that decade.



The subdivision of Abel's Way. Plymouth County Registry of Deeds, plan book 3858, plan 327, plan 1576 of 1973.

[54] See MHC area form for Rezendes Area, MRN.AG.

[55] See MHC area form for Gifford's Corner, MRN.AD.

Recommendations for further research:

This essay represents an initial effort to document the history of the Azorean and Cape Verdean residents of Marion, a story that is deserving of additional research. As this effort has noted, the Cape Verdean neighborhood around Point Road is larger than initially understood, and additional research is needed on the north section of Point Road as well as on Wareham Street, Creek Road, and others in the vicinity. There are as well additional sources that might be considered with additional research time. The census reports of 1930 and 1940 would benefit from closer examination, and the upcoming release of the 1950 census will also be very useful to this research. Town assessor and building inspector records would help understand the building process and the community of builders and would be helpful to chronicling the cranberry industry as well. This information, as well as additional research on individual properties and areas of related buildings, will fill out this important but understudied part of Marion's history.