

The Changing Cape: Using History to Engage Coastal Residents in Community Conversations about Climate Change

David Glassberg

My wife and I walk the beach constantly with our dogs. We have seen houses located on the dunes of the National Seashore fall into the ocean during winter storms. We see houses being raised onto stilts. We have seen huge sections of dunes collapse. We watch every year as heavy equipment has to rebuild beach access and stairs that are destroyed. We are currently looking for a larger house/lot, and yes rising sea levels are a huge factor in our conversations about where to live.

— *Mike Kubiak, Wellfleet, Massachusetts, September 2016*¹

SINCE 2001, the National Park Service (NPS) has explicitly embraced community engagement in its efforts to interpret social and political history. These strategies can also be employed to interpret environmental history topics such as climate change. The “Changing Cape” project, conducted at Cape Cod National Seashore in October 2016, suggests ways that public history and community engagement techniques can enhance how NPS communicates with the public about climate change and other environmental issues.

Community engagement and NPS

The report of the “National Park Service and Civic Engagement Workshop,” organized by the NPS Northeast Region in New York City in December 2001, identified three goals:

1. Heritage Resources are identified and protected that exemplify the fullness of the nation’s history and culture and its rich diversity;
2. Interpretation, curriculum-based education, and other public programming connect the heritage of the nation to its contemporary environmental, social, and cultural issues. Parks serve as important centers for democracy and as places to learn and reflect about American identity and the responsibilities of citizenship;

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3. Significant resources are preserved through park and regional planning and cooperative stewardship strategies. Partnerships characterize park designation, planning, development, and management.²

Long-term trends within NPS led to these goals.³ Concerning the first goal, since the 1960s the people interpreting history under NPS auspices have been coming from increasingly diverse social, political, and regional backgrounds. The agency had never interpreted the past with a single voice, but through its first 50 years its cultural outlook reflected that of many of its permanent employees: men from the rural South and West who entered NPS through veterans' preference.⁴ That began to change in the 1960s, and as more women, African Americans, and people from urban areas joined NPS, the histories that they wanted to interpret to the public grew more diverse. One principal organizer of the Civic Engagement Workshop in 2001, Marty Blatt, chief of cultural resources for Boston National Historical Park, was born and raised in Brooklyn and had come to NPS from the Massachusetts Department of Labor. By the late 1990s, Robert G. Stanton, who is African American and served as NPS director from 1997 to 2001, and John Hope Franklin, the prominent African American historian who chaired the 12-person NPS Advisory Board, were in positions of leadership and could insist that NPS broaden its historical interpretation to "be more inclusive" and look for "untold stories."⁵

The second goal, envisioning national parks as places where citizens can discuss issues of contemporary concern, however controversial, entered NPS in the 1990s through the agency's growing connection with historians outside the agency examining the politics of public memory and commemoration. In 1991, historian Edward T. Linenthal published a study of NPS management of battlefield sites, and in 1995 Linenthal and other scholars explored the political controversy surrounding the National Air and Space Museum's exhibit about the dropping of the atomic bomb.⁶ At the Civic Engagement Workshop in 2001, as well as in subsequent workshops, Linenthal and other outside historians challenged NPS not to shy away from interpreting controversial historical events, and to push visitors to consider connections between past and present.⁷ The concept of shared authority and interpretation as facilitated dialogue, advanced by the growing number of public history programs founded in the previous two decades, as well as by organizations such as the International Museum of Sites of Conscience, which was heavily involved in planning the 2001 workshop, also pushed NPS in that direction. So did the agency's increasing number of partnerships with outside entities, including the legal mandate beginning in 1990 by the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act to collaborate with tribal governments on the care and interpretation of objects of Native American origin.⁸

The Civic Engagement initiative's third goal, developing cooperative stewardship strategies, grew out of a long-term trend in NPS toward partnering with state and local government and private conservation organizations to offer more recreational opportunities and encourage the preservation and interpretation of lands beyond park borders. During the 1930s, NPS reached out from its original base—scenic "islands of protection" carved out of federally owned lands in the West—to assume control of historic battlefields from the War

Department, to oversee the Historic American Buildings Survey, and to provide technical assistance to state and local government recreation efforts. In the 1950s, NPS introduced the designation of National Seashore, and in the 1960s, National Recreation Area, and took on administration of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966. The 1970s and 1980s saw the development of National Historic Trails and National Heritage Areas. Although NPS's increased engagement with state and local government and private partners parallels the expanded reach of other federal agencies over the past century, it also came about, especially after 1981, because NPS budgets could no longer support the agency purchasing and managing significant scenic and historic properties on its own. Several of those planning the Civic Engagement Workshop in 2001, such as Superintendent Rolf Diamant of Marsh–Billings–Rockefeller National Historical Park, came up through the system working in “external” areas, so knew firsthand the particular challenges of conserving nature and culture in peopled landscapes, establishing management goals across multiple jurisdictions, and, considering a landscape's local as well as national significance, how well it embodies a distinctive local community character and sense of place.⁹

Community engagement and Cape Cod National Seashore

Of necessity, since its establishment in 1961, Cape Cod National Seashore has employed cooperative strategies for the conservation and interpretation of significant natural and cultural resources.¹⁰ Rather than being carved out of federal lands, like earlier national parks, the national seashore encompasses six long-settled towns, from Chatham to Provincetown, where NPS established park boundaries but did not acquire all of the land within them. At Cape Cod, Congress for the first time authorized the expenditure of taxpayer dollars to purchase private property for incorporation into the park. Its founding legislation created a patchwork of public and privately owned properties, managed by a Citizens Advisory Commission of local residents and officials. Thus, from the beginning, Cape Cod National Seashore has been concerned with conserving the special character of the landscape and balancing the needs of seasonal tourists with year-round residents who live around its properties.

In 2003, the national seashore asked the University of Massachusetts–Amherst Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning to help them understand the impact of continued economic development and four decades of NPS management activities on local residents and the landscape. As part of that effort, we organized a series of three community meetings, or “Cape Conversations,” in June 2003, in Eastham, Provincetown, and Wellfleet. At each meeting, we projected a mix of contemporary and historical photographs, and quotations from the public hearings in 1959–1961 that led to the creation of the national seashore, in order to prompt discussion about how the Cape had changed. The community conversation method elicits memories attached to places, and unlike individual interviews, encourages a collective processing of the experience of environmental change over time.¹¹

The resulting document, *People and Places on the Outer Cape: A Landscape Character Study* (2004), observed that the principal challenge to conserving landscape character came from development pressure and the dramatic increase in year-round population on the Cape since the 1980s.¹² No one at the time identified the effects of climate change as a threat to the

places that mattered in their community. Since then, warming temperatures and the prospect of accelerated sea-level rise and increased incidence of violent storms has threatened to dramatically alter or even obliterate storied landscape features and ways of life on the Outer Cape. In the space of a generation, changes in climate are beginning to affect the health and distribution of familiar flora and fauna, the viability of resource-based industries such as deep-sea fishing, hazard insurance rates, the performance of septic systems, and decisions about real estate.

Curious about how the prospect of climate change, in addition to other factors, might be affecting local residents' sense of place and ontological security, I spent my sabbatical in the fall of 2016 at Cape Cod National Seashore organizing a new series of four community conversations.¹³ Our method, as in 2003, was to project a mix of contemporary and historical photographs and quotations on a screen in order to prompt reflections about change over time. In addition to Cape Cod National Seashore, the community conversations were co-sponsored by local historical societies (of Provincetown, Truro, Wellfleet, Eastham), the Association to Preserve Cape Cod, the Center for Coastal Studies in Provincetown, and the Mass Audubon Society in Wellfleet. The project was simultaneously an ethnographic research activity and a community engagement/interpretation activity in support of Cape Cod National Seashore's cultural and natural resource management goals.¹⁴ The remainder of this essay will assess what NPS can learn from this community engagement project about communicating with the public on climate change and other environmental issues.

We initially thought of titling the series "Climate Conversations." But after a discussion with Dani Crawford, an interpretive ranger with experience interpreting climate change at other national parks; Bill Burke, cultural resources program manager; Sue Moynihan, chief of interpretation and cultural resources management; and George Price, the superintendent, we concluded that that title would probably only bring out local residents already concerned about the topic. Moreover, as in 2003, my principal collaborator was Bill Burke in cultural resources, and while we had the backing of environmental organizations, it made sense to promote the conversations as discussions about local history, which facilitated the participation of local historical societies as project partners. Understanding that the conservation of nature and history on the Outer Cape are inextricably intertwined, we decided to call the conversation series "The Changing Cape," and borrowing a phrase from the National Trust for Historic Preservation's "This Place Matters" campaign, subtitled it "Protecting the Places that Matter" (Figure 1).

The four conversations were an iterative process; based on the public response in one meeting, we changed the order of the slides and refined the topics and questions we asked in the next. By the end, we had settled on the order described below.

Picking up from the 2003 conversations, we began by asking residents what qualities they thought made the character of the Outer Cape landscape special, and projected a quotation from the 1960 hearings about the contributions of both nature and culture.

You can turn the Lower Cape into a summer recreation and amusement area for a million people, but you cannot, at the same time, conserve its natural charm. This

can be conserved, however, if emphasis is put upon the conserving of the way of life of the people living in this area, and also on the conserving of the flora and fauna which have been put there by nature.

For 300 years the flora and fauna and the people have gotten along with mutual understanding; so successfully that it is an outstanding characteristic which accounts, to a marked degree, for the charm of the area. This mutuality of understanding between man and nature can best be preserved by preserving both man's way and nature's way.

Joshua Nickerson, Orleans, Massachusetts, 1960¹⁵

In several of the community conversations, residents challenged Nickerson's conclusion that there was a way of life that could be conserved. In the words of a woman in Provincetown

Figure 1. Flyer for "The Changing Cape" community conversations, 2016.



Paine-Atkins House, Longbrook Road, Truro, MA (1890)

Community Conversation

The Changing Cape: Conversations About Protecting the Places that Matter

Like other coastal communities, towns on Cape Cod are experiencing social, economic, and ecological changes. What places on Cape Cod do you care about the most? What environmental threats do these special places face? What actions might protect them for future generations?

Join your neighbors and University of Massachusetts Historian David Glassberg for a conversation about these changes. We'll have some unusual historical photographs to start the conversation, and we invite you to bring stories and photographs to share.

DATES & LOCATIONS

October 6 | 5-6:30 PM
Truro Public Library

October 18 | 7-8:30 PM
Salt Pond Visitor Center

October 26 | 6:30-8 PM
Wellfleet Public Library

November 6 | 2-3:30 PM
Provincetown Public Library

For more information:

Find us on facebook
www.facebook.com/ChangingCape

or call Salt Pond Visitor Center at 508-255-3421 or the Truro Historical Society at 508-487-3397

Sponsored by the Cape Cod National Seashore, the UMass Amherst Public History Program, the Truro Historical Society, Save Truro Seashore, Center for Coastal Studies, Pilgrim Monument and Provincetown Museum, Eastham Historical Society, the Association to Preserve Cape Cod, and Mass Audubon's Wellfleet Bay Wildlife Sanctuary

town, “Circumstances have outrun us on preserving a particular way of life here.”¹⁶ This observation offered a superb introduction to the discussion that followed, of local residents’ experience of change: economic, social, and ecological.

We framed our discussion of economic and social change by asking how Cape residents interacted with the natural environment over time. As in 2003, historic photographs of fishing and agriculture prompted conversations about the biggest economic change on the Cape since the early 20th century, the shift from natural-resource-based industries to tourism. The conversation in 2016 had a sharper point as year-round residents complained that the dramatic increase in tourism, while the area’s economic lifeblood, also cut them off from enjoying their favorite places during the summer. A woman in Wellfleet, who had been living on the Cape year round for the past 17 years, observed, “What is really sad for me to watch is we have such a fragile environment and to see people all over the place who have no clue about what this place is about. I feel that the Outer Cape has become some kind of Disneyland in the summer.... These people have so much money compared to what we have.”¹⁷ A long-time resident added that in recent years crowds have caused many of his “secret spots” to be fenced off for protection, which “jeopardizes the people who live here year round from enjoying the natural part of Cape Cod that we love.... That’s what happens when you get too many people in one area, they take it from you.”¹⁸

While tourism remains important, conversations revealed concern about a different economic transition, the influx of retirees building new homes or purchasing what had formerly been rental houses and turning them into condos. A table indicating that nearly one-third of working-age men on the Outer Cape worked in the construction industry prompted a woman in Eastham to note the paradox of a local economy based on building, at the same time that residents decried development. She asked, “Construction jobs need population growth. Is this a goal?”¹⁹ Residents complained that much of this new construction activity consisted of wealthy newcomers tearing down modest older homes—what *Better Homes and Gardens* celebrated in 1938 as “the genuine Cape Cod house”—to build “ecologically devastating” McMansions.²⁰

This led to a discussion of how rapidly escalating housing prices kept families with young children from settling in the region. Anticipating this comment, we projected a slide with statistics showing the percentage of residents in each town under age 18, which had dropped by approximately 25% since 2003.²¹ We heard poignant comments about the sustainability of Cape communities without children, and several residents made analogies to environmental conservation, that nesting plovers could find homes at Cape Cod National Seashore, but not the children of local residents. A woman in Provincetown remarked, “There are no young people in this town so you can’t even call some young kid and say can you please shovel my walk for me? We have to do it ourselves.” Another added, “It’s not natural to have a concentration of older people with no younger people coming up behind.”²²

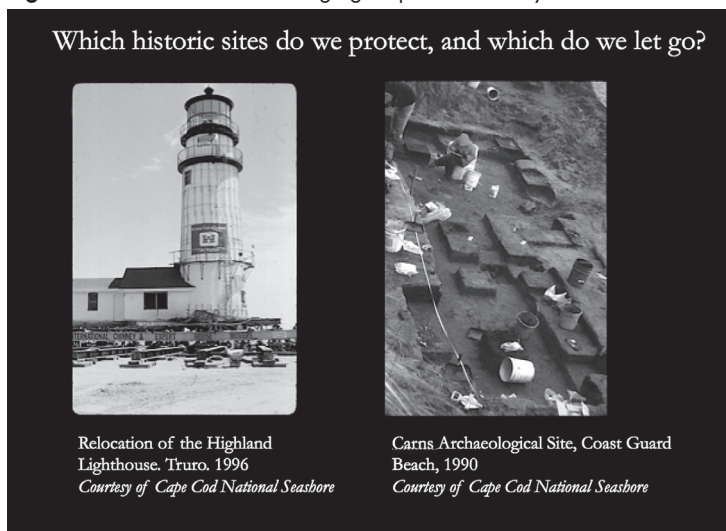
In response to the Nickerson quote about preserving both the human way and nature’s way, which we showed at the end rather than beginning of the Truro conversation, one man commented, “It really takes viable communities to make that happen. That’s really what we work on, and we’ve touched on things like changing occupational trends and young people

leaving. What that means about schools, the number of second homes versus people who are living here, the cost of housing, all these things sort of interlock with the environment. If we don't have communities, we have a museum of sand dunes but we don't have a community where we live and interact with people."²³

After discussing economic and demographic changes on the Outer Cape, the conversation turned to ecological changes. Because of my interest in climate change, we introduced the topic with a diagram illustrating the greenhouse effect, a graph showing rising average annual temperatures on Cape Cod, and the Surging Seas Interactive Risk Zone map projecting future sea-level rise.²⁴ We followed this with a photograph of Henry Beston's famous "Outermost House" near Coast Guard Beach in Eastham being washed out to sea in a storm in 1978, the quotation from Wellfleet resident Mike Kubiak about housing that appears at the beginning of this essay, and a picture of the newly completed Herring Cove bathhouse facilities in Provincetown, which NPS built with movable structures and a relocated parking lot that take anticipated increased storms and sea-level rise into account.²⁵ Focusing on cultural resources, we paired a slide of Highland Light House, which had been moved to higher ground 20 years earlier, with one of a coastal archaeological site threatened with inundation. This prompted questions about NPS policies concerning what cultural resources will be protected and who decides (Figure 2).²⁶ Although I was not in a position to answer these questions, I informed residents that NPS would be publishing a "Cultural Resources Climate Change Strategy" document at the end of the year, and emphasized the importance in a democracy of having public conversations about these issues.

Not all ecological change discussed was climate-related. While sea-level rise and increased incidence of violent storms accelerates beach erosion, shifting sands have always been part of living on the Outer Cape, though in Truro a man noted that the economic conse-

Figure 2. Slide from "The Changing Cape" community conversation.



quences are greater for the new, more expensive waterfront homes than for the older homes, which were customarily built inland on higher ground. “It just doesn’t make sense to me that people are willing to invest in something that if they did any research would know that they are not going to be able to keep it.”²⁷ In Eastham, a woman observed that in the 19th century, students could see the ocean from their schoolhouse, a view now totally obscured by reforestation.²⁸ And in Wellfleet, in response to a historic photograph of surfcasting as a recreational activity enjoyed by local residents, a man commented that since the passage of the Marine Mammals Protection Act in 1972, seals have made surfcasting impossible. “Definitely no more surfcasting out there. I used to go surfcasting all the time, but since there’s been the seal population moving in, there’s no fish on the beach at night anymore.” A woman responded that since sharks have followed the seals closer to shore, she could no longer swim “with abandon.” “It seems to me that the fisherman have lost a lot of their livelihood because of this encouragement of seals, that have brought the sharks. For whose benefit is all this? Is this to be the land of the sharks?”²⁹

We concluded each community conversation with a consideration of the NPS mission, since its founding in 1916, “to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.” Local residents contemplated what “unimpaired” means when environments are changing faster than scientists can understand them. How can we feel at home in a changing environment? And paraphrasing the novelist Terry Tempest Williams, how do we find refuge in change?³⁰

Interpreting history and climate change with the public

What can NPS learn from this project about interpreting history and climate change? In 2012, Philip Cafaro asked the readers of this journal “What Should NPS Tell Visitors (and Congress) about Climate Change?” He complained that NPS “can do” stories about resilience and adaptation neglect the truth about the serious losses both human and non-humans will experience in parks and (formerly) protected areas. Visitors to NPS areas should be told “the truth about this—all of it—not just the parts that visitors feel comfortable hearing or that park interpreters feel comfortable saying.”³¹

At the same time that Cafaro’s article appeared, NPS was beginning to develop its *Cultural Resources Climate Change Strategy*, which it published at the end of 2016. That document addresses the question Cape Cod residents asked about how NPS decides which cultural resources to protect, and how to protect them. Through vulnerability assessments that weigh the historic significance of the resource, the location of the resource relative to sea-level rise and other hazards, and the capacity of the resource to withstand damage, NPS can prioritize among resources to protect and strategies to protect them.³²

The *Cultural Resources Climate Change Strategy* includes several references to community engagement and interpretation. One is the recommendation that NPS and its state and local partners to go beyond technical and National Register criteria to assess a resource’s contemporary significance through consultation with diverse stakeholders.³³ The call for consultation and public discussion suggests the utility of community engagement projects

along the lines of “The Changing Cape” for understanding the impact of climate change on the places that matter most to local residents and making decisions about adaptation. Although the word “justice” does not appear in the document, such consultation is a matter of heritage justice, the right of peoples to have the places with historical significance for their culture acknowledged and remembered.

Following from earlier NPS documents about climate change interpretation, the *Cultural Resources Climate Change Strategy* insists that “Every Place has a Climate Story.” It calls for interpreting (1) change in the material world; (2) change in experience and lifeways (“How are modern communities experiencing change? How do memories of and expectations for local climates and environments connect with current climate experiences?”); (3) insights on how past societies have interacted with and responded to environmental change; and (4) how the modern climate situation has come to be.³⁴ Community engagement projects along the lines of “The Changing Cape” are well suited to eliciting discussions about these questions, especially the second one. Community conversations encourage the discovery and sharing of human stories about changing ways of life that can make historical interpretation more effective.³⁵

Most provocatively, the NPS *Cultural Resources Climate Change Strategy* argues that rather than assume preservation in perpetuity, “document and prepare for loss” is an acceptable option.³⁶ Preparing for loss is a material process that includes revising building maintenance schedules and other details. But it is also a psychological process.

Historically, coastal residents have always adjusted to loss and change. Alanna Casey argues that coastal residents have continually experienced dramatic changes to their environment from storms and shifting sands; climate change represents an increase in the speed and volatility of weather events, but not a qualitative change.³⁷ Nevertheless, when does a quantitative change in the frequency of storms and flooding become a qualitative change? When does change become loss?

NPS interpreters can use community conversations about history to explore the differences in perspective between loss and change. During a research project investigating climate communication at Fire Island National Seashore, Jamie Remillard discovered that, after Hurricane Sandy in 2012, the public perceived a breach in the island as a loss, but scientists perceived it as change.³⁸ The national seashore could incorporate that finding through public programs and community conversations.

Unlike wayside exhibits or other interpretive tools, community engagement projects such as the “Changing Cape” allow the public to not only learn about the causes and impact of climate change, but also to process their anticipated losses together in a communal setting. It provides a forum to express their anxiety and grieve the impending loss of places to which they have become emotionally attached, to express their ambivalence about taking action to mitigate climate change by dramatically lowering their carbon footprint, and to express their desire for refuge and repair.³⁹ Cafaro recommends that NPS interpret climate change to the public in ways that raise fear and spur action, but the “Changing Cape” project suggests that NPS would also benefit from sponsoring more open-ended community discussions where people can “work through” their fear.

The stories of fear, grief, and loss that we heard were more profound than the typical “this problem needs a solution” information that NPS usually seeks to gather in public meetings. Much of what we heard from Cape residents were problems without solutions, and questions that in one way or another came down to how they might adjust to a world where, in the words of scientists, “stationarity is dead,” and weather events will come along for which no analogue can be found in the past climate record during a time when humans existed on earth.⁴⁰ However, it is important to remember that they saw climate change as not the only threat to the continued existence of their communities. Many Cape residents identified recent demographic changes, such as the lack of year-round jobs since the decline of the fishing industry and young families priced out of the real estate market by affluent retirees, as potentially bigger losses. One potential benefit of a community engagement project for communicating about climate change is the ability to include the context of other major forces of change.

Each generation experiences the environment as a new baseline, and forms new expectations about it as old ones are forgotten. Community conversations about history and climate change can offer the human, psychological equivalent of adaptation, a way for the public to understand that just as the present is not like the past, the future will not be like the present. Such conversations can also be a means for helping the public to find refuge in change, to learn to let go of environments to which they have become attached. However, historical interpretation can also remind the public that with all that they have to lose, there remains the potential for human agency, to make positive change to the environment. The *NPS Coastal Adaptations Strategy Handbook* remarks that NPS coastal management policies are moving along a continuum from “resisting change” to “accommodating change” to “directing change,” and NPS historical interpretation could potentially move the public along that continuum as well.⁴¹

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Endnotes

1. Mike Kubiak, post on the *New York Times* Facebook page, September 27, 2016.
2. NPS, *The National Park Service and Civic Engagement: The Report of a Workshop Held December 6–8, 2001, in New York City*, 14. Online at <https://www.nps.gov/civic/about/civic.pdf>.
3. See David Glassberg, “Reflections on the Past, Present, and Future of Civic Engagement in National Parks,” forthcoming in *Connections across People, Place, and Time: Proceedings of the 2017 George Wright Society Conference on Parks, Protected Areas, and Cultural Sites*.

4. The observation that “many” NPS employees in the agency’s first 50 years were military veterans who hailed from the South and West is somewhat speculative, since no one has done systematic research on the changing composition of the NPS workforce over time. A brief overview of the history of the veterans’ preference in federal hiring appears in Gregory B. Lewis, “The Impact of Veterans’ Preference on the Composition and Quality of the Federal Civil Service,” *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* vol. 23 (April 2013): 247–265.
5. See NPS, *Rethinking National Parks for the 21st Century: A Report of the National Park System Advisory Board*, July 2001. Online at <http://www.nps.gov/policy/report.htm>.
6. Edward T. Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991); Edward T. Linenthal and Thomas Engelhardt, eds., *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past* (New York: New Press, 1996).
7. Edward T. Linenthal, “The National Park Service and Civic Engagement,” *The Public Historian* 28, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 123-129.
8. Barbara J. Little, “Archeology and Civic Engagement,” *Technical Brief #23*, NPS Archeology Program, November 2008.
9. Brenda Barrett and Eleanor Mahoney, “National Heritage Areas: Learning from 30 Years of Working to Scale,” *The George Wright Forum* vol. 33, no. 2 (2016): 163–174.
10. On the establishment of Cape Cod National Seashore, see Francis P. Burling, *The Birth of the Cape Cod National Seashore* (Plymouth, MA: Leyden Press, 1977); Charles H.W. Foster, *The Cape Cod National Seashore: A Landmark Alliance* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1985).
11. We employed this method in an earlier research project in western New England, “Defining and Supporting Town Character,” described in David Glassberg, *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 129–163.
12. Jack Ahern, David Glassberg, Elisabeth Hamin, and Ethan Carr, *People and Places on the Outer Cape: A Landscape Character Study* (2004). Online at <https://permanent.access.gpo.gov/lps114840/landscape.pdf>.
13. On the importance of attachment to familiar places as a source of ontological security, see Jane Grenville, “Conservation as Psychology: Ontological Security and the Built Environment,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* vol. 13 (November 2007): 447–461; on the utility of this concept for understanding how individuals respond to the prospect of climate change, see David Glassberg, “Place, Memory, and Climate Change,” *The Public Historian* vol. 36, no. 3 (2014): 17–30.
14. In addition to endorsing the project, Cape Cod National Seashore provided researcher housing; the labor of two Student Conservation Association interns, Josie Mumm and Charlotte Hecht; and photocopying and publicity services, and also hosted the Eastham conversation at the park visitor center. The other partners endorsed the project, publicized it among their members, and arranged for the meetings to be held in their town’s public library.

15. The area encompassing Cape Cod National Seashore, commonly referred to as the “Outer Cape,” is also known as the “Lower Cape.” Nickerson’s testimony at the hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs appears in David Jenkins, *Culture of Preservation: The Cape Cod National Seashore Hearings, 1959–61, Draft Report* (Boston: NPS Boston Support Office, January 2003), 17.
16. Audio recording of Provincetown conversation, November 6, 2016, log 23:10, Cape Cod National Seashore archives.
17. Audio recording of Wellfleet conversation, October 26, 2016, log 18:12, Cape Cod National Seashore archives.
18. Audio recording of Wellfleet conversation, October 26, 2016, log 21:20, Cape Cod National Seashore archives.
19. Employment statistics courtesy of *City-Data.com*, accessed October 18, 2016; Eastham conversation, October 18, 2016, author’s notes, no audio recording available.
20. “A genuine Cape Cod house, with all of its quaint and subtle charm, has developed an identity that can’t be mistaken. The shingles, the shutters, the white picket fences, the low eaves with simple doorways and windows snuggled up under them—all lend to the charm of the infinitely livable houses found on Cape Cod”; quoted from “A Genuine Cape Cod House designed by R. B. Wills,” *Better Homes and Gardens* vol. 16 (January 1938).
21. U.S. Census data, published in *Cape Cod Times*, March 23, 2011.
22. Audio recording of Provincetown conversation, November 6, 2016, log 31:47, Cape Cod National Seashore archives.
23. Audio recording of Truro conversation, October 6, 2016, log 57:38, Cape Cod National Seashore archives.
24. The Surging Seas Interactive Risk Zone Map (<http://ss2.climatecentral.org>) allows audiences to visualize different levels of inundation from sea-level rise in a particular place. Climate Central, a non-profit research and journalism organization, developed it for use in public educational activities related to climate change.
25. Mark Borelli, “Reducing Vulnerability of Coastal Visitor Facilities at Cape Cod National Seashore,” in Courtney A. Schupp, Rebecca L. Beavers, and Maria A. Caffrey, eds., *Coastal Adaptation Strategies: Case Studies*, NPS 99/129700 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, September 2015), 41–43.
26. The Cape Hatteras Lighthouse was moved in 1999 at a cost of nearly \$12 million, and might need to be moved again by the end of the 21st century; see Maria Caffrey and Rebecca Beavers, “Protecting Cultural Resources in Coastal US National Parks from Climate Change,” *The George Wright Forum* vol. 25, no. 2 (2008): 86–97, and “Relocating the Lighthouse,” in Schupp et al., eds., *Coastal Adaptation Strategies: Case Studies*.
27. Audio recording of Truro conversation, October 6, 2016, log 46:05. At the same Truro meeting, another man related the story of friend who said that when she bought her property on Ocean Drive in Wellfleet she had three acres, but when she sold it she had

- one acre. At the 2017 George Wright Society Conference session on “Integrating Coastal Adaptation in National Parks” (April 3), someone in the audience noted the land use jurisdictional issues that coastal communities face; do communities and homeowners have legal rights to migratory sand?
28. Eastham conversation, October 18, 2016, author’s notes, no audio recording available.
 29. Audio recording of Wellfleet conversation, October 26, 2016, log 20:58, 24:17, Cape Cod National Seashore archives.
 30. Terry Tempest Williams, *Refuge: An Unnatural History of Family and Place* (New York: Vintage, 1991).
 31. Philip Cafaro, “What Should NPS Tell Visitors (and Congress) About Climate Change?” *The George Wright Forum* vol. 29, no. 3 (2012): 287–298.
 32. Marcy Rockman et al., *Cultural Resources Climate Change Strategy* (Washington, DC: National Park Service Cultural Resources, Partnerships, and Science and Climate Change Response Program, 2016); see also Rockman, “An NPS Framework for Addressing Climate Change with Cultural Resources,” *The George Wright Forum* vol. 32, no. 1 (2015): 37–50.
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 35. Jackie Gonzales, “Interpreting Climate Change through Human Stories at Coastal National Park Sites,” *History@Work Blog*, National Council on Public History, January 2, 2017.
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 40. P.D.C. Milly et al., “Stationarity is Dead: Wither Water Management?” *Science* vol. 319 (February 1, 2008): 573–574. For an overview of the scientific literature on the “no-analogue” future, and its relevance for public historians, see Glassberg, “Place, Memory, and Climate Change.”

41. See Rebecca Beavers, Courtney Schupp, and Cat Hawkins Hoffman, “Introduction,” in *Coastal Adaptation Strategies Handbook*, NPS 999/134090 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016), 2.

David Glassberg, Department of History, University of Massachusetts–Amherst, Amherst, MA 01003; glassberg@history.umass.edu