VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE IN THE CODROY VALLEY: LOCAL AND EXTERNAL INFLUENCES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF A BUILDING TRADITION

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VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE IN THE CODROY VALLEY: LOCAL AND EXTERNAL INFLUENCES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF A BUILDING TRADITION

BY

© Richard Paul MacKinnon, B.A., M.A.

A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Folklore
Memorial University of Newfoundland
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St. John's Newfoundland

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the vernacular architecture tradition of one region of Canada, the Codroy Valley, Newfoundland, and is based on a wide range of both field and archival materials. The important factors in the development of this building tradition were: cultural antecedents, economics, international fashion, mass housing and local traditions.

The first important influence on Codroy Valley building was the cultural homeland of Cape Breton Island, the area from where Codroy Valley settlers migrated in the mid-nineteenth century. The first generation architecture in this antecedent district was much different from that found in the Old World. Most buildings of this period in Cape Breton Island were made of wood and employed log and frame construction along with new world floorplans. While the origins of some building patterns such as the use of squared and chinked horizontal log construction are questionable, they obviously developed in the new world. Nevertheless, one persistent element of old world architectural tradition remained--the use of the kitchen as the largest and most important room of the dwelling house.

When settlers migrated from Cape Breton Island and established their homes in the Codroy Valley, diffusion of architectural traits occurred. Log construction was carried

over to be used in houses and has continued to be evident in many barns and outbuildings. The frame construction tradition established in Cape Breton Island likewise continued in Newfoundland; it is fair to say that at the time of migration Codroy Valley builders chose to build the kinds of buildings they were familiar with in Cape Breton Island.

While the antecedent area of Cape Breton island exerted much influence on Codroy Valley architecture, another source area was the coastal fishing settlement of Codroy. Predominantly English and protestant by the mid-eighteenth century, Codroy village was a source region for small, one and one-half storey frame dwellings and provided early Codroy Valley settlers with a knowledge of fishing technology.

Economics was yet another important factor in the shaping of this building tradition. As the economic stability of the farming community increased in the latter years of the nineteenth century, newer architectural patterns began to be accepted. No longer were residents willing to rely solely upon the older ways of building, but were instead adopting more modern house types--the international fashions of the time. But the community did not reject the old and totally accept the new; rather, they reacted conservatively to the introduction of these international fashions, accepting some of the features, and ignoring others. What resulted from this amalgam was a unique blend of traditional and modern housing, a mixture which makes Codroy Valley architecture distinctive.

As the twentieth century developed mass housing forms began to infiltrate the region, but residents chose again to accept only a small number of these outside forms. Of the wide variety of mass housing available, residents selectively borrowed only a few templates, and modified these to suit their own requirements.

While mass housing forms influenced the region, so too did local traditions. One common traditional activity in the district was the altering and moving of buildings for a variety of reasons. The house moving and modification reveals that vernacular architecture is not inert but is rather, organic in nature. A close study of one farm in Great Codroy shows that farms were also dynamic, being extensively modified with the passage of time, as well as the place where much of Codroy Valley living and working occurred. Cultural traditions, too, affected the architecture; occasions such as weddings, wakes, mummering, millings and visiting and the kinds of social events accompanying these traditions meant that appropriate spaces were allocated in the region's dwellings to hold such traditional activities.

Ultimately this thesis is about people--the people of the Codroy Valley--and how they manipulate their physical and natural environment. This study can assist others, including developers, builders, planners or citizens, in making decisions about the future architectural needs of the many rural communities of Canada.

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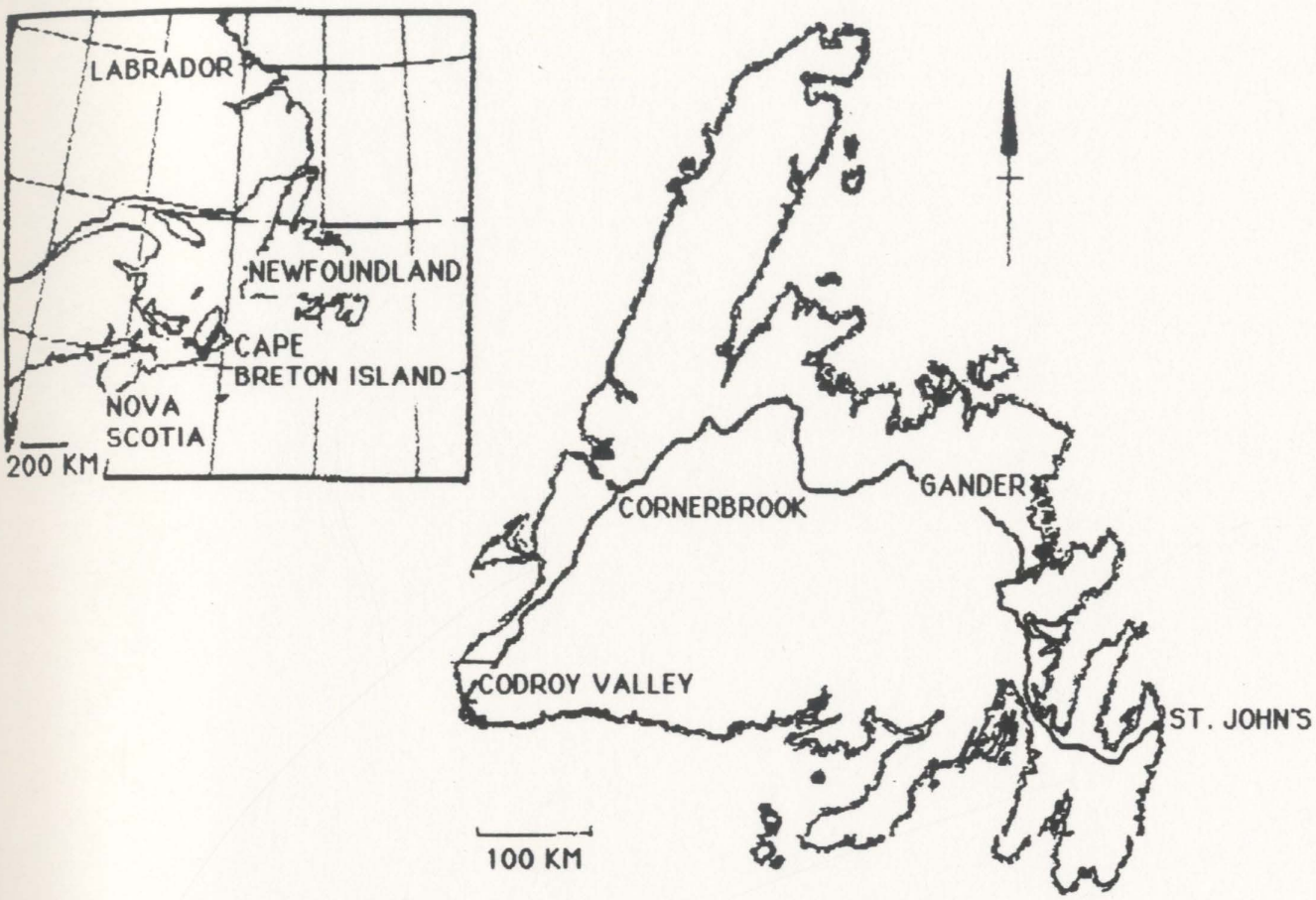
Chapter 1 - Introduction

The road winds and curves its way from the turnoff at the Trans Canada highway to the small community of St. Andrews, Codroy Valley. Made long before heavy machinery and modern road building equipment, its worn pavement merely follows an older wagon and cart path within sight of the banks of the Little Codroy River. From the turnoff at the Trans Canada highway I followed this road in June of 1982 in my old Chevy Nova until I entered St. Andrews to discover a crossroads complete with a general store, church and community hall. I knew the names of two people who lived here--Neil McIsaac and Michael MacNeil--names given to me by a schoolteacher friend from Cape Breton Island, Anna Campbell, whose forefathers migrated from this Valley to mine coal in Cape Breton Island. I headed north at the crossroads, as directed, to go a few hundred yards until I saw two small houses in a field. The smaller house would be Neil's, I was told, where he lived alone as a bachelor; Mike's would be the slightly larger one where he resided with his wife Marge and his two children, Sheldon and Sherri.

Being nervous, I drove past the two houses I was searching for, and to get a sense of the Valley's geography, continued to drive through Searston, on to Upper Ferry, across the bridge spanning the Grand Codroy River, and through Great Codroy and O'Regans on the river's north side (Figure 1). It was early morning and the sun was rising over

Figure 1 Map of Newfoundland and the Maritimes showing the Codroy Valley and Cape Breton Island.



NEWFOUNDLAND AND THE MARITIMES

the Long Range mountains offering a stunning vista of the entire Valley. I turned the car around at the end of the paved road, returned to St. Andrews, and pulled into Neil's driveway. He was waiting on the verandah where he invited me inside to his small, hot kitchen. I explained who I was; he of course knew of me long before I entered his home, as Anna Campbell had forewarned him of my arrival. "I am the fellow from New Waterford who is interested in architecture and who is looking for a place to stay for the summer," I said, as I explained what I was doing on his doorstep. He accepted my hasty explanation and immediately moved to more practical matters, like offering me a cup of tea and helping to arrange a place for me to live. He took me down the hill and through the field to meet his neighbour, Mike MacNeil, where we all discussed where I might stay while doing my fieldwork in the Valley.

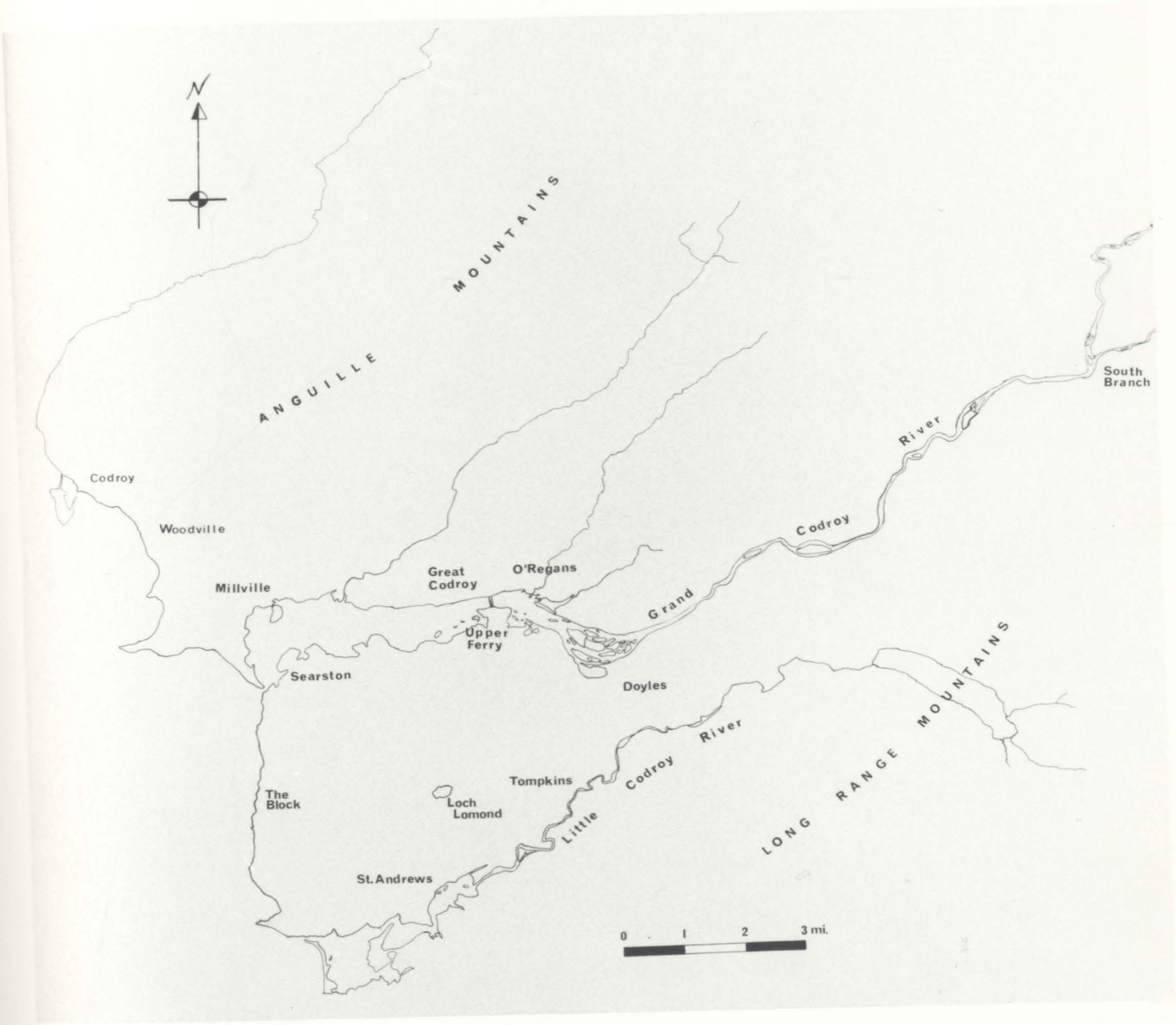
Lunch followed the arranging of accommodations and then Mike and Neil invited me to join them in their collecting of funds for a Valley priest who was moving to a new location. With Mike driving, we travelled by car along the road from St. Andrews to Searston stopping at a number of houses along the way. I had an opportunity to see a variety of house styles, ranging from the flat-roofed two storey type so common in Newfoundland, to modern bungalows and late nineteenth century styles familiar to me from my home in Cape Breton Island. At each house I observed the way in which Mike and Neil entered without knocking, and proceeded to banter

and joke with the owner before discussing the purpose of the visit. After returning from this afternoon excursion it was time for me to return to Cape Breton Island.

This, in a sense, was my first of many lessons in Codroy Valley culture. The hospitality offered by my hosts, the offerings of food, drink and conversation, the hot kitchens and bantering were all a part of the everyday life of the Codroy Valley--the kinds of things a folklorist is often interested in writing about. Being primarily interested in material culture, I gave some thought to the collections of objects I was seeing--the houses, the outbuildings, the hay barracks, the churches and stores--but at this stage, I was unfamiliar with the architectural patterns of this region.

On my six hour boat trip to North Sydney that evening, I had time to think about what I had seen and why I was beginning a study of the vernacular architecture of the Codroy Valley. I was captivated by this picturesque region because of its connection to my home area of Cape Breton Island. Lying on the southwestern corner of the island of Newfoundland, intersected by the Little and Grand Codroy Rivers, and surrounded by the Anguille and the Long Range mountains, this region was settled mainly by Cape Bretoners who travelled across the Cabot Strait between 1840 and 1860 (Figure 2). Following in the footsteps of cultural geographers and folklife specialists who have traced the geographical distribution of specific cultural traits, I wondered whether or not architectural ideas had diffused from

Figure 2 Map of the Codroy Valley, Newfoundland.


N
ANGUILLE MOUNTAINS
South Branch
River
Codroy
Codroy
Woodville
Millville
Great Codroy
O'Regans
Grand
Upper Ferry
Searston
Doyles
Codroy River
Tompkins
The Block
Loch Lomond
Little
LONG RANGE MOUNTAINS
St. Andrews
0 1 2 3 mi.

Cape Breton Island to the Codroy Valley at the time of migration. I asked myself, were the architectural patterns similar in both regions or did Codroy Valley settlers choose a different kind of architectural form than the ones previously known by them?

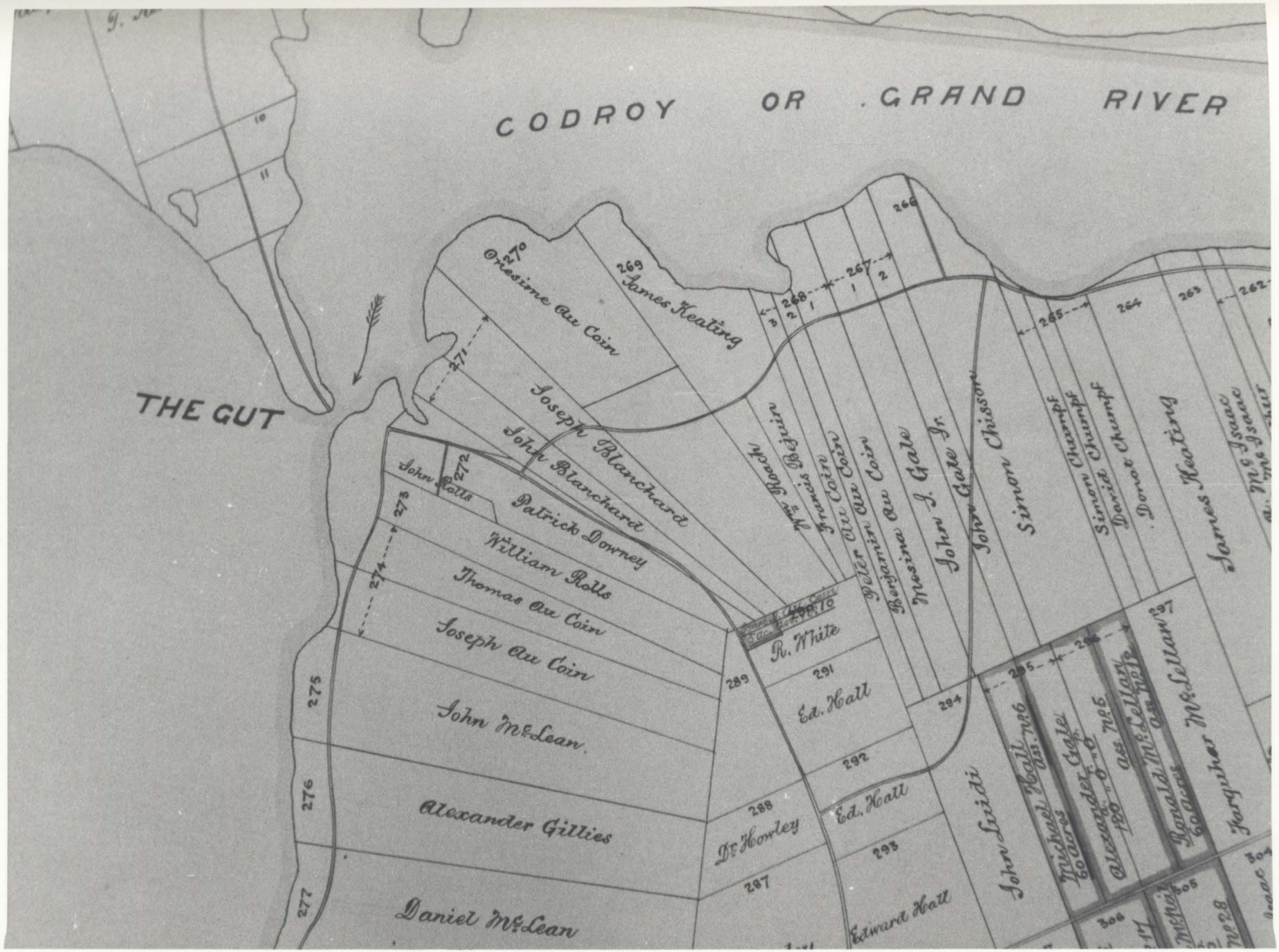
On another level, I wanted to conduct a study of the vernacular architecture of a distinct region, since some of the best material culture studies have been regionally based. From my perspective, the Codroy Valley, like my home area of Cape Breton Island, was a unique region. Clearly demarcated geographically, a farming area rather than a fishing community, and possessing a unique ethnic mix of Scots, Irish, Acadian and English, the Valley'S settlement pattern is different from most other districts in Newfoundland (Figures 3 and 4). The cadastral survey of 1893 shows a pattern similar to the long lot system common throughout rural Cape Breton Island. Moreover, a close examination of the survey reveals an intermingling of ethnic groups; Acadians such as Joseph Aucoin and John Blanchard are settled next to Patrick Downey, an Irish settler and John MacLean, a Scot, near the community of Searston. One goal of my work was to delineate the unique, local architectural characteristics which make the Codroy Valley a distinct region.

Thinking about architectural patterns led to other thoughts about stability and change in architecture, the relationship between so-called "modern" or "mass" housing and "traditional" housing, and the nature of just what

Figure 3 Reid Newfoundland Company Map of 1893 showing land occupied on the Grand and Little Codroy Rivers. Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.


CODROY OR GRAND RIVER
STORMY POINT
THE GUT
Patrick Farrell
Constant Trevoux
Daniel McLean
Alexander Gillies
John McLean
Joseph Mc Cain
Thomas Mc Cain
William Gallo
Patrick Barrett
John Blanchard
Joseph Blanchard
Benjamin Benoit
Alexander McInnis
John McInnis
Ronald McInnis
Charles Myran
Edward Myran
Michael Myran
Ronald McInnis
Estate late P. Kennedy
P. Murphy
Patrick Lannigan
Edward Cole
Thomas Keating
Edward Mc Cain
Joseph Blanchard
John Blanchard
Patrick Barrett
William Gallo
Thomas Mc Cain
Joseph Mc Cain
John McLean
Alexander Gillies
Daniel McLean
John Breisant Sen.
John Breisant Jun.
William Breisant
Hugh J. Breisant
Constant Trevoux
Ronald Campbell
William Campbell
Wm Alex. Campbell
Wm Campbell
Mich. Blanchard
Neil McNeil
Patrick Farrell
Wm Campbell
Wm Campbell
S.L. Knight
Duncan Campbell
J.A. McDonald
Benjamin Benoit
Alexander McInnis
John McInnis
Ronald McInnis
Charles Myran
Edward Myran
Michael Myran

Figure 4 Reid Newfoundland Company Map of 1893 showing the community of Searston at the mouth of the Grand Codroy River. Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.


CODROY OR GRAND RIVER
THE GUT
Onesime Au Coin
James Keating
Joseph Blanchard
John Blanchard
John Rolls
Patrick Downey
William Rolls
Thomas Au Coin
Joseph Au Coin
John McLean
Alexander Gillies
Daniel McLean
Wm Roach
Francis Bejuin
Peter Au Coin
Benjamin Au Coin
Mesina Au Coin
John J. Gale
John Gale Jr.
John Chisson
Simon Chumpf
David Chumpf
Donat Chumpf
James Keating
R. White
Ed. Hall
Dr Howley
Edward Hall
John Luidi
Michael Hall
Alexander Gale
Ronald McLellan
Farquhar McLellan

constitutes "vernacular architecture." I found myself questioning whether or not the buildings I had seen on my short visit were "vernacular" or some other undefinable form of building. This made me want to explore further the nature of vernacular architecture and why this type of architecture is important. The term "vernacular" has been used interchangeably in much folklife scholarship with the terms "folk," "common," "native" or "non-academic" architecture. It is usually placed at the other end of the spectrum from professionally designed architecture or what is most often termed "high style" architecture. Vernacular buildings are often owner built; that is, the owner takes an active hands-on role in the entire process of designing and constructing the building, from obtaining the materials, to deciding upon the size and shape of interior spaces. One scholar uses the analogy of a "filter" to define the vernacular in architecture. Kingston Heath argues that a fixed locale or region with its unique character, cultural mix, values, materials, climate and topography can "filter" the conventional ideas about architecture whether they be folk, popular or high style, and what results from this filtering process is vernacular architecture--"product of a place, of a people, by a people."[1]

This study, then, focuses on the vernacular architecture

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[1] Kingston William Heath, "Defining the Nature of Vernacular," Material Culture, 20, No. 2-3 (1988), 5.

of and by the people in one distinct place, the Codroy Valley, southwestern Newfoundland. Based on data collected during fieldwork, and from primary and secondary documents, it explores how the region's vernacular architecture developed from its myriad of influences in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It follows from an idea expressed by George Kubler in The Shape of Time: "Now and in the past, most of the time the majority of people live by borrowed ideas and upon traditional accumulations, yet at every moment the fabric is being undone and a new one is woven to replace the old, while from time to time the whole pattern shakes and quivers, settling into new shapes and figures. These processes of change are all mysterious uncharted regions where the traveller soon loses direction and stumbles in darkness."[2] This thesis intends to unravel some of the complex architectural changes of the Codroy Valley with minimal stumbling in the darkness.

Vernacular architecture, as it is interpreted in this thesis, includes primarily the dwelling houses, the barns and the ancillary outbuildings which are part of Codroy Valley farms. These inter-related material culture traits, some of the most important aspects of material tradition, reveal much about Codroy Valley economy, landscape, culture, and change. In creating my typology of Codroy Valley vernacular

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[2] George Kubler, The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), pp. 17-18.

architecture, floorplans and techniques of construction are diagnostic; the height of a house, rooflines, chimney placement and cosmetic features are secondary.

While exploring architectural change, I am also interested in how the district's vernacular architecture is an expression of the personality of this distinct area (Figure 5). The studying of "regional personality" is a familiar idea to British and European folklife scholars and regional ethnologists, yet it is not so common in Canada. J. Geraint Jenkins describes the domain of this field: "in folklife studies we are concerned primarily with the recording and study of regional personality, and features which distinguish one community from the other whether they be social, oral or material should be our concern." [3] The region's needs and tastes are shown in the way in which people build and use homes and outbuildings; these are fine expressions of regional personality. Some of the features which make the Codroy Valley a distinct region--the spaces, layouts and sizes of buildings, the cosmetic details and local culture--are all important facets in the shaping of a vernacular building tradition.

This study begins its exploration of Codroy Valley vernacular architecture by providing some historical context for understanding the shaping of this region's landscape.

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[3] J. Geraint Jenkins, "Fieldwork and Documentation in Folk-life Studies," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 90 (1960), 260.

Figure 5 The Grand Codroy River, the Anguille mountains and Andrew Gale's log pen sheep barn in Millville, Codroy Valley



Chapter two, "Forming the Codroy Valley Landscape," offers a typology of the buildings in the Codroy Valley during the time of initial settlement, outlining how the original settlers left their mark on the landscape, and exploring the notions of cultural transfer, adaptation and change. Chapter three examines the antecedents to Codroy Valley architecture, discussing the kinds of buildings common in Inverness County, Cape Breton Island, the region from where the majority of Codroy Valley people originated in the mid-nineteenth century. Moreover, it examines some of the buildings common in the coastal community of Codroy village, another source area for Codroy valley architecture. Chapter four follows by examining the late nineteenth century arrival of international styles to the Codroy Valley, showing how the local region adapted to outside ideas. Chapter five looks at the arrival of mass housing to the region, examining the earliest bungalow styles and the way in which local older patterns co-exist with these new forms. In a sense, this chapter addresses the way in which tradition and modernity co-exist in one region and how these forces are manifested in the region's architecture.

The focus moves from the influence of outside ideas to a close analysis of some important local aspects of the Codroy Valley building tradition. Chapter six thus looks at the tradition of house moving, demonstrating how and why people changed, modified, and moved buildings. Chapter seven, "A View From the Farm: The Context of Codroy Valley Homes,"

provides a case study of one Codroy Valley farm, offering an indication of the assemblage of buildings and artifacts common to farms of this district and a sense of the kinds of activities occurring within and outside the region's buildings. Aspects of local culture and their influence on buildings are explored in Chapter eight, and the study ends with some conclusions on the notion of "vernacular" with suggestions for future study in the field of vernacular architecture and the analysis of regional personality.

It is because of original fieldwork that we have a framework of vernacular architecture studies upon which to base our contemporary research. Vernacular architecture has been studied in Europe for many years, but only in the past twenty or thirty years have North American scholars viewed it as an acceptable field of research.[4] Folklorists,

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[4] See,for example: Sidney Oldall Addy, The Evolution of the English House (London: Swan Sonenschein, 1898); Sir Cyril Fox, "Some South Pembrokeshire Cottages," Antiquity, 16 (1942), 307-19; Sir Cyril Fox and Lord Raglan, Monmouthshire Houses: A Study of Building Techniques and Smaller House Plans in the 15th to 17th Centuries, 3 vols. (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1951- 1954); Iowerth Peate, The Welsh House: A Study in Folk Culture (Liverpool: Brython Press, 1946). North American scholars such as Fred Kniffen, Henry Glassie and James Deetz have been extremely influential in the study of folk architecture and material culture. See: Fred Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 55 (1965), 549-77; Fred Kniffen and Henry Glassie, "Building in Wood in the Eastern United States: A Time Place Perspective," in Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture, ed. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1986), pp. 159-81; Henry Glassie, Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States,

geographers, architectural historians and archaeologists are interested in vernacular buildings because they are said to provide a more democratic view of the remote and recent past than do the kinds of buildings traditionally studied in architectural histories. As Glassie says: "historians study not the past but the literary remains of the past. Nevertheless, most of the world's societies have been non-literate. They left no literary remains...."[5] In contrast, "the landscape is the product of the divine average."[6]

In Canada, much research on vernacular architecture has been completed in Ontario and Québec; less work has been attempted in the East and the West.[7] Perhaps the most

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University of Pennsylvania Monographs in Folklore and Folklife, No. 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968); Henry Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975); James Deetz, In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1977). For a survey of recent North American vernacular architecture scholarship see: Camille Wells, "Old Claims and New Demands: Vernacular Architecture Studies Today," in Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, II, ed. Camille Wells, (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986),pp. 1-10; Dell Upton, "Ordinary Buildings: A Bibliographic Essay on American Vernacular Architecture," American Studies International, 19, No. 2 (1981), 57-75.

[5] Henry Glassie, "Meaningful Things and Appropriate Myths: The Artifact's Place in American Studies," in Prospects: An Annual of American Studies, ed. Jack Salzman (New York: Burt Franklin, 1977), III, 30.

[6] Glassie, "Meaningful Things," 32.

[7] For some studies of Ontario houses see: Margaret Angus, The Old Stones of Kingston: Its Buildings Before 1867 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967); Eric Arthur, Small Houses

complete Canadian architectural survey is the one sponsored by the Canadian Inventory of Historic Buildings. This inventory documents various architectural forms ranging from elite styles to vernacular types; these findings are only now beginning to be published.[8] In the Maritimes, few academic

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of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries in Ontario (Toronto: Department of Architecture, University of Toronto, 1927); Eric Arthur, The Early Buildings of Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1938); Verschoyle Benson Blake and Ralph Greenhill, Rural Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969); Mary Byers, Jan Kennedy and Margaret McBurney, Rural Roots: Pre-Confederation Buildings of the York Region of Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976); Margaret McBurney and Mary Byers, Homesteads: Early Buildings and Families from Kingston to Toronto (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979); Marion MacRae and Anthony Adamson, The Ancestral Roof: Domestic Architecture of Upper Canada, 1783 -1867 (Toronto: Clark, Irwin and Company, 1963); John I. Rempel, Building with Wood and Other Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Building in Central Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980; W. R. Wightman, "Construction Materials in Colonial Ontario 1831-1861," in Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario ed. F.H. Armstrong, H.A. Stevenson and J.D. Wilson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), pp.114-34; For some studies of Québec Architecture see: Georges Gauthier - Larouche, L' évolution de la maison rurale laurentienne (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1967); Yves Laframboise, L'architecture traditionelle au Québec (Montréal: Les Editions de l'homme, 1975); Michel Lessard and Hugette Marquis, Encyclopédie de la maison Québécoise (Montreal: les Editions de l'homme, 1972); Peter N. Moogk, Building a House in New France (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977); P.G. Roy, Old Manors Old Houses (Québec: Historic Monuments Commission of the Province of Québec, 1927); Robert - Lionel Seguin, La maison en Nouvelle-France (Ottawa: National Museum, 1968); Ramsay Traquair, The Old Architecture of Québec (Toronto: Macmillan, 1947).

[8] See for example, Nathalie Clark, Palladian Style in Canadian Architecture, Studies in Canadian Archaeology, Architecture and History (Ottawa: National Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Environment Canada, 1984); Janet Wright, Architecture of the Picturesque in Canada, Studies in

studies of vernacular architecture exist. Two geographers, Peter Ennals and Deryk Holdsworth, proposed an overall typology of buildings for the region, outlining some of the major forms evident in the Maritime landscape.[9] While this work delineates some of the broad patterns, the typology is not sufficiently detailed to explore the complexities of the various sub-regions or ethnic groups within the district. Peter Ennals continues to assess Acadian architecture as he documents both the earliest known forms and the recent Acadian interest in replicating 18th century Québecois buildings.[10] Deryk Holdsworth is studying workers' housing and is also interested in the way in which small communities in Canada, especially in the Maritimes, attempt to renovate and preserve their downtowns.[11] A folklorist, Diane Tye, has

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Archaeology, Architecture and History (Ottawa: National Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Environment Canada, 1984); Brian Coffey, "The Canadian Inventory of Historic Building as a Basis for House-Type Classification: An Example from Southern Ontario," Canadian Geographer, 28, No. 2 (1984), 83-89; Anne Falkner, "The Canadian Inventory of Historic Building," Canadian Geographical Journal, 86 (1973), 44-52.

[9] Peter Ennals and Deryck Holdsworth, "Vernacular Architecture and the Cultural Landscape of the Maritime Provinces: A Reconnaisance," Acadiensis, 10, No. 2 (1981), 86-102.

[10] Peter Ennals, "The Folk Legacy in Acadian Domestic Architecture: A Study in Mislaid Self-Images." in Dimensions of Canadian Architecture, Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada: Selected Papers, ed. Shane O'Dea and Gerald L. Pocius (Ottawa: Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada, 1983), pp. 8-12.

[11] Deryck Holdsworth, "Housing the Industrial Worker: Early Canadian Examples," Unpublished paper presented at a conference on the History of Industrial Housing, Ironbridge,

completed a study of workers' housing in Amherst, Nova Scotia, commissioned by the Nova Scotia Government's Department of Culture, Recreation and Fitness.[12]

While few academic studies exist, a number of popular studies of the region's buildings have recently been published. Most are primarily pen and ink sketch books or photograph collections with a dash of social history added for human interest. Historical societies, provincial government departments, municipalities and local museums are often responsible for these kinds of publications.[13] JoAnn Latremouille recently published a popular work which attempts to assess Nova Scotia's working class housing from the eighteenth century to the present.[14] This work is important

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England, November 9, 1984.

[12] Diane Tye, "The Housing of a Work Force: Workers' Housing in Amherst, Nova Scotia, 1900 - 1914," Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin, 11, No. 3 (1986), 14-16.

[13] See, for example: Terry Sunderland, Still Standing: Cape Breton Buildings From Days Gone By (Sydney: College of Cape Breton Press, 1980); Debra McNabb and Lewis Parker, Old Sydney Town: Historic Buildings of the North End (Sydney: Old Sydney Society, 1986); Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, Seasoned Timbers: A Sampling of Historic Buildings Unique to Western Nova Scotia (Halifax: Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, 1972); Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, Founded Upon a Rock: Historic Buildings of Halifax and Vicinity Standing in 1967 (Halifax: Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, 1967); Nova Scotia Association of Architects, Exploring Halifax (Toronto: Greey De Pencier, 1976); L.B. Jenson, Wood and Stone (Halifax: Petheric Press, 1972).

[14] JoAnn Latremouille, Pride of Home: The Working Class Housing Tradition in Nova Scotia 1749 -1949 (Hantsport, Nova Scotia: Lancelot Press, 1986).

in that it is the first book length study of working class housing in Nova Scotia. It is weakened, however, because the author presents a view that only building choices in the past were creative and intelligent, while more recent vernacular buildings are seen as little more than uninspiring, government-sponsored imitations, lacking beauty and meaning.[15] In Newfoundland, there are both academic and popular works devoted to the island's architecture. Some preliminary work has been completed, but much remains to be done before a thorough understanding of the island's building traditions can be obtained.[16]

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[15] Latremouille, pp. 83-90.

[16] The academic study of Newfoundland's vernacular architecture has been dominated by four individuals - Gerald Pocius, Shane O'Dea, John Mannion and David Mills. For some of their studies: David B. Mills, "The Development of Folk Architecture in Trinity Bay, Newfoundland," in The Peopling of Newfoundland: Essays in Historical Geography. ed. John J. Mannion, Social and Economic Papers, No. 8 (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1977), pp. 77-101; Shane O'Dea, The Domestic Architecture of Old St. John's (St. John's: Newfoundland Historical Society, 1973); Shane O'Dea, "Simplicity and Survival: Vernacular Response in Newfoundland Architecture," Newfoundland Quarterly, 13, No. 3 (1982), 19-31; Shane O'Dea, "The Development of Cooking and Heating Technology in the Newfoundland House," Material History Bulletin, No. 15 (1982), pp. 11-18; Gerald L. Pocius, "Architecture on Newfoundland's Southern Shore: Diversity and the Emergence of New World Forms," in Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, ed. Camille Wells (Annapolis: Vernacular Architecture Forum, 1982), pp. 217-232; Gerald L. Pocius, "Raised Roofs and High Hopes: Rebuildings on Newfoundland's Southern Shore," Material Culture, 19, No. 2-3 (1987), 67-84; John J. Mannion, Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation, University of Toronto Geography Research Publications, No. 12 (Toronto: Published for the Department of Geography by the

The people who have studied vernacular architecture in Atlantic Canada and elsewhere have been very selective in what they have chosen to examine. Individual building types such as churches or barns have received attention, antecedent forms in the Old World have been explored, and building techniques and construction materials have received minute analysis. Moreover, scholars have focused their attention primarily on pre-industrial, rural architecture, and, as with the early study of ballads and songs, the oldest forms have received the most attention.[17]

In architectural study, as with the study of nicknames, proverbs, riddles or ballads, understanding the physical, social and cultural context is all important in comprehending the meaning of the item under investigation. The word "context" has become as important as the word "Folklore"

University of Toronto Press, 1974), pp. 138-64. For examples of popular works see: Newfoundland Historic Trust, A Gift of Heritage (St. John's: Newfoundland Historic Trust, 1975); Newfoundland Historic Trust, Ten Historic Towns (St. John's: Newfoundland Historic Trust, 1978); Shane O'Dea has completed a survey of some of the popular studies of Atlantic Canadian architecture: Shane O'Dea, "Architecture and Building History in Atlantic Canada, Acadiensis, 10, No. 1 (1980), 158-63.

[17] A fine survey pointing out some of the issues addressed by vernacular architecture studies is: Dell Upton, "Ordinary Buildings: A Bibliographical Essay on American Vernacular Architecture," American Studies International, 19 (1981), 57-75. See also the three recent collections of articles on vernacular architecture: Camille Wells, ed., Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, II (Columbia: University of Missouri Press for the Vernacular Architecture Forum, 1986); Wells, ed., Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture; Upton and Vlach, ed., Common Places.

itself in much traditional culture and folklife scholarship in the last thirty years.[18] No genre of folklore can be adequately understood without our having some knowledge of the various contexts surrounding the materials. Some studies have shown ways to analyze contexts historically, but most present-day folklorists rely on personal fieldwork to obtain insights into how traditions exist and change amongst a people or community.[19] To better understand the context of the materials examined in this study, I will next discuss the various fieldwork methods that were used in researching this

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[18] One of the best recent studies showing the importance of context in Folklore is: Henry Glassie, Passing the Time in Ballymenone: Culture and History of an Ulster Community, Publications of the American Folklore Society, Vol.4 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982); Other well-known studies of context include: Dan Ben-Amos, "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context," in Toward New Perspectives in Folklore, ed. Américo Paredes and Richard Bauman, American Folklore Society Bibliographical and Special Series, No. 23. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972), pp.3-15; Linda Dégh, Folktales and Society (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969).

[19] An introductory work describing the importance of context in folklore studies is: Barre Toelken, The Dynamics of Folklore (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979); Two standard fieldwork guides include: Edward D. Ives, The Tape-Recorded Interview: A Manual for Fieldworkers in Folklore and Oral History (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1974); Bruce Jackson, Fieldwork (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987). Some standard guides for recording material culture and vernacular architecture include: MacEdward Leach and Henry Glassie, A Guide for Collectors of Oral Traditions and Folk Cultural Material in Pennsylvania (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1968); Warren Roberts, "Fieldwork: Recording Material Culture," in Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction, ed Richard M. Dorson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. 431-44.

thesis.

I began to study the architecture of the Codroy Valley in the early 1980s not because of any personal knowledge of this district, but because this region of Newfoundland had largely been settled in the nineteenth century by Scots, Irish and French Acadians--people from my home area of Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia. A study of this region would enable me to further my interest in the study of architecture and allow me to obtain some understanding of this transplanted Cape Breton culture. I began my fieldwork in the fall of 1981 with a one-day reconnaissance to the Valley before attending a Canadian Association of Geographers conference in Corner Brook, Newfoundland. Accompanied by friends, and not knowing any residents of the Codroy Valley, I traveled the various roads through the district to obtain a sense of the region's built environment. I was intrigued by the white sand beaches, the two winding rivers dotted by houses and farms, and how much this district reminded me of the Margaree Valley in Cape Breton Island. Upon returning home, I began to plan for an extended stay in the Codroy Valley the following spring.

Because teaching commitments at the University College of Cape Breton lasted until the middle of June, I did not begin my Codroy Valley fieldwork until June 20, 1982. One of the first problems faced by an outsider attempting to do fieldwork in any community is providing for accommodation and board. Although where and with whom one lives may have a

major effect on the quality and kind of information obtained about a community, this is seldom discussed in vernacular architecture studies. I decided to borrow a 20 foot travel trailer in Cape Breton Island and relocate it in the Codroy Valley. Initially I planned to find a trailer park or tourist premises to locate the "Holiday" trailer, but serendipity stepped in the day before my departure. I discovered that the Cape Breton Island - Codroy Valley connection was still alive when Anna Campbell, a New Waterford school teacher, upon hearing about my trip, told me her parents and grandparents were from the Codroy Valley. Her relatives had migrated to the Codroy Valley from Cape Breton Island in the nineteenth century and had returned to Cape Breton Island to work in the coal mining town of New Waterford at the turn of the twentieth century. She provided me with the names of two individuals--Neil "Johnny John" McIsaac and Michael MacNeil--who, she said, might help me find a location for my mobile home.

Neil, a friendly, active 75 year old bachelor and his neighbour, Mike, a 45 year old community leader, allowed me to locate my trailer on Mike's property, adjacent to Neil's house. Neil, Mike and Mike's family of Marg, Cheri and Sheldon, became close friends with me and readily provided food, drink and hospitality not only for my wife and me, but for our families and friends who visited us while we conducted fieldwork in the area.

Only after a place to live had been established was I

able to begin some of the required tasks of a fieldworker in material culture. Following the order set by Glassie in his many architecture studies, I began mapping the location of homes in each community, numbering each different house type, and recording examples of each type by drawing measured floor plans, by taking photographs and conducting taped and informal interviews with Codroy Valley people (Figure 6).[20]

One extremely useful technique was having an older member of the community as an assistant fieldworker. Neil McIsaac, who was retired from work with the Canadian National Railway, offered to help me and quickly became an invaluable assistant. He helped with the measuring of buildings, arranged appointments to visit particular homes, and provided me a view of the community through the eyes of a life-long resident. On some occasions if I expressed an interest in visiting a particular home, Neil often telephoned the owner telling him who I was, what I was doing and arranged a time to visit. On many days Neil and I did not make formal arrangements, but merely appeared at the door of the dwelling to ask permission to enter the house or outbuilding we wanted to visit; on only one occasion in two summers of fieldwork

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[20] Glassie, Folk Housing, pp. 15-16. Numerous guides for researching and recording buildings have been produced by Canadian provincial and federal and government agencies. See, for example: Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, Researching a Building in Nova Scotia (Halifax: Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, 1984); Margaret Carter, Researching Heritage Buildings (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1983); Harold Kalman, The Evaluation of Historic Buildings (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1980).

Figure 6 Conducting fieldwork in the Codroy Valley at Emmanuelle Gillam's kitchen, South Branch, Codroy Valley, 1982 (Gerald L. Pocius in the foreground).



were we refused entry into a building. While I sketched the floor plan, and took photographs and interior measurements, Neil often carried on a conversation with the person we were visiting. I then joined the conversation making sure to take notes when I completed my tasks. Through these conversations we learned about older buildings no longer extant in the landscape, obtained the names and locations of residents who were able to assist us and discussed much of the local news.

While we obtained information about the buildings, people and place, residents had an opportunity to find out what I was doing in their midst. Rather than being solely an informant (a word which often creates a negative image), Neil became an active participant in the recording of the extant architecture of his community. This process of actively involving older community members in the study and recording of traditions may prove useful in other contexts and places.

A second useful fieldwork technique involved giving eight by ten black and white photographs as a gift to individuals who allowed me to clamber through kitchens, parlours, bedrooms, basements and attics (Figures 7 and 8). It usually took me a few months or even a year before returning with photographs in hand; in some cases I returned to find that the person who assisted me had died. Nevertheless, remaining relatives were happy to receive this reciprocal gift. The local Lion's Club of Searston knew that I had photographed a number of community residents, and decided to frame and hang some of my photographs of community

Figure 7 Archie Francis and Lizzie McIsaac in their kitchen, St. Andrews, Codroy Valley, 1983.



Figure 8 Mr. and Mrs. Paul Joseph O'Quinn, Millville, Codroy Valley, 1983.



members in their hall. Returning for a visit with photographs gave me an opportunity to ask other questions I had not thought of during my first visit. This question of how and in what way should researchers reciprocate with individuals or a community after conducting folk architecture research is a crucial one which is seldom examined in architecture scholarship.

In my fieldwork, I relied on both informal interviews and formal taped ones. Before measuring and photographing buildings, often while sitting in a kitchen, I asked residents a standard battery of questions concerning the age of buildings, major and minor alterations over time, construction details, cultural activities occurring within houses in the past and present. I took notes during these preliminary discussions; I often obtained important leads to follow concerning other people to interview or other houses to visit and record. In the evenings, formal tape recorded interviews were conducted with selected members of the community, some of whom I had come to know very well and others I had never formally met. These interviews were used to obtain information on a diversity of topics ranging from the region's building practises to local customs such as milling frolics and Christmas mummering activities.

While doing this fieldwork I discovered that family photograph albums are an extremely important source for architecture scholarship (Figures 9 and 10). There are few useful photographs of Codroy Valley vernacular houses and

Figure 9 Tom Doyle's house, Codroy Valley, circa 1960. From the family photograph collection of Michael MacNeil, St Andrews, Codroy Valley.



Figure 10 Remains of Tom Doyle's house, Doyles, 1982.



outbuildings in the photograph collections of various Newfoundland archives, but local family photograph albums provide, in some cases, the only record of buildings no longer extant in the landscape. I used a Pentax camera with close-up lenses as a field photocopying machine when I stumbled upon a photograph in a family album I wanted to copy. This immediate recording of the document eliminated the need to borrow the photograph or album from a family, who might not have given permission to send the image 500 miles away to Memorial University of Newfoundland in St. John's for professional copying.[21]

I conducted documentary research in St. John's during the winters of 1982 and 1983 while taking graduate courses at Memorial University of Newfoundland. In my spare time I managed to examine archival collections at the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, Memorial University's Centre for Newfoundland Studies, the Provincial Reference Library at the Arts and Culture Centre, the Maritime History Group Archives and the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archives for any material relating to the Codroy Valley. After looking at some of the available written documentation, I tried to locate any extant maps and plans of the region along with any available photographs in the various archival collections. I quickly discovered that documentary evidence containing architectural information

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21 The use of photography in fieldwork is discussed in: Ives, pp. 74-79; Jackson, pp. 194-226.

about many of the buildings in the region was sparse. Nevertheless, some archival material proved to be extremely helpful. The Journals of the House of Assembly, for example, offered insights into some of the community's concerns, as many petitions were regularly sent to the St. John's government from the Codroy Valley. Historical newspapers were also useful; they contained reports on some of the important activities within and outside houses such as weddings, wakes, community concerts, dances and social news. Official records such as census materials, deeds, and land grants provide names, dates and boundaries, but reveal little about the actual buildings and activities within Codroy Valley dwellings. My own fieldwork proved to be the most useful data. By talking to Codroy Valley people, measuring their kitchens and parlours, as well as documenting their bedrooms, attics and cellars, I obtained a clear sense of the region's vernacular architecture.

In Cape Breton Island, the fieldwork took the form of traverses--a methodology often employed by cultural geographers--in order to provide a broad sample of house types of the region. I examined archival materials such as land grants, local histories, diaries, travellers' accounts and newspapers housed at the Beaton Institute Archives, University College of Cape Breton for information on the architecture of communities where Codroy Valley residents came from. Again, as with the Codroy Valley, I obtained the most useful information from my own fieldwork observations.

This thesis intends to contribute to the fundamental understanding of how a local vernacular building tradition develops and how it is altered with the passage of time. It will show not only which architectural forms were more important historically, but also which aspects of the building tradition and local culture have influenced the architectural personality of the district. Such research should be helpful for professionals and governmental agencies on all levels in the provision of more culturally appropriate dwellings to meet the needs of the many distinct and largely rural cultures that characterize most of this country.

This thesis asks the fundamental question "what are the major influences--external and local--upon a local vernacular building tradition?" In discovering the answer to this, it examines the impact of antecedents, the influence of mass architectural fashion on the region, the effect of local traditions such as alterations and house movings on buildings, the contexts for the district's homes, the Codroy Valley farmstead, and the influence of local folk cultural activities on architecture.

In attempting to define the distinct regional form that emerges in the Codroy Valley, it is necessary to first provide the historical context for understanding the vernacular architecture of the Codroy Valley. The next chapter examines the sequence of migrations to the area and the kinds of buildings in the Codroy Valley during what Fred

Kniffen refers to as the period of "initial occupance," or "the first postpioneer, permanent settlement imprint," to clarify the degree to which aspects of Cape Breton architecture were transferred to the west coast of Newfoundland.[22] An understanding of the kinds of architectural ideas transferred may lead to some insights into the importance of antecedents in the development of a building tradition. Were the buildings in the homeland of Cape Breton Island models or templates to work from, were these buildings transferred without modification, or were new models chosen in this move to a new land? By examining these questions, some hints of how a building tradition evolves at this all-important first stage of permanent settlement is clearly obtained.

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[22] Fred B. Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 55 (1965), 551.

Chapter 2 - Forming the Codroy Valley Landscape

By the 1840s, large groups of Scots and smaller numbers of French Acadians and Irish settlers began to migrate from Inverness County, Cape Breton Island, to the west coast of Newfoundland and particularly to the Codroy Valley (Figure 11).[1] There is no agreement as to why this inter-regional migration began at this time but a number of explanations have been attempted. According to Margaret Bennett's oral history research in the Codroy Valley, the Cape Breton Scots left because they were "dissatisfied with the land tenure uncertainty in Nova Scotia," and wished to be "free from heavy taxes and troublesome landowners." [2] This explanation supports

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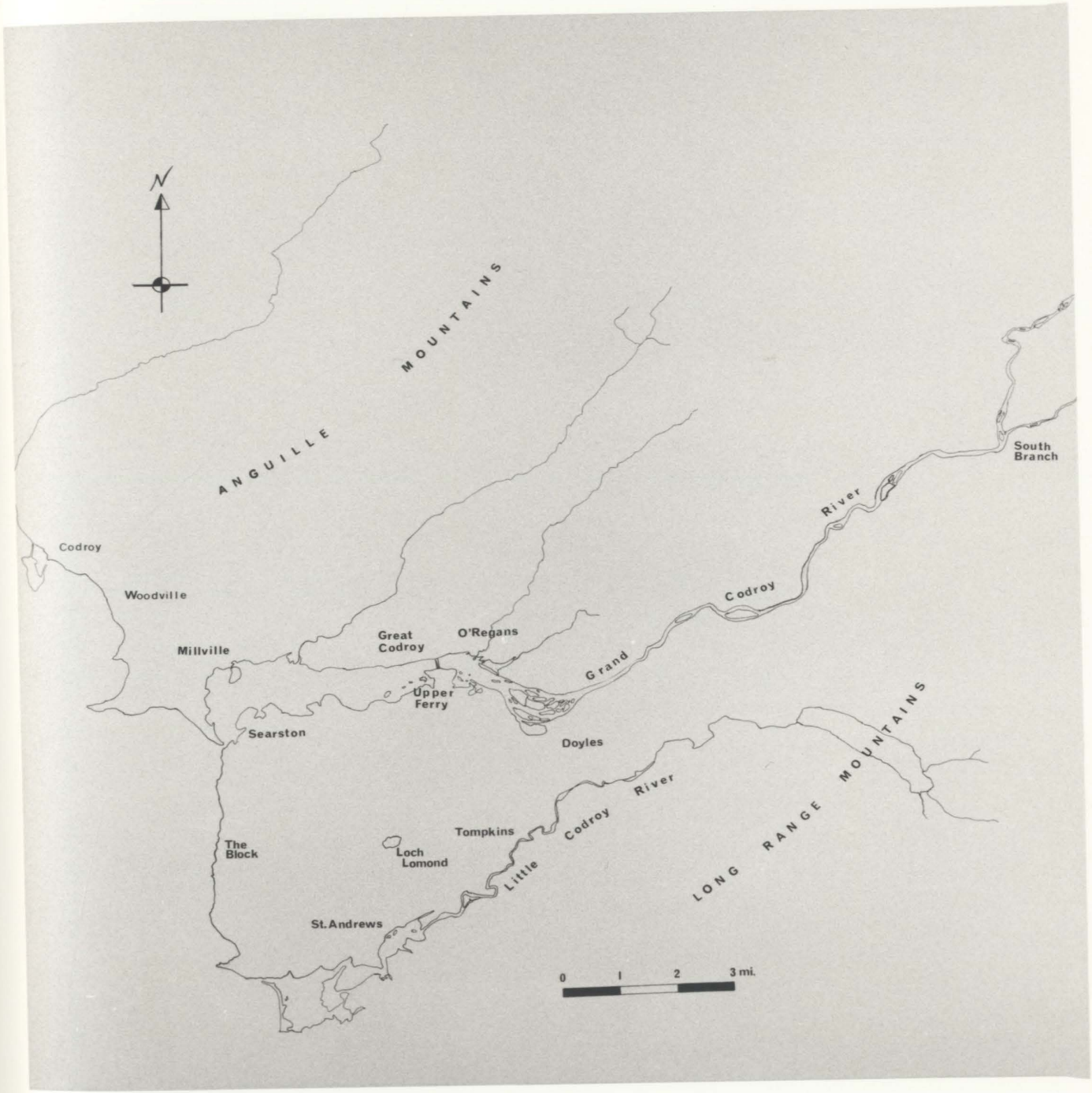
1 Margaret Bennett, "Some Aspects of the Scottish Gaelic Traditions of the Codroy Valley, Newfoundland," M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland 1975. This work has been revised and published as a book: Margaret Bennett, The Last Stronghold: Scottish Gaelic Traditions in Newfoundland, Canada's Atlantic Folklore and Folklife Series, No. 13 (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1989). See also: John Szwed, Private Cultures and Public Imagery: Interpersonal Relations in a Newfoundland Peasant Society, Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies, No. 2 (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1966); Rosemary Ommer, "Highland Scots Migration to Southwestern Newfoundland," in The Peopling of Newfoundland: Essays in Historical Geography, ed. John Mannion, Social and Economic Papers, No. 8 (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1977), pp. 213-33; Rosemary Ommer, "Primitive Accumulation and the Scottish clann [sic] in the Old World and the New," Journal of Historical Geography, 12 (1986), 121-41.

2 Bennett, "Some Aspects," p. 58.

Figure 11 Map of the Codroy Valley, Newfoundland.


N
ANGUILLE MOUNTAINS
South Branch
River
Codroy
Codroy
Woodville
Millville
Great Codroy
O'Regans
Grand
Codroy
River
Upper Ferry
Searston
Doyles
LONG RANGE MOUNTAINS
Tompkins
Codroy River
The Block
Loch Lomond
Little
St. Andrews
0 1 2 3 mi.

the French historian of the North Atlantic fishery, De la Morandière, who cited a 10 October 1851 letter from a lieutenant on the vessel Broquet: "Codroy and her rivers attract a large number of inhabitants who emigrate from Cape Breton in order to exempt themselves from the tax the British Government makes its population pay. The population of these two rivers, that today is near 250 souls, increases each year by 1/6th." [3] Rosemary Ommer, however, argues that Irish settlers left Cape Breton for the Codroy Valley because by the time of their arrival in Cape Breton, only marginal farm land was available; the better lands were already occupied by earlier settlers.[4] Furthermore, Ommer believes that the Scots left Cape Breton for the Codroy Valley for more than one reason: a search for good land, a perceived need for an expanding frontier, the prospect of confederation with Canada, the perceived threat of financial penalties on all land not in production, and most importantly, because of close kinship affinity. Ommer shows that elements of the clan system persisted in Cape Breton Island and in the Codroy Valley, and

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[3] Charles De la Morandière, Histoire de la Pêche francais de la morue dans l'Amerique septentrionale 9de la revolution a nos your (Paris: maisonneuve et Larose), III, p. 1179.

[4] Ommer, "Highland Scots Migration," p. 221; Abraham Gesner also points out that most of the people who had arrived in Cape Breton Island in 1842 were squatters on private property: "With a pig, a cow and a few cakes of maple sugar, some are ready to migrate at an hour's notice." Abraham Gesner, The Industrial Resources of Nova Scotia, (Halifax: A. and W. MacKinlay, 1849), p. 72.

that some families migrated because other members of their kin groups decided to move to southwestern Newfoundland. She says:

> no single element was discernible as being in control of decision-making in the migration process: women moved to marry and their kin followed later; families moved because of insecurity of tenure and their kin followed later; families also moved concurrently in large extended kin groups.[5]

More recent research has shown that the island of Cape Breton faced severe crop failures caused largely by potato rot or blight (phytophtora infestans)--a fungus which grows well in cool, damp weather. [6] This potato blight resulted in food shortages and an island-wide famine between 1845 and 1851--virtually at the same time this disease was affecting places such as Ireland.[7] The areas where Codroy Valley emigrants came

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[5] Ommer, "Highland Scots Migration," p. 231; see also pp. 221-232.

[6] Robert Morgan, "Poverty, Wretchedness and Misery: The Great Famine in Cape Breton I, 1845-1851," The Nova Scotia Historical Review, 6, No. 1 (1986), 88.

[7] Morgan, "Poverty," 88-90; see also John J. Mannion, Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation, University of Toronto Department of Geography Research Publications, No. 12 (Toronto: Published for the University of Toronto Department of Geography by the University of Toronto Press, 1974), pp. 15-32; Fernand Braudel points out that famines in different parts of the world at various times cause many groups of people to emigrate: The Structures of Everyday Life, The Limits of the Possible: Civilization and Capitalism 15th-18th Century, trans. Siân Reynolds (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), I ,

from suffered greatly according to Morgan: "Mabou lost half its crop in 1846 and the 1847 planting was a total failure.... Broad Cove lost its crop in 1845 and 1847..." and conditions there were said to be "deplorable."[8]. It is most probable, however, that a combination of factors provided the impetus for the major migration from Cape Breton to the Codroy Valley in the mid-nineteenth century.

In addition to the migrants from Cape Breton Island, the coastal area of the Codroy Valley region was also settled by other groups who had been prosecuting the fishery along the southwest coast of Newfoundland for many years. Olaf Janzen points out that as early as the 1730s French, English and some Irish were living in Cape Ray and at other small settlements on the southwest coast including that of Codroy Island.[9] Janzen mentions that a Recollet priest recorded two dozen people living at Codroy Island when he visited there in 1735 to perform some baptisms.[10] The treaty of Utrecht in 1713 gave Newfoundland to England; an English resident population moved along the south coast of Newfoundland and reached the western coast including the village of Codroy and

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[8] Morgan," Poverty," pp. 91-92.

[9] Olaf Uwe Janzen, "'Une Grande Liason': French Fishermen from Ile Royale on the Coast of Southwestern Newfoundland, 1714-1766: A Preliminary Survey," Newfoundland Studies, 3 (1987), p. 190.

[10] Janzen, p. 191.

Codroy Island by the 1760s.[11]

Codroy village and the small island in the harbour, Codroy Island, essentially became English fishing settlements. A close examination of a manuscript census reveals that by 1838--the period when settlers were arriving from Cape Breton Island--the English presence was still very evident in this southwestern region of Newfoundland. Jonathan Gale a native of the Isle of Wight was living in Crabb's Barrachois, just north of Codroy village in 1838; he had eight children and had lived in this place since 1808 and earned his living by the salmon and herring fishery. In the Great and Little Codroy river district there were "about 14 or 15 families consisting of near 80 persons," who were "mostly English, Scotch and Jersey descent." [12] In addition to engaging in the salmon and cod fishery, these residents also spent the winter making casks for the nearby fishery. This census shows that by the time of the migration from Cape Breton Island, the Codroy region had been greatly influenced by the English fishing population so prevalent on the east and south coasts of Newfoundland.

By 1857 the resident population of the region had

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[11] Historical Atlas of Canada, 1: From the Beginnings to 1800, ed. R. Cole Harris (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), plate 25.

[12] List of Inhabitants Western Shores of Newfoundland 1838, Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, G.N.1/1/1 7000.8.

increased dramatically. The village of Codroy had 192 residents of which only six were born in England; the majority of the rest were born in Newfoundland. In the Codroy Rivers, however, we see the influence of the migration from Cape Breton Island. For example, in Great Codroy River there were 230 residents; sixteen were born in Scotland, three in Ireland and ninety-one in the British colonies. Most of this latter group were from Cape Breton Island and the remaining 120 were native-born Newfoundlanders.[13]

While both Codroy village and the Codroy Valley river districts had large native-born Newfoundland populations, there were some major differences in these two settlements. For example, in the river districts there were 298 Roman Catholics and only forty-one followers of the Church of England. These figures point to the large number of Cape Breton Island Roman Catholic Scots, Acadian and Irish who were making their way to the Codroy Valley by this time. In the village of Codroy, in direct contrast, there were sixty-two Roman Catholics and 130 followers of the Church of England, indicating that English ethnicity was indeed predominant in this coastal fishing village.[14]

Like most people in Codroy Village, some Codroy Valley residents were actively engaged in the fishery in 1857. In

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[13] Newfoundland, Department of Colonial Secretary, Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1857.

[14] Newfoundland, Department of Colonial Secretary, Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1857.

the Little and Great Codroy Rivers there were thirty-four large boats from four to five quintals in size, forty-five nets and seines and three vessels engaged in the seal fishery. While fishing was relied upon, much attention was also paid to agriculture. In 1857 there were 542 acres of improved lands in the Little and Great Codroy rivers and the people grew 426 tons of hay, forty bushels of wheat and barley, 303 bushels of oats, 412 barrels of turnips and 3328 barrels of potatoes. Other household products included thirty-seven and one-half hundred weight of butter, one hundred weight of cheese, fifty yards of unfulled cloth, 403 yards of fulled cloth and twenty-four hides.[15]

A clear sense of the differences between Codroy Village and the Codroy Valley is obtained by comparing the 1857 census materials concerning the built environment for each settlement. For example, the Codroy Valley had no fishing rooms in use, while Codroy Village had thirty-four active fishing rooms. The Codroy Valley had fifty-two inhabited houses with fifty-five accompanying stores, barns and outbuildings. In contrast, Codroy village had thirty-three inhabited houses and no accompanying stores, barns and outbuildings. These figures indicate the primacy of fishing in Codroy village, and that of farming in the Codroy

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[15] Newfoundland, Department of Colonial Secretary, Census of Newfoundland, 1857.

Valley.[16]

What is clear from this short overview of the Codroy valley is that for a century prior to the arrival of settlers from Cape Breton Island, currents of migration and diffusion came from eastern and southern Newfoundland. By the mid-nineteenth century there were at least two major groups in the region. One was primarily English and Protestant, living on the coast and engaging in the traditional fishery; the other primarily Cape Breton and Catholic, settling along the banks of the Little and Grand Codroy rivers, and focusing primarily on farming.

At the time of the migration from Cape Breton, Codroy Valley forests contained pine, spruce, balsalm fir, birch and tamarack or, juniper, as it is often called in the Codroy Valley. In addition to these species, the Cape Breton forests also had stands of elm, hemlock, maple, ash, beech and some oak. By 1840 the Codroy Valley settlers had at least a generation or two of experience working and building with wood and their understanding of the forest and wood lore was widespread. For example, white pine (pinus strobus) was used for ship masts, floorboards, interior walling, panelling, fireplace surrounds, window sashes, beds and furniture. White spruce (Picea glauca), in contrast, was for framing, interior wall boarding, flooring and shingles. Balsalm fir (Abies

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[16] Newfoundland, Department of Colonial Secretary, Census of Newfoundland, 1857.

balsamea), or var, as it is often called in the Codroy Valley, was a multi-purpose wood because of its abundance in this region; it also provided many early settlers with shingles for their houses and outbuildings. Yellow birch (Betula alleghensis) and white birch (Betula papyrisera) were used mainly for fuel, but were sometimes used in flooring; birch bark served as insulation and a vapor barrier underneath shingles. Tamarack or juniper (Larix laricina),a very dense tree, was used for framing smaller outbuildings, fence posts, axe handles, farm tools and equipment. Throughout the nineteenth century tamarack was often used by boat builders for various purposes including ship's knees (angled pieces cut from roots bent by contact with rock or hard soil) which joined the ribs of vessels to deck timbers. In Cape Breton Island, elm (Ulmus americana), a hardwood, was a fuel supply; this species was also employed for making furniture and for framing houses and outbuildings. Hemlock (Tsuga canadensis), a softwood, was used for the framing of houses, barns and ships because it hardened with age. Sugar maple (Acer saccharum) and red maple (Acer Rubrum), hardwoods, were used for flooring and furniture. White ash (Fraxinus americana) was used for making baskets, barrels and for chair caning; beech (Fagus grandifolia), a hardwood, provided the raw materials for furniture, wood sleds, wagons, carts and wheels; red oak (Quercus rubrum), a hardwood, was

used mainly for shipbuilding.[17]

I wish to raise a number of questions concerning the architecture of the Codroy Valley in this chapter. What are the types of buildings Codroy Valley residents chose to construct? Did any particular form emerge as a distinct Codroy Valley house-type? To what degree were architectural ideas transferred from Cape Breton Island to the Codroy Valley in this pioneer stage of Codroy Valley development? I will answer these questions by outlining a typology of Codroy Valley buildings at this formative stage of the Codroy Valley landscape.

LOG ARCHITECTURE

Although Cape Bretoners began moving to the Codroy Valley in the late 1830s and early 1840s, their numbers were negligible at this time; however, as time progressed, hundreds of families left Inverness County for the Codroy Valley.[18] Some oral historical accounts claim that the earliest house-types in the region were log houses built along the river

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[17] Thanks to Dr. Stephen Manley, a forester and biologist at University College of Cape Breton, for assistance with this description of the forests of each region.

[18] Rosemary Ommer, "Scots Kinship, Migration and Early Settlement in Southwestern Newfoundland," M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland 1974, pp. 16, 28, 65; Bennett, "Some Aspects," p. 58; Michael Brosnan, Pioneer History of St. George's Diocese (Toronto: Mission Press, 1948), p. 13.

banks.[19] Capt. J. Polkinghorne, writing at the time of the commencement of the migration calls Codroy Valley houses "mere wooden huts containing two or three rooms." [20] He furthermore states that there is a tradition of living in summer and winter houses in this region: "on the approach of winter they retire with their cattle to houses they have built in the woods...."[21] By 1871, Rev. M.F. Howley maintained that most dwellings in the region are "substantial and neat" frame houses, but adds that the people "have gradually abandoned the temporary log huts in which they first dwelt, which are now handed over to the occupancy of the inferior animals."[22] This

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[19] See, for example, my fieldnotes, August 12, 1983, concerning a discussion with Tom O'Quinn, a 95 year old resident of St. Andrews, Codroy Valley, MUNFLA, MacKinnon Codroy Valley Architecture Collection. Tom remembers living in a log house along the banks of the Little Codroy River. See also Margaret Bennett's oral history of the MacArthur family : "Some Aspects," Chapters 4, 5.

[20] Captain J. Polkinghorne, "Report of a Visit to the West Coast, 12 September, 1838," GN 1/13/a, Box 42/5/10, Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.

[21] Polkinghorne, "Report." A student paper on the settlement of Codroy comments : "Parsons... had built summer and winter quarters: the summer one was sort of a log cabin roughly hewn and erected on the beach. Here during the summer the fishery was pursued. When winter approached the families moved about six miles inland to escape the bitter cold of the seashore. Inland there was a ready supply of game, as well as firewood." Augustine O'Quinn, The Fishing Settlement of Codroy Before 1900. St. John's: Maritime History Group Archives, Memorial University of Newfoundland, n.d., p. 5; for an article discussing the seasonal migration from one dwelling to another see: Phillip E.L. Smith, "In Winter Quarters," Newfoundland Studies, 3 (1987), 1-36.

[22] Rev. M.F. Howley, "Reminiscences of a Trip to the Western

conversion of the initial dwelling into a barn was a common tradition in many pioneer regions and lasted well into the twentieth century in the Codroy Valley. [23]

One might easily dismiss Howley's reference to log huts, since, as several scholars have pointed out, in many parts of North America people assume that the earliest buildings of a region are log merely because log buildings have become symbols of the frontier spirit.[24] But Howley adds validity to his description by mentioning some specific details about these structures:

> These log huts are quite a peculiar feature in the landscape, being built after the approved system of the American backwoods pattern, and very different from our conventional tilt. They have the advantage of being held together without nail or peg of any kind. The logs are peculiarly notched at the

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Shore of Newfoundland," Terra Nova Advocate, 9 February 1882, p. 4.

[23] See Chapter 6 of this thesis on house moving and alteration.

[24] Harold Shurtleff, The Log Cabin Myth (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1939); C.A. Weslager, "Log Structures in New Sweden During the Seventeenth Century," Delaware History, 5 (1952-53), 77-95; Richard W. Hale, "The French Side of the Log Cabin Myth," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 72 (1957-60), 118-25; Mac E. Barrick, "The Log House as Cultural Symbol," Material Culture, 18, No. 1 (1986), 1-20. Barrick points out that the log house was a symbol of honesty, wholesomeness and humility (p. 3).

> ends, and laid horizontally
> upon each other....[25]

Howley is describing horizontal log structures. He even acknowledges that these forms are distinct from the Newfoundland tilt, "a small, single-roomed hut constructed of vertically placed logs used seasonally by fishermen, furriers and woodsmen."[26] Writing from the perspective of an east coast Newfoundlander, he views these buildings as being different from what he was familiar with. To him, they are patterned after American forms. Some of the extant log barns in the Codroy Valley use horizontal log construction and may date from this early period of settlement. I have not found any evidence of vertical log construction in the Codroy Valley dating from this early period, although the Canadian Inventory

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25 Howley, "Reminiscences," p. 4.

26 G.M. Story, W.J. Kirwin and J.D.A. Widdowson. ed. Dictionary of Newfoundland English (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 567; see also: D.C. Tibbets, "The Newfoundland Tilt," Habitat, 11, No. 5 (1968), 14-17; Lewis A. Anspach, A History of the Island of Newfoundland (London: T. and J. Allman, 1819), p. 468; Julian Moreton, Life and Work in Newfoundland (London: Rivingtons, 1863), p. 80; Shane O'Dea describes different forms of tilts in his, "Simplicity and Survival: Vernacular Response in Newfoundland Architecture," Newfoundland Quarterly, 13, No. 2 (1982), 19-25; John Mannion refers to tilts being the initial dwelling: Mannion, Irish Settlement in Eastern Canada, p.143; David Mills also refers to their use as the first dwelling of inhabitants: David B. Mills, "The Development of Folk Architecture in Trinity Bay," in The Peopling of Newfoundland: Essays in Historical Geography, ed. John J.Mannion, Social and Economic Papers, No. 8 (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1977), p.81.

of Historic Buildings has documented two log outbuildings with vertical stud construction in the nearby community of Woodville which are no longer extant. [27]

In the Codroy Valley, when a new house was to be constructed, the older log home was often transformed into a barn, a common practice in many first generation settlement regions. Older technologies were often used in outbuildings, while more modern techniques were used in houses. More than twenty examples of log ice houses, sheep barns and hay barns were built using log construction in the valley (Figure 12)

Most of these log outbuildings employ horizontal log construction.(Figure 13). Some have minimal end notching leaving wide spaces between the logs which are left in the round, and some use squared logs with minimal V end notching with exterior sheathing vertically laid over the logs (Figures 14 and 15). Some are single log pen barns while others utilize double and triple pens (Figures 16 and 17). These barns are very difficult to date; some are from the settlement period, and others were constructed as recently as the 1940s. Ned Gale's barn, built in South Branch in 1940,is unique in that he employs horizontal log construction as well

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[27] See Canadian Inventory of Historic Buildings, Neg. 01XB23, Phillip Vollier barn, estimated date of construction, 1835; Canadian Inventory of Historic Buildings, Neg.01XB26, Reuban Kendall barn, estimated date, 1875. While I have not discovered vertical log construction dating from this early period, I have found some evidence of vertical log construction dating from the early years of the twentieth century.

Figure 12 James Dolan's log pen sheep barn, O'Regans.



Figure 13 William Roach's log pen barn being dismantled in 1983.



Figure 14 Billy O'Quinn's log sheep barn, O'Regans.



Figure 15 V Notching, Billy O'Quinn's log sheep barn.



Figure 16 Joe Pat Downey's log pen barn, O'Regans.



Figure 17 Andrew Gale's log pen barn, Millville.



as vertical log construction (Figures 18 and 19). These barns are yet another indication of ideas transferred from Inverness County, Cape Breton Island.

Polkinghorne mentions that these buildings have "two or three rooms" which may indicate a hall-parlour plan or a derivation of a hall-parlour plan (Figure 20).[28] Extant frame dwellings in the region show that the hall-parlour plan was indeed an acceptable choice for Codroy Valley builders.

FRAME ARCHITECTURE

The earliest frame buildings in the Codroy Valley are one and one-half storey structures with symmetrical facades (constructed from the mid-nineteenth century until the end of the nineteenth century). The extant buildings of this type are located near the mouth and along the banks of the Grand River and in the nearby community of Woodville; there does not seem to be an ethnic preference as Scots, English, French and Irish settlers all built homes of this type (Figure 21).

Builders of these frame dwellings chose a limited number of floor plans to suit the needs of their families. A ground-floor plan of a large kitchen with two small sleeping rooms is found in the Codroy Valley (Figure 22). This form may be a derivative of the ubiquitous one cell plan, common in many

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28 Polkinghorne, "Report."

Figure 18 Ned Gale's log pen sheep barn, South Branch.

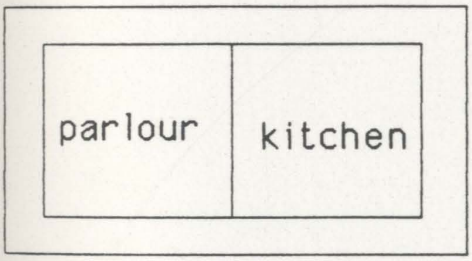


Figure 19 Interior of Ned Gale's log pen barn showing both vertical and horizontal log construction.



Figure 20 Typical hall-parlour plan and hall-parlour variant plan.

Typical hall-parlour plan and hall-parlour variant plan



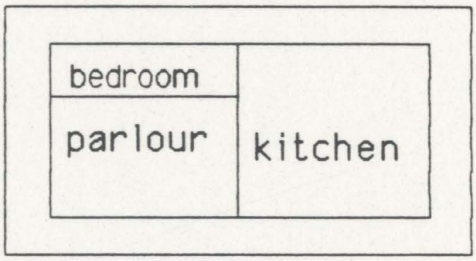


Figure 21 Map showing the location of one and one-half storey frame houses in the Codroy Valley.

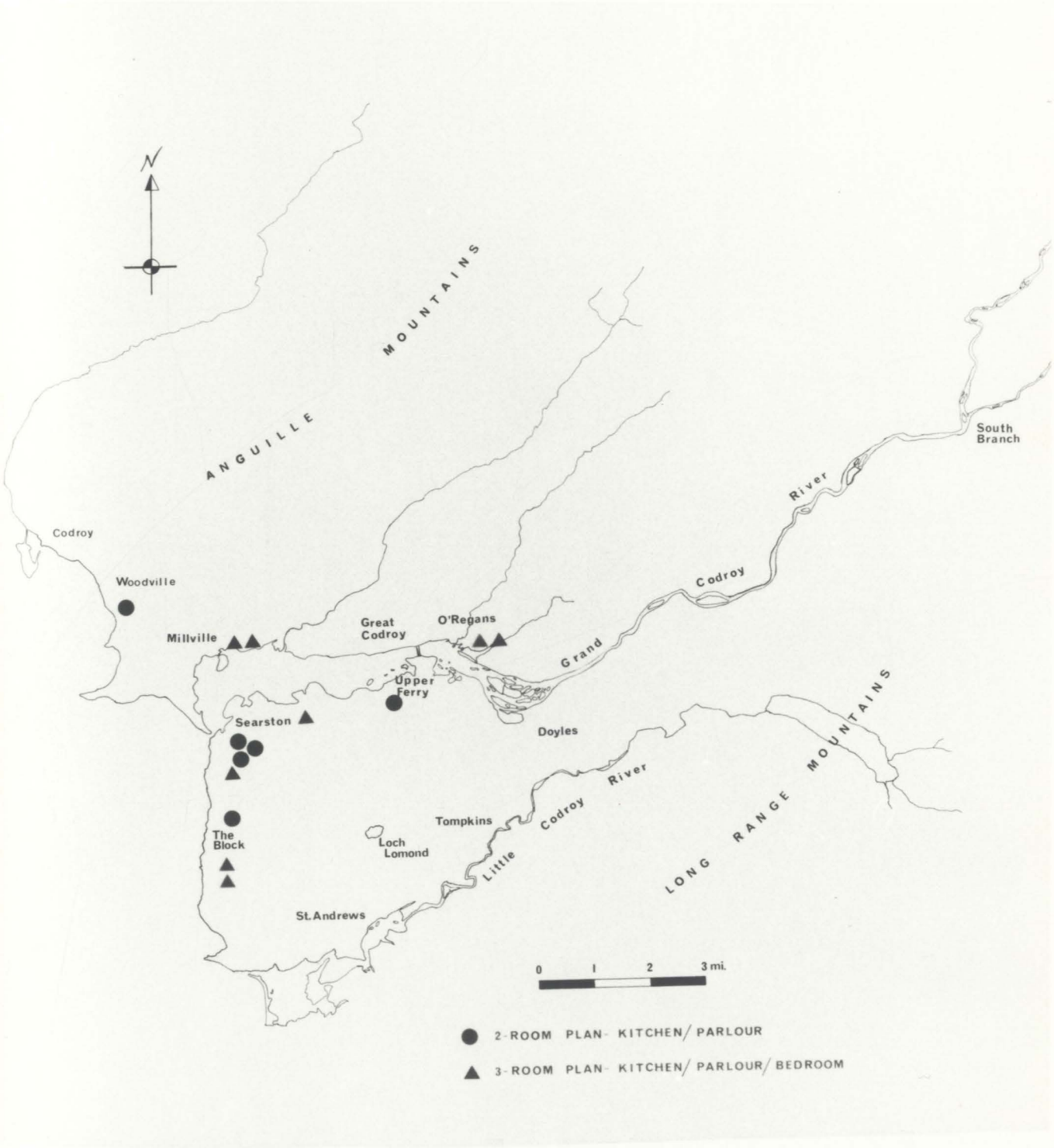
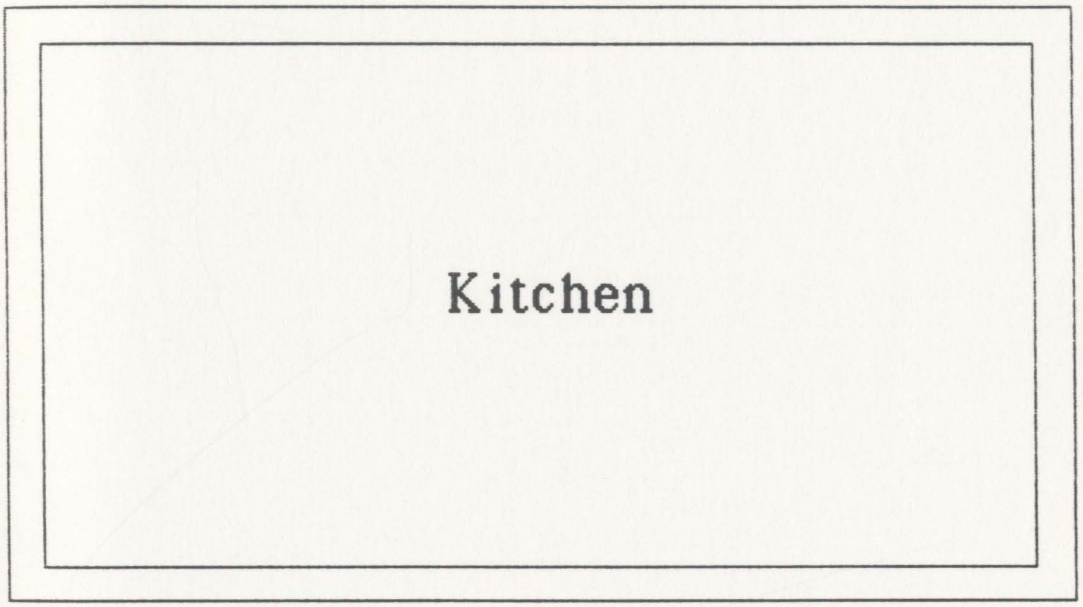
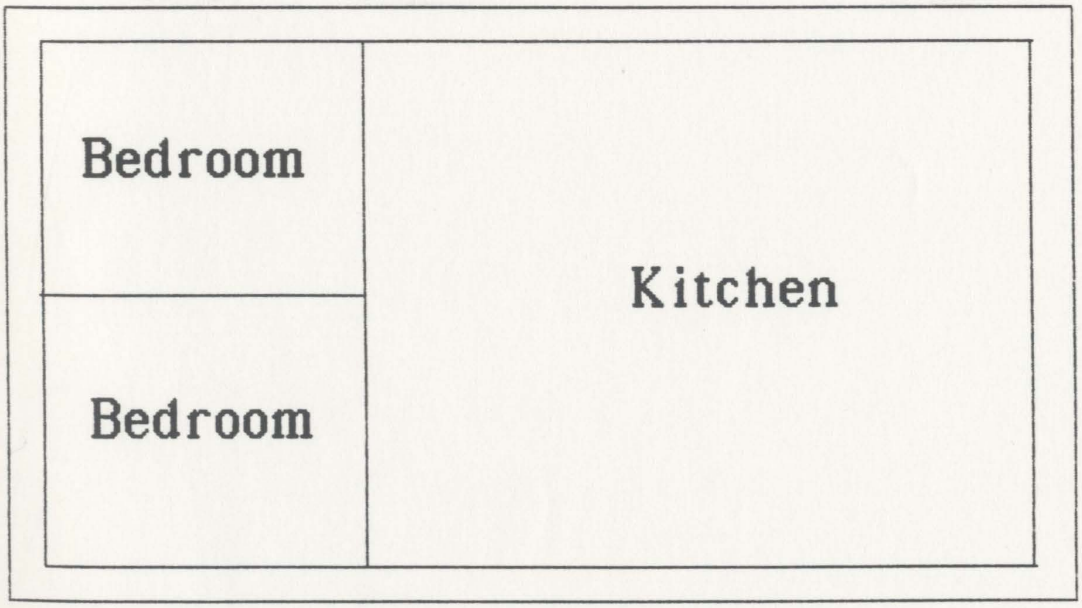

N
ANGUILLE MOUNTAINS
South Branch
River
Codroy
Codroy
Woodville
Millville
Great Codroy
O'Regans
Grand
Codroy
Upper Ferry
Searston
Doyles
LONG RANGE MOUNTAINS
Codroy River
Tompkins
The Block
Loch Lomond
Little
St. Andrews
0 1 2 3 mi.
2-ROOM PLAN- KITCHEN/ PARLOUR
3-ROOM PLAN- KITCHEN/ PARLOUR/ BEDROOM

Figure 22 Floor plans of one and one-half storey frame houses.

One and One Half Storey Frame Houses





areas of North America and the British Isles. [29] Rev. Howley provides a description of a house of this type while travelling through the region in 1871:

> We stopped at the house of one Dusett's [Doucette] and to some lunch. We were received with a hospitality I can designate only as overwhelming. The joy of the whole family knew no bounds. The house was a very comfortable one and might be looked upon as a type of these now existing on the French Shore. Built of substantial framework, boarded and clapboarded outside. The windows open down the center after the French style. On entering the front door we find ourselves in a large apartment occupying the whole ground floor except a small portion boarded off on the right and forming two bedrooms. The walls are wainscotted with planed and seasoned pine boards placed perpendicularly. Around the room are placed several seamen's boxes which answer the double purpose of chairs

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[29] Studies focusing on the one cell plan in other places are numerous. See, for example, Henry Glassie, "The Types of the Southern Mountain Cabin," in The Study of American Folklore, ed. Jan Harold Brunvand, 3rd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1986), pp. 529-62; Gwyn I. Meirion-Jones, "Some Early and Primitive Building Forms in Brittany," Folk Life, 14 (1976), 46-64; Alan Gailey, "Vernacular Dwellings in Ireland," Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art, 13 (1976), 137-55; Abbott Lowell Cummings, The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1725 (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 22-24.

> and receptacles for a great variety of domestic articles. The walls are ornamented with a number of French religious pictures in very light colours, there is no chimney, but in the centre of the apartment stands a large cooking stove which renders the atmosphere oppressively hot and odorous of culinary ingredients. In a short time we were treated to a savoury dish of mutton chops, cooked in a peculiarly appetizing French style, fried eggs and eschalottes. [30]

This floor plan seems to be a spatial pattern common in nineteenth century Acadian communities of Cape Breton Island and the Maritimes. Peter Ennals has conjectured that the principal element of these early Acadian forms was "a large multi-purpose room (salle commune), which served as a kitchen, dining, living and work space, and which probably served as a sleeping area--perhaps being curtained off as a zone de sommeil as the need arose."[31] Eventually this curtained area was boarded in, creating more privacy for residents and resulting in this derivative floor plan.

The house type described by Howley used interior stoves rather than stone chimneys. While no extant central or end

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[30] Howley, "Reminiscences," p. 4

[31] Peter Ennals, "The Folk Legacy in Acadian Domestic Architecture: A Study in Mislaid Self Images," Dimensions of Canadian Architecture, Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada: Selected Papers. Vol. 6, ed. Shane O'Dea and Gerald L. Pocius (Ottawa: Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada, 1983), p. 9.

stone chimney houses exist in the Codroy Valley at the present, the discovery of a crane amidst the remains of a mid-nineteenth century Ryan farm on the North Side of the Grand River suggests that some open hearths may have been used in the valley. One possible reason for the lack of evidence of stone chimneys may be that by the time of migration to the Codroy Valley, wood and coal stoves were becoming very common throughout Eastern Canada.[32] As early as the 1820s and 30s stoves were being imported to Atlantic Canada from as far away as Quebec, the United States and Great Britain for use by wealthy citizens.[33] By the 1830s, 40s and 50s, there were foundries making stoves in Halifax, Pictou, New Glasgow, Windsor, and Bridgewater; it was not until the 1890s, however, that a foundry was established in Cape Breton Island.[34] While Howley's description is comparable to forms found in Acadian areas and Cape Breton Island, my Codroy Valley fieldwork in the summers of 1982 and 1983 did not uncover any buildings using this plan. Perhaps houses of this type were ones people transformed most readily into barns

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[32] See Joann Latremouille, Pride of Home: The Working Class Housing Tradition in Nova Scotia, 1749-1949 (Hantsport, Nova Scotia, Lancelot Press, 1986), p. 30; George MacLaren, The Romance of the Heating Stove (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1972); Peter Ennals and Deryk Holdsworth,"Vernacular Architecture and the Cultural Landscape of the Maritime Provinces: A Reconnaissance," Acadiensis, 10, No. 2 (1981), 103.

[33] MacLaren, p. 10.

[34] MacLaren, p. 10.

after they decided to build new dwellings; this would explain their absence in the landscape today. By contrast, there are at least fourteen one and one-half storey nineteenth century frame houses extant, all using hall-parlour plans or a variation on the hall-parlour form (See Figure 21).

The hall-parlour plan--one large kitchen and a slightly smaller parlour on the ground floor (See Figure 22)--was the most common plan used at the mid-century period on frame dwellings of the Codroy Valley. This form is ubiquitous throughout North America as well as in the areas of Cape Breton Island from where Codroy Valley migrants left.[35] Glassie points out that Scotch-Irish settlers in America readily used the hall-parlour floor plan because they were familiar with it from their homeland.[36] Its antecedents lie in the British Isles.[37] Glassie argues that settlers in the

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[35] See: Glassie, "Types of the Southern Mountain Cabin,"; Ennals and Holdsworth, "Vernacular Architecture and the Cultural Landscape," pp. 337-340; Henry Glassie, Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States, University of Pennsylvania Publications in Folklore and Folklife, No. 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), pp. 64, 66-67, 78, 80-81,89,97, 152-153; Bernard L. Herman, Architecture and Rural Life in Central Delaware, 1700-1900 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987), pp. 19-21; Allen Noble, Wood, Brick and Stone: The North American Settlement Landscape (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), I, 49, 56; Thomas C. Hubka, Big House, Little House, Back House Barn: The Connected Farm Buildings of New England (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1985), pp. 35, 88-90, 165.

[36] Glassie, "Types of the Southern Mountain Cabin," p. 407.

[37] See, for example, Alexander Fenton and Bruce Walker, The Rural Architecture of Scotland (Edinburgh: John Donald,

southern United States adopted log construction techniques from their German neighbors, but retained their own familiar spatial usage - the hall-parlour plan.[38] There are two possible source areas for this plan in the Codroy Valley. In Newfoundland, this floorplan was used by English settlers on the east and south coast of the island by the eighteenth century. Gerald Pocius in a study of housing on the Avalon Peninsula, a region peopled by Irish and English, points out that the hall-parlour plan was indeed a common form by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[39] The route

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1981); Colin Sinclair, The Thatched Houses of the Old Highlands (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1953); Robert J. Naismith, Buildings of the Scottish Countryside (London: Victor Gollancz, 1985); E. Estyn Evans, "The Ulster Farmhouse: A Comparative Study," Ulster Folklife, 3 (1957), 14-18; Estyn Evans, "Donegal Survivals," Antiquity, 13 (1939), 207-22; Åke Campbell, "Notes on the Irish House," Folkliv, No. 2 (1937), pp. 207-36; No. 3 (1938), pp. 173-96; Ake Campbell, "Irish Fields and Houses," Béaloideas, 5 (1935), 57-74; Alan Gailey, "The Peasant Houses of the South-west Highlands," Gwerin, 3 (1962), 227-42; Alan Gailey, "The Thatched Houses of Ulster," Ulster Folklife, 7(1961), 9-18; Caomhín O'Danachair, "The Combined Byre and Dwelling in Ireland," Folk Life, 2 (1964), 58-75; Caomhín O'Danachair, "Hearth and Chimney in the Irish House," Béaloideas, 16 (1946), 91-104; Caomhín O'Danachair, " Traditional Forms of the Dwelling House in Ireland," Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland Journal, 102 (1972), 77-93; Iowerth Peate, The Welsh House: A Study in Folk Culture (Liverpool: Hugh Evans and Sons, 1944); Henry Glassie, Passing the Time in Ballymenone: Culture and History of an Ulster Community, Publications of the American Folklore Society, New Series, Vol. 4 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), pp. 327-424.

[38] Glassie, "Types of the Southern Mountain Cabin," p. 407.

[39] Gerald Pocius, "Architecture on Newfoundland's Southern Shore: Diversity and the Emergence of New World Forms," in

of migration to the Codroy Valley may well have been along the south coast to the fishing village of Codroy and then inland to the settlements along the rivers.

Another possible source area is Cape Breton Island, the area from where the majority of Codroy Valley settlers migrated from in the mid-nineteenth century. By the time of migration, this hall-parlour plan was common in Cape Breton Island and in other Maritime communities.

Fred O'Quinn's house in Searston is a typical example of this form (Figures 23 and 24). This one and one-half storey building faces the Grand Codroy River and the present-day road which winds along the banks of the Grand Codroy River. Originally the house was 23 feet by 17 feet; in the 1920s a 14 foot extension was added to include a pantry, porch and larger kitchen. The front door opens directly into the kitchen, there being no hallway per se, but the stairwell to the sleeping area upstairs is situated close to the front door. In size, the kitchen is 14.5 by 17 feet while the parlour is 9.5 by 17 feet. The building sits on a fieldstone foundation chinked with seaweed, and there is a root cellar under the kitchen reached through an outside door (Figure 25). A gable roof is said to have been "cut down" over 60 years ago forming the

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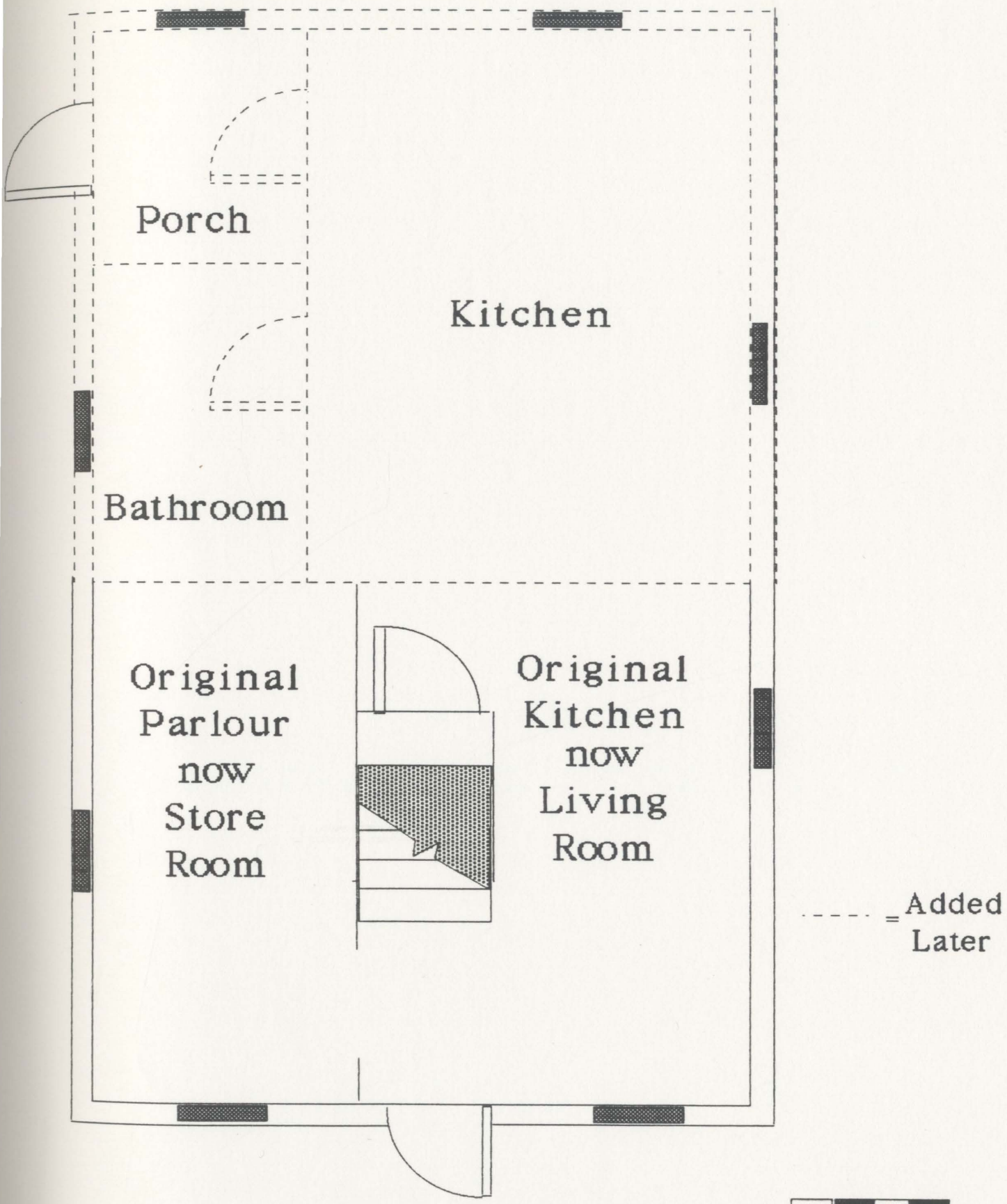
Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, ed. Camille Wells (Annapolis: Varnacular Architecture Forum, 1982), pp. 217-230.

Figure 23 Fred O'Quinn's house, Searston.



Figure 24 Floor plan of Fred O'Quinn's house, Searston.



Fred O'Quinn's
Circa 1882

1/4" = 1'

Figure 25 Fred O'Quinn's root cellar.



present-day gambrel-like roof.[40] The upstairs is divided into two rooms, but according to family members was originally divided into four small rooms. The floor of the house is composed of boards nailed over logs hewn flat only on top (one can readily see the rounded logs from the vantage point of the root cellar). The original kitchen is now the living room, the original parlour is now a storage room, and the back addition contains the new kitchen, bathroom and porch. Other houses using this hall-parlour plan in the Codroy Valley include the John MacLean house on the Block (Figures 26, 27, and 28), Allan MacArthur's house, Upper Ferry, Tom Blanchard's house, Searston (Figure 29), Roland Kendall's house, Woodville, and Frank O'Quinn's house, Searston (Figures 30 and 31).

Eight of the fourteen extant one and one-half storey frame dwellings in the Codroy Valley have a three room floor plan with a kitchen, parlour and bedroom which seems to be a derivation of the hall-parlour plan. John Bruce's house (Gus Bruce's) in the area known as "The Block" is a fine example of this type (Figures 32 and 33). The dwelling faces the sea, and originally was 24 by 18 feet with a central door flanked by symmetrically-placed windows. The ground floor consisted of a

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[40] For a discussion of such renovations see: Michael Owen Jones, "L.A. Add-ons and Re-do's: Renovation in Folk Art and Architectural Design," in Perspectives on American Folk Art, ed. Ian M.G. Quimby and Scott T. Swank (New York: W.W. Norton, 1980), pp. 325-63; Gerald Pocius, "Raised Roofs and High Hopes: Rebuildings on Newfoundland's Southern Shore," Material Culture, 19, No. 2-3 (1987), 67-84.

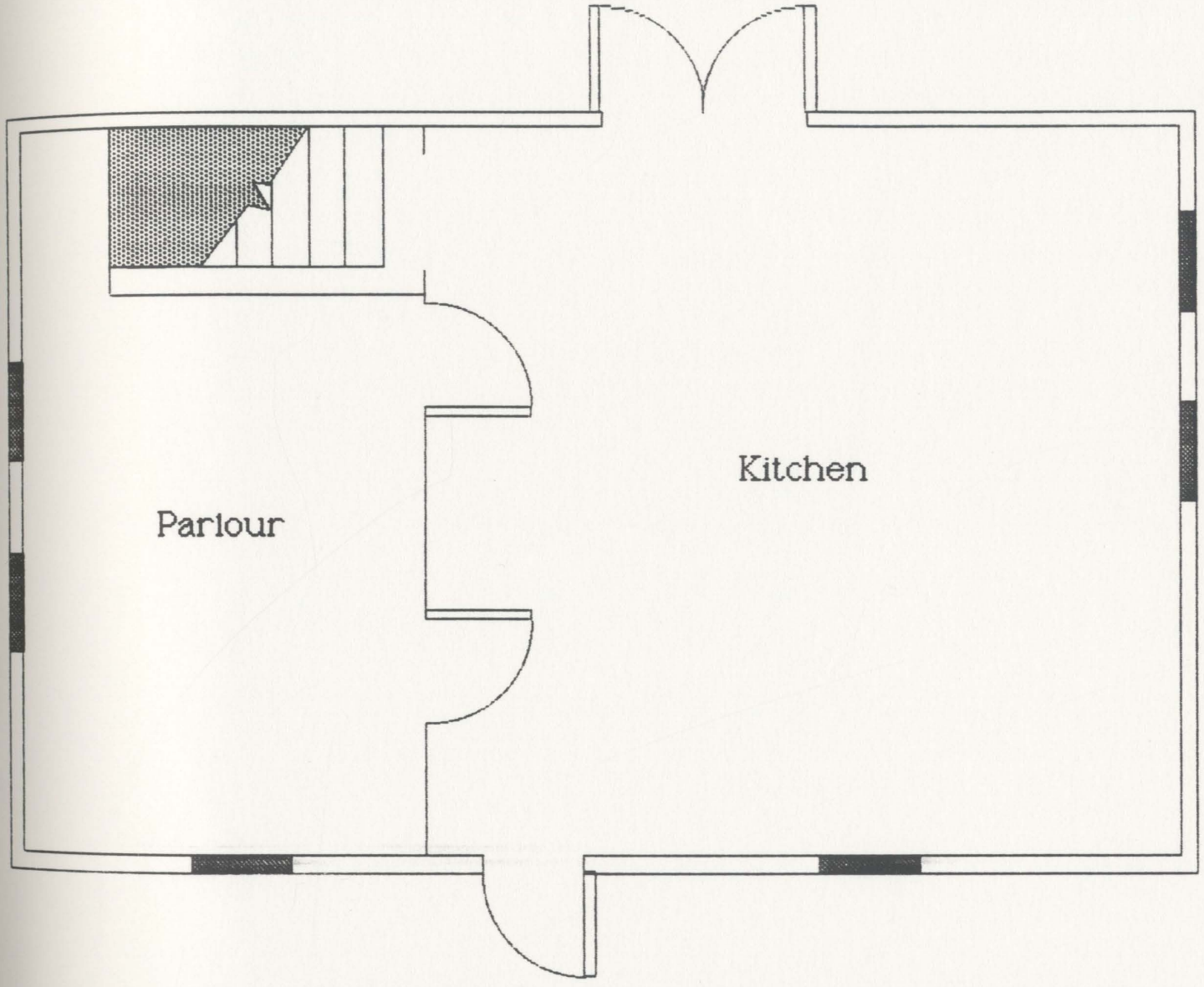
Figure 26 John MacLean house, The Block.



Figure 27 Rear view, John MacLean house, the house has been converted into a barn.



Figure 28 Floor plan, John MacLean house.



John Mac Lean's House

1/4" = 1'

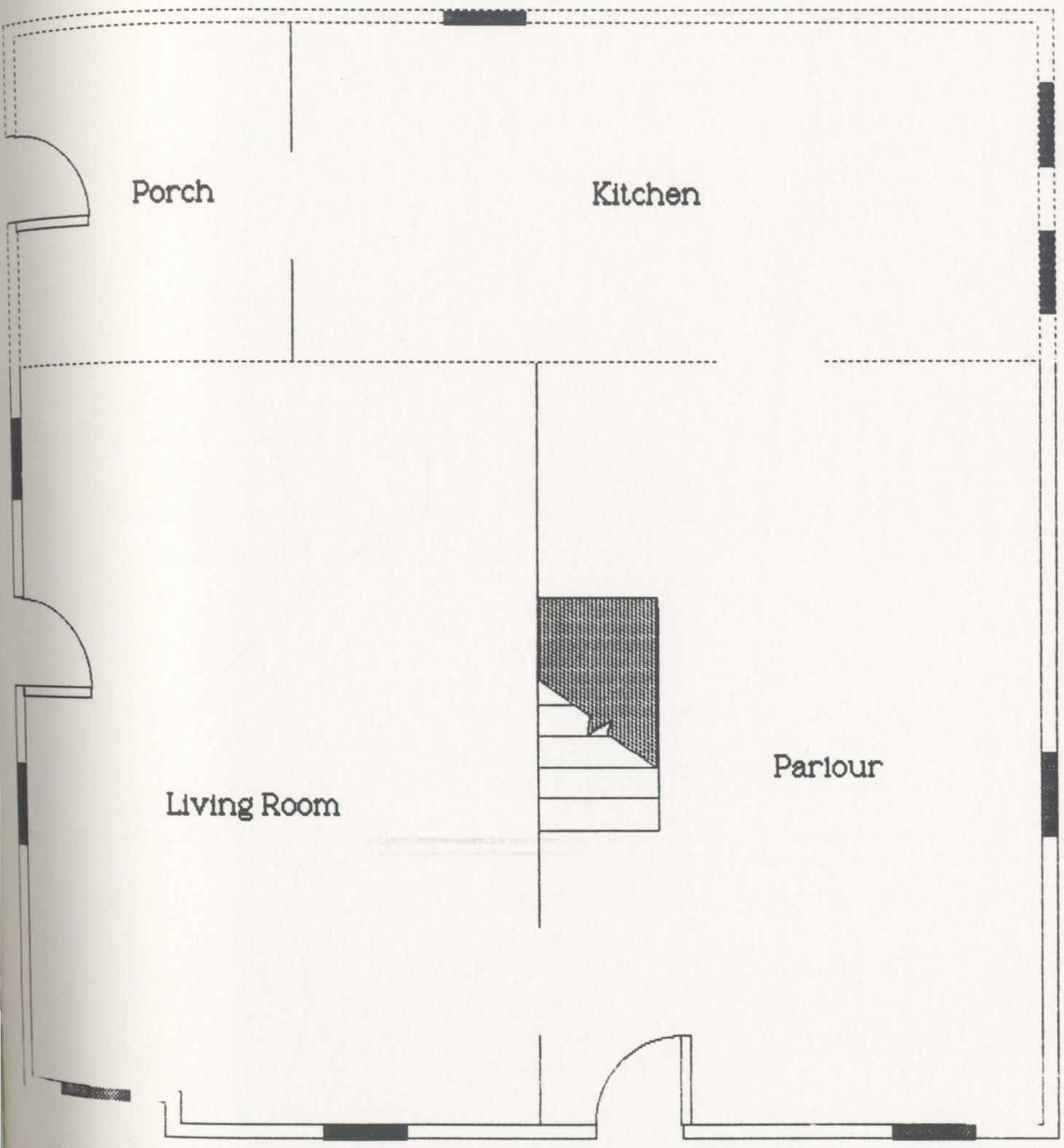
Figure 29 Tom Blanchard's house, Searston; now Angus Kettle's store.


KETTLE'S
GROCERIES & CONFECTIONERY
AGENT
AGENT
Labatt's

Figure 30 Frank O'Quinn's house, Searston.



Figure 31 Floor plan, Frank O'Quinn's house. Originally the house contained only the two front rooms; the back kitchen and porch were added later.



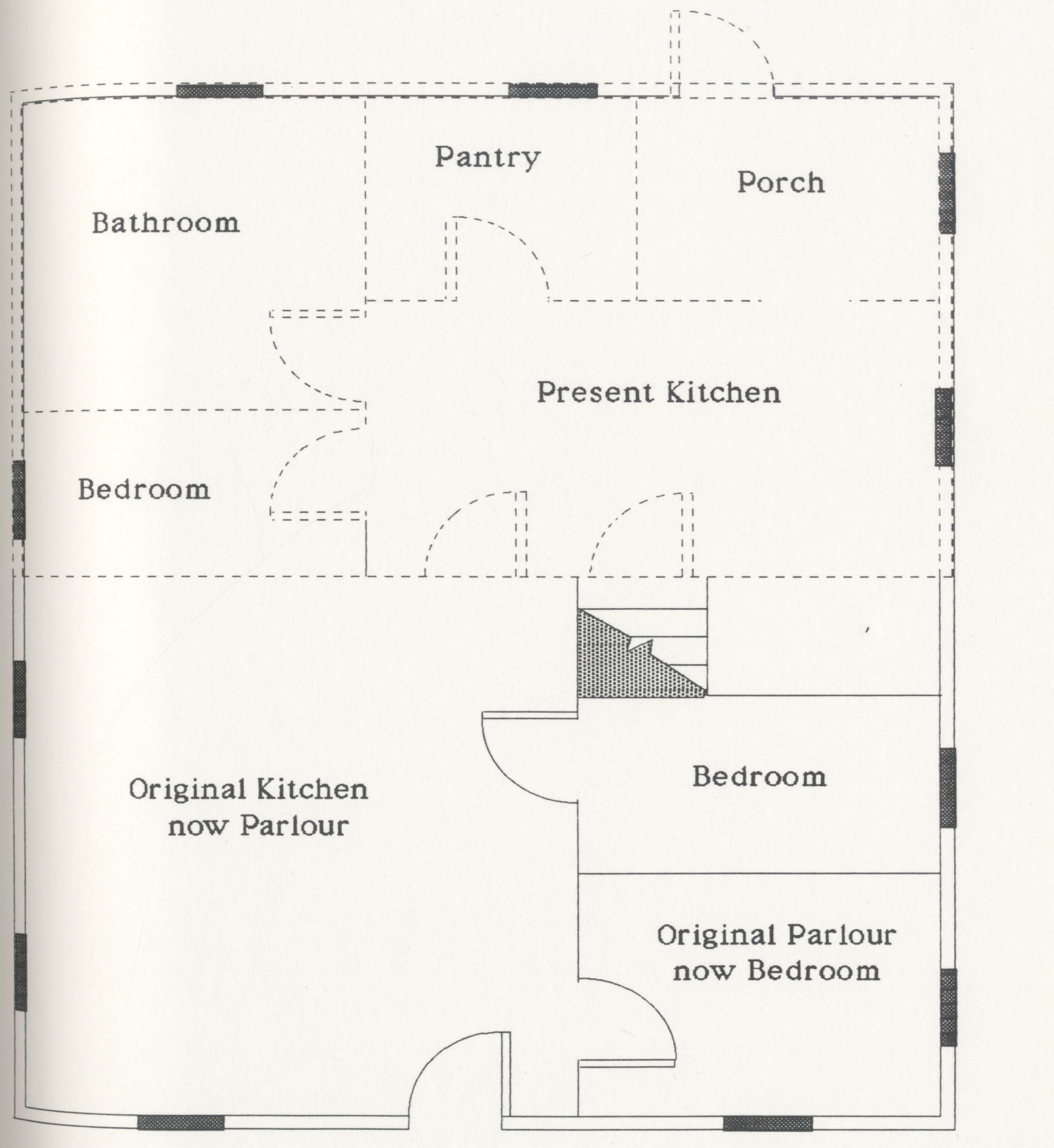
Frank O'Quinn's House

1/4" = 1'

Figure 32 John Bruce's house, The Block.



Figure 33 Floor plan, John Bruce's house, The Block. Originally the house contained a kitchen, parlour and small bedroom; other rooms were added to the rear of the house.



John Bruce's House

1/4" = 1'

13 by 18 foot kitchen, an 11 by 12 foot parlour, and a 6 by 11 foot bedroom to the rear of the parlour. Originally owned by John Bruce, Gus Bruce's grandfather, the house is dated by oral history to "over 100 years old," a common date applied to many old houses in Newfoundland.[41] According to family tradition, this house was the second house on the property; the first one built by John Bruce was situated closer to the seashore.[42] Although it is difficult to accurately date when this house was built, the time of major alterations is more readily verifiable. According to family members, the present back kitchen was added in 1915, when Gus was a boy of five years old.[43] Windows were replaced in the 1930s and a second back addition was not constructed until 1970.[44] The house is located on a fieldstone foundation twelve inches in height

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[41] See Gerald Pocius, "Oral History and the Study of Material Culture," Material History Bulletin, No. 8 (1979), pp. 65-70. The use of oral history in material culture research is becoming more common. See, for example, Marley Brown III, "The Use of Oral and Documentary Sources in Historical Archaeology: Ethnohistory at the Mott Farm," Ethnohistory, 20 (1973), 347-60; Charles E. Martin, Hollybush: Folk Building and Social Change in an Appalachian Community (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984).

[42] Joseph H. Bruce, Gus's father, was two years old when the family moved into the house. Gus died in 1980.

[43] When the dating of a building coincides with a death in the family, a wedding or some important family occasion, it is more likely that the date offered is accurate. See Pocius, "Oral History," 66-67.

[44] Richard MacKinnon fieldnotes, August 2, 1982, MUNFLA, MacKinnon Codroy Valley Architecture Collection.

with no cellar. Originally there was a stairway to the upstairs in the south corner of the kitchen.

Other examples of this type include: Cyril Ford's house in the Block (Figures 34 and 35), William Roach's greatly altered house in Searston (Figures 36 and 37), Joe Downey's house, O'Regans (Figures 38 and 39), Joe Gale's, Millville (Figures 40 and 41), John Gale's, Millville (Figure 42), Dan Gale's, O'Regans (Figure 43), Anosan O'Quinn's (now Frank O'Quinn's barn, Figure 44). All of these houses are located on or near the Grand River; no buildings of this type have been located on the Little River.

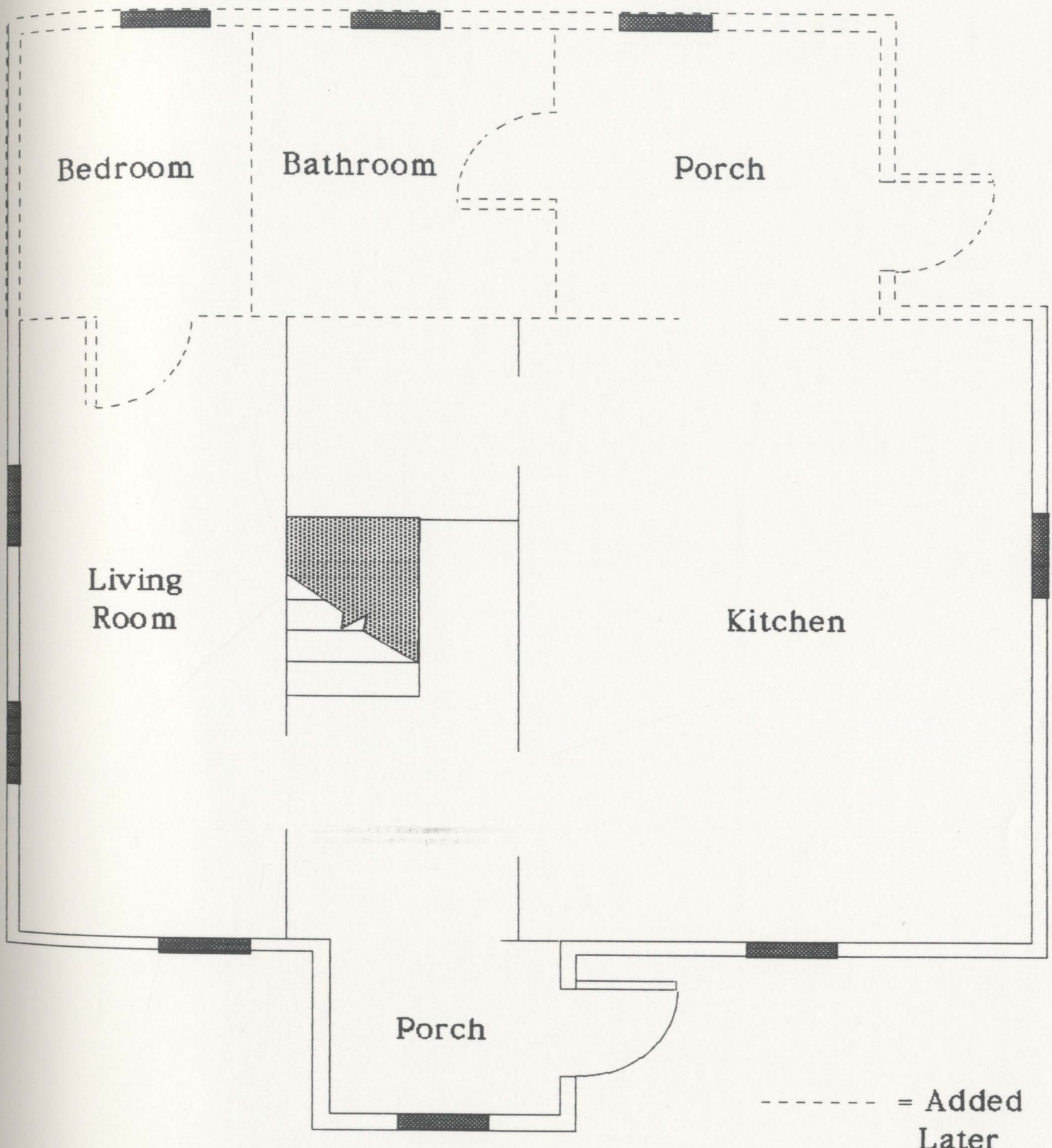
By the 1850s, 60s, and 70s when houses of this kind were being constructed, the Codroy Valley was a developing farming community. Observers of the period continually remark on the agricultural potential of the region and the valley's fine farms. For example, M. J. Kelly, in his "Report on the Fishery" in 1857, observed the prosperity of one Irish settler in the Great Codroy region when he travelled up the Grand River by boat to obtain his census:

> The largest farm on the river belongs to a Mr. Ryan. He has 26 head of cattle , 40 sheep, raises 400 barrels of potatoes besides other crops, cuts 40 tons of hay, and his farm is a perfect model of neatness. In fact, the neatness and order observed on this farm, as well as the out-offices connected with it, were such as would not disgrace the most

Figure 34 Cyril Ford's house, The Block.



Figure 35 Floor plan, Cyril Ford's house, The Block. Originally the house was a two room house; three rooms were added to the rear.



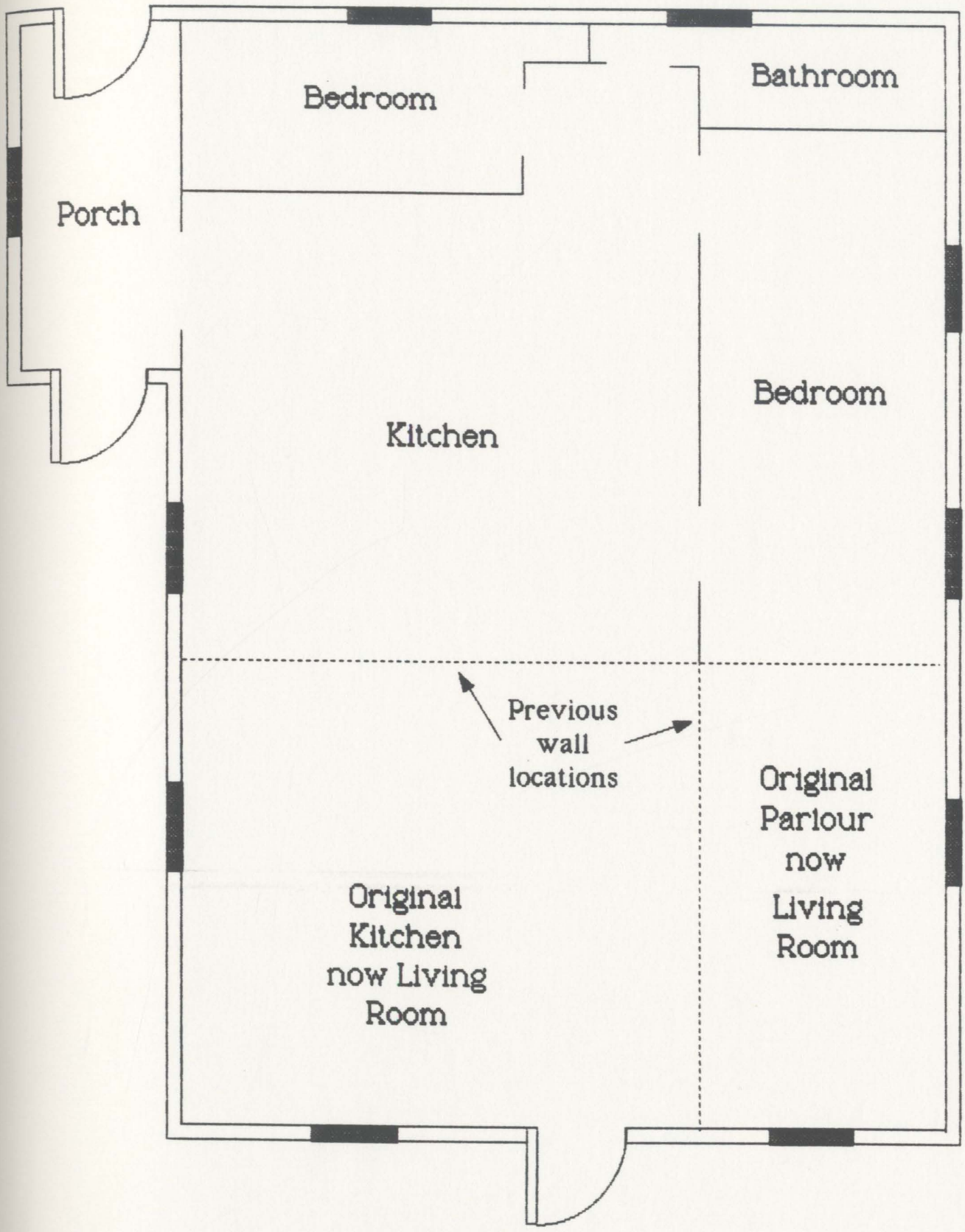
Cyril Ford's House

1/4" = 1'

Figure 36 William Roach's house, Searston.



Figure 37 Floor plan, William Roach's house, Searston. Originally the front kitchen (now the living room) and parlour (now living room) were the only rooms on the ground floor.



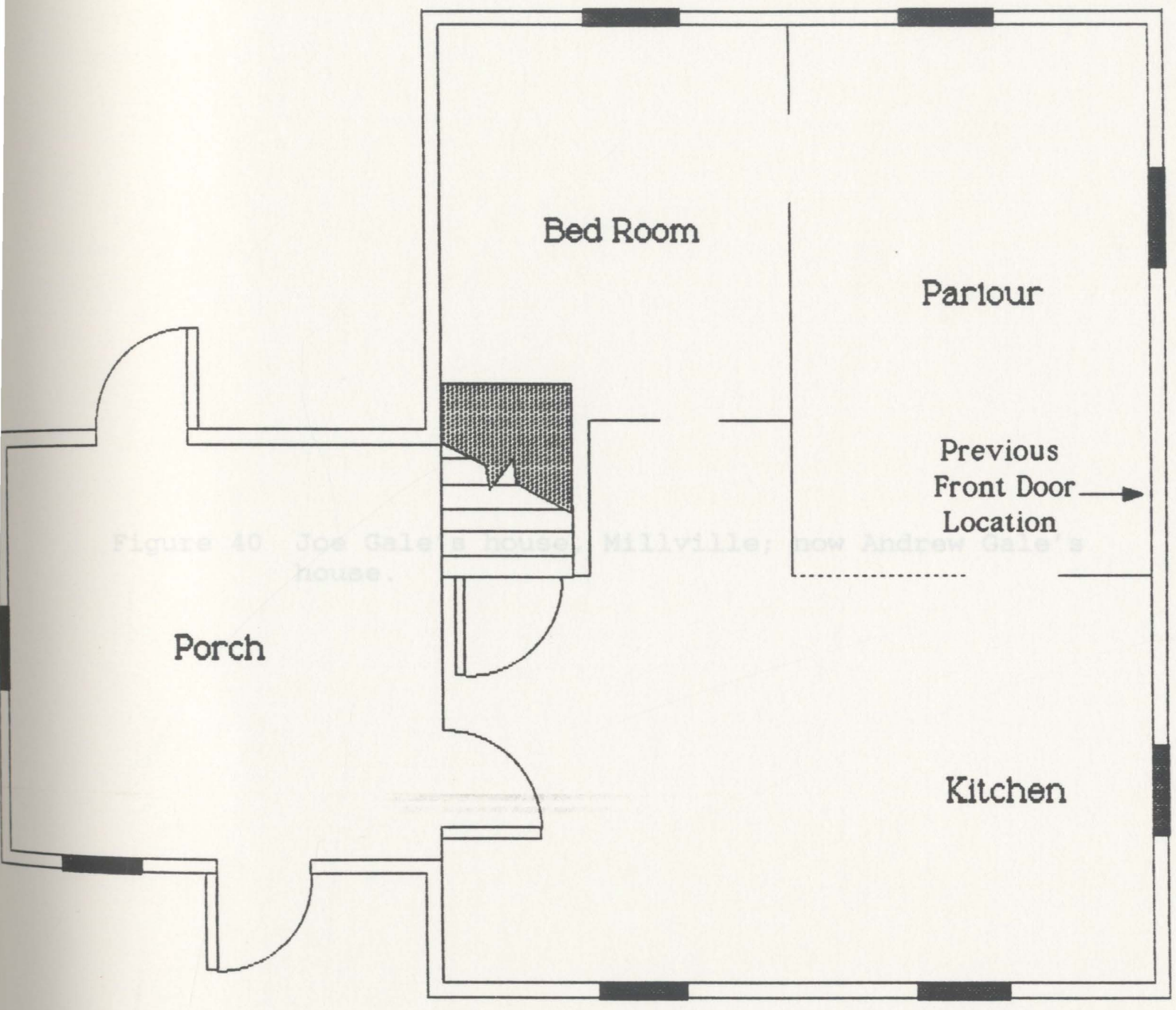
William Roach's House
Circa 1902

1/4" = 1'

Figure 38 Joe Downey's house, O'Regans.



Figure 39 Floor plan, Joe Downey's house, O'Regans. The original front door of the house was removed but one can still delineate the original plan of kitchen, parlour and bedroom.



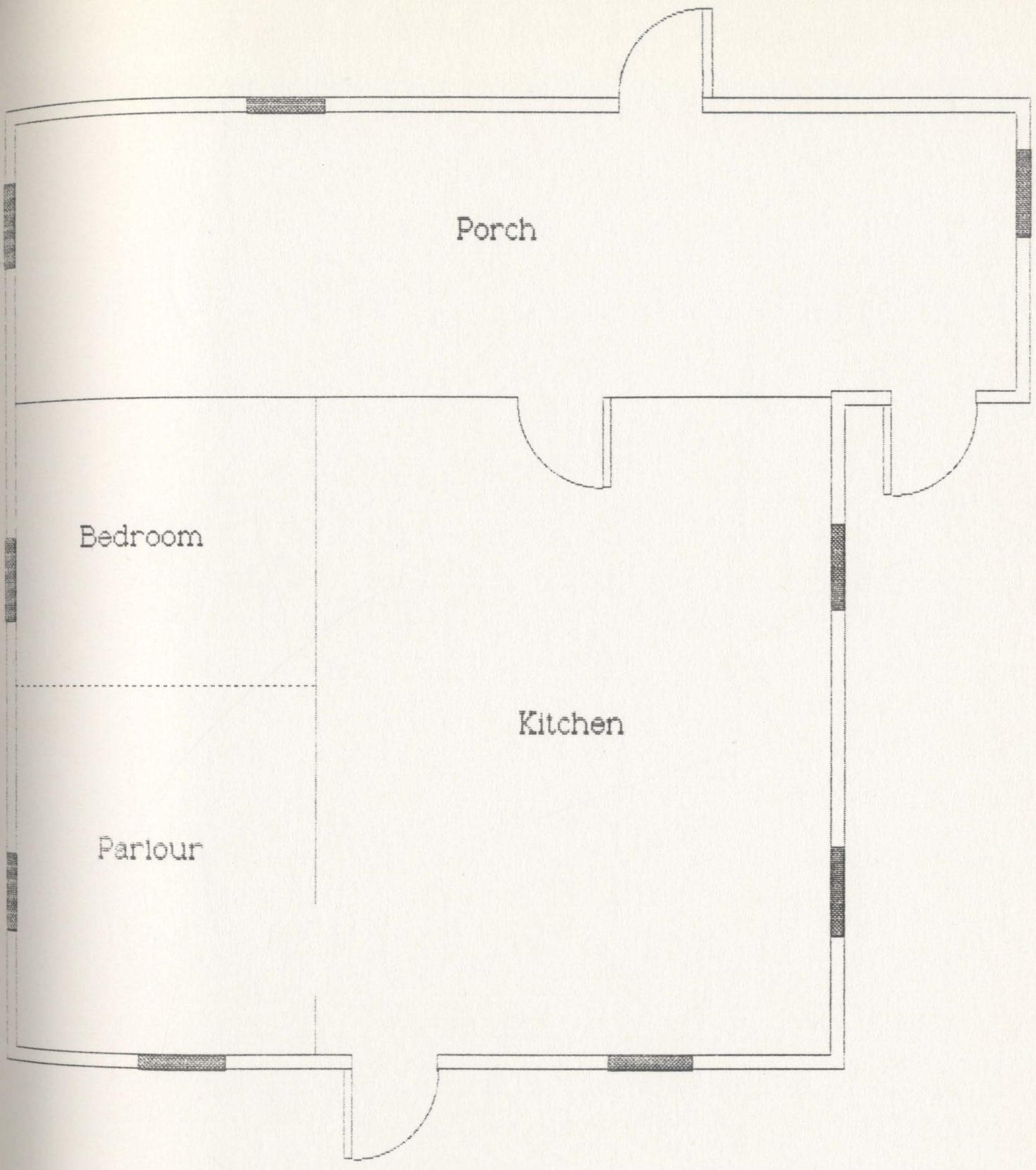
Joe Downey's House
Circa 1842

1/4" = 1'

Figure 40 Joe Gale's house, Millville; now Andrew Gale's house.



Figure 41 Floor plan, Joe Gale's house, Millville; now Andrew Gale's house.



Andrew Gale's House

1/4" = 1'

Figure 42 John Gale's house, Millville.



Figure 43 Dan Gale's house, O'Regans.



Figure 44 Anosan O'Quinn's house; now Frank O'Quinn's barn.



> agricultural country in the world.[45]

Kelly furthermore observed that there were 233 Catholics who had a chapel with a clergyman who occasionally visited the area from St. George's Bay; there were only seven Protestants in the community at this date. He stated that each of the families produced on average 70 barrels of potatoes, 9 barrels of grain, 10 barrels of turnips and possessed 6 head of cattle, 10 sheep and 10 pigs.[46] Kelly's report shows that Codroy Valley emigrants of this period were not primarily engaged in the fishery, but were farmers trying to make a living off the land.[47] Another observer, James S. Hayward, a land surveyor from St. John's, remarks on the fine agricultural production carried out by Codroy Valley settlers:

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[45] M.J. Kelly, Report on the Fishery, Journals of the House of Assembly, 1858, Appendix, p.436. Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.

[46] Kelly, p. 436.

[47] It seems from this census that there were more farmer-fishermen living on the Little River: "The distance from here to Little Codroy is about 6 miles. I went in the boat there this morning, expecting to be back in time for the tide, to leave for St. George's Bay; but it came to blow so strong when we arrived there that we were compelled to leave the boat and return by land. All the residents up the river had come down to prosecute the fishery during the summer which is better here than in Great Codroy, being 60 quintals per man; - of salmon and seals, 200 of the latter and 8 barrels of the former, are taken in the settlement. The people who farm most here are Scotch people who have settled here lately. They raise in the settlement 800 barrels of potatoes, 50 barrels of turnips and they possess 70 head of cattle and 60 sheep. The population is 109, of whom 75 are Catholics, and 34 Protestants." Kelly, p. 436.

> The land at Codroy and at the Great River appears very good for agricultural purposes, and is availed of by the residents of the Great River, who are chiefly settlers from Cape Breton....[48]

It can be safely stated that by the mid-nineteenth century, the Codroy Valley was establishing itself as a farming region. Kelly and Hayward show that order was being imposed on this frontier landscape by the settlers from Cape Breton Island who, by the mid-nineteenth century, had already established houses and outbuildings along the river banks.

The reference to the chapel by Kelly is interesting in that public buildings such as churches may be viewed as sources for innovation for vernacular regions. While I have not found a detailed description of this building, by 1857 this church was perhaps the most modern form of architecture in the region. The Roman Catholic oraganization would have

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[48] James S. Hayward, Report of James S. Hayward, Surveyor, St. John's, on a Visit to the Western Portions of Newfoundland, Journals of the House of Assembly, 1866 Bills and Miscellaneous Papers, p.431. Hayward describes a Codroy Valley farm on this visit: " I also visited Paul Hall, who has been residing 41 years on his farm. He informs me that he lives altogether by farming, but his sons catch a little salmon; has a number of cattle and sheep. I also saw some ox hides and calf skins in process of tanning on his farm.... The greater part of the hay that is cut on that river is made from wild grass, which is mowed in the early part of the month of August, made and put into stacks, where it remains until the river freezes over, when it is brought to the different farms by horses and oxen.... It is estimated that there are at Codroy, including both rivers, 700 oxen and cows and 1700 sheep" (p. 431).

possessed the capital and the connections with the outside world to use the newest available materials and techniques. Churches in vernacular districts often set a standard in carpentry and workmanship that local builders aspire to; local carpenters often assist in the gathering of materials and construction of these kinds of public buildings.

This farming tradition of the region is a clear transfer from Cape Breton Island. The Codroy valley has a floodplain and a similar environment to Broad Cove, Margaree and Cheticamp Cape Breton Island - areas where Codroy Valley settlers came from. The same range of crops, livestock and technology are evident in both the antecedent district and Codroy Valley farms.

OUTBUILDINGS

I have examined some conventional dwelling houses of the settlement period, but what kinds of outbuildings were being constructed at this same time? It has been cultural geographers and folklife scholars such as Fred Kniffen, Wilbur Zelinsky and Henry Glassie in North America who have led the way in acknowledging that barns and outbuildings are an important part of the cultural landscape to be recorded and studied.[49] Much of the research on barns has been of two

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[49] Numerous studies exist; see for example: Henry Glassie, "Barns Across Southern England: A Note on Transatlantic Comparison and Architectural Meanings," Pioneer America, 7, No. 1 (1975), 9-19; Eric Arthur and Dudley Whitney, The Barn: A Vanishing Landmark in North America (Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society, 1972); Alvar W.

kinds: typological studies focusing on particular barns, and more recent studies focusing on particular regions, providing a clearer sense of the variety of barn forms in a district.[50] More recent work has attempted to address some theoretical concerns such as the dominance of one ethnic group in a multi-ethnic region, and the degree of variation within a barn building tradition.[51] Within Canada there has been some research conducted in Ontario and Quebec, and some recent research in Newfoundland, but on the whole, there has been

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Carlson, "Bibliography on Barns in the United States and Canada," Pioneer America, 10, No. 2 (1978), 65-71; John Fraser Hart, "Barns of Quebec," Geographical Review, 55 (1965), 424-26;

[50] See for example: Charles Dornsbusch and John Heyl, Pennsylvania German Barns, Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 12 (Allentown: Schleter's, 1958); Victor Dieffenbach, "Building a Pennsylvania Barn," Pennsylvania Folklife, 12, No. 2 (1961), 20-24; Brian Coffey, "Nineteenth Century Barns of Georgia County, Ohio," Pioneer America, 10, No. 2 (1978), 53-63; Peter Ennals, "Nineteenth Century Barns in Southern Ontario," Canadian Geographer, 16, No. 2 (1972), 256-70; Allen G. Noble and Seymour Gayle, " Distribution of Barn Types in Northeastern United States," Geographical Review, 72 (1982), 155-70.

[51] See for example: Henry Glassie, "The Variation of Concepts Within Tradition: Barn Building in Otsego County, New York," in H.J. Walker and W.G. Haag, eds. Man and Cultural Heritage: Papers in Honor of Fred B. Kniffen, Geoscience and Man, 5 (Baton Rouge: School of Geoscience, Louisiana State University, 1974), pp. 177-235; Robert Blair St. George, "The Stanley-Lake Barn in Topsfield, Massachusetts: Some Comments on Early Agricultural Buildings in Early New England," in Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, ed. Camille Wells (Annapolis: Vernacular Architecture Forum, 1982), pp. 7-23.

little critical attention paid to these forms.

In addition to the log barns already discussed, other outbuilding forms include the English barn type, ubiquitous in North America, and the hay barrack--a once popular impermanent structure which is now vestigial in most North American farm districts. As in Cape Breton Island and much of the Maritimes throughout the mid and late nineteenth centuries, the English barn was the most common barn type (Figure 45, Figure 46). My fieldwork in the valley indicates there are at least fifteen extant examples of this form in various Codroy Valley communities. Most have gable roofs (Figure 47); only two have gambrel roofs. Most have a central runway with a bay on each side, one area being used for hay storage, the other for the housing of animals.

The hay barrack, a portable hay storage structure,was readily employed well into the 1980s (Figure 48). The hay barrack was a cheap, common outbuilding for hay storage, which was in use from the period of initial settlement. In 1983 there were still more than ten hay barracks being used in the region. An advantage of the barrack is that it can be left for the winter in difficult to reach hay fields; the farmer is able to situate a barrack on the fertile, low intervale land along the rivers, and even on the small islands in the rivers. The hay in barracks is sometimes hauled in winter over the snow and ice to the barn. Farmers who do not possess a hay barn find the hay barrack a useful and inexpensive replacement for a large hay barn. One other

Figure 45 Roy McIsaac's barn, South Branch.

Figure 46 Interior of Roy McIsaac's barn showing a flat-bottomed river boat hanging from a barn bent.



Figure 47 Pat Ryan's barn, O'Regans.

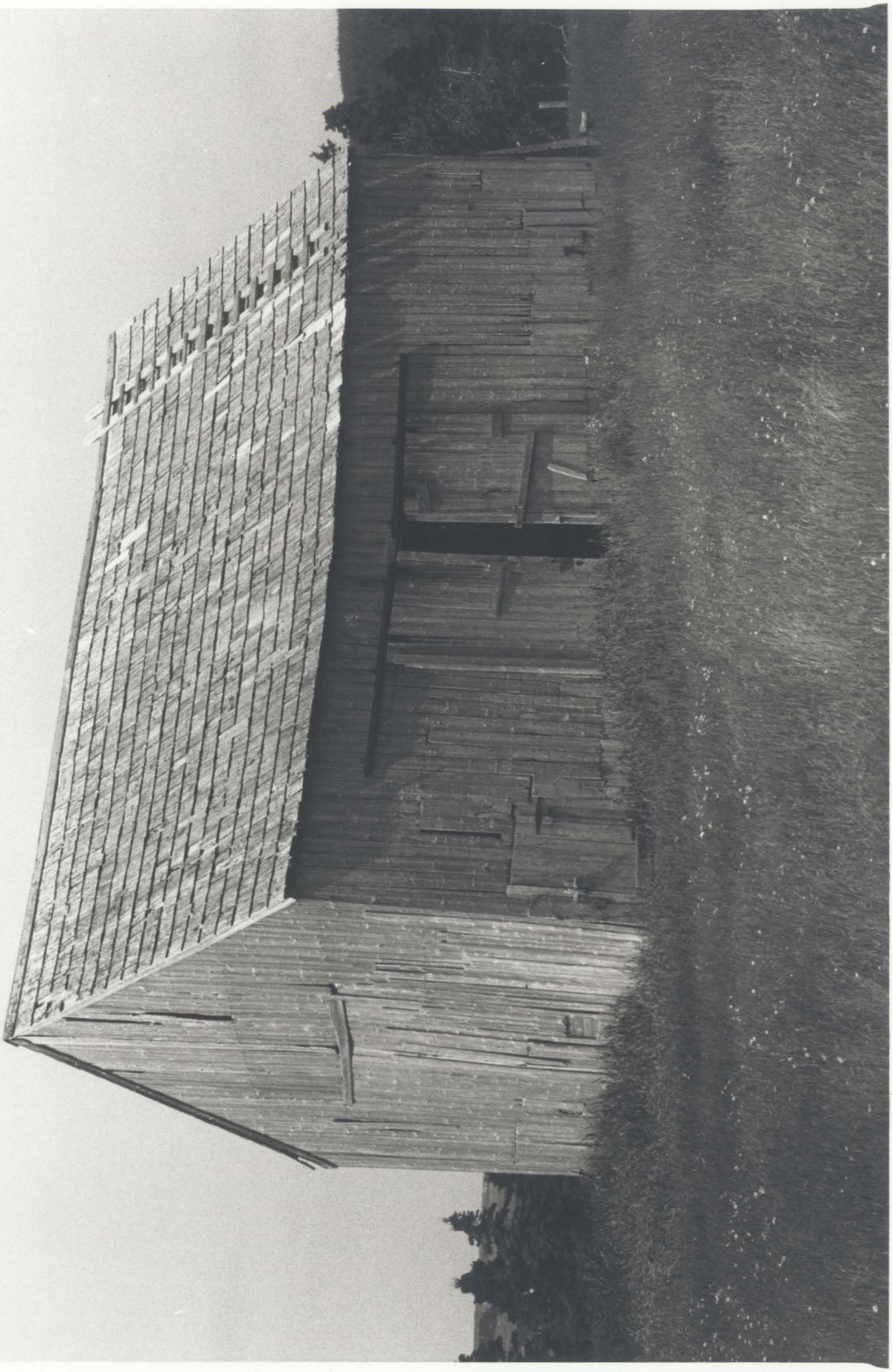
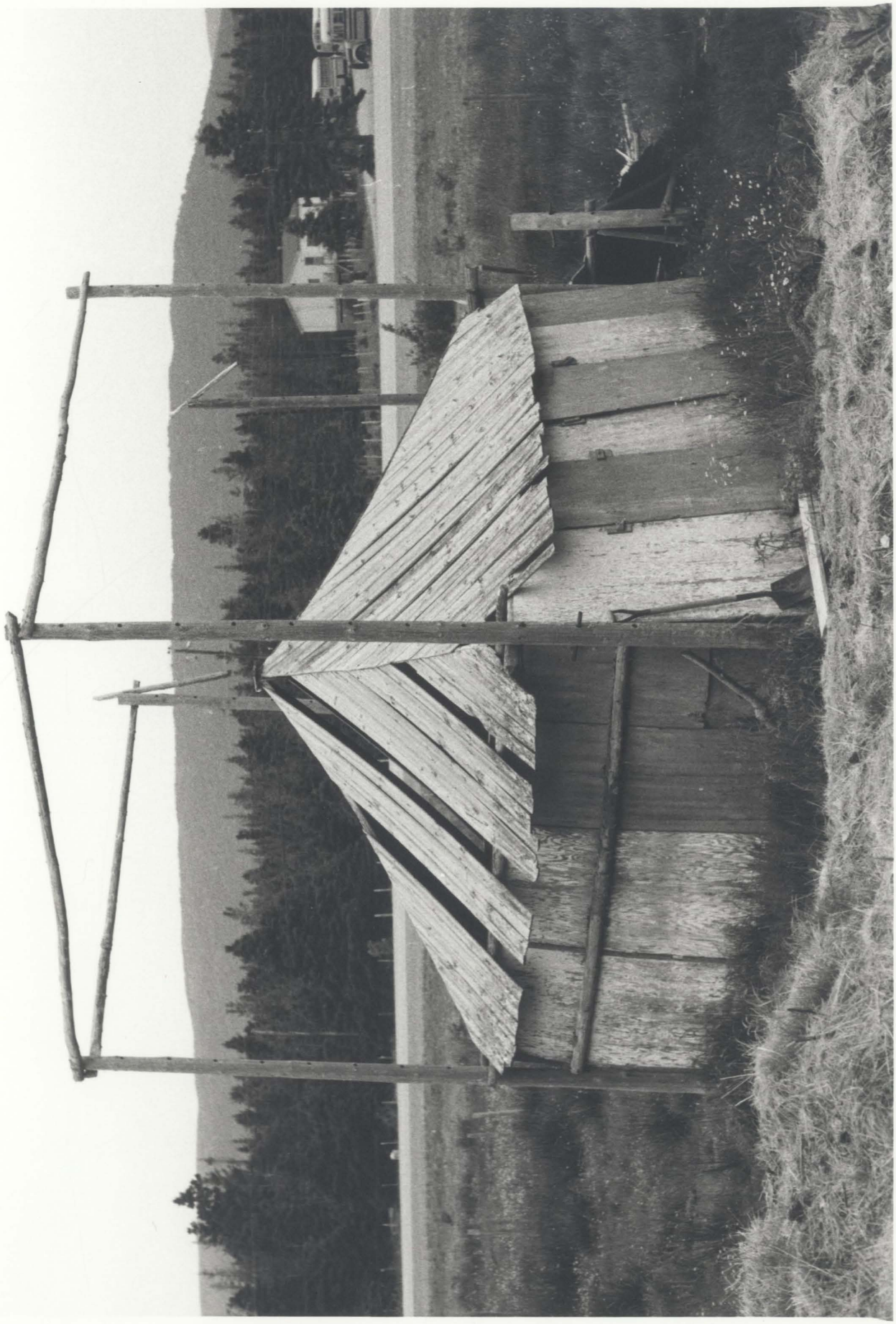


Figure 48 Ned Gale's hay barrack, South Branch.



reason for its popularity is that it can be easily built by an unassisted farmer, with materials readily available on his farm.[52] A fine example of a farm which uses hay barracks is Andrew Gale's in Millville. He owns a log pen barn for his sheep, but no hay barn per se; thus, two hay barracks are employed for hay storage (See Figures 5, 17, 40 and 41).

The hay barrack is an interesting artifact of diffusion. Common on the east coast of Newfoundland amongst Irish settlers, it was also extensively used in Cape Breton Island, particularly in the Margaree River district. It most likely came to the Codroy Valley via the Cape Breton settlers, who brought with them many other aspects of farming culture which radically altered the shape of the Codroy Valley landscape in the mid-nineteenth century.

The barracks, barns and houses of this formative period show that Codroy valley architecture is, at the same time, conservative and dynamic. At the period of migration from Cape Breton Island--the mid-nineteenth century--Codroy Valley builders chose to build a number of building types. Both log and frame construction techniques were employed to construct four types of plans: (1) the one cell plan, (2) derivative of the one cell plan, (3) the hall-parlour plan, and (4) a derivative of the hall-parlour plan. The one-room plan is a ubiquitous form, common in Cape Breton Island and in many pioneer settlement regions, while the three-room plan of

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[52] For a discussion of hay barracks see: MUNFLA 71-39.

kitchen and two small bedrooms is unique to the Acadian settlers of Cape Breton Island and the Maritimes. In the Codroy Valley this three room form was used not only by Acadian settlers but also by settlers of other ethnic origins. The hall-parlour type and a local variation on this form became the most common floor plan of the region. There does not seem to be an ethnic preference for this form; it was employed by the various groups of Codroy Valley settlers.

The hall-parlour type and a local variation on this form has two possible source areas: Cape Breton Island and the nearby English culture of the village of Codroy. By the early years of the nineteenth century, the hall-parlour plan was being employed on the eastern coast of the Avalon peninsula, a coast settled predominantly by English and Irish, and in other communities settled by English in areas such as Bonavista Bay. Settlers in the Codroy Valley could have carried the idea of this form with them from Cape Breton Island, or they could have borrowed the idea from the already established English settlers who were prosecuting the fishery in the village of Codroy on the Coast.

The use of log construction is evident at this pioneer stage and has continued to be evident in outbuilding construction. It is fair to say that by making homes and outbuildings in these ways, residents were conservative in their building choices; they brought some of their familiar architectural ideas across the Cabot Strait to the Codroy Valley. But in the move to the Codroy Valley, these settlers

were also innovative in that they allowed groups to exchange and borrow architectural ideas. Margaret Bennett has shown that French, Gaelic and English settlers readily borrowed some of their folklife, developing various forms of "macaronic" traditions--a combination of cultural expressions from the three main ethnic groups.[53] The three room derivation of the one cell plan is an example of innovation; it was introduced by Acadians, but borrowed by the other ethnic groups who found this plan acceptable and useful for life in a pioneer farming community.

There is no evidence that early settlers of the Codroy Valley chose to construct stone houses and outbuildings. Wood was abundant in this pioneer landscape and was the predominant building material used in the Codroy Valley. Nevertheless, stone was used in Codroy Valley homes of this period for fieldstone foundations and for the construction of open hearth chimneys.

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53 Margaret Bennett, "Scottish Gaelic, English and French: Some Aspects of the Macaronic Tradition of the Codroy Valley, Newfoundland," Regional Language Studies: Newfoundland, No. 4 (1972), pp 25-30. This combination of traditions has also occurred in other areas of Atlantic Canada but little attention has been paid to this phenomenon. Neil Rosenberg points out in a survey of Folklore research in Atlantic Canada that, the "most complex and least studied" issues are "acculturation and assimilation...." Neil V. Rosenberg, " Regionalism and Folklore in Atlantic Canada," in Canadian Folklore Perspectives, Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Publications, Bibliographical and Special Series No. 5, ed. Kenneth S. Goldstein (St. John's, Newfoundland: Memorial University of Newfoundland, Department of Folklore, 1978), p. 7.

The Codroy Valley was permanently settled in the mid-nineteenth century, largely by Cape Breton Scots with small numbers of French and Irish immigrants from Inverness County. These Cape Bretoners who migrated to the Codroy Valley apparently brought with them cultural traits such as the Gaelic language, French Acadian language and elements of the clan system.[54] The next chapter, "The Codroy Valley Building Tradition: The Antecedents" will examine the architecture of Inverness County, Cape Breton Island to assess whether or not any architectural ideas were transferred or diffused from Cape Breton Island to the Codroy Valley. Moreover, the architecture of the coastal fishing community of Codroy will also be examined to assess the influence of this source area on the Codroy Valley.

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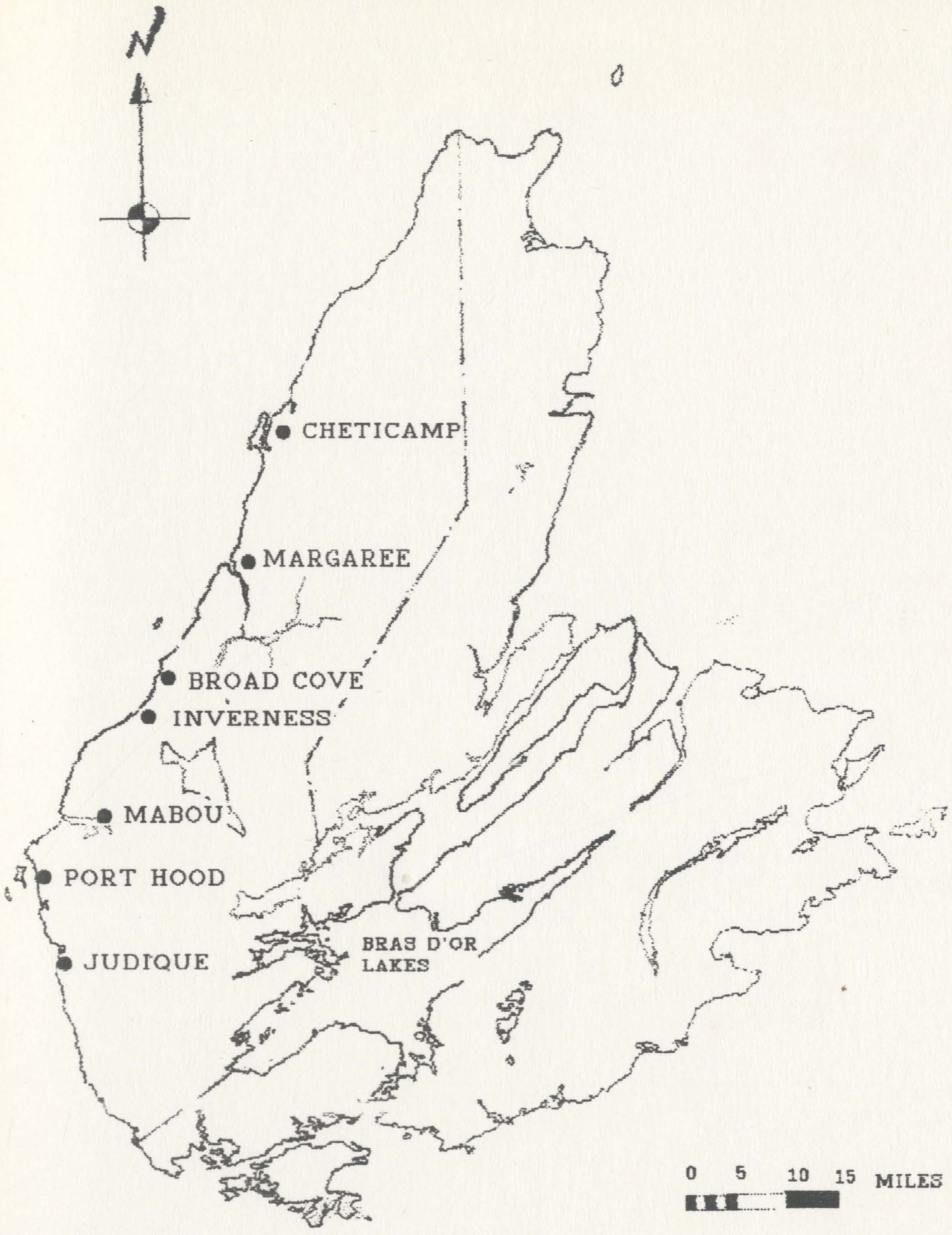
[54] See for example, Margaret Bennett, "Scottish Gaelic, English and French: Some Aspects of the Macaronic Tradition of the Codroy Valley, Newfoundland," Regional Language Studies: Newfoundland, No.4 (1972), pp. 25-30; Margaret Bennett, "Some Aspects of the Scottish Gaelic Traditions of the Codroy Valley, Newfoundland," M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1975; Margaret Bennett, The Last Stronghold: Scottish Gaelic Traditions in Newfoundland, Canada's Atlantic Folklore and Folklife Series, No. 13 (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1989); Rosemary Ommer, "Highland Scots Migration to Southwestern Newfoundland: A Study of Kinship," in The Peopling of Newfoundland: Essays in Historical Geography, ed. John J. Mannion, Social and Economic Papers, No. 8 (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1977), pp. 212-33.

Chapter 3 - The Codroy Valley Building Tradition: The Antecedents

When crossing the Canso Causeway connecting mainland Nova Scotia to Cape Breton Island the traveller has a magnificent view of the shoreline of Inverness County. Dotting the coastline are numerous small farms of 100 to 200 acres with houses and outbuildings stretched along the sloping hills. The communities where Codroy Valley migrants came from are all part of this district, Cape Breton's largest county which runs from the northwest tip to the southwest corner of the island (Figure 49). A survey of this region's vernacular architecture will determine whether an architectural synthesis occurred that resulted in a unique regional house type, or whether an architectural form characteristic of one of the ethnic groups dominated the region. This survey will provide us with a knowledge of some of the choices which would have been available to the men and women who decided to migrate across the Cabot Strait to make new homes along the banks of the Grand and Little Codroy Rivers on the southwest coast of Newfoundland. Field research in the form of traverses combined with documentary materials and information collected by the Canadian Inventory of Historic Buildings provide the bulk of material for this chapter

While providing an understanding of the architecture of the Cape Breton Island antecedent area, this chapter also

Figure 49 Map of Cape Breton Island showing the communities where Codroy Valley residents originated.


N
CHETICAMP
MARGAREE
BROAD COVE
INVERNESS
MABOU
PORT HOOD
JUDIQUE
BRAS D'OR
LAKES
0 5 10 15 MILES

examines the influence of a second antecedent area, the coastal community of Codroy and its English fishing culture. Fundamentally, this chapter is based on the notion that human migration results in the cultural transfer of non-material and material aspects of culture.

Inverness County's architecture is characterized by diversity. There is evidence of log architecture, a common form of building in many pioneer landscapes. Likewise, there are stone houses, a physical reminder of the Scottish background of many of its original settlers. Various types of frame buildings, ranging from one and one-half storey nineteenth century homes to modern C.M.H.C bungalows, are the most common houses in the vernacular landscape today. All of these forms help to shape the distinct identity of Cape Breton Island, a unique region in contemporary Canada.

The island has received much attention from scholars who have focused on issues ranging from the 18th century city of Louisbourg to the Loyalist settlement of Sydney; from the industrialization of the island to the development of labor unions; and on the unique Scottish Gaelic and Acadian presence on the island.[1] Aside, however, from research on

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[1] The standard text on the seiges at Louisbourg is: J.S. MacLennan, Louisbourg From Its Foundation to Its Fall (Toronto: Macmillan, 1918); see also, Fairfax Downey, Louisbourg: Key to a Continent (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall,1965). One of the finest studies to date of social life at Louisbourg is: Christopher Moore, Louisbourg Portraits (Toronto: Macmillan, 1983). Other studies about Louisbourg include: Kenneth Donovan, "Tattered Clothes and Powdered

reconstructed 18th century buildings at the Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Site, the architectural recording projects sponsored by local historical societies,

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Wigs: Case Studies of the Poor and Well-To-Do in Eighteenth Century Louisbourg," in Cape Breton at 200: Historical Essays in Honor of the Island's Bicentennial, ed. Kenneth Donovan (Sydney: University College of Cape Breton Press, 1985), pp. 1-20; Terry MacLean, "Historical Research at Louisbourg: A Case Study in Museum Research and Development," in Cape Breton at 200, pp. 21-40; B.A.Balcom, The Cod Fishery of Isle Royale, 1713-58, Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History (Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Environment Canada, 1984). Much attention has been paid to the industrialization of Cape Breton Island and to the development of labor unions in this region; for typical studies see: C.W. Vernon, Cape Breton Canada at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century (Toronto: Nation Publishing Company, 1903); Del Muise, "The Making of an Industrial Community: Cape Breton Coal Towns 1867-1900," in Cape Breton Historical Essays, ed. Don Macgillivray and Brian Tennyson (Sydney: College of Cape Breton Press, 1980), pp. 76-94; David Frank, "The Cape Breton Coal Industry and the Rise and Fall of the British Empire Steel Corporation," in Essays in Cape Breton History, ed. Don Macgillivray and Brian Tennyson, pp. 110-32; David Frank, "Tradition and Culture in the Cape Breton Mining Community in the Early Twentieth Century," in Cape Breton at 200, pp. 203-218; David Frank, "Class Conflict in the Coal Industry, Cape Breton, 1922," in Essays in Working Class History, ed. Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), pp. 161-84; Don Macgillivray, "Military Aid to the Civil Power: The Cape Breton Experience in the 1920s," Acadiensis, 3, No. 2 (1974), 45-64. For studies of the Scottish Gaelic presence see: Barbara Ann Kincaid, "Scottish Immigration to Cape Breton, 1758-1838," M.A. Thesis, Dalhousie University 1964; Charles Dunn, The Highland Settler: A Portrait of the Scottish Gael in Nova Scotia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963); Allister MacGillivray, The Cape Breton Fiddler (Sydney: College of Cape Breton Press, 1981). For works on Cape Breton Acadian culture see: Père Anselme Chiasson, Chéticamp: Histoire et Traditions acadiennes (Moncton: Éditions des Aboiteaux, 1962); Père Anselme Chiasson et Annie-Rose Deveau, L'histoire des tapis hookés de Chéticamp et de leurs artisans (Yarmouth, Nouvelle- Écosse: Les Éditions Lescarbot, 1985).

and the surveys conducted by the Canadian Inventory of Historic Buildings, there has been little scholarly attention paid to the island's architecture.[2] I do not intend to fill this large gap, but will provide a cursory survey of the

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[2] Much of the research on architecture at the Fortress of Louisbourg remains unpublished in the form of site reports at the Fortress of Louisbourg Archives; see: Bruce W. Fry, Block 1 Louisbourg, Property Divisions and Usage, Manuscript Report Series, Louisbourg: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, National and Historic Parks Branch, 1971; Lee H. Jr, Hanson, The Excavation of the New Ordnance Storehouse at the Fortress of Louisbourg, Manuscript Report Series, Louisbourg: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, National Historic Sites Service, 1968; Robert Morgan, A History of Block 16, Louisbourg: 1731-1768, Manuscript Report Series, Louisbourg: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, National and Historic Parks Branch, 1975; Victor J.H. Suthren, Outbuildings of Louisbourg, Unpublished report, Fortress of Louisbourg Archives n.d. See also some of the published materials: Contributions from the Fortress of Louisbourg, Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History, No. 2 (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, National Historic Sites Service, 1971); Contributions from the Fortress of Louisbourg, Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History, No. 12 (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, National Historic Sites Service, 1975); Eric R. Krause, "Private Buildings in Louisbourg, 1713-1758," Canada, 1, 4 (1974), 47-59; John Fortier and Owen Fitzgerald, Fortress of Louisbourg (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1979). Some of the works sponsored by local historical societies include: Debra McNabb and Lewis Parker, Old Sydney Town: Historic Buildings of the North End (Sydney: Old Sydney Society, 1986); Terry Sunderland, Still Standing: Cape Breton Buildings From Days Gone By (Sydney: College of Cape Breton Press, 1980); JoAnn Latremouille, Pride of Home: The Working Class Housing Tradition in Nova Scotia 1749-1949 (Hantsport, Nova Scotia: Lancelot Press, 1986). The Canadian Inventory of Historic Buildings has conducted some survey work in Cape Breton Island; it remains to date unpublished. Scholars are able to obtain copies of the work conducted by this body by writing directly to the Canadian Inventory of Historic Buildings in Ottawa.

kinds of vernacular buildings evident in the Margaree Valley, Chéticamp, Broad Cove, Inverness, Judique and Port Hood areas of Cape Breton--areas from where Codroy Valley settlers originated in the mid-nineteenth century.

By 1800 Cape Breton had about 2500 settlers, mainly Acadians, Irish, Loyalists and some Scots from mainland Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. These settlers lived around the coast and engaged primarily in the cod fishery; the interior lands along the inland rivers and Bras D'Or lakes remained uninhabited. Between 1802 and 1845 more than 20,000 Scots from the Western Highlands and Islands settled Cape Breton Island, clearing forests and displacing the fishery with farming as the island's principal economic activity.[3]

First, I shall examine the kind of construction materials and techniques which were available in these Inverness County communities at the time of the nineteenth century Codroy Valley migration. An examination of log construction reveals that there are close parallels with the log building tradition of the Codroy Valley.

LOG CONSTRUCTION

Various writers indicate that a particular form of log construction was a predominant feature in the nineteenth

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[3] This historical description is from: Stephen Hornsby, "Scottish Emigration and Settlement in Early Nineteenth-Century Cape Breton," in The Island: New Perspectives on Cape Breton History, 1713-1990, ed. Kenneth Donovan (Sydney: University College of Cape Breton Press, 1990), p.49.

century landscape of Inverness County. One of the questions R.G. Haliburton asks in his 1861 survey of the region is "What can a farm of 200 acres, with a log house and barn and 40 acres cleared, be purchased for per acre?"[4] He adds, according to one farmer's reply,"a farm of that description could be purchased for from L20 TO L40 per acre." A second respondent states, "from L10 to L20."[5] It is difficult to determine Haliburton's definition of "log house and barn;" he might be referring here to buildings constructed of logs left in the round, or to ones built from logs squared with an adze or hewing axe.[6] Haliburton is not alone in his use of this word to describe vernacular dwellings, for many travellers--from the early 19th century to the local historians of the twentieth century--frequently use the word "log" in their descriptions of the island's buildings. For example, John F. Hart--a local historian from the Margaree Valley--states that "hardy pioneers" erected " log cabins" as temporary dwellings which were eventually replaced by frame dwellings when settlers were more firmly established in the region.[7] Hart, like other local historians, believes that log dwellings were

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[4] R.G. Haliburton, "Appendix H: Inverness County, 1861," in Uniacke's Sketches of Cape Breton, ed. C. Bruce Fergusson (Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1958), p. 158.

[5] Haliburton, p. 160.

[6] Haliburton, p. 162.

[7] John F. Hart, History of Northeast Margaree (Margaree Centre: Published by the Author, 1962), p. 12.

the first form of temporary dwellings in his region and that other more advanced forms developed as people became more settled. This idea has been shown to be fallacious in other pioneer landscapes; many log buildings were constructed originally as permanent dwellings complete with exterior sheathing of clapboards or shingles to cover the rounded or squared logs. Hart may well be promoting the log cabin mythology which has been such an important part of pioneer nostalgia in North America.[8]

While I have not discovered any extant log buildings in the communities from where Codroy valley settlers came from, the numerous accounts from other nearby centres throughout Inverness County suggests that log building was indeed a common pattern throughout the county. For example, one of the more reliable descriptions supporting the contention that log buildings were part of the traditional repertoire in the region is a 19th century personal experience account published in the Gaelic newspaper MacTalla:

> River Denys runs into Malagawatch Lake and when we came in 1821, there wasn't a white man living there. We started to cut down the forest where we intended establishing everyone near a neighbor and after that, everyone began building little log houses, thatched between the logs and

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[8] Harold Shurtleff, The Log Cabin Myth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939).

> narrow sticks, hewn with an axe or adze put down for a floor.[9]

This description, published 70 years after the time of settlement, outlines the building of log structures; however, we are not told whether the logs are placed in a vertical or a horizontal position, or whether the logs are on sills or are earthfast. We are told that interstices between logs are chinked, that buildings contain floors made from hewn logs and that neighbours live close to each other in the landscape. While the details in this account suggest our author is not romanticizing about the settlement period, the contemporary reader must be wary because of the long period between the actual settlement experience and its recording.

Other writers have recorded their perceptions more immediately after encountering Cape Breton log structures. Augustes Wallet DesBarres, the Solicitor General of Nova Scotia who received his appointment shortly after Cape Breton was annexed to Nova Scotia in 1820, describes an 1818 visit to a farm owned by a Scottish immigrant on the Bras D'Or Lakes:

> The farm lot where I was, consisted of 200 acres of land, 15 of which were cut

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9 MacTalla, Vol 3, No. 1, 1894, p. 1. Thanks are offered to Kay MacDonald, former Gaelic specialist at the Beaton Institute, University College of Cape Breton, for this translation from Gaelic to English.

> down and cleared away in the form of a square; about nine acres of this was sown and planted, the remainder being used as meadow ground: in the centre of the clearing stood the dwelling house, constructed of square logs dovetailed into each other, and covered over at the top with shingles; in the inside a cleanliness and neatness of arrangement seemed to bespeak peculiar comfort and content...[10]

Desbarres describes the end-notching as being dovetailed--a form of cornering used in horizontal log dwellings throughout North America. There is no agreement upon the origin of this kind of horizontal log construction. Some argue it was brought to America by Pennsylvania Germans and then diffused to other parts of North America.[11] Others see it as a form

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[10] Augustus Wallet Desbarres, A Description of the Island of Cape Breton in North America; including a Brief and Accurate Account of its Constitution, Laws and Government (London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones,1818), n.p. Excerpts from this work are reprinted in : Impressions of Cape Breton, ed. Brian Tennyson (Sydney: University College of Cape Breton Press, 1986), pp. 73-86; for this particular citation see pp. 82-83.

[11] Fred Kniffen and Henry Glassie, "Building In Wood in the Eastern United States," in Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture, ed. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), p. 177; Alan Gowans, Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 6. For proponents of differing views on the origin of log architecture in North America see: Henry Glassie, "Eighteenth Century Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Building," Winterthur Portfolio, 7 (1972), 29-57; Terry G. Jordan, Texas Log Buildings: A Folk Architecture (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978).

brought to America by the Swedish settlers of the Delaware Valley in the late 1630s.[12]

Whatever the origins, there are numerous accounts of log structures in the areas from where Codroy Valley migrants came. A traveller to Inverness County in the mid-nineteenth century provides a detailed description of this form of horizontal log construction:

> The log-house or cottage is a rough but rather picturesque construction; and when first erected is not uncomfortable. The logs of pine or hemlock are laid one upon another with their ends let into notches,and the interstices filled with moss and clay. The chimney is of stone built with mud or clay. Rough boards form the roof which is sometimes constructed of poles and layers of thick bark. Nails and glass are the only materials for which money is needed. There are many degrees of comfort and improvement in these log houses. In the winter - if in bleak situations, they are often protected from the cold by spruce trees cut down and placed in an upright position against the walls most exposed

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12 Donald A. Hutslar, The Log Architecture of Ohio (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1977), p. 1; Allen G. Noble, Wood, Brick and Stone: The North American Settlement Landscape, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), I, p.41; Terry Jordan, Texas Log Buildings: A Folk Architecture (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1978), p. 23.

to the winds.[13]

Although we are not given a description of the kind of end-notching used in this building which would provide the degree of detail necessary to compare this type with other documentable forms, it is evident that the observer here is referring to a horizontal log structure with end notching along with some form of a stone chimney. The birch bark Haliburton refers to was commonly used underneath the shingles or clapboard for insulation in many nineteenth century Cape Breton Island houses.[14] He also usefully provides a description of how cut-down spruce trees are employed as a form of insulation.

Examples of horizontal log construction are known from New England to Texas, and a large body of literature exists on this architectural form. Kniffen and Glassie say it is an ancient form of construction: "Horizontal log construction... originated in the Mesolithic with the Maglemosian culture which was centred in Denmark, southern Sweden and northern Germany. By the Bronze Age horizontal logs had replaced vertical posts as the commonest method of construction from

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[13] Haliburton, p. 65.

[14] While doing fieldwork in Cape Breton Island, I found numerous examples of nineteenth and early twentieth century buildings using birch bark as insulation. While the insulating powers of birchbark might be minimal by today's standards, a layer of bark underneath shingles or clapboard served to help keep wind and water from entering a dwelling.

France to Russia and from Norway to Czechoslovakia."[15] Whatever its origins, whether German, Swedish or independent invention, this form of construction was appearing in Inverness County communities by the early years of the nineteenth century. Neither in my initial survey of Inverness County nor in the records of the Canadian Inventory of Historic Buildings are there examples of log buildings. Recently, however, the open-air living museum devoted to Scottish Cape Breton culture in Iona, Cape Breton Island, constructed a horizontal log building to represent the "first" house of the Cape Breton Scottish immigrant; the building's design is based on research conducted by Museum staff on the remains of what are purported to be two horizontal log dwellings (Figure 50).[16] However, in October, 1987, three horizontal log houses were discovered in the communities of Marble Mountain and Alba, Inverness County; all three buildings seem to date from the first generation of Scottish Cape Breton settlement, but had major alterations at the end of the nineteenth century. I have recorded by photographing, documenting and measuring one of these structures - the Cassell-McEachern house in West Alba

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15 Kniffen and Glassie, "Building In Wood," p. 172.

16 Highland Village Day: 1962 -1986 (Iona: Highland Village Society, 1986), n.p.

Figure 50 Log house, Nova Scotia Highland Village, Iona, Cape Breton Island, 1987.


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(Figures 51 and 52).[17]

Situated on the Bras'D Or Lakes and 300 feet from the road, the house is now 31 feet by 18 feet in size with a kitchen, pantry, parlour and two small bedrooms. However, this layout dates from the latter end of the nineteenth century when major renovations occurred in the house: the addition of wainscotting and a pantry in the kitchen, the removal of a large, stone, end chimney, and the adding of a large extension for bedrooms and a parlour. Originally, the house was 21 feet by 18 feet in size containing one room with a large, stone, end chimney; sleeping quarters were in the loft reached by a ladder in a corner by the chimney. The original size of the building can be determined by examining the loft where one can see pieces of the original end wall still in place above the first floor ceiling. Each wall of the original log pen (18 feet by 21 feet) is made of twelve rounded logs, V notched in the corners, with a squared 6 inch by 10 inch log on the top serving as a foundation plate for the roof and its rafters. There were originally five trusses of rafters with dovetailed collar beams and no purlins placed on average 3.5 feet apart. These trusses are made of squared, hand hewed logs held together by wooden pins; two more were added when the house was extensively altered at the end of the nineteenth century. The roof is sheathed with 9 inch wide

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[17] Brian Preston, Provincial archaeologist for the province of Nova Scotia, brought these buildings to my attention.

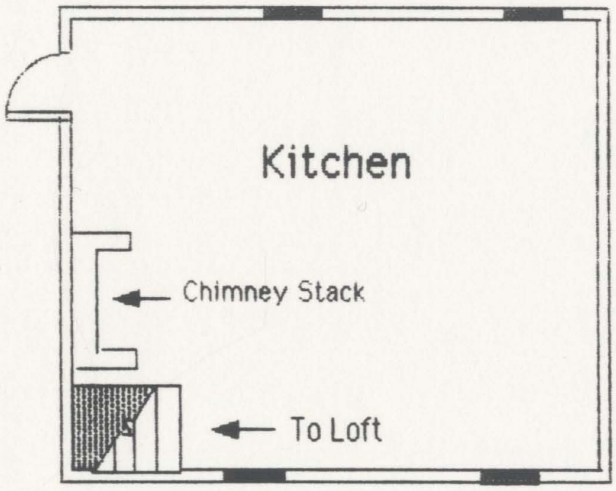
Figure 51 Cassell-McEachern log house, Alba, Cape Breton Island.



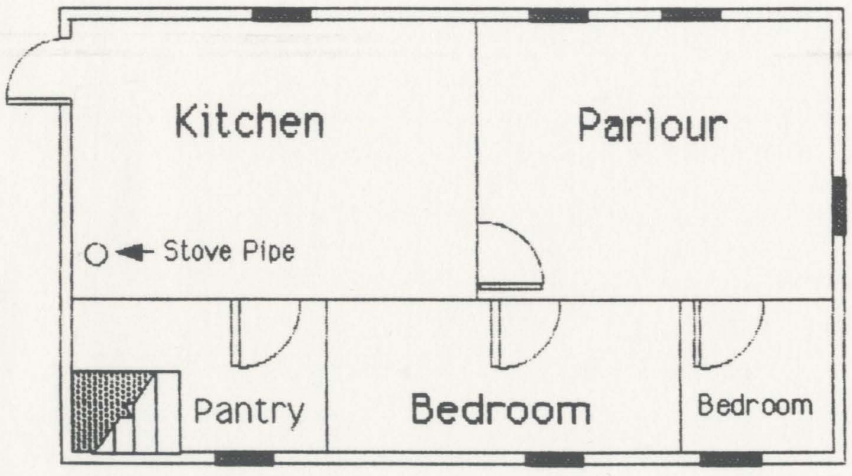
Figure 52 Floor plan, Cassell-McEachern log house, Alba, Cape Breton Island.

Cassell-McEachern Log House, Alba

Before Modifications



After Modifications



1/8"=1'

pine boards and covered with wooden shingles. The logs are not exposed but rather are covered with laths and 18 layers of shingles with a 6 inch face. Judging by the spacing between the logs, it does not seem that the bare logs were ever left exposed to the weather; I suspect that from the date of its original construction, the first period of Scottish settlement in the early nineteenth century, it was always sheathed with shingles or clapboard. While the gables on the reconstructed log house at the Iona museum are log, the gables on this house are framed with hand hewed wood. I suspect that framing of gables was more common; each of the three recently discovered homes uses framed rather than log gables. Houses such as this were probably more common in Inverness county than we are led to believe by the few extant examples; in some cases these kinds of buildings were expanded or attached to the larger frame houses which became more popular as the nineteenth century progressed.[18]

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[18] It is difficult to date this dwelling, but the property is referred to in some public documents by the mid-nineteenth century. The original grantee, Alexander McEachern purchased 100 acres from the government by 1859 and received grants of 200 acres of adjacent land in 1867 and 1868. Born in 1818 in Scotland, he was a son of Hugh McEachern (1744-1842), one of the pioneer settlers in Alba who migrated to Cape Breton in 1828. By 1864 Alexander was way office keeper, by 1871 a Justice of the Peace, and by 1881, the operator of the post office. He resigned in 1896 and the Cassells family succeeded to the property in 1901. This family consisted of Alexander, Lockhart and Mary, all unmarried. An adopted daughter of the Cassells married Lauchlan MacRitchie and the MacRitchies succeeded in the occupancy of the property. By the 1940s Mary had died and the property was abandoned in 1970 when Lauchlan MacRitchie was placed in an old people's home by his adopted son, George MacRitchie, who is now the non-resident

The size of the log pens, the v notching, and the spacing between the logs are identical to the features of the log barns located in the Codroy Valley. Horizontal log technology is one clear example of direct diffusion of a cultural trait from an antecedent area. With the human migration of families from Cape Breton, the material aspects of log construction were carried in the minds of the settlers from Cape Breton island to the Codroy Valley.

While this form of horizontal log technology was carried to the Codroy Valley, one other form common in Cape Breton Island at the time of the migration was not brought across the Cabot Strait. For example, Père Anselme Chiasson mentions that in Chéticamp, Inverness County, a community from where many Codroy Valley Acadian families came from, "Les premières demeures furent bâties en bois équarri à la hache, pièces-sur-pièces. Il restait encore de ces maisons à la fin du dernier siècle."[19] In this type of construction, squared or rounded logs are inserted horizontally into grooved posts spaced at convenient intervals with the ends most often being dovetailed. Corner and intermediate posts allow the use of short logs and do not restrict the size of the building.[20]

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owner. This history of the property was graciously provided by Brian Preston, provincial archaeologist for the province of Nova Scotia, who has a summer home in Alba and has been researching the history of settlement in this district.

[19] Père Anselme Chiasson, Chéticamp Histoire et Traditions (Moncton: Éditions des Aboiteaux, 1962), p. 46.

[20] Kniffen and Glassie, "Building In Wood," p.165; for a

This type of construction is certainly not unique to Cape Breton or even the Maritimes; it was a popular form of construction throughout Canada in the pioneer settlement stage and is known by names such as "Manitoba Frame," "Red River Frame," "Hudson's Bay Frame," and even "Canadian style."[21] It has been argued that it "was the prevailing method of wood construction in early French Canada."[22] While this form of construction was evident in the Acadian community of Chéticamp, it was not carried to the Codroy Valley. The reason for this was that at the period of migration in the mid-nineteenth century, frame houses were becoming more predominant in Cape Breton communities. Log construction was being relegated to the barns and outbuildings; this explains the preponderance of log construction technology in the barns of the Codroy Valley.

LOG BUILDINGS: THE FLOORPLANS

Log construction techniques were known and used by settlers in the areas of Cape Breton from where Codroy Valley

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description of this technology as it exists elsewhere see: Peter N. Moogk, Building a House in New France (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), pp. 22-30; George Gauthier-Larouche, Evolution de la maison rurale traditionelle dans la region de Quebec (Quebec: Laval University Press, 1974).

[21] John I. Rempel, Building With Wood and Other Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Building in Central Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 15, 19, 148.

[22] Fred Kniffen and Henry Glassie, "Building With Wood," p. 165.

people migrated. Yet the question remains as to what kinds of interior floor plans were used? Chaisson provides a detailed description of the interior of an Acadian log house in Cheticamp:

> The house is not finished inside. The floor itself is made of scantling wood and sometimes small, round pieces of wood or 'rollons....' One table, used for eating, is made of beams. There are no chairs, only benches used as seats. On the wall, a shelf is used for dishes. The beds were made of wood in the form of simple bunks, but with one striking feature. There were no bedrooms nor partitions....On the ceiling near the very top of the wall, there is an opening and a ladder is fixed against the wall for climbing up there. It is the attic where everyone puts everything back in place - wool, linen, beans, and where boys often slept on straw mattresses on the floor....[23]

The floor plan of this Spartan house seems to consist of one large room [Salle Commune] where all of the family's daily activities occurred. Captain John MacDonald reported on a floorplan of a log house to to Governor Desbarres in 1795,

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[23] Chiasson, p.46. This passage was translated by Brenda Sampson, French teacher, Sydney, Nova Scotia.

> The premises of everyone [Acadians] seem to be a house from 18 to 25 feet long and as many in breadth without porch or partition but the outer door opening immediatly into the sole room.... As they all sleep, eat, cook, smoke, wash, etc. in this house or room, I need not say it must look black and dirty enough particularly as the houses are now old.... I had almost forgot to mention that their houses have a cellar under ground for the roots etc. to which they descend by a trap door in the floor.[24]

Local tradition says that Margaret MacPhail,a writer who bases her work on experiences in rural Cape Breton, describes the Cassell-MacEachern house in the novel, Loch Bras D' Or:

> As he looked about the warm cozy kitchen he noted though it was a log house the walls were ceiled with wide pine boards with heavy open beams overhead, the large stone chimney was in the centre of the side wall. At one end of this room was a curtained built-in bed for the parents, under it a trundle bed that was pulled out at night for Kirsty. The weaving loom took quite a space at the other end of the kitchen with the spinning wheel and jackreel. On the wall beside the loom pegs formed a warping frame. It was all familiar to Hamish.

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24 "Les Vielles Maisons Acadiennes," Vint-cinquième Cahier, 3, No. 5 (1967), 185.

> As he climbed the the steep stairway to the loft, he saw four beds built in along the eaves. Two were on either side of the chimney which were cozy from the well heated stones. From the rafters hung dried herbs such as tansy, burdock, calandula, mint, blackberry roots all of which Mrs. McNabb prepared skillfully for various ailments, huge branches of goldenrod for bright yellow dye.[25]

These accounts suggest that the medieval pattern of using only one main room for all living activities was common in some of the Cape Breton log houses. Other scholars such as Glassie and Isham and Brown have shown that this floor plan is ubiquitous in North America from the 17th to the 20th centuries.[26] Studies in other regions show that log buildings were not only constructed with this one-room plan, but were built with a multitude of floor plans ranging from the simple

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[25] Margaret MacPhail, Loch Bras D' Or (Windsor: Lancelot Press, 1970), pp. 9-10.

[26] Henry Glassie, "Types of the Southern Mountain Cabin," in The Study of American Folklore, ed. Jan Harold Brunvand, 3rd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1986), pp.529-62; Norman Morrison Isham and Albert F. Brown, Early Connecticut Houses: An Historical and Architectural Study (1900; rpt. New York: Dover Publications, 1965), p. 150; Bernard L. Herman, Architecture and Rural Life in Central Delaware 1700 -1900 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987), pp. 15-20; Norman Morison Isham, Early American Houses the Seventeenth Century (1928; rpt. Watkins Glen, New York: American Life Foundation, 1968) pp. 3-10.

one room type to the complex multi-room plan. The diary of the Reverend Murdock Stewart describes the log houses of the Scottish settlers of West Bay, Cape Breton Island, as consisting of 2 apartments in the main floor and a loft above. He points out that as late as 1843 almost all of the houses at West Bay were of log construction.[27] While common in Acadian areas, the one room plan was also used by the Scots and more than likely by the Irish and English settlers as well.

What does this cursory survey of log construction and the floorplans of log dwellings in 19th century Inverness County tell us? First, it indicates that this form of building was one of the choices available to dwellers of the region from the early to mid-nineteenth century, the time of the migration to the Codroy Valley. I am not suggesting that this form was the only one available to Inverness County builders, but merely that it was one of the possible choices. Research on buildings of this kind in other areas indicates that many structures built in this way were not temporary--as is often suggested--but were meant to be permanent dwellings. In Ontario and in the United States, for example, log houses of this type were still being constructed in the latter part of the nineteenth century, a time when there were ample

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[27] Laurie Stanley, The Well Watered Garden: The Presbyterian Church in Cape Breton, 1798-1860 (Sydney: University College of Cape Breton Press, 1983), pp. 22-23; the diary of Reverend Murdock Stewart is found at the Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia: PANS, MG1, 1471 A.

building materials available other than log.[28] In fact, in Cape Breton Island log structures continue to be built to the present day. Most log buildings dating from this later period, however, are tourist cabins and "bungalows" which may derive from the influence of American tourism on the region in the early years of the twentieth century.

This survey also shows that there were at least two and perhaps more possible types of log construction, but that Codroy Valley settlers only chose one form--horizontal log construction--in their new frontier. The older pattern of using one room for all activities was evident in some of their dwellings. This may well have been a ubiquitous floor plan at this time, as it was in other areas of North America. The Cape Breton Scots did not have a tradition of log building upon arrival in the new world; their architectural tradition was one of stone, clay or peat.[29] Research to date indicates that neither the English nor the Irish who settled Cape Breton at this same period had a homeland tradition of

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[28] Rempel, Building With Wood; Roberts, Log Buildings.

[29] See: Alexander Fenton and Bruce Walker, The Rural Architecture of Scotland (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1981); Colin Sinclair, The Thatched Houses of the Old Highlands (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1953); Ross Noble, "Turf-Walled Houses of the Central Highlands: An Experiment in Reconstruction," Folk Life, 22 (1983-84), 68-83; Alexander Fenton, "Alternating Stone and Turf: An Obsolete Building Practice," Folk Life, 6 (1968),94-103; N.G. Allen, "Walling Materials in the Eighteenth Century Highlands," Vernacular Building:Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group Newsletter, 5 (1979), 1-7.

using log construction.[30] Yet, there are numerous reports indicating that the Scots did use this construction technique when building their homes. The evidence may indicate independent invention in a frontier environment, or the Cape Breton Scots may have borrowed this building idea from Acadians who were well established on the island by the mid-eighteenth century, and who would have had a widespread knowledge of wood lore by this time. Only with further fieldwork in this region will we be able to test the validity of this conjecture.

FRAME CONSTRUCTION

While log architecture was an important part of the mid-nineteenth century Inverness County landscape, so too were frame buildings. It was at this period in the Maritimes that log architecture began to decline; as the century progressed timber framing and, later, balloon framing, became the predominant form of building construction in the region. This period was marked by the arrival of cooking and heating stoves which inevitably altered the way in which people used

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[30] See John J. Mannion, Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation, University of Toronto Geography Research Publications, No. 12 (Toronto: Published for the University of Toronto Department of Geography by the University of Toronto Press, 1974); Barry Harrison and Barbara Hutton, Vernacular Houses in North Yorkshire and Cleveland (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1984); Alan Gailey, Rural Houses of the North of Ireland (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1984).

interior spaces.[31] As early as 1853, items such as "Franklin stoves" were appearing in sale advertisements in Cape Breton newspapers.[32] No longer did all activity need to centre on the hearth; consequently, other rooms were now added to the buildings of the region. In the mid-nineteenth century, Inverness County builders were receptive to a variety of architectural forms which used frame construction techniques.

An autobiographical writer provides a description of a common form of mid-nineteenth century frame dwelling in one Scottish Cape Breton community:

> Washabuct houses were in keeping with the life of the people. They were built for utility and not for beauty. They offered few comforts and no modern conveniences. Most of them were story [storey]-and-a-half frame structures, some whitewashed, usually unfinished on the ground floor except for board partitions and completely unfinished in the attic except for the floor. The largest and principal room was always the kitchen and in it centred all family and most social activities. Some homes had a dining room and most a parlour

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[31] Peter Ennals, "The Folk Legacy in Acadian Domestic Architecture: A Study in Mislaid Self Images," in Dimensions in Canadian Architecture, Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada, Selected Papers, ed. Shane O'Dea and Gerald L. Pocius (Ottawa: Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada, 1983), p. 10.

[32] Cape Breton News, 13 August 1853, p.3.

> but these were usually
> reserved for important events,
> such as a dance or the visit
> of the parish priest. A huge,
> black, crude, wood-burning
> iron stove on legs, with an
> ungainly oven perched upon it,
> dominated the kitchen and
> served for cooking of meals
> for the family and feed for
> the stock, and for heating the
> house....[33]

This storey-and-a-half frame house, described so well by Neil MacNeil, was one of the more common forms in nineteenth-century Cape Breton (Figure 53). His description indicates a three-room floor plan consisting of a kitchen, dining room and parlour on the first floor with an open sleeping area on the second floor. While first floor space is divided into three rooms, MacNeil hastens to add that it is the kitchen where much of the daily activity occurs, and that the parlour and dining room are reserved for special occasions. George Henry Murphy, another autobiographical writer, states: "The kitchen in the farm houses of my old neighbourhood was always the best heated and lighted and, in many instances, was as well, the largest room in the house."[34] Many others have observed this particular social use of space in Atlantic

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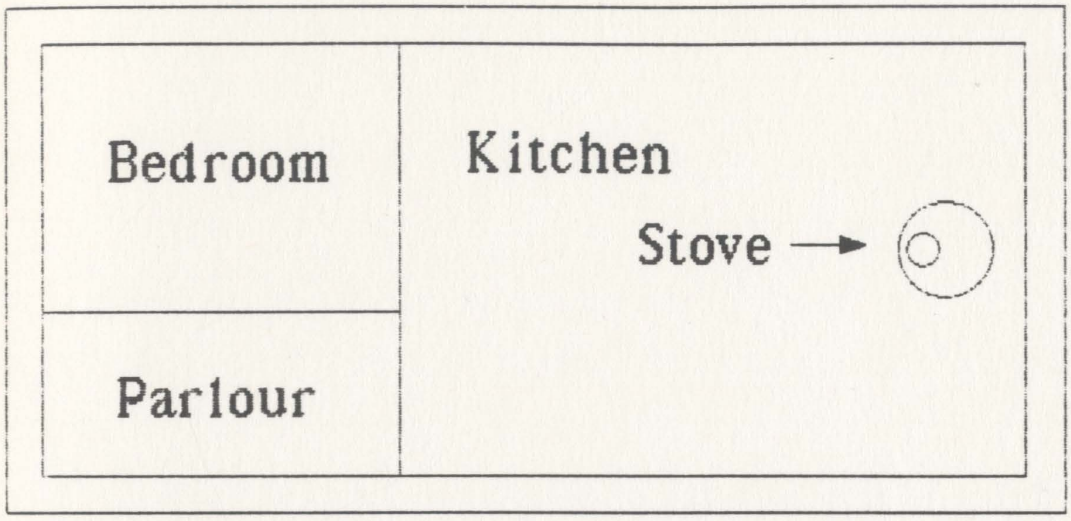
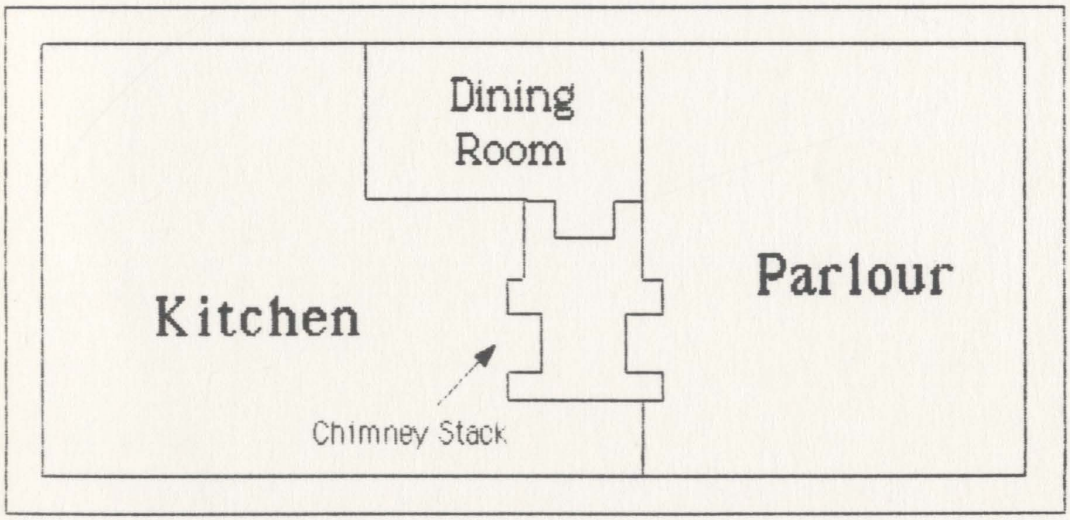
[33] Neil MacNeil, The Highland Heart in Nova Scotia (Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders and Company, 1948), pp. 21-22.

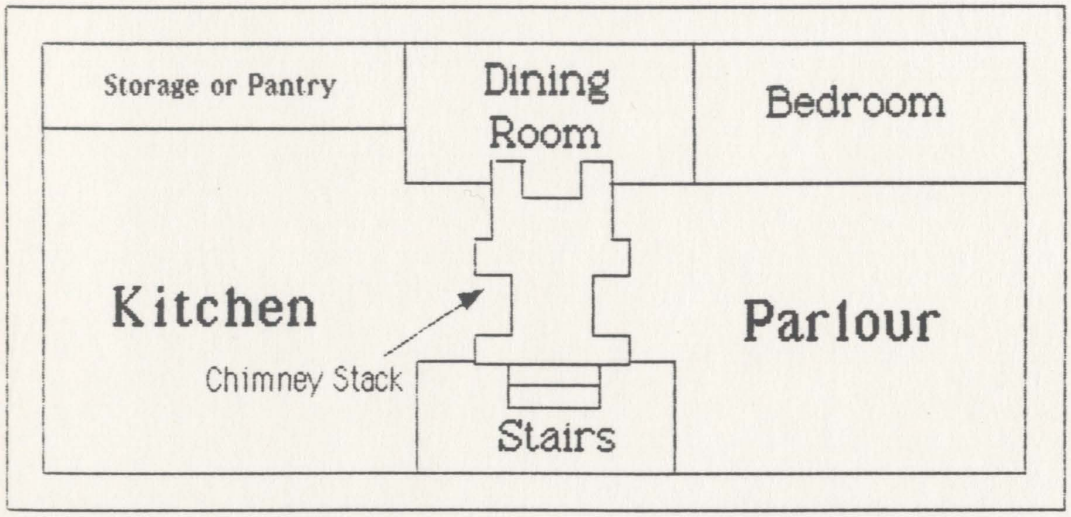
[34] George Henry Murphy, Wood, Hay and Stubble (Antigonish: Casket Printing and Publishing, 1956), p.105.

Figure 53 Floor plans of one and one-half storey frame dwellings in Cape Breton Island.

Plans of Frame Houses







Canadian communities.[35]

MacNeil is a worthy chronicler, since he was born and raised in the community he describes, but is there physical evidence in the landscape of Inverness County to support his verbal description? A traverse through the communities from which Codroy Valley emigrants came reveals that examples of this form exist in each community. Simon Aucoin's house in St. Joseph Du Moine, near Cheticamp, dating from approximately 1850, is a typical example of this type (Figures 54 and 55). It is a one and one-half storey dwelling built at the base of a mountain overlooking the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Its facade is symmetrical with a three room floor plan. The kitchen is the largest room taking up more than half of the floorspace; the other two rooms are the same size filling the remainder of the building. There is no evidence that the structure ever contained a stone chimney with a fireplace; it seems to date from after the period when stoves were introduced. The house is made of timbers hewed by an axe or adze along with mortise and tenon construction with wooden pins.

In form, Simon Aucoin's house is similar to the houses using the variant of the hall and parlour plan in the Codroy Valley. For example, Aucoin's house has many similarities to

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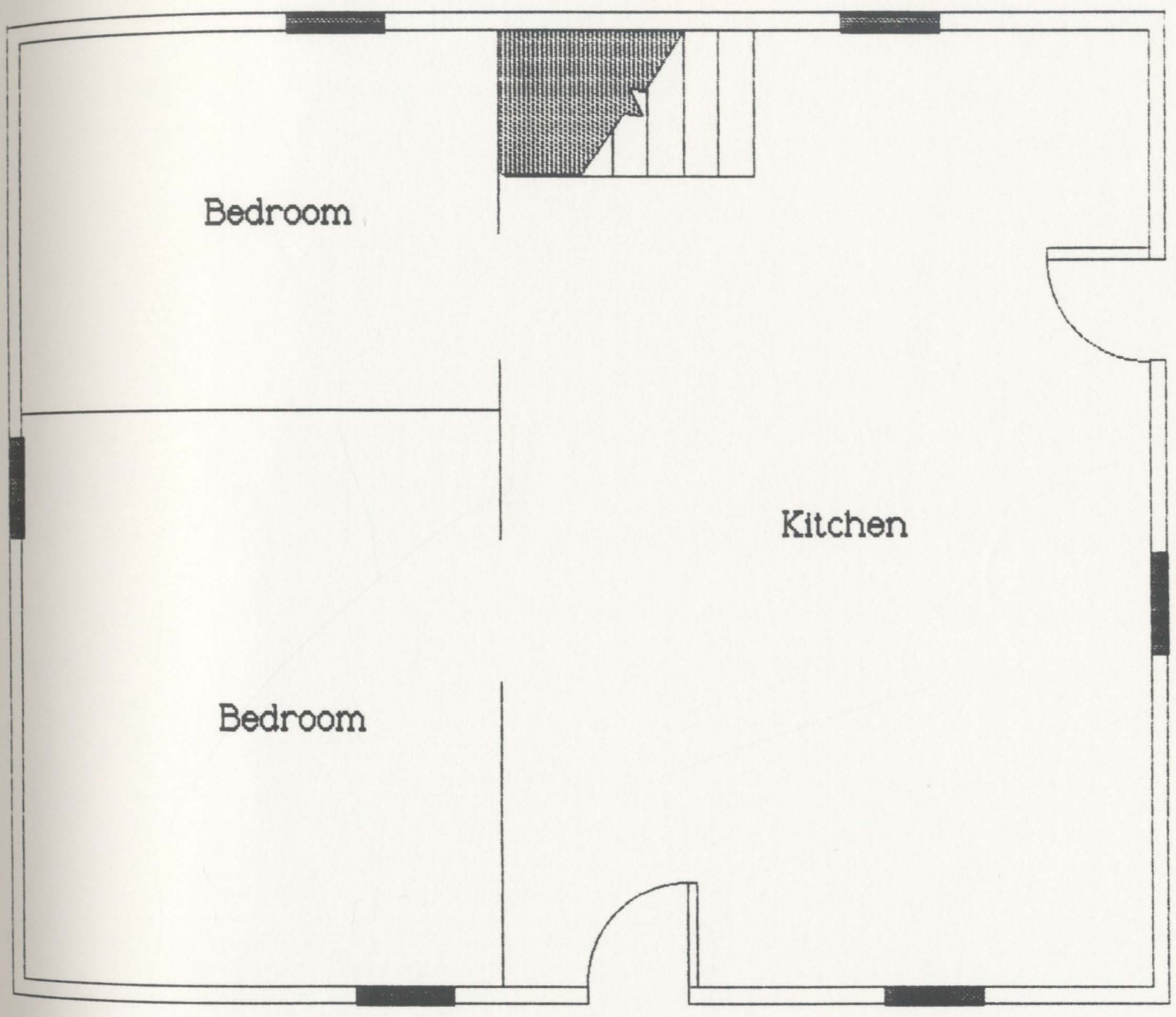
[35] Gerald L Pocius, Calvert: "A Study of Artifacts and Spatial Usage in a Newfoundland Community," PhD. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1979; Ennals, "Legacy," 10.

Figure 54 Simon Aucoin's house, St.Joseph Du Moine, Cape Breton Island.



Figure 55 Floor plan, Simon Aucoin's house, St.Joseph Du Moine, Cape Breton Island.



Simon Aucoin's House

1/4" = 1'

the Codroy Valley Doucette house described so well by Howley. Moreover, it also has parallels with the John Bruce house, the Block, Codroy Valley. Both the Aucoin and Bruce houses are situated on or near the Gulf of St. Lawrence, use frame construction with hand hewed timbers, mortice and tenon joints, and have similar dimensions with a three room plan on the ground floor. Myron Stachiw and Nora Pat Small have pointed out that this three room arrangement was also found in central Massachusetts in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[36] This arrangement was common in Cape Breton Island at the time of the Codroy Valley migration and the prevalence of this form in Codroy valley is a strong indication of cultural transfer.

While Aucoin's house is in an Acadian community, an examination of a frame house of a Scottish settler reveals a related yet different plan (Figures 56 and 57). Alex Ban Chisholm's house in Long Point, near Judique, Inverness County, is a one-and-one-half storey frame house with a symmetrical facade, very similar in appearance to Simon Aucoin's house. The large, central stone chimney dates the house before 1850; the property was registered in 1838 by his widow. Like the Aucoin house, the structure is framed without nails, and uses mortise and tenon, post and beam construction

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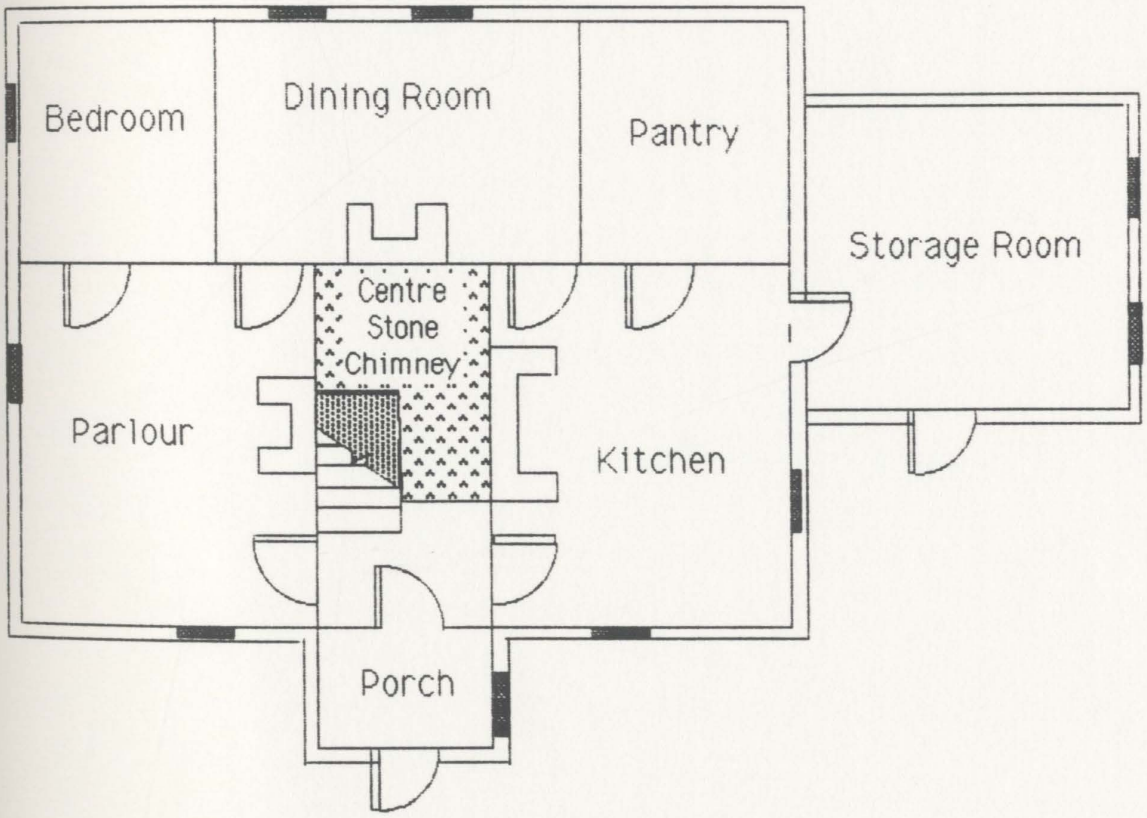
[36] Myron Stachiw and Nora Pat Small, "Tradition and Transformation: Rural Society and Architectural Change in Nineteenth-century Central Massachusetts," in Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture,III, ed. Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989), p. 136.

Figure 56 Alec Ban Chisolm's house, Long Point, Inverness County.



Figure 57 Floor plan, Alec Ban Chisolm's house, Long Point, Inverness County.

Alec Ban Chisolm's House, Long Point



1/8"=1'

with framing members bolted together with wooden pegs or trunnels. George Henry Murphy offers a glimpse of the work processes that involved the procuring and shaping of materials for frame houses:

> Frames of all projected buildings were made during the winter months. Trees of suitable length and thickness were felled with the axe, measured to the requirements of the sills, beams, rafters and studding for the proposed new house or barn, and then hewed with the broad-axe.When finished each unit presented four rectangular surfaces and two squared ends. It was then called a piece of scantling. Tall, smooth black spruce was the usual choice, although hemlock was often used when available, and an older generation of builders hewed their scantling from the primeval pines which,herded with lesser kinds of softwood, were then plentiful in the forest parts of most of the farms. [37]

The timbers in the Chisholm home were framed with an adze, hewing-axe or broad-axe. Although it resembles the Aucoin house, it differs from it in that it has a large, central stone chimney with a fireplace in the dining room and parlour

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[37] Murphy, p. 107. For a thorough review of wood construction see: Dell Upton, "Traditional Timber Framing: An Interpretive Essay," in Material Culture of the Wooden Age, ed. Brooke Hindle (Tarrytown, New York: Sleepy Hollow Press, 1981), pp. 35-93.

with a large open hearth in the kitchen complete with a crane for cooking implements.[38] Moreover, the floor plan is also different from the Aucoin house. Instead of entering immediatly into the kitchen, one enters the Chisholm house through a front porch and into a small vestibule with doors leading to the kitchen and parlour. Beside the central stone chimney lies a stairway leading to the three bedrooms in the upper storey. To the rear of the kitchen is a small pantry; nearby is a door leading to the dining room. A 13 by 12 foot storage shed was added to the side of the kitchen at a later date; a brick chimney was added to the interior end wall of this addition. To the rear of the parlour there are two doors; one leads to a small bedroom and the other to the dining room. This plan is similar to the Aucoin house in that the largest room is the kitchen measuring 12 feet by 20 feet; the parlour is slightly smaller with three rooms across the rear of the house--the bedroom, dining room and pantry. In essence, this floorplan uses a hall-parlour arrangement with three rooms to the rear, a Cape Breton variation on the New England Cape Cod house.[39]

While stone chimneys were very common in the early years of the nineteenth century, few are still extant in the Cape Breton landscape. C.H. Farnham, a traveller in Cape Breton in

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[38] Ann Sherrington, "Old Houses Part of Inverness Historical Heritage," Scotia Sun, 1 February 1984, p. 2.

[39] This arrangement is similar to some of the houses of Massachusetts Bay. Stachiw and Small, p.139.

1885, describes the interior of a house he visited while on a walking tour of the Cabot Trail:

> After dinner we dragged wearily onward, still toward Smokey, until at sundown we gladly entered a poor man's hut for the night. It was full of inhabitants, of which I can only mention the man and wife with nine small children, three dogs, a hen, and a pet pig. It was a shadowy little place with a cavernous stone chimney, picturesque with pots and kettles hanging from a crane. The few dishes gleamed out of the dimness of a corner cupboard, and the table and the chairs were unmistakably man-made.[40]

P.J. MacKenzie Campbell, a local historian, describes some remnants of early Cape Breton stone chimneys:

> I have seen some very old habitations, but I have never seen, in the district of which I write, any building dating back to the earliest settlement days. I have seen abandoned sites, generally comprising of small excavations littered with piles of stones. I didn't know why there should be so much stone until one day I happened to come across a structure still standing that would remind one of the pyramids of Egypt or of the

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[40] C.H. Farnham, "Cape Breton Folk," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, December 1885 - May 1886, p. 608.

> recently discovered Mayan
> ruins of Yucatan, Rising
> monumentally from the site of
> one of those original homes,
> it was composed of innumerable
> field stones....[41]

The stone chimneys remaining in the houses of Inverness County are often blocked off and replaced by stoves.

A third example of a mid-nineteenth century Inverness County frame house is the Alexander MacDonald House from East Lake Ainslie (Figure 58). While not situated in one of the communities from where Codroy Valley migrants came from, this form of one and one-half storey house with a symmetrical facade was common in Inverness County at the time of the migration to the Codroy Valley. Like the Chisholm house, it was built in the 1830s and has a five room plan, but unlike it, there is no large stone central chimney. Instead, its heating and cooking were done by stoves, suggesting alterations to this house in the mid-nineteenth century.[42] In the late nineteenth century some extensive modifications to the facade occurred with a gothic gable and a front porch added to the facade.

The Nova Scotia Highland Village in Iona has moved to its site another example of this form, a one and one-half storey house that contains a kitchen on one side of the central stone chimney and a parlour on the other; across the

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[41] Peter J. MacKenzie Campbell, Highland Community on the Bras D'Or (Antigonish: Casket, 1978), p. 31.

[42] Sherrington, "Old Houses Part of Inverness," p. 2.

Figure 58 Alexander MacDonald house, East Lake Ainslie.



rear of the house there are three rooms--a bedroom, dining room and storage room (Figures 59, 60 and 61). This house, built in the early 1830s by Allan MacDonald and his sons John and Norman at Stewartdale, emigrants to Cape Breton Island from North Uist, Scotland, has two fireplaces--one in the parlour and one in the kitchen. It uses heavy frame construction with mortises and tenons, but has been greatly altered in the move from Stewartdale to Iona. Interesting architectural features of the interior include a large, panelled overmantle and decorative geometric patterns etched in the fireplace stone (Figures 62 and 63).

My survey, combined with the CIHB survey, indicates that in the areas from where Codroy Valley emigrants came, there are forty-six houses of this type whose main features include: one and one-half storey height, heavy framing using mortise and tenon construction, a central doorway, symmetrical facade and a central or off-centre chimney. These numbers may be skewed as it is difficult to verify the accuracy of some of the buildings appearing in the CIHB; the Inventory contains little information on floor plans and construction details for the Cape Breton buildings. These conclusions are based primarily on front and side view photographs from the files and a preliminary reconnaissance.

STONE CONSTRUCTION

While these types of one and one-half storey houses were commonly built of wood frame construction from the first

Figure 59 MacDonald house, Nova Scotia Highland Village, Iona, Cape Breton island, 1987.


HOUSE OF THE
1830-1875
PERIOD

Figure 60 Kitchen, MacDonald house.



Figure 61 Parlour, MacDonald house.



Figure 62 Panelled mantel, MacDonald house kitchen.



Figure 63 Geometric pattern in fireplace stone, MacDonald house.

period of settlement to the mid-nineteenth century, there were also some stone examples of these kinds of houses. At least seven examples of stone dwelling houses remain in Inverness County: one in Long Point, one in Port Hood, one in Creignish, two in Dunvegan and three in Middle River (Figures 64 and 65).[43] There are three main types of stone buildings; most are constructed of irregular, uncut stones with mortar fill, and are one and one-half storeys in height with a symmetrical facade (only one--the Port Hood Smith house, the home of a local merchant--is built of coursed cut stone). Two of the seven have gable roofs with two end chimneys, three have gable roofs with off-centre chimneys, and two have hipped roofs with central chimneys. All seem to have been built before 1850 in the first period of Cape Breton settlement by Scottish settlers. On two of the houses--the MacMaster and MacRae houses in Creignish and Middle River respectively--available floor plans indicate that the first floor space was divided into a large kitchen and parlour with

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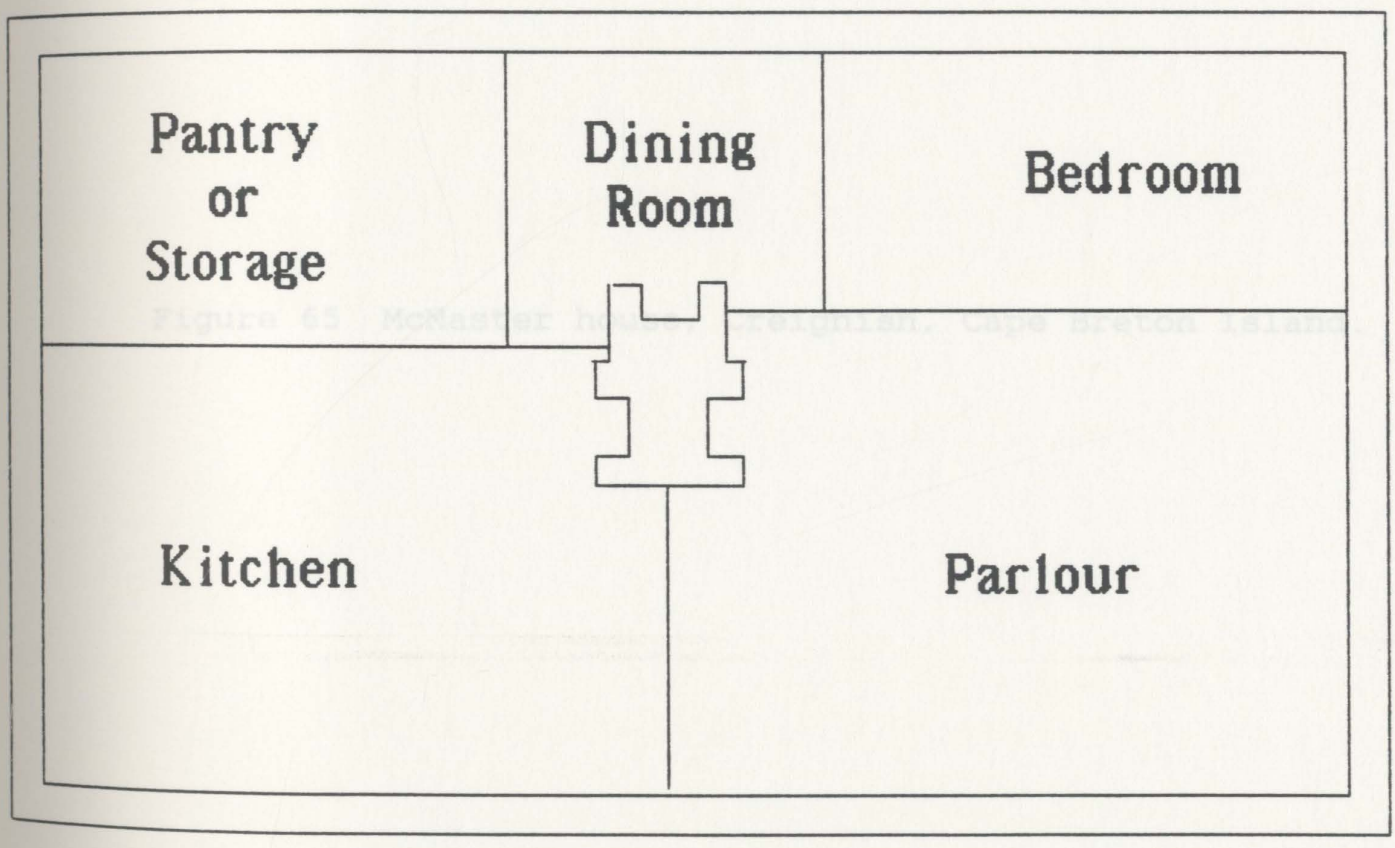
[43] Elizabeth Beaton Planetta, "Stone Houses Built in Cape Breton by Highland Scottish Immigrants," in Dimensions of Canadian Architecture, pp. 1-7. For other references tc stone buildings see: John L. MacDougall, History of Inverness County (Truro: News Publishing Company, 1922), p. 37. MacDougall cites a letter from Bishop MacEachern to Bishop Plessis describing MacEachern's first official visit to Cape Breton in 1823: "Here are no roads fit for horses in the most of said districts, except on the Judique shore. There is a church in Broad Cove, one in Mabou, one in Judique, one on River Inhabitants, and the Catholics of Port Hood talk of erecting one with stones",(p. 37).

Figure 64 Plan of stone houses in Cape Breton Island.

Plan of Stone Houses





three small rooms at the back.[44]

The existence of these stone dwellings in Cape Breton indicates one level of cultural transfer from the British Isles, but it is ironic that these structures, although built of stone, look more like the region's one and one-half storey frame houses than like Scottish stone buildings.[45] It appears that Scottish Cape Breton builders of stone houses selectively chose aspects of their building tradition, namely the use of stone as a building material, and constructed their dwellings along the same pattern as the one and one-half storey frame buildings of the region.

By the time of the migration to the Codroy Valley Cape Breton settlers had discovered that stone buildings were cold, unsuited to the climate and labor intensive to build. On the contrary, wood was abundant, cheap, and a faster medium than stone to work with. When settlers left with their families from Cape Breton to the Codroy Valley, they chose not to use the medium of stone to build their homes. Instead, being pragmatic, they used their knowledge of wood construction, perhaps borrowing some ideas from the Acadians who by the 1850s, had already been settled in this territory

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[44] Beaton Planetta, p.6.

[45] For examples of Scottish Highland dwellings see: Alexander Fenton and Bruce Walker, The Rural Architecture of Scotland (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1981); Colin Sinclair, The Thatched Houses of the Old Highlands (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1953); Robert J. Naismith, Buildings of the Scottish Countryside (London: Victor Gollancz, 1985).

for two or three generations.

POST 1850 ARCHITECTURAL FORMS

By the end of the nineteenth century a number of other forms began to appear in the Cape Breton landscape. The form most readily accepted by residents is the gable-end side-hall plan house (Figure 66). This form is comparable in plan to what Glassie calls the two-thirds Georgian house.[46] Glassie argues that New England builders in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries modified the full Georgian house by constructing one-third and two-third portions of this form. Not only was this form popular in rural regions, but Glassie points out that when town builders searched for architectural forms, Georgian subtypes were chosen indicating a traditional element in Mid-Atlantic town planning: "the narrow, deep proportions of the one-third and two-thirds Georgian subtypes made them suited to small lots and crowded situations."[47] This type of house in Cape Breton differs markedly from the previously discussed houses in that the front door is located in the gable-end of the house and is oriented toward the

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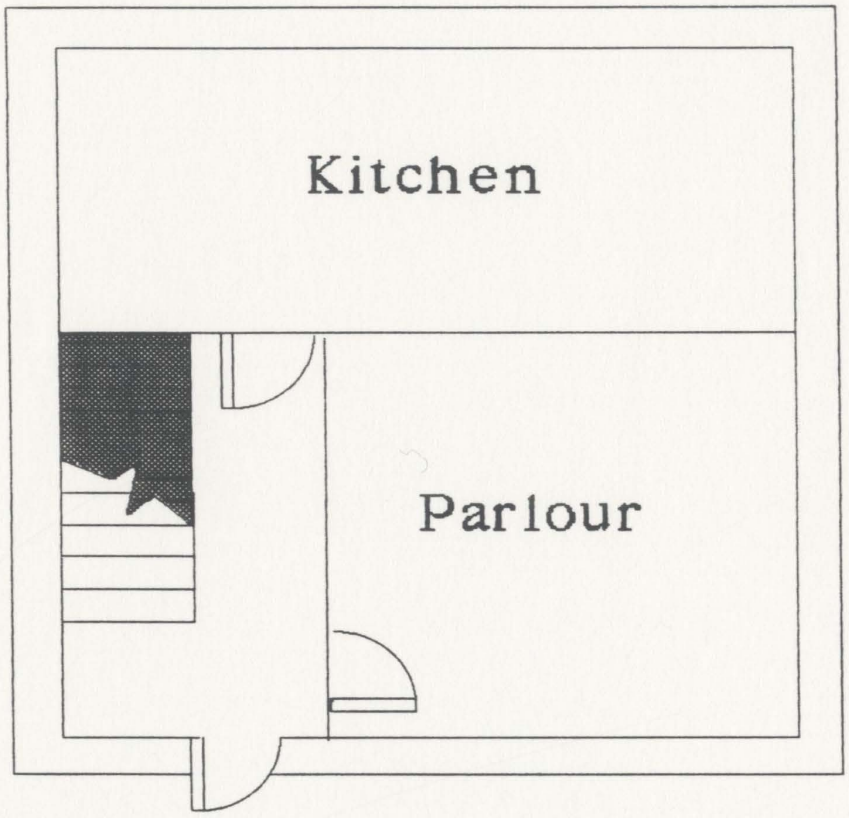
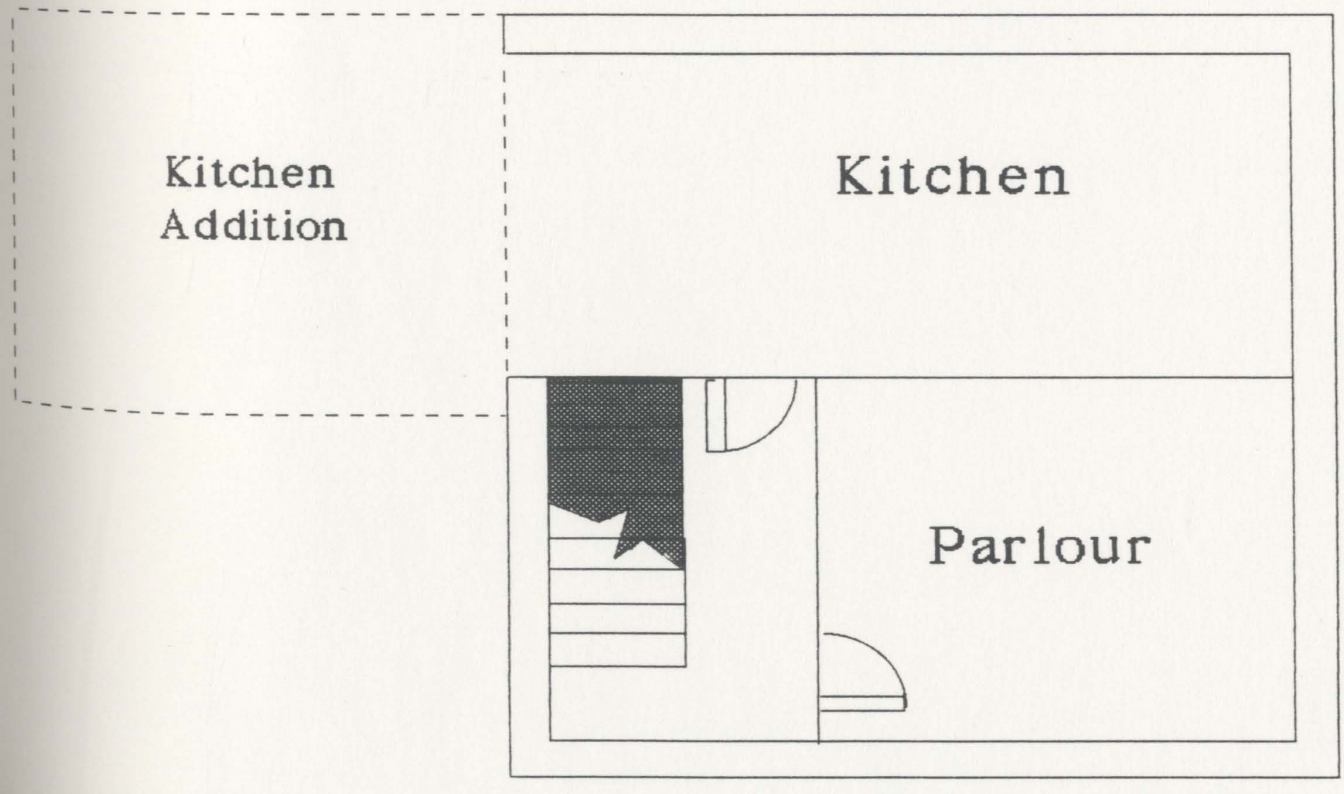
[46] Henry Glassie coined this term. See his "Eighteenth Century Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Building," in Common Places, pp. 400-404.

[47] Glassie, "Eighteenth Century," p. 403. Allan Noble, following from Glassie, argues that this form grew in popularity because it allowed owners to build dwellings on narrower and less-expensive lots: Noble, Wood, Brick and Stone, p. 106.

Figure 66 Plans for gable end, side-hall plan or two-thirds Georgian plan.

Two-Thirds Georgian Houses





roadway. The adding of classical decoration in the form of returned eaves, raised cornices and imitation columns and pediments surrounding doors and windows places greater emphasis on this end of the house (Figure 67). Thomas Hubka argues that builders in New England perfected this form in the early 1800s and that by the 1830s were employing Greek Revival features on it.[48] As the century progressed it grew into one of the most common house forms throughout New England: "its basic form became became a standard component of New England housing during the latter half of the nineteenth century."[49] Peter Ennals and Deryk Holdsworth have shown that this form was common throughout the Maritimes in the nineteenth century.[50] More than 130 houses of this type with gable roofs, gambrel roofs, half-hipped roofs, flat roofs and side additions, all dating from the end of the nineteenth century, are found in the communities of Inverness County where Codroy Valley people came from.

Numerous other forms appeared in the region at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. A

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[48] Thomas Hubka, Big House, Little House, Back House, Barn: The Connected Farm Buildings of New England (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1985), p. 38.

[49] Thomas Hubka, Big House, Little House, Back House Barn, p. 39.

[50] Peter Ennals and Deryck Holdsworth, "Vernacular Architecture and the Cultural Landscape of the Maritime Provinces: A Reconnaisance," Acadiensis, 10, No. 2 (1981), 86-102.

Figure 67 James Hannigan house, Northeast Margaree, Cape Breton Island.



few examples of buildings with mansard roofs are evident, indicating that residents were familiar with the Second Empire style so popular in late nineteenth century Canada.[51] Few dwelling houses display the more elaborate trappings of the Second Empire style, such as bay windows and bracketed eaves, but many do adopt the feature of the mansard roof. The only buildings in Cape Breton Island to adopt wholeheartedly this particular style were institutional buildings such as convents and glebe houses as well as a few merchants' dwellings in urban centres like Sydney.[52]

The Gothic Revival was another style appearing in this region after the mid-nineteenth century (Figure 68). In Cape Breton Island this style manifests itself through the use of a steep, triangular dormer cutting the roofline in the centre of the facade. In most cases this central dormer on the facade was merely an addition to the one and one-half storey structures of the region. Promoted by architectural reformers, the style was thought to symbolize "a Christian

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[51] Christina Cameron and Janet Wright, Second Empire Style in Canadian Architecture, Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History, No. 24 (Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, 1980).

[52] A survey of some of Sydney's buildings shows that characteristics of the Second Empire style appeared on an Attorney General's house, a Congregation of Notre Dame convent, and a well known judge's house. See McNabb and Parker, Old Sydney Town pp. 38-39, 58-59, 68-69. Another survey of Cape Breton shows the house of a wealthy merchant and a hotel possessing the characteristics of this style. See: Sunderland, Still Standing, n.p..

Figure 68 Hugh McFarlane house, Mull River, Inverness County, built in 1871. This photo dates from 1947; taken from Jim St. Clair's photograph collection.



form of private dwelling."[53]

These post mid-nineteenth century architectural styles arrived in Cape Breton Island after the majority of Codroy Valley bound families had left Cape Breton communities. Nevertheless, these forms are important to discuss for some appear in the Codroy Valley at the same time of their appearance in Cape Breton Island. For example, the two-third's Georgian plan and the Gothic Revival entered the Codroy Valley repertoire at about the same time as their appearance in Cape Breton Island. While much communication continued between Codroy Valley settlers and Cape Bretoners, it is difficult to say whether or not these forms are examples of cultural transfer. Their appearance in the Codroy Valley may be a part of a wider Atlantic Canadian regional pattern evident during the latter quarter of the nineteenth century.

THE CODROY VILLAGE ANTECEDENT AREA

While the architecture of Inverness County, Cape Breton Island exerted a major influence on the Codroy Valley, another antecedent area--the coastal fishing village of Codroy--also influenced the architecture of the Codroy Valley. As we have already shown, the village of Codroy was populated mainly by English settlers who had lived in

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[53] Nathalie Clerk, Palladian Style in Canadian Architecture, Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History (Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Environment Canada, 1984), p. 19.

southwestern Newfoundland for more than a generation by the time of the arrival of Cape Bretoners. The community is different from that of the Codroy Valley. It is primarily a fishing community with all the associated material culture of this enterprise, the population is mainly Protestant in contrast to the predominant Catholic population of the Codroy Valley, and the settlement pattern is similar to that found in much of Newfoundland: housing and fishing buildings are nestled along the coast for easy access to the fishery.

A survey of some of the buildings in Codroy village reveals that the hall-parlour plan evident in the Codroy valley is also a common feature of the architectural landscape of Codroy Village. For example, Thomas Harding's small, one and one-half storey house, situated in the village has a central door and symmetrical facade with a hall-parlour plan complete with a back addition containing storage rooms (Figure 69). Constructed in the 1870s, it is similar in form to the many one and one-half storey frame houses of the Codroy Valley. Other houses of this type still standing in the village were owned by English families such as Samms, Moore, Gallop and Kendall.

Another important aspect of Codroy village's architecture is the prevalence of selected features of the Gothic Revival style. As with the Codroy Valley, a number of houses have incorporated a central dormer with a pointed gothic arch on the facade. This is one of the few features of this nineteenth century style readily accepted by residents.

Figure 69 Thomas Harding's house, Codroy Village.



Houses owned by families such as Moore, Evans, Harding, and Kendall possess this architectural feature. It seems that residents merely added this feature to the already established one and one-half storey hall-parlour house type. The Kendall house in Woodville is an interesting example of a local modification of the gothic revival form (Figure 70). Originally constructed in the 1870s with a gable roof and gothic central peak on the facade, this building was modified to turn the gable into a gambrel on both the roof and the central front dormer. There are two other local variants of this kind in the village: John Samms' house built in 1872 and Reubin Kendall's, built in 1875.

Codroy village, an important commercial fishing centre since at least the eighteenth century, may have been an entry point for some of Codroy Valley's architectural ideas. The English settlers of the district would have had much experience with frame construction techniques and with the hall-parlour house plan by the time of the migration of Cape Bretoners to the Codroy Valley. Likewise, being a well visited port and connected to the other important centres in eastern Newfoundland and beyond, it may also have been one of the sources for the Gothic Revival's entry into the Codroy Valley.

Obviously then, this chapter has described some of the characteristics of the building tradition of two antecedent areas for Codroy Valley architecture: the Cape Breton

Figure 70 Kendall house, Woodville.

homeland and Codroy village. Inverness County possessed a log building tradition at the time of the migration to the Codroy Valley. This tradition was carried to the Codroy Valley and can still be observed in many outbuildings and barns of the district. This horizontal log construction may have been borrowed from a New England building tradition, or may be an example of independent invention in a pioneer landscape. This region also had well built frame and stone buildings at this time. The stone building tradition was not carried to the Codroy Valley, because Cape Breton settlers had learned how to work with the abundant supply of wood in the district by the time of the migration to the Codroy Valley. This wood lore may well be a cultural borrowing from the Acadians who had a generation or two of experience working in wood by the mid-nineteenth century.

Codroy Valley settlers had two possible sources for their frame buildings. By the mid-nineteenth century frame buildings were common throughout Inverness County and builders regularly used a one and one-half storey frame house form with a large central stone chimney, and a hall-parlour arrangement with three rooms to the rear. This type is essentially a Cape Breton Island variant of the New England Cape Cod house form. But the hall-parlour plan was also common in the English community of Codroy and in other Newfoundland settlements along the Avalon peninsula. It is difficult to say which source area predominated with the introduction of this plan type; only a diary from one of the

settlers may eventually set the record straight. Likewise, some of the current late nineteenth century fashions in architecture were evident in both Inverness County and in Codroy Village; it is difficult to assess which area had the most influence. Codroy Valley settlers regularly communicated with their Cape Breton relatives and travelled to and from Cape Breton. But the commercial nature of Codroy village and its close proximity to the Codroy Valley would indicate that this area may have been an important source area for the introduction of the Gothic Revival architectural style. Only more research will indicate definitively which source area was predominant.

In the mid-nineteenth century, when Cape Bretoners were migrating to the Codroy Valley on the southwest coast of Newfoundland, there were several floor plan types and at least three methods of construction--log, frame and stone--which would have been known to the Scottish, Irish, and French Acadian farmers of Inverness County.

As the nineteenth century progressed, Codroy Valley farms became more commercial than they had been at the mid-century period. At the same time, east coast politicians began to discover and notice the Codroy Valley, and indeed, the entire west coast of Newfoundland. Thus, in 1867, Alexander Murray was sent out to conduct a geological survey of the region. Like many observers before him, he was impressed with the

agricultural productivity of the area.[54] By 1869, outside individuals were applying for mining leases in the Codroy Valley district. In 1874, according to the Roman Catholic Archbishop Howley, there were one hundred families comprising nine hundred individuals living in this region. He states in a letter to Governor Stephen J. Hill "that all these with the exception of twelve families live up the country on the banks of the rivers."[55] In this same letter Howley argues that the majority of Codroy Valley settlers live beyond the half mile shore limit and cannot be considered to be inhabitants of "the

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[54] Alexander Murray, Preliminary Report of Alexander Murray, Esq., on his Geological Survey of 1867, Journal of the House of Assembly, 1867, Appendix, pp. 851-55. According to Murray: "The area occupied by level or gently undulating land in the valley amounts, by rough measurement on the plan, to about 75 square miles, or 48000 square acres, a very large portion of which is available for settlement. For the most part the country is well wooded with stout mixed timber consisting chiefly of spruce, balsam, firs, yellow birch, frequently of a large size, white birch and tamarack; but there is also frequent spots of barren or spongy marsh entirely void of timber, or only maintaining a very stunted growth of evergreens or small tamarack bushes. The islands and flats of the lower parts of the Great Codroy River yield a luxuriant growth of wild grass, affording an ample supply of admirable fodder for cattle.... Up the Great Codroy River, which is more or less occupied on either side of the estuary, the calling of the inhabitants appears to be more nearly purely agricultural and it may be fairly stated that, notwithstanding the very rude process by which the land is cultivated, the crops produced of grass, grain and oats, highly testify to the excellence of the soil in which they grow. Cattle and sheep are raised upon most of these small farms producing most excellent beef and mutton, besides dairy products of the very best description." Murray, p. 855.

[55] Letter to Governor Stephen J. Hill, from Archbishop M. E. Howley, October, 2, 1874. PAN GN 1/3 /A 12/1874, Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.

French Shore"--the name applied to the southwestern coast of Newfoundland until the ownership of this territory was finally decided in 1904.[56]

By this time Codroy Valley residents, led by the local clergyman, Rev. Thomas Sears, began petitioning the government for improved education, steam communication, mail service, government representation, the right to obtain grants for the land which they occupied, and roads for the valley.[57] One petition, in 1871, states that even with no local mercantile establishment, no connecting roads to the nearby port of Channel, and with very poor access to market via the River (because of the difficulty in navigating the shallow river mouth), Codroy Valley farmers' dealings in Channel amounted to

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56 Letter to Governor Stephen J. Hill.

57 Terra Nova Advocate, 14 February 1882. Rev. Thomas Sears was the Prefect of St. George's District from 1868 to 1885. By 1882 Father Sears was elevated to the position of Monsignor: "Father Sears has been made the recipient by the holy Father Leo XIII... of the honorary society of a prelate of the church and the title Monsignor with its accompanying rights and privileges.... It is now nearly 14 years since Monsignor Sears (in November 1868) first set foot on these shores, as Missionary Apostolic to what was called the French Shore." Newfoundlander, February 10, 1882. See also Newfoundlander, February 7, 1882. Petitions were sent from the Codroy Valley to the government in St. John's throughout the 1870s and 80s. For examples of some of these petitions see: Newfoundlander, 18 December 1868; Journal of the House of Assembly , 1873, p. 83; Journal of the House of Assembly, 1873, p. 49; Public Ledger, 15 March 15 1877; Journal of the House of Assembly, 1880, p. 19; Journal of the House of Assembly,1881, p.111; Journal of the House of Assembly, 1883, Appendix 478.

more than £50,000 in 1870.[58]

At the pioneer stage the farm community relied upon the familiar, the architectural patterns and materials known and used in Cape Breton and the architectural forms worked out by English settlers from Codroy village. But as the economic stability of the area increased throughout the 1860s, 70s and 80s, newer architectural patterns began to be accepted. No longer were residents willing to be satisfied with the older ways of building, but were instead interested in more modern house types and began looking outward for international architectural fashion. By the 1870s, with the arrival of a permanent clergyman, outsiders began to show interest in the region as well, developing a commercial farm system, and establishing closer connections with the political centre of Newfoundland--St.John's. With this increased contact, new architectural ideas were also being introduced to the Valley. The next chapter outlines some of these new ideas which made their way to this district at the latter part of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century and why these new architectural styles were accepted by Codroy

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58 Journal of the House of Assembly, 1871, p.29. This petition asks for a voice in the legislature, help in the development of schools, the right to obtain grants of land, and assistance for constructing roads. In requesting assistance for roads, the petitioner, Michael Druing, states: "together with many other inconveniences, often does it happen that, after having slaughtered an animal, a storm setting in, the flesh would become tainted before they could dare venture out to take it to market...." Journal of the House of Assembly, 1871, p. 30.

Valley people.

Chapter 4 - The Arrival of International Fashion: 1880-1920

On June 30, 1983 Neil McIsaac and I visited Bernie Benoit in the yard near his house in Doyle's, Codroy Valley. He answered a number of questions about his home and told us about some older folkways once practised by the region's builders. After explaining that the wood used in the frame was cut by his uncle Wallace Benoit and brought to a local sawmill in 1919, he mentioned that house builders in the past often cut wood by the moon: the best days for cutting were the three days before the end of an old moon or the three days on a new moon because, at these times, the sap was believed to be down in the roots. This produced wood which quickly dried and did not warp. He said this practice was something the "older people did" and is no longer a part of the Codroy Valley building tradition in the 1980s. His house now serves the dual function of a credit union and dwelling house. He took us inside and allowed us to measure and photograph the kitchen, parlour, pantry, porch and entrance hallway.

What is interesting about this house is that at the time of its initial construction, it was deemed modern, not the kind of old-fashioned house built by the district's first generations of settlers. Its gable faces the road, a different placement from many of the houses built in the mid-nineteenth century period. Its floor plan also differs from the earlier floor plans of the region: it possesses a main

entrance on one side of the gable with a hallway and two rooms back to back off the hall, called in architectural studies, the "two-thirds Georgian" plan. From the latter end of the nineteenth century until well into the early 1920s, a number of such new architectural ideas emerged in the Codroy Valley. Bernie Benoit's house is only one of many examples of the arrival of international fashion to this largely rural district in southwestern Newfoundland.

This chapter examines these modern, international architectural fashions which appeared in the Codroy Valley in the late nineteenth century and continued until at least the 1920s. By international architectural fashion, I mean architectural styles created and developed by architects and designers for a wide audience; an audience who may not even be from the region or country where the style originates. These styles have often moved beyond regional and national boundaries to enter local building repertoires, such as that of the Codroy Valley. Scholars have now begun to assess the impact of some of these fashions on the buildings of rural and urban regions. Clifford Clark Jr., for example, points out that in the United States by the mid-nineteenth century, an architectural reform movement was underway led by landscape designers such as Andrew Jackson Downing. He and many others published plan books, pattern books, and builders guides by the dozens, providing the general public with an image of what the ideal American family home should be, and also offering small communities new fashions in

architecture.[1] Likewise, Bernard Herman describes how New Castle County, Delaware houses underwent a major phase of rebuilding and modification from 1820 to 1870, revealing changes in the organization of the household and the world view of the region's residents.[2] New architectural ideas emerged at this period throughout North America, ideas which influenced many regions in a variety of ways. Some of these modern international fashions began to influence the the Codroy Valley once the farming community was firmly established by the late nineteenth century.

Why is it important to understand the degree to which international architectural fashions influence a region? For one, it can tell much about people's values and attitudes. For example, total acceptance of newer forms and the rejection of the traditional building repertoire of a district could possibly indicate a new interest in status and use of the house as a symbol of material success. On the contrary, if these international ideas have minimal influence on a region, there may be important reasons why members of the community have consciously rejected these forms. On another level, an assessment of international fashion also

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[1] Clifford Edward Clark, Jr., The American Family Home, 1800-1960 (Chapel Hill: Univesity of North Carolina Press), pp. 16-36.

[2] Bernard L. Herman, Architecture and Rural Life in Central Delaware, 1700-1900 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987), pp. 148-198.

indicates the degree to which popular culture affects the folk or vernacular culture of remote districts. These international styles and how they influence a region can reveal much about how the traditional way of building--the vernacular architecture if you will--is altered and varied. Just as folksong scholars must examine other folk and popular printed song collections to try and understand variation, someone interested in vernacular architecture needs to understand the influence of these international styles. The influence of international fashion may tell much about how a community perceives itself and shows itself to the outside world. For these reasons, it is important to examine the ways in which certain international fashions are manifested in the Codroy Valley.

One international type, the side hall house, gable front house or two-thirds Georgian house with a main entrance off to one side on an end gable, is said to have emerged in North America by the 1830s.[3] The house type grew largely from the late eighteenth century interest in classical forms which promoted the architectural style called "classical revival," so popular in religious, public and domestic buildings from

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[3] See: Henry Glassie, Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States, University of Pennsylvania Publications in Folklore and Folklife, No. 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), pp.54, 56; Alan Noble, Wood, Brick and Stone: The North American Settlement Landscape (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), I, 107-09.

the 1820s until the 1860s.[4] Thomas Hubka points out that New England farmers readily accepted this form into their building repertoire after the 1830s, at a time when there was considerable reorganization of space on New England farms.[5] Moreover, he argues the primary appeal to Americans of the classical movement was nationalistic; this architectural style became a symbol of the new American republic which was attempting to build a nation based on classical ideals: "The image of Greece and Rome became a symbol of progress...." [6]

In the Maritimes this gable end side hall form was popular from the 1830s until the 1860s.[7] In Cape Breton Island, particularly in the source areas for Codroy Valley migration, this form was popular at a later period--from the 1870s to the turn of the century.[8] Its wholehearted

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[4] See Joann Latremouille, Pride of Home: The Working Class Housing Tradition in Nova Scotia, 1749-1949 (Hantsport, Nova Scotia, Lancelot Press, 1986), p. 30; Leslie Maitland, Neoclassical Architecture in Canada, Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History (Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Site Branches Parks Canada, Environment Canada,1984); Fredericton Heritage Trust, Heritage Handbook (Fredericton: Fredericton Heritage Trust, 1982), pp. 10-11; Talbot Hamlin, Greek Revival Architecture in America (1944; rpt. New York: Dover, 1964).

[5] Thomas Hubka, Big House, Little House, Back House Barn: The Connected Farm Buildings of New England (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1985), pp. 38-39.

[6] Hubka, Big House, p. 196.

[7] Latremouille, p. 30; Fredericton Heritage Trust, pp. 10-11.

[8] Richard P. MacKinnon, "The Regional Architectural Forms of the Margaree Valley, Cape Breton Island," Society for the Study of Architecture, Selected Papers (Ottawa: Society for

acceptance by the turn of the twentieth century in Cape Breton Island is evident in that the Dominion Steel and Coal Company chose this floorplan for many of its single family company houses in Cape Breton's industrial communities.[9] In the Codroy Valley this type prevailed from the 1880s until the early years of the twentieth century. All extant Codroy Valley examples have extremely shallow pitched roofs, a common roof style in a number of building types at the turn of the twentieth century (Figure 71).[10]

Moses Burns' house is one example of this form (Figures 72 and 73). Situated in the area known as the Block, the structure is 21 by 31 feet, and was constructed in 1902. The

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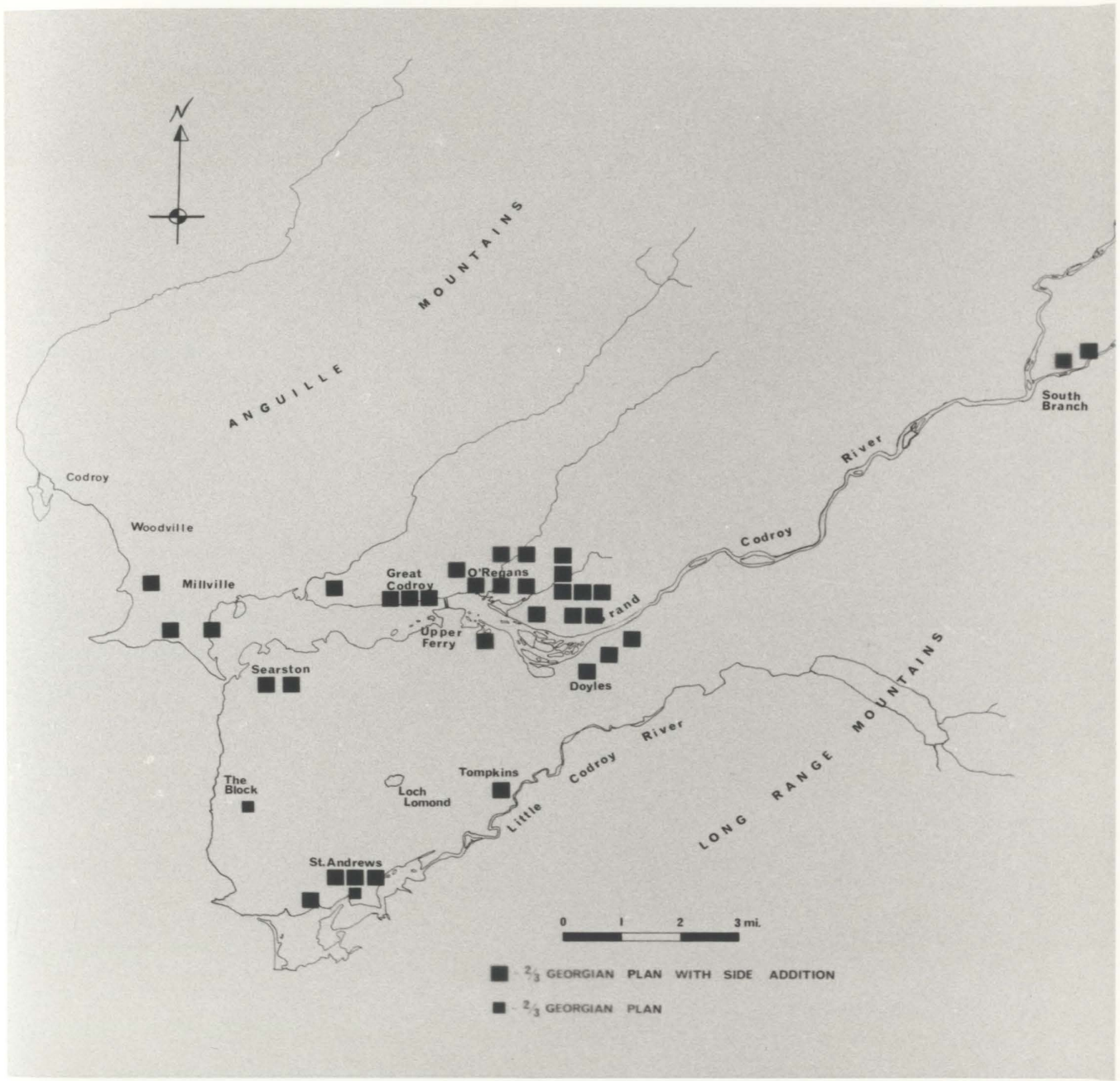
the Study of Architecture in Canada, 1982), pp.8-15.

[9] I am presently working on a project investigating the company housing in the Cape Breton Island industrial communities; preliminary fieldwork indicates that this form was frequently used by coal companies to house their workers at the turn of the twentieth century.

[10] Peter Ennals and Deryk Holdsworth, "Vernacular Architecture and the Cultural Landscape of the Maritime Provinces: A Reconnaissance," Acadiensis, 10, No. 2 (1981), pp. 101-102; they suggest that this flatter roof form developed at the time shipbuilding declined in Atlantic Canada: "One tantalizing hypothesis for the sudden appearance of this roof line links shipbuilding and housebuilding. The roof line bears a striking similarity to the form and construction techniques of hatch covers and the cabin roof of nineteenth century wooden sailing vessels. A low pitched roof would shed water but create little wind resistance or obstruction to the activities on deck. It is not unreasonable that ship carpenters might have adapted the form to housing... " (p.101). Both Latremouille and Mills argue that this roof form developed after the 1870s when new waterproof roofing materials were introduced to the region (Latremouille, pp. 48-49; Mills, p. 93).

Figure 71 Map showing the location of two-thirds Georgian houses in the Codroy Valley.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MOUNTAINS
ANGUILLE
Codroy
Woodville
Millville
Great Codroy
O'Regans
Upper Ferry
Searston
Doyles
Grand
Codroy River
South Branch
The Block
Loch Lomond
Tompkins
Little Codroy River
LONG RANGE MOUNTAINS
St. Andrews
0 1 2 3 mi.
2/3 GEORGIAN PLAN WITH SIDE ADDITION
2/3 GEORGIAN PLAN

Figure 72 Moses Burns' house, The Block.

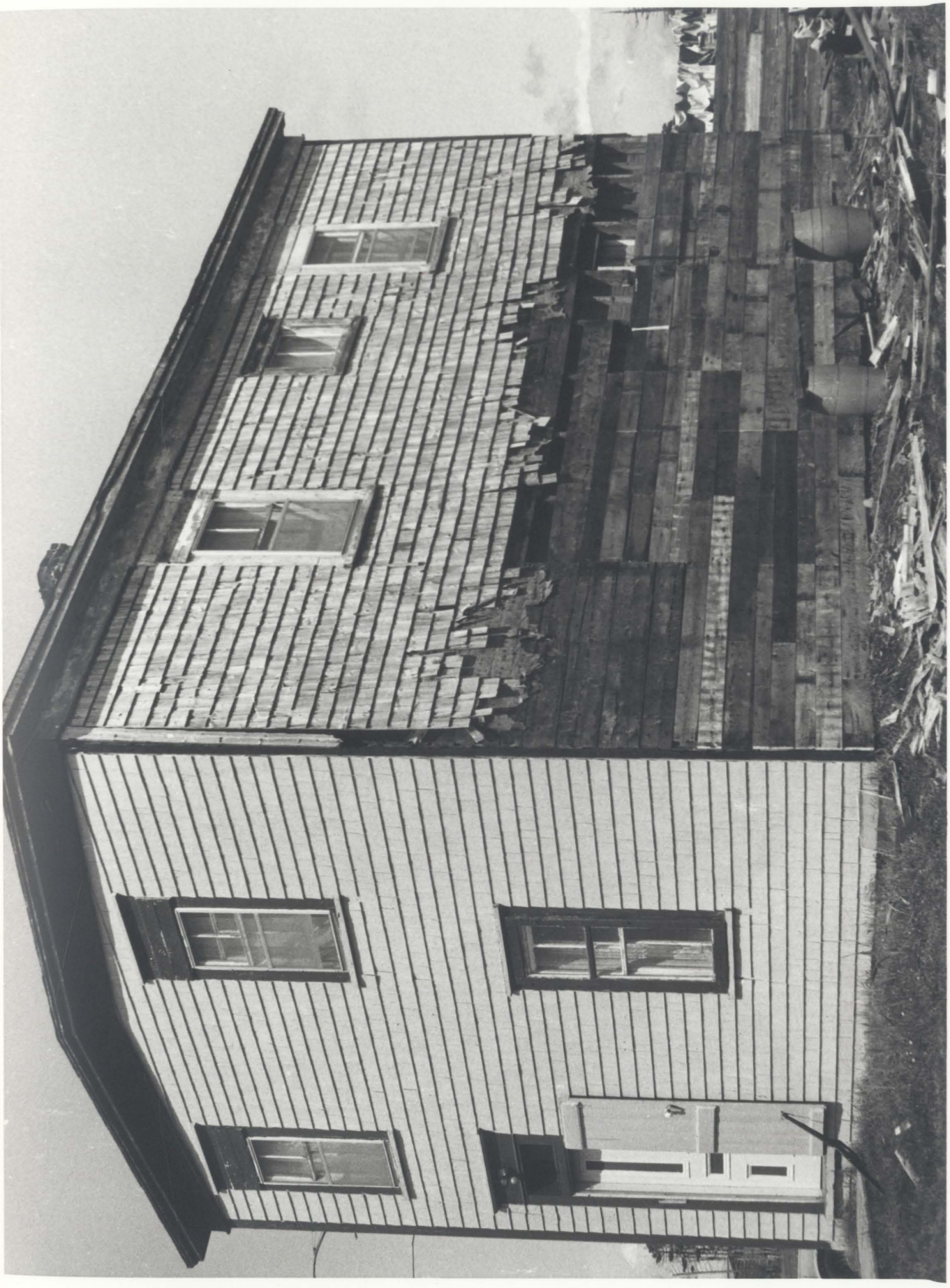
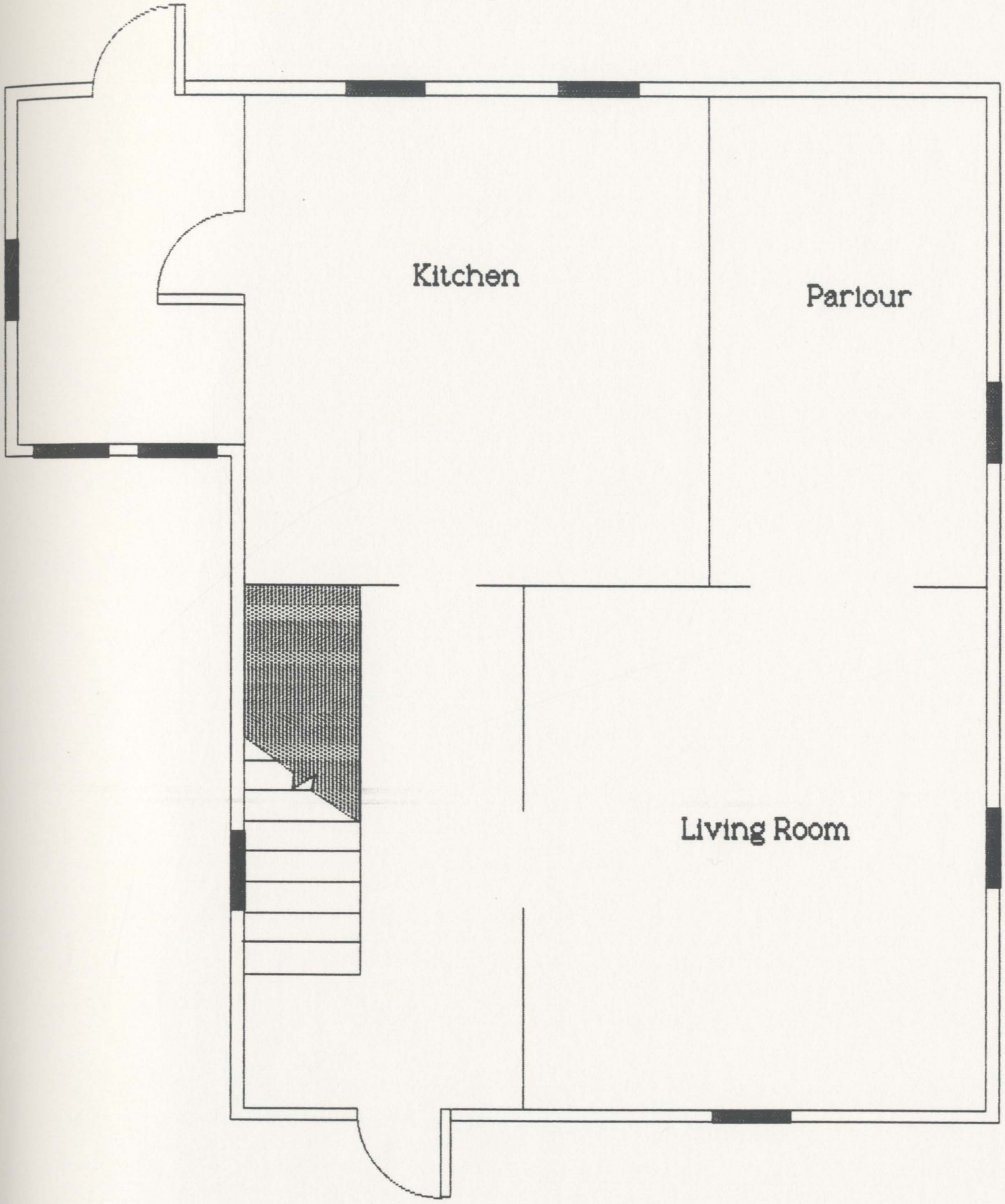


Figure 73 Floor plan, Moses Burns' house.



Moses Burns' House
Circa 1902

1/4" = 1'

front door is situated on the gable side of the house and enters into a hallway with a door opening to the parlour; at the end of the hallway is the entrance to the kitchen. The ground floor plan consists of a kitchen and parlour; the stairwell is located in the front hallway and underneath the stairwell is an entrance to the root cellar. The building had a fieldstone foundation; now it sits on a concrete one. Originally the upstairs area was divided into six small bedrooms; now it contains five rooms. The shallow pitch of the gable roof hints at a classical pediment. Other distinct features include a brightly painted panelled front door, an imported stained glass window, and a tongue and groove Douglas Fir ceiling throughout.[11] Shingles lie over horizontal sheathing with a layer of birchbark between the two--a common moisture shield and insulation barrier in nineteenth century Codroy Valley buildings.[12] Its upright

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[11] Douglas Fir became a very popular wood at the turn of the century for use as wainscotting in kitchens and for ceilings in bedrooms, parlours and the like. An advertisement appearing in an architecture journal of the 1920s provides a reason for its popularity in eastern North America: "In 1899 Douglas Fir constituted 6.6% of the total softwood lumber production. Today it is nearly 30%. In 1915, after the opening of the Panama Canal, the Atlantic Coast received approximately 86 million feet of Pacific Coast lumber, principally Douglas Fir. 925 million board feet went through the Panama Canal in 1923, for distribution in the eastern market...." "Douglas Fir: Some Pertinent Facts About its Attributes and Various Uses," White Pine Series, 11, No. 4 (1925), advertisement.

[12] This use of birchbark as a moisture shield was also common in Cape Breton Island and in other Atlantic Canadian communities; see p. 45, footnote 16 of this thesis.

studs are all hand hewed and were visible in the summer of 1982 when the present owner--George Anderson--was re-sheathing and shingling the house

Most houses of this type in the Codroy Valley have additions constructed at the side of the dwelling.[13] Norman McIsaac's house in Upper Ferry is an example of this form with an addition to the side (Figures 74 and 75). It took three years to construct this 29 by 31 foot dwelling (without the addition it is 21 feet wide) at the turn of the twentieth century. Originally owned by Sandy McArthur, it was then bought by Bertram Downey in the 1920s and sold to Angus McIsaac--Norman's father--in 1931. Its floor plan is similar to Burns' plan except that there is a small bedroom which was originally a dining room next to the kitchen; the addition makes room for a porch, storage room and small bathroom. Initially there were five bedrooms in the upstairs but the interior walls have been gutted as Norman is preparing to cut the roof down to make a one storey house. Because of the removal of the upstairs walls and sheathing, one can readily see construction details. Nine upright studs go from the bottom sills to the top plates on the north and south sides, while there are eleven studs in the sills on the east and

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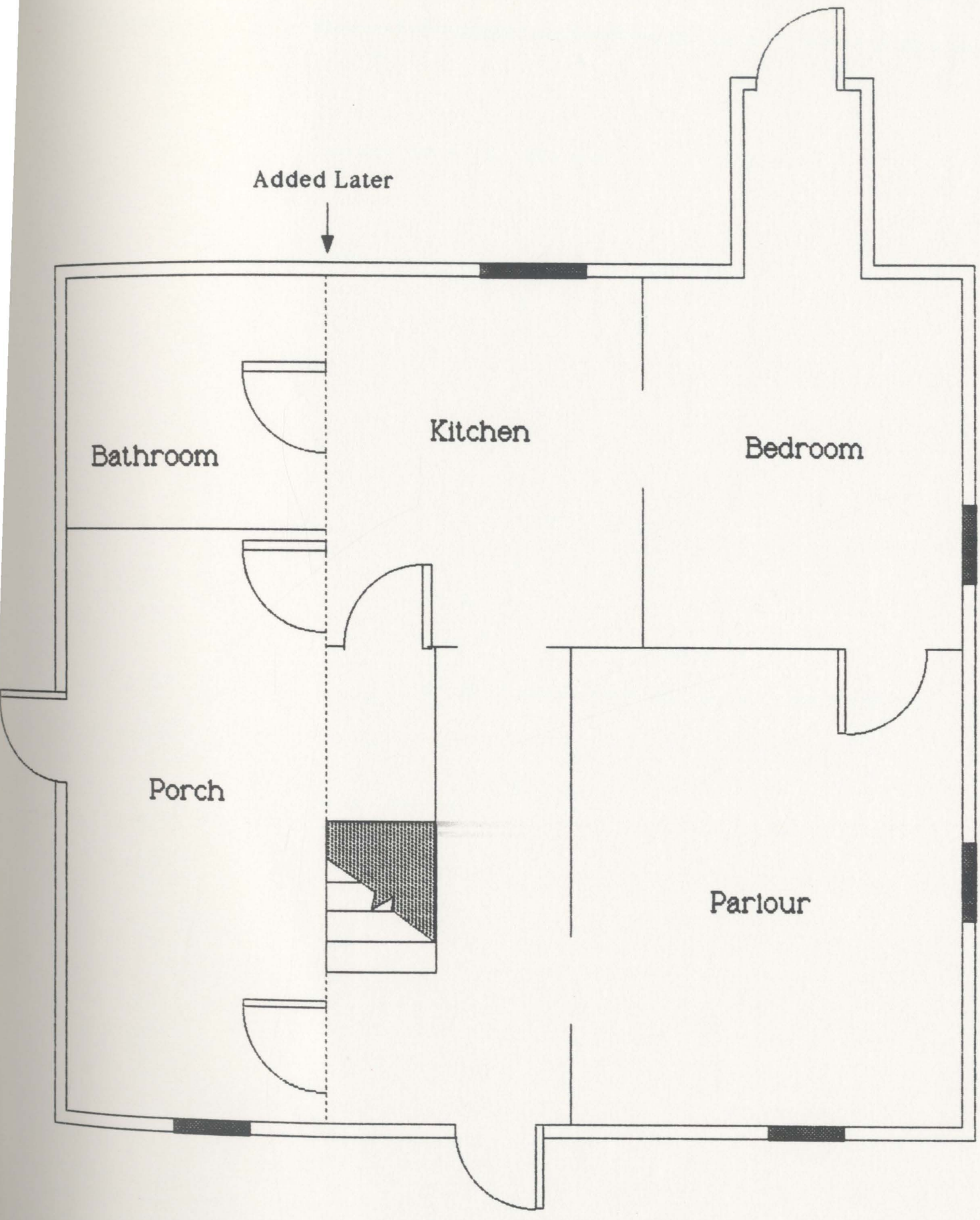
[13] This adding of a section to the side of the house is common in Cape Breton Island for houses of this type. See MacKinnon, p. 11. Noble refers to these buildings as "The Upright-and-wing house." Noble, Wood, Brick and Stone, I, 109.

Figure 74 Norman McIsaac's house, Upper Ferry



Figure 75 Floor plan, Norman McIsaac's house. The side section containing a porch and bathroom are later additions.



Norman MacIsaac's House
Circa 1940

1/4" = 1'

west sides of the house. All studs are squared and hand-hewed, the marks of the hewing axe (Figures 76 and 77) or adze being visible on these members. On average, these studs are 4 by 5 inches in diameter and are mortised and tenoned into the bottom sill and top plate; they are held together by wooden pins, a typical feature of earlier Codroy Valley buildings (Figures 78 and 79). The bottom sill sits on a fieldstone foundation and there is a small root cellar located under the kitchen which can be reached via a hatch through the kitchen floor. There are two chimneys, one situated in the parlour and the other in the bedroom off the kitchen. Heating of the house is by wood stoves; Norman remembers using "Waterloo" and "Perfection" wood stoves which can still be seen in some Codroy Valley houses (Figure 80).[14]

Other examples of this type include Sandy McIsaac's, Doyles, (Figures 81 and 82); Mike Tompkins, Tompkins, (Figures 83 and 84); Maggie MacKinnon's, O'Regans, (Figures 85 and 86); Angus McIsaac's, South Branch, (Figure 87); Dan Martin's, Millville, (greatly altered - Figures 88 and 89); Bernie Benoit's, Doyles; Mary Ona McIsaac's, St. Andrews; Rose MacDonald's, St. Andrews; Brendan Doyle's, St. Andrews; and James Dolan's, O'Regans. Sandy McIsaac's house in Doyles, according to family tradition, is the third house of the

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[14] See George MacLaren, The Romance of the Heating Stove (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1972), pp. 1-21; Shane O'Dea, "The Development of Cooking and Heating Technology in the Newfoundland House," Material History Bulletin, No. 15 (1982), pp. 11-18.

Figure 76 Hewing axe.


INCHES
1
2
3
4
5
6
8
9
10
P. R. APP'D
212 Tb

Figure 77 Hewing axe.


1
2
3
4
5
6
8

Figure 78 Mortise and tenon construction, Tom Doyle's house, Doyles.



Figure 79 Construction details showing typical framing members in a wall bent at Norman McIsaacs's house, Upper Ferry. This bent consists of 8 upright, hand-hewed studs morticed into a top and bottom plate with two diagonal corner braces supporting the frame. The exterior sheathing consists of saw-milled boards laid diagonally to provide more strength to the frame.



Figure 80 Perfection stove being used in Ned Gale's house, South Branch.

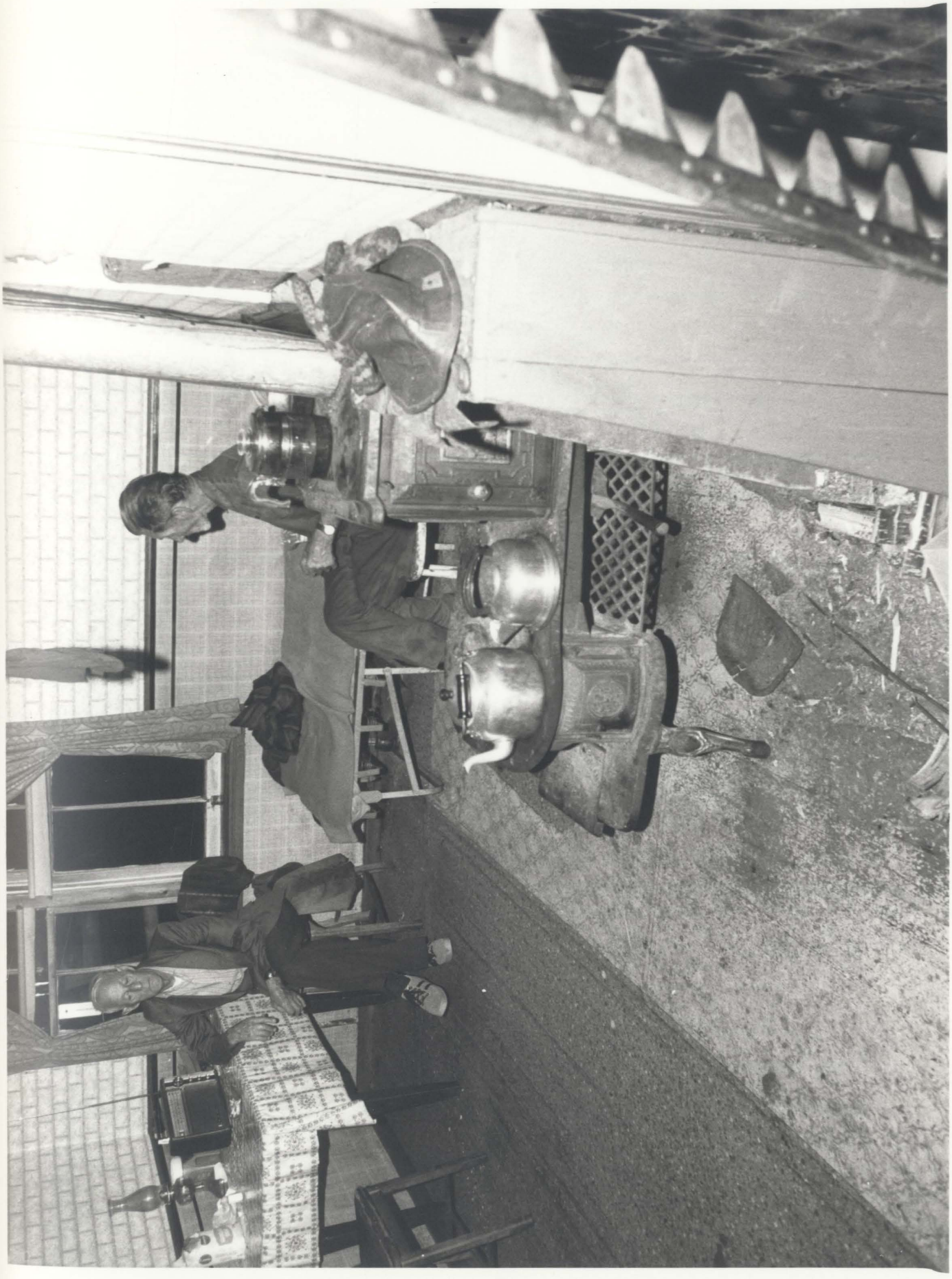
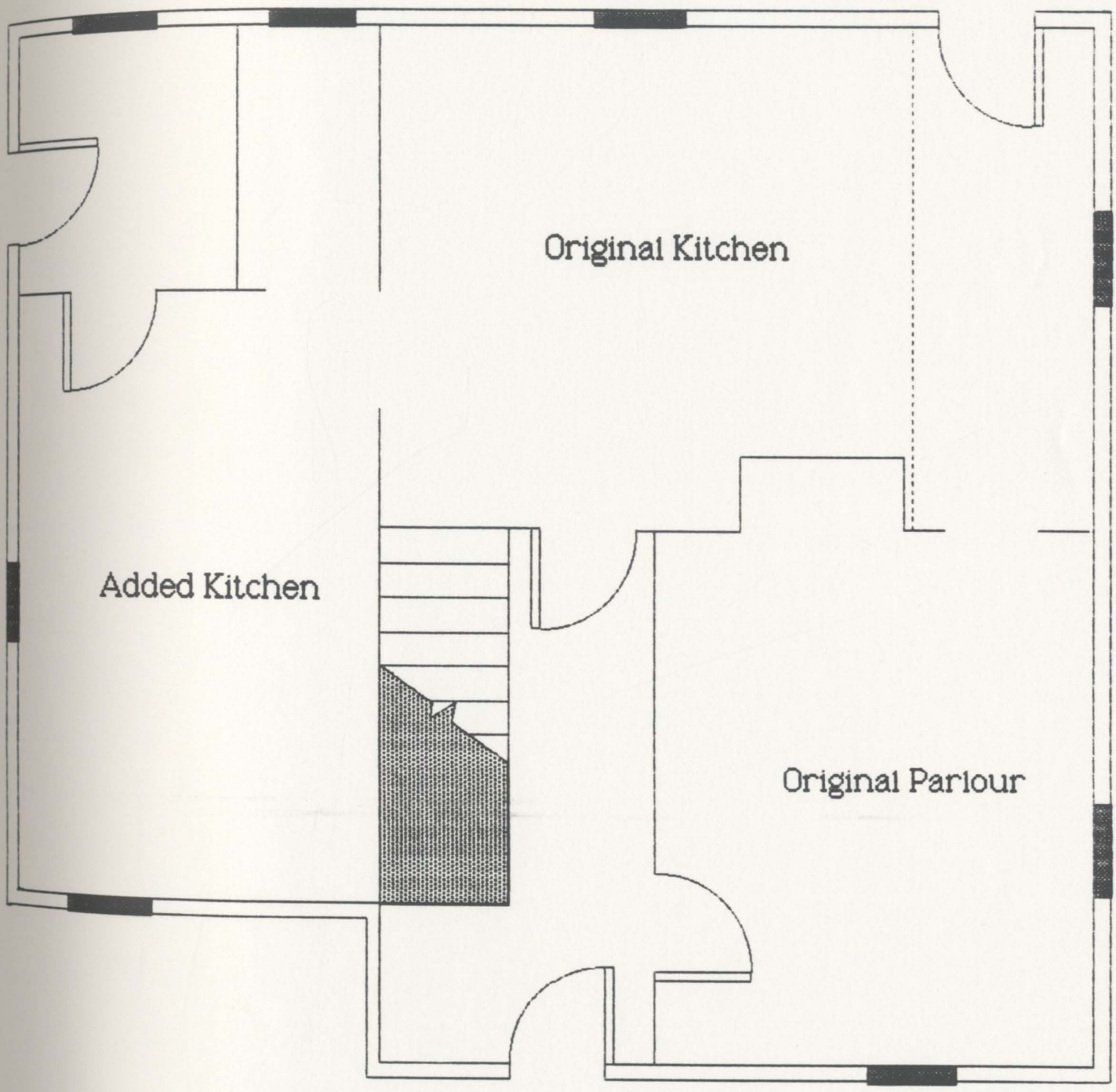


Figure 81 Sandy McIsaac's house, Doyles



Figure 82 Floor plan, Sandy McIsaac's house.



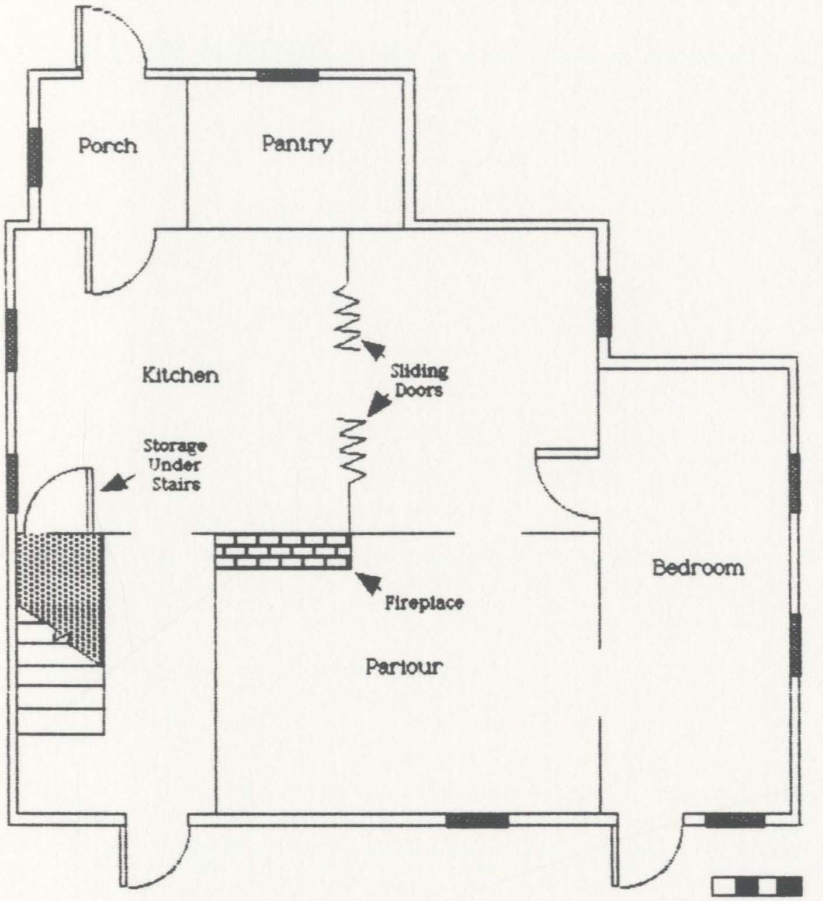
Sandy MacIssac's House
1905

1/4" = 1'

Figure 83 Mike Tompkins' house, Tompkins



Figure 84 Floor plan, Mike Tompkins house



Mike Tompkin's House

Figure 85 Maggie MacKinnon's house, O'Regans

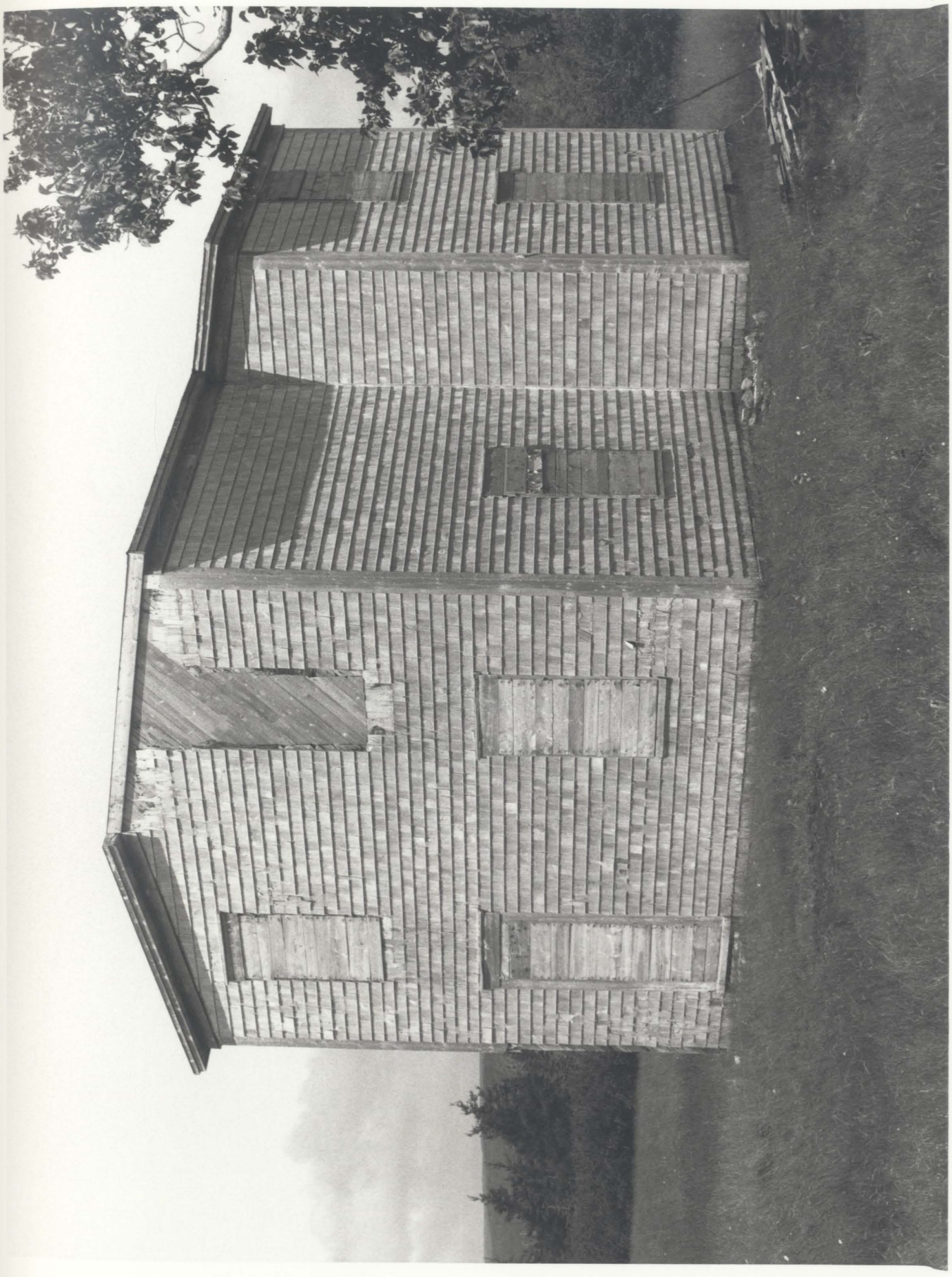
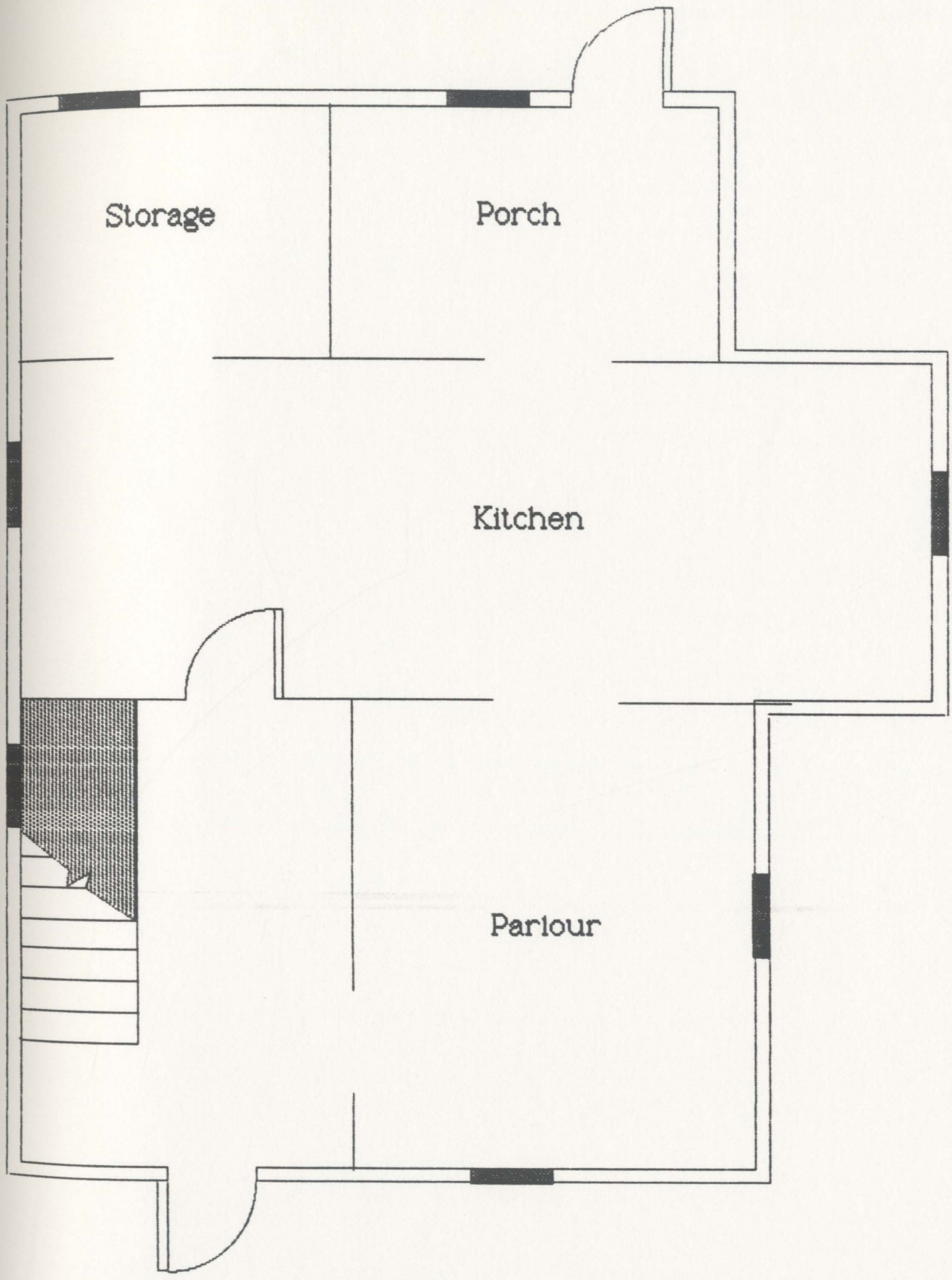


Figure 86 Floor plan. Maggie MacKinnon's house.



Maggie Mac Kinnon's House

1/4" = 1'

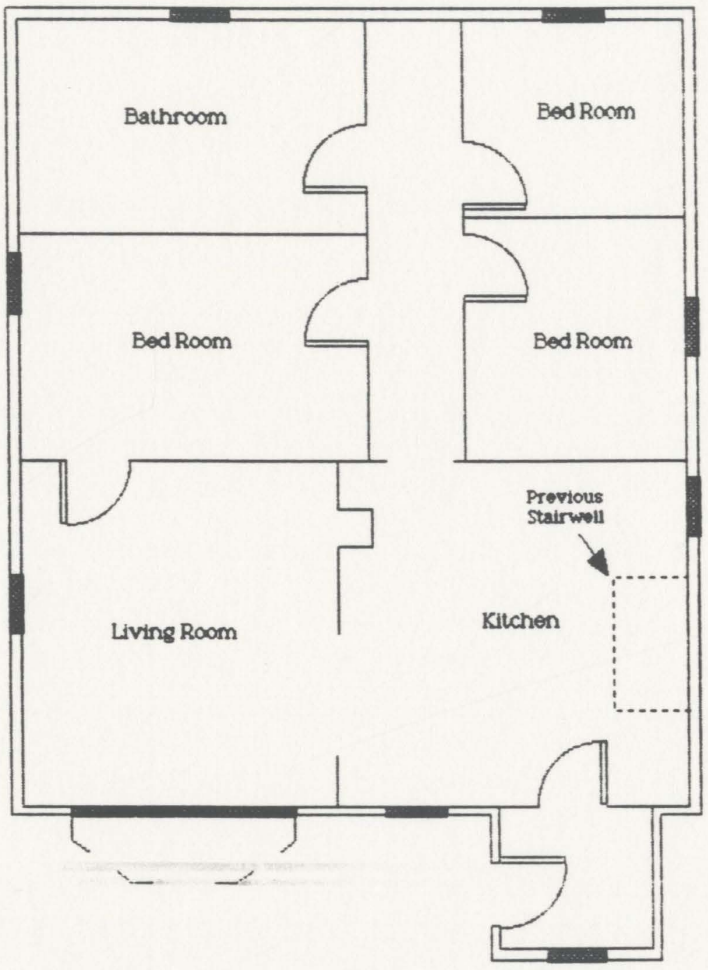
Figure 87 Angus McIsaac's house, South Branch.


POST OFFICE

Figure 88 Dan Martin's house, Millville.



Figure 89 Floor plan, Dan Martin's house, Millville. The original plan has been extensively altered.



Dan Martin's House
Circa 1902

1/8"=1'

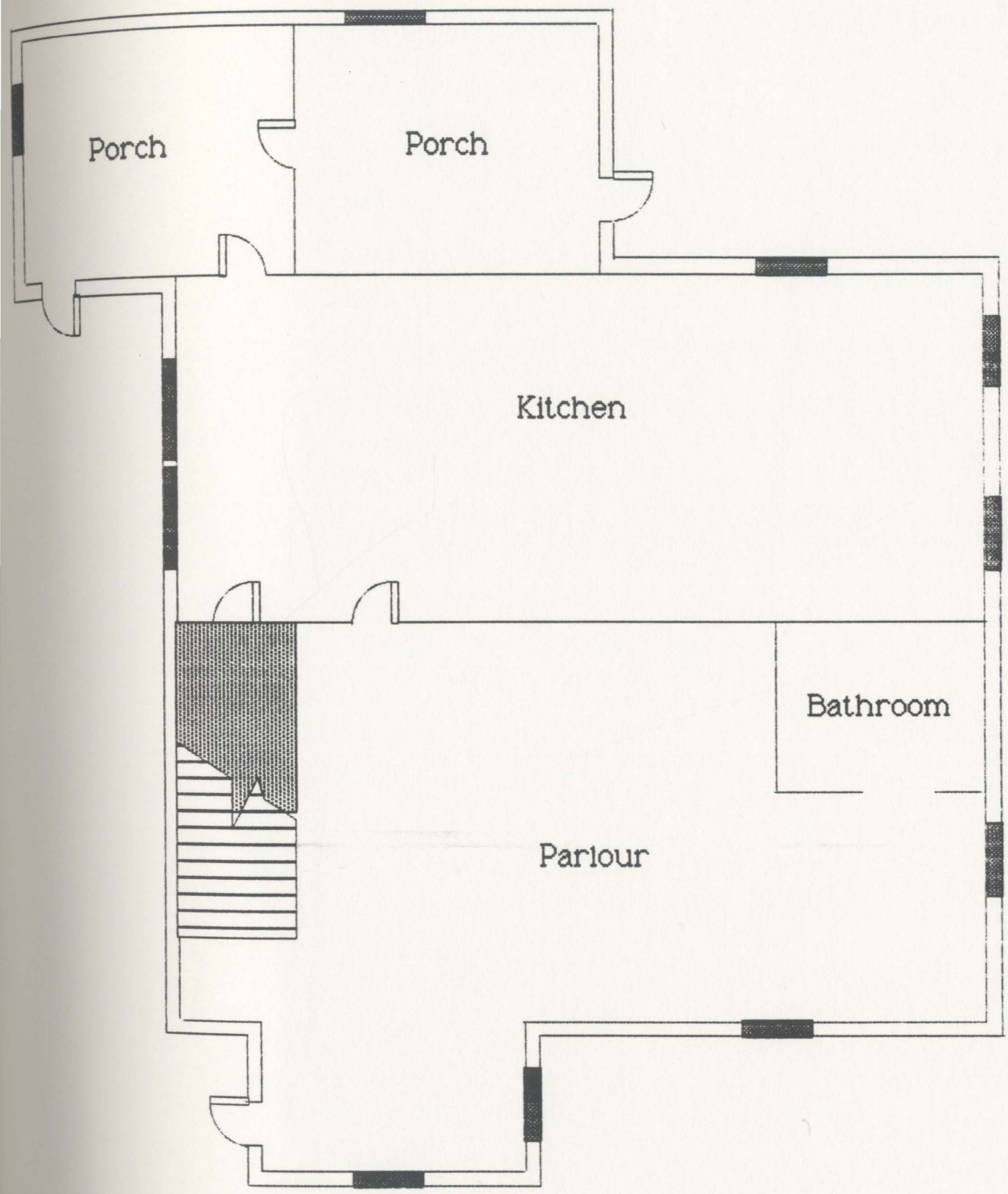
McIsaac family (See Figures 81 and 82). The first two homes, a log dwelling and a frame house, like the one and one-half storey houses already mentioned, were situated close to the Grand Codroy River. Sandy McIsaac's home, shown in Figures 81 and 82, was built in 1905 by Alexander McIsaac, Sandy's grandfather. The side addition contains a kitchen and pantry; the rest of the ground floor consists of a hallway, parlour, kitchen and a small sleeping area off the original kitchen. There are six small bedrooms in the upstairs, two of which were added when the two storey section was attached to the house. As with Mose Burns's house and Norman McIsaac's, hewed timbers form the studding and sills; the sills in Sandy McIsaac's house are 8 by 8 inches thick.

While many of the buildings of this type were constructed from the 1880s to the turn of twentieth century, some continued to use this form until the 1940s and 1950s. For example, Rose MacDonald's house built in 1952 in St. Andrews is a variation on this side entry two-thirds Georgian plan (Figure 90). The front door leads from a porch immediately into the parlour; there is no hallway in this plan (Figure 91). There are only two main rooms on the ground floor--the parlour at the front of the house and a kitchen at the rear; a small bathroom is placed off the parlour. A back porch divided into two rooms is attached to the rear of the house. The most distinct feature of the house is the roof which is unlike any other roof in the region (Figure 92). The roof has a 45 degree slope which is continued on the back

Figure 90 Rose MacDonald's house, St. Andrews



Figure 91 Floor plan, Rose MacDonald's house



Rose Mac Donald's House

Circa 1953

1/4" = 1'

Figure 92 Roof, Rose MacDonald's house



porch addition. The builder, Bill MacDonald, constructed the roof in this way to protect the dwelling from the high winds blowing down from the Long Range Mountains into St. Andrews and the other communities along the Little River. Although a practical innovation, it was not adopted by other builders in the area.

As the nineteenth century progressed, Codroy Valley farms became more commercial. With the selling of cattle and produce in other places, and better economic circumstances, the new architectural idea of the two-thirds Georgian plan was introduced. This plan, introduced into New England by 1830, and becoming familiar to builders in the Maritimes by the 1850s and 60s, did not appear in the Codroy Valley until the 1880s and 90s. By the turn of the twentieth century it was viewed as a modern house type of the region even though it had been known and used in other regions for more than 50 years by this time. People were travelling more at this late nineteenth century period because of the introduction of the railroad, which may be one explanation for how this idea was introduced. Husbands and wives as well as builders, farmers and laborers were travelling more, particularly to places such as Cape Breton Island and the New England states where they were seeing and no doubt reading about this architectural style. Many Codroy Valley men and women migrated to the eastern United States and to Cape Breton

Island to find gainful work.[15] Moreover, there was also a late nineteenth century migration from rural Cape Breton; some of these migrants came from communities such as the Margaree Valley where this side-hall plan had already been accepted. But Codroy Valley residents did not accept this plan without changes; they modified it to suit their own needs. A form of side-hall plan with a side addition became very common in the the Codroy Valley at this period. Some residents saw the need for a larger kitchen space than what this two-thirds Georgian plan provided; thus, the side addition was often another kitchen (See Figure 82) or an extension of the house's kitchen (See Figure 86). Others used this addition to add new rooms such as bathrooms and porches (See Figure 75).

There are two possible sources for the diffusion of this architectural idea to the Codroy Valley. Developed in New England, the two-thirds Georgian plan may have spread throughout Nova Scotia, to Cape Breton Island and then to the Codroy Valley. The continued communication between Codroy Valley and Cape Breton Island could have made Codroy Valley

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15 This travelling to and from the Codroy Valley and Cape Breton Island occurred frequently at the turn of the twentieth century because of massive mining and steel developments in the Cape Breton Industrial communities. Now, Codroy Valley residents regularly visit relatives and friends in Cape Breton Island; Cape Breton residents whose forefathers came from the Codroy Valley, retain summer dwellings in the valley and spend two or three weeks per year in this area.

residents familiar with this plan. The other possible route of migration is from St. John's, Newfoundland via the coastal fishing village of Codroy. By this late nineteenth century, commercial links between St. John's, south coast communities and the village of Codroy were well established and steamer connections linked many Newfoundland communities.

Throughout the 1870s, 80s and 90s, the Codroy Valley continued to develop as a farming district. Newspaper accounts abound praising the fine farming and cattle raising in this district:

> We understand that about 40 head of cattle and some sheep, natives of Codroy, have just been shipped there for this market - the first shipment of the season from that quarter. Last years lots of oxen from Codroy were of most superior description and, we believe, realized excellent prices. We are informed that the coming arrivals are quite good, if not better still, and will reflect high credit of the Codroy Valley some of the richest land of the country. As these mark the first adventure of the settlers of that soil, we do hope they will find prices that may offer encouragement for further and frequent supplies.[16]

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[16] Newfoundlander, 8 October 1880. For other reports on Codroy Valley agriculture at this period see Newfoundlander, 10 June 1881; Journal of the House of Assembly, 1877, Appendix, p. 898; John H. Warren, Surveyor General reports in 1877, "I cannot here refrain from referring to a new feature

The 1890s to the early years of the twentieth century was a time of hopeful anticipation for Codroy Valley residents. The railroad was pushed through the valley in 1898, opening new markets for Codroy Valley agricultural goods and bringing the outside world to the district. Carloads of cattle could now be shipped to St. John's, fetching fine prices on the wharves of the capital city. New technologies made their way to the farm at this period. Harvesting machinery in the form of mowing machines, rakes, and horse-drawn balers were introduced to the district. Newspaper accounts point to the improvements accomplished by this technology.[17] The development of the railroad and the concomitant sport fishing industry brought many jobs to the region. In summer, wealthy tourists from other parts of Newfoundland, Canada and the United States paid high wages to Codroy Valley men to guide them to the many salmon pools along the rivers. In winter, some of these same tourists came back to hunt moose and caribou in the Long Range and Anguille mountains. Locals established hotels and cabins to accommodate the tourists and, even to this day, this industry provides employment for Codroy Valley residents.

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to our agricultural capabilities, that of the importation into St. John's of a cargo of remarkably fine cattle from the valley of the Codroys, which found a ready sale, obtaining prices renumerative to the stock farmer or original owners and to those who speculated in the same." Journal of the House of Assembly, 1877, Appendix, p. 898.

[17] See, for example: Western Star, 11 November 1908.

It was at this time of prosperity that a new house type emerged: the full two storey "biscuit box," "bawn" or "hatch roof" type, as it is known in other areas of Newfoundland and the Maritimes (Figure 93).[18] A two storey, rectangular building with a central front door, symmetrical facade and five windows in the front emerged by 1900 and continued to be constructed until the 1950s. Mills, in his study of Trinity Bay architecture, argues that this type developed in an evolutionary manner: "The style... was not widely accepted until c. 1900 and is clearly a structural development from the third generation form." [19] Its appearance in the Codroy Valley cannot be explained as an evolutionary development from previous Codroy Valley forms; rather, it clearly departs in size, plan and even construction methods, from earlier Codroy Valley types. It was popular throughout the Maritimes at this same period in rural, urban and coastal communities.[20] In Cape Breton Island, this form appears throughout Inverness County, as well as in the industrial

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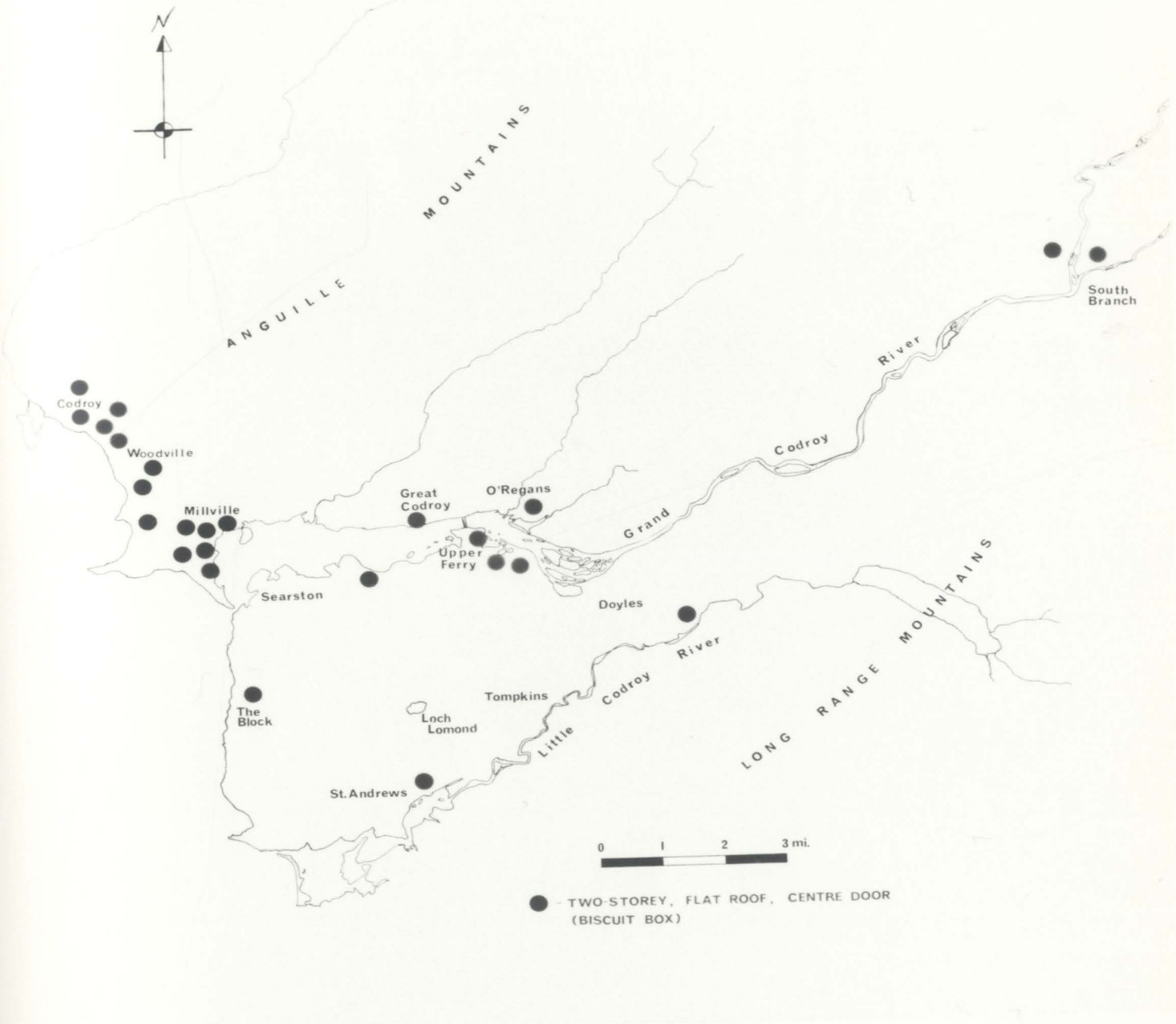
[18] Ennals and Holdsworth, pp. 101-102; David B.Mills,"The Development of Folk Architecture in Trinity Bay," in The Peopling of Newfoundland: Essays in Historical Geography, ed. John J.Mannion, Social and Economic Papers, No. 8 (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1977), pp. 93-94. Brian Rusted refers to this type as the "bawn" house in Trinity Bay in his unpublished fieldwork for the Institute for Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

[19] Mills, "The Development of Folk Architecture," p.93.

[20] Ennals and Holdsworth, pp. 101-102.

Figure 93 Map of two storey biscuit box houses in the Codroy Valley.


N
ANGUILLE MOUNTAINS
Codroy
Woodville
Millville
Searston
The Block
Great Codroy
O'Regans
Upper Ferry
Grand Codroy River
South Branch
Doyles
Tompkins
Loch Lomond
Little Codroy River
St. Andrews
LONG RANGE MOUNTAINS
0 1 2 3 mi.
TWO-STOREY, FLAT ROOF, CENTRE DOOR (BISCUIT BOX)

communities of Sydney, Glace Bay and New Waterford.[21]

The distribution of this form indicates a concentration in Codroy Harbour and Millville, confirming Ennals and Holdsworth's contention that this form was popular in coastal communities at the end of the nineteenth centuries.[22] The English settled regions preferred this form in the Codroy; it was not as well received by the Scots, Irish and Acadian dwellers of the Codroy Valley who resided along the river banks.

Martin Devoe's house in Upper Ferry is an ornate example of this form (Figures 94, 95 and 96). According to oral tradition, Dan MacNeil and Jim Angus McIsaac--two well known Codroy Valley carpenters--built it in 1918 for Charles Martin.[23] The date is verifiable in that it is remembered as the year Martin Devoe's brother Bill was killed overseas in the First World War. The innovation on previous Codroy Valley plans was the introduction of the central hallway and the creation of more rooms on the ground floor. The floor plan consists of two parlours, a dining room, storage room, small bedroom, a pantry and a large kitchen. In size it is 25 x 31

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[21] Personal Observation.

[22] Ennals and Holdsworth, pp. 101-102.

[23] Richard MacKinnon Fieldnotes, August 11, 1982, MUNFLA, MacKinnon Codroy Valley Architecture Collection. These two carpenters were part of the team of men who constructed St. Anne's church in Searston in 1930.

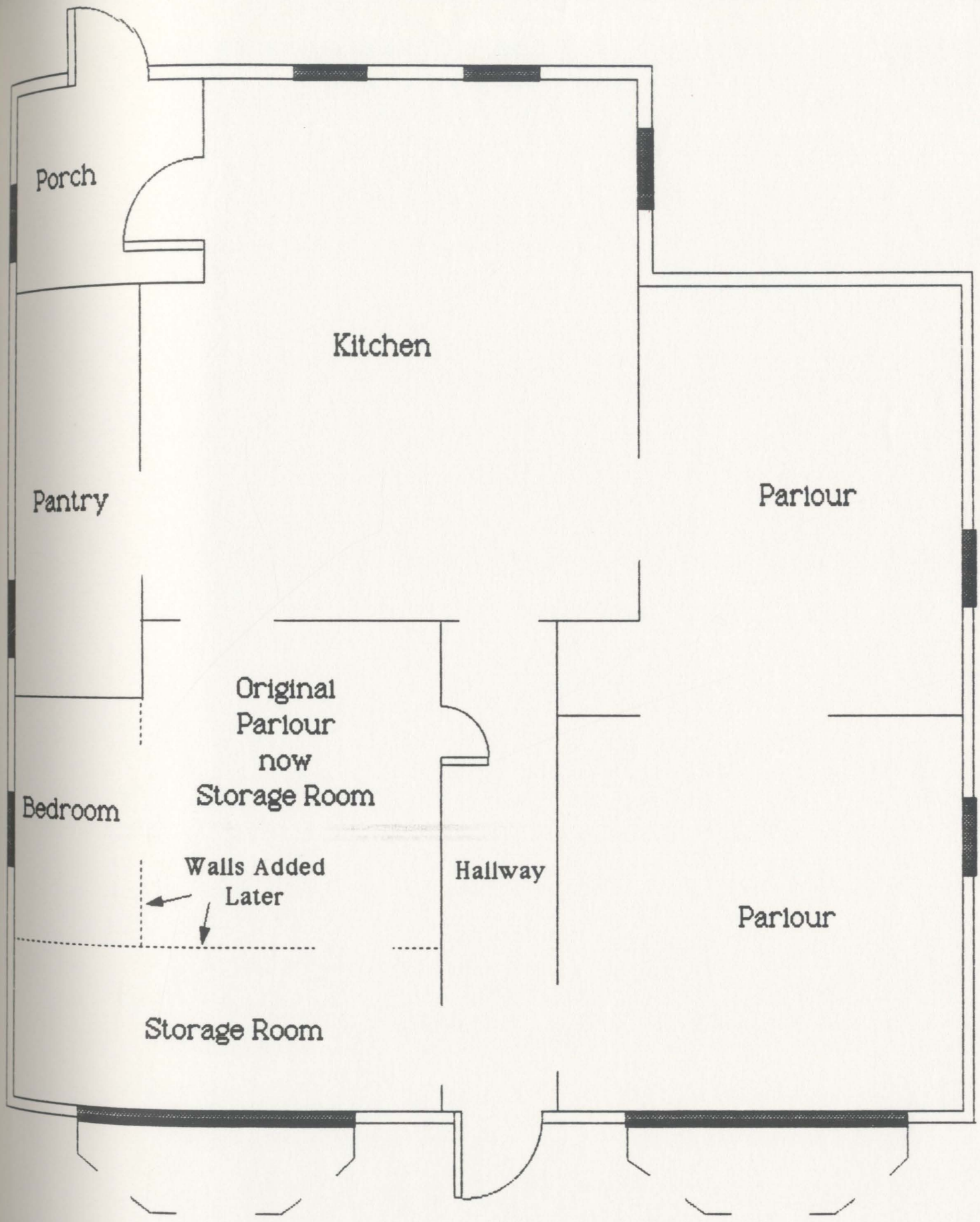
Figure 94 Martin Devoe's house, Upper Ferry



Figure 95 Front door, Martin Devoe's house.



Figure 96 Floor plan, Martin Devoe's house.



Martin Devoe's House

1/4" = 1'

feet; a 6 foot back addition was constructed in 1972 to make a larger kitchen and to add a porch. One of the reasons for the large kitchen is that Martin Devoe was a well-known singer and the kitchen is the room where many of his friends would gather for parties where songs would be sung. The most dominant features of the house are its two storey bay windows, and ornate classical doorway with 1 foot square transom windows; it is the only house in the valley to possess these architectural features.[24] Bay windows are a common feature of the Second Empire Style, a very popular fashion in the Maritimes in the late nineteenth century. [25] This amalgamation of cosmetic and stylistic features was common in Atlantic Canada at this time.

While many Codroy Valley residents chose the biscuit box form, some retained an earlier floor plan while borrowing the

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[24] One other house in the valley possesses a bay window--the Dan Martin house (now the George Anderson house in Millville (See Figures 88, 89 and 148). This house has been greatly altered with the second story being cut down in the 1950s. For a study of classicism in Canadian architecture see: Maitland, Neoclassical Architecture.

[25] See: Christina Cameron and Janet Wright, Second Empire Style in Canadian Architecture, Canadian Historic Sites, Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History, No. 24 (Ottawa: Parks Canada: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, 1980). Much of the downtown section of the city of St. John's, Newfoundland is built in this style, mainly because an architect named Southcott introduced this fashion to the city in the late nineteenth century. Even today houses of this kind are locally referred to as being in the "Southcott style." See: Shane O'Dea, "John T. Southcott," in Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects, ed. Adolph K. Placzek (New York: Macmillan, 1982), IV, 112.

exterior features of this rectilinear box type. Francis McIsaac's house in St. Andrews from the outside follows the biscuit box style, but the interior plan shows a retention of the three room plan of kitchen, parlour and small bedroom on the ground floor (Figures 97 and 98). There is no central hall; the front door enters directly into the kitchen. Newspapers on the walls of the back addition dating from 1949 and 1950 suggest an approximate date for the construction of this porch. [26] Likewise, in the kitchen and parlour, newspapers on the walls dating from the 1920s suggest a time when renovations occurred in the house.[27] This retention of an earlier plan shows that Francis McIsaac and his wife were both conservative and innovative; they borrowed exterior features of a new fashion, but retained a familiar spatial pattern. It is not coincidental that this house was also well known in St. Andrews as a ceilidh house; events such as visits, milling frolics and card games regularly occurred here. By retaining the familiar floor plan in a newer house, Francis was connecting with the past while still living in the modern world of turn-of-the-century Codroy Valley. He wanted to show the rest of the community he was aware of the

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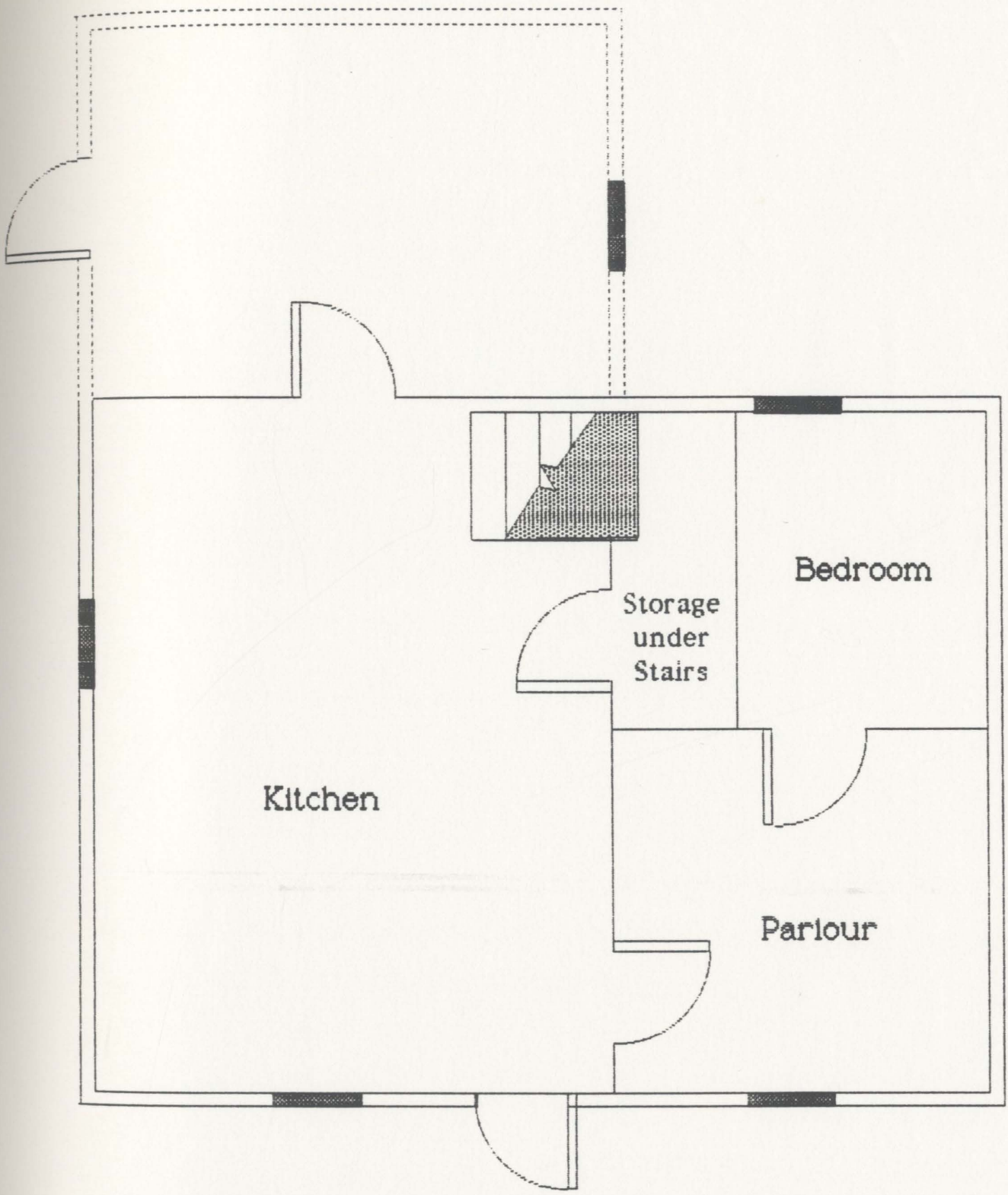
[26] Newspapers pasted to the walls of this addition include The Star Weekly, 17 June 1950; Newfoundland Government Bulletin, April-May, 1949; Family Herald and Weekly Star, 22 June 1950.

[27] Family Herald and Weekly Star, 23 November 1927; Family Herald and Weekly Star, 16 December 1925; Family Herald and Weekly Star, 19 October 1927; Sydney Daily Post, 29 May 1920.

Figure 97 Francis McIsaac's house, St. Andrews.



Figure 98 Floor plan, Francis McIsaac's house.



Francis McIsaac's House

1/4" = 1'

newer architectural fashion, but he did not completely discard the older conventional ways. One can conclude that when this architectural fashion was introduced, there was still a cultural need for larger kitchen spaces in the Codroy Valley.

This flat-roofed form may have developed as a result of the introduction of new technology to Atlantic Canada. Balloon framing was being accepted by builders of the region as were new forms of felt and asphalt roofing materials. Likewise, the raising and cutting down of roofs became a popular form of renovation. In the winter months many men occupied their time by making adjustments and repairs to houses; the altering of windows and doors and the changing of roofs was common, particularly when more money was available in the communities.

This chapter, then, has pointed out that at the end of the nineteenth century new architectural ideas began to appear in the Codroy Valley, and indeed throughout eastern Canada. It was a time of great change throughout the region. Railroads were developed, large, industrial enterprises were started, and tourism expanded, as visitors came to places such as the Annapolis Valley, Nova Scotia, the Margaree Valley, Cape Breton Island, and the Codroy Valley, Newfoundland. Doctors, judges, accountants and wealthy merchants from the New England States arrived in the Codroy Valley, via the railroad, completed in 1893, to enjoy nature

in a pastoral setting. New architectural forms began to appear at this time: the gothic revival houses with central facade peaks, the side-hall, gable entry dwellings or the two-thirds Georgian types, and the two storey, flat roof biscuit box houses all became popular by the end of the nineteenth century.

A few other characteristics of international building fashion began to appear in the valley by this time. The returned eaves of classical revival forms were found on some of the one and one-half storey hall parlour forms, but on many of the two-thirds Georgian buildings. Only in two documented cases did builders use the two storey bay window--a feature which became very popular in vernacular interpretations of the Second Empire style. The mansard roof--the one element of the Second Empire style commonly employed in vernacular buildings of this type in Newfoundland--seems absent from the Codroy Valley, but was used in the nearby fishing community of Codroy. Nevertheless, one Codroy Valley builder, Anosan O'Quinn, cut down the peaked roof of his one and one-half storey hall parlour house, to make a gambrel-like close approximation of a mansard roof. Another farmer, Allan MacArthur, cut down his gable roof barn to form a similar kind of roof. Allan MacArthur also built a home in the 1880s in Upper Ferry with many of the features of the gothic revival style including a pointed central dormer and gingerbread trim around the doors, eaves and windows. Two other houses in the valley--Cyril Ford's house in the Block

and Joe Pat Downey's in Great Codroy--possess gothic peaked dormers but few of the other features of this architectural fashion.

At the turn of the century a minor construction boom began to occur in the Codroy Valley which lasted well into the mid-teens. Newspaper accounts refer to the construction of barns, dwelling houses, a cold storage unit for the Codroy Valley Farmer's Association, a 42' by 32 ' drygoods store, a carding mill, a new blacksmith shop, a harness shop, and bridges spanning the rivers (Figures 99, 100, and 101). Between 1900 and 1920 new classical revival churches were constructed in St. Andrews and South Branch and schools were built in the various districts (Figure 102). [28] Ship building was even occurring by 1919 on the Grand River:

> There is quite an industry in ship building at the Old Church, Grand River. E.J.G. [Gillis] has about 20 men employed building a vessel - she will be over a hundred tons. The vessel will be an able carrier and a splendid model. When completed she will no doubt be one of the

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28 For example: "Mr. Neil MacNeil is about to build on his farm a monster barn according to latest and most approved plans. Mr. MacNeil, like many other intelligent and progressive men, has learnt that it saves labor to have the crop and all kinds of stock under one roof." Western Star, 1 May 1907; Western Star, 13 February 1918; "Mr. Thomas Leudy, who has just finished his new dwelling house intends moving in this week." Western Star, 23 December 1908; Western Star, 2 October 1907; Western Star, 7 March 1917.

Figure 99 Gale's Carding Mill, Millville.



Figure 100 Co-operative Store in Doyles under construction. From Fintan Downey's photograph collection.


Co-op to be

Figure 101 Co-operative Store in Doyles, completed. From Fintan Downey's photograph collection.


Co-op

Figure 102 St Thomas School, Great Codroy in the 1940s From Fintan Downey's photograph collection.



> finest vessels afloat,and as for material it cannot be beaten as she is being fully timbered with 8 inch old yellow birch. This will afford a lot of employment to the men here during the winter.... [29]

Moreover, an American Company planned to build an automobile road through the Codroy Valley to Curling in 1919, accompanied by a chain of hotels along the roadway for Canadian and American tourists. [30] Coal, first discovered in the region by J.B. Jukes in the mid-nineteenth century, was being mined by two companies in 1920 at South Branch and the Little Codroy River. Although the mines were unsuccessful, for the first few years of the 1920s between thirty and fifty men were employed at these sites.[31] Throughout this time, an air of improvement existed in the valley. New technologies appeared; by 1920 the first car was introduced, and in 1921 the first sighting of an airplane occurred. [32] Some young

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[29] Western Star, 6 February 1918; this vessel was purchased in 1919 by R. Moulton Ltd.; Western Star, 23 July 1919.

[30] According to newspaper reports, this company was planning to spend more than $500,000 on this idea. Western Star, 30 July 1919.

[31] Western Star, 25 August 1920. "The motor trucks for the South Branch coal mine arrived there some time ago and are now in operation. Fourteen tons of coal a day are at present being delivered at the station. As soon as the roadbed is sufficiently set the daily average will be increased to 50 tons." Western Star, 10 November 1920; Western Star, 24 November 1920; Western Star, 2 February 1921; Western Star, 8 June 1921; Western Star, 27 April 1921; Western Star, 19 January 1921; Western Star, 26 January 1921.

[32] Western Star, 10 November 1920; Western Star, 21 December

Codroy Valley men were experimenting with fox and rabbit ranches, unheard of in the area before this, while others were attempting to grow crops new to the region such as wheat, plum trees and different types of potatoes. [33] Steam-powered saw mills accompanied by shingle machines were established to cater to the increased lumber business in the valley. [34]

The turn-of-the-century period brought many changes to the valley. One change to the built landscape was the introduction of flat and shallow pitched roofs, which originated with the advent of balloon framing. Until this time most buildings, whether log or frame, used steeply pitched gable roofs constructed mainly with heavy, hand-hewed mortice and tenon framing members. While balloon framing was invented as early as the 1830s, it was not introduced to this region until the end of the nineteenth century.[35]

1921.

[33] Western Star, 25 January 1922.

[34] Western Star, 9 January 1924; Western Star, 19 October 1921.

[35] Dell Upton, "Traditional Timber Framing," in Material Culture of the Wooden Age, ed. Brooke Hindle (Tarrytown, New York: Sleepy Hollow Press, 1981), p. 88. Upton points out that even though balloon framing was invented by the mid-nineteenth century, its adoption was gradual; some builders adopted aspects of balloon framing techniques while retaining some of their older, more familiar timber framing techniques. Moreover, he states: "aspects of traditional timber framing survived in some areas into the twentieth century...." Upton, pp. 91-93.

This turn of the century period also marked a major transformation in the built landscape of the Codroy Valley and indeed all of eastern Canada. International fashions had arrived and new architectural ideas from outside the region were beginning to be extensively used.

But what is interesting is that while these new architectural ideas were appearing, indicating an awareness of international fashion, these forms did not usurp all of the older patterns. In other words, people did not discard all of the former building patterns with the arrival of the new; rather, the new patterns were incorporated into the Codroy Valley building repertoire. For example, Francis McIsaac chose to retain an older floor plan while using the modern biscuit box exterior. Others such as Cyril Ford and Joe Pat Downey chose to add selected cosmetic features of the gothic revival to their already constructed homes rather than taking all the available features of this particular style. Even though some of the new forms required more spatial division within houses, Codroy Valley builders continued to construct large kitchens and smaller parlours within the confines of these international forms. In some cases, a combination of heavy framing and balloon framing was employed in the same building, showing that the older techniques were employed alongside the new and that the new manner of building did not hastily usurp the older form of construction.

In a sense, what is happening here is that the community

is retaining its control over its built environment; community norms allow these outside ideas to enter the area as innovations, but these innovations do not immediately destroy the older patterns of building. Rather, the community reacted conservatively to the introduction of these international fashions, accepting some of the features, and rejecting others. The Codroy Valley is stamping these outside ideas with its vernacular dialect, making a unique form of architecture in the Codroy Valley. But it was the economic changes and coincidental community optimism which allowed the introduction of these new ideas to the building tradition in the first place. The new cash injected into the communities with the development of tourism and other major economic proposals and developments, along with the optimism generated by these forces, was the catalyst for the changes in the building tradition. Values and attitudes of Codroy Valley residents are clearly expressed in their architecture at this period. The introduction of newer styles shows that housing was indeed a vehicle for displaying the new found material suceess; yet people valued older ways, and continued to follow older patterns.

As the twentieth century progressed the Codroy Valley was bombarded with new ideas from a variety of mass-mediated sources including newspapers, magazines, and later in the century, radio and television. The changes in architecture which began at the end of the nineteenth century continued as the twentieth century progressed. New architectural forms

designed in other places for a different population made their way to this region, and the people of this area continued to personalize and modify these ideas to suit their own values and needs. The next chapter examines this influence of twentieth century mass housing on the Codroy Valley and specifically looks at the way in which the region modified and adopted this new wave of architectural styles.

Chapter 5 - Mass Housing Comes to the Codroy Valley: 1920-the present

The 1920s mark another change in the architecture of the Codroy Valley: the arrival of mass housing. Put simply, mass housing is architecture for the masses, the buildings designed for the middle class, or the majority of a population. The phrase also connotates mass production, pre-fabrication of materials and construction, conformity and a limited number of housing options. For example, many suburban dwellers of North American cities in the early years of the twentieth century lived in houses called "bungalows" which looked alike, were built of similar materials, often using factory and sawmill lumber with balloon framing technology, and were designed and sometimes even manufactured in a location far away from the actual building site. The bungalow style is perhaps the best example of a twentieth century "mass" house style which was accepted wholeheartedly in North America and indeed throughout much of the western world.[1] By the 1920s these kinds of mass houses designed in other places primarily for other regions and requirements began to be built in the Codroy Valley, a pattern which has continued to the present. Yet, even though some of these forms were not originally designed with the needs of Codroy Valley men and

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[1] For a discussion of "mass" housing see: Deryck Holdsworth, "Regional Distinctiveness in an Industrial Age: Some Californian Influences on British Columbia Housing," The American Review of Canadian Studies, 12, (1982), 64-81.

women in mind, residents adapted these outside ideas to their region by stamping them with their own unique characteristics. Designs such as ubiquitous North American bungalows were not wholeheartedly accepted; some older patterns of the region continued to exist within these newer frames and facades. This chapter examines the arrival of this unique brand of twentieth century mass housing to the district in order to explore the way in which local men and women amalgamated their own architectural ideas with these new pan - North American forms.

Before examining how the widely used bungalow was interpreted by residents of the region, it is necessary to look at one particular form which straddles both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a transitional house type which possesses features of both the late nineteenth century two-thirds Georgian plan and the emerging twentieth century bungalow style. This two storey house type emerged in this district by the 1920s (Figure 103). It has its main entry way on the gable end but differs from the two-thirds Georgian plan in that the main door is in the centre of the gable, and there is no hallway. The front door opens directly into the living room and the floor plan is divided into three rooms: a parlour and living room in the front, and a kitchen across the back; rooms such as porches and bathrooms are often placed at the back of the house off the kitchen. Started in 1944, and completed in 1946, Frank and Annie Wall's house in St Andrew's is 25 by 31 feet in size (Figures 104 and 105).

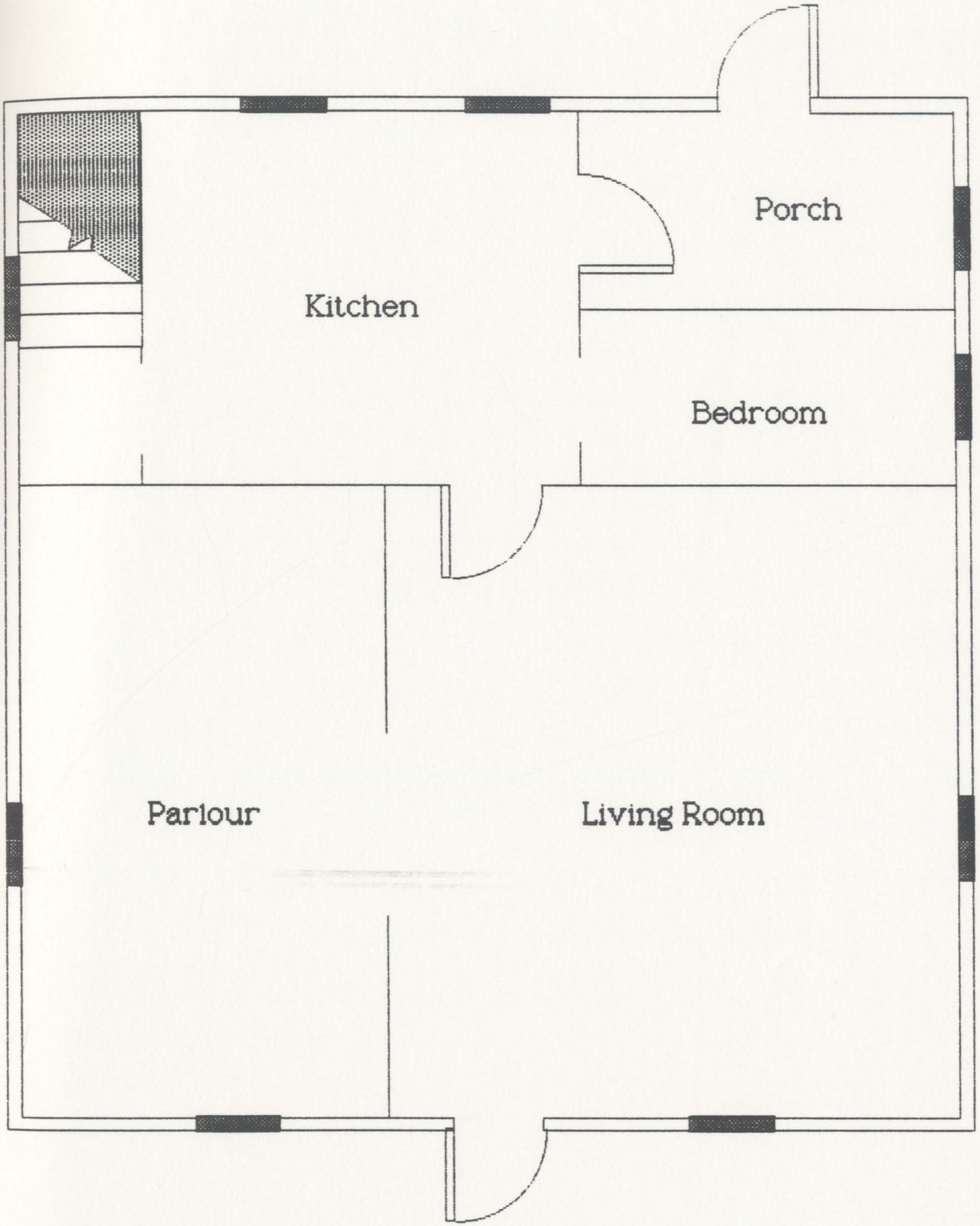
Figure 103 Christena Jennings house, Great Codroy.



Figure 104 Frank and Annie Wall's house, St. Andrews.



Figure 105 Floor plan, Frank and Annie Wall's house



Frank & Annie Wall's House

1/4" = 1'

Few people have written about this type, although it was popular in other Atlantic Canadian communities at this same time.[2] It was used extensively for commercial businesses such as the Co-operative store in South Branch (Figure 106), and for general stores throughout Atlantic Canada. I suspect builders of family dwellings borrowed the idea from the commercial establishments and it became a common house type in the Atlantic region. Nevertheless, it was not extremely popular in the Codroy Valley as I recorded only three extant examples of it while conducting fieldwork in 1982 and 1983; a fourth house was converted to this plan in the 1930s. It is a transitional form from the two-thirds Georgian plan to the modern bungalow in that its doorway in the gable end, one and one storey height, and classical revival returned eaves are features of the side hall house, while its floor plan is clearly similar to the ones found in the most popular bungalow plans to be accepted in the region.

While only a few examples of this transitional type remain, the most popular form throughout the twentieth century is a local bungalow type which appeared in the early years of the twentieth century and is still being built in the 1980s. The word "bungalow" has a variety of meanings

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[2] See Le Paysage Architectural Traditional Des Iles-De-La-Madelaine (Québec: Bibliotéque nationale du Québec, 1983), p. 20. This gable end, centre doorway plan was sometimes used in commercial establishments throughout the Maritimes at this time. See: Joseph Lehmann and Gary T. Whiteford, Kings Landing: A Geography Guide (Fredericton: Kings Landing Corporation, 1980), p. 42.

Figure 106 Co-operative Store, South Branch.



around the world. The term has become synonymous with a small summer house used for leisure activities in Cape Breton Island, following a British Isles pattern where, since the mid-nineteenth century, the term has referred to a "purpose-built leisure or holiday house."[3] The development of the bungalow is traced around the world by Anthony D. King who shows how this idea evolved into complex types ranging from a European adaptation of a Bengali peasant dwelling, "the banggolo," to the African Colonial residence; from a North American vacation house, to to a suburban California bungalow; and from a "garden city" dwelling, to the Australian "tropical bungalow."[4] King proves that the bungalow idea was spread throughout North America at the turn of the twentieth century mainly by pattern books, architecture journals and popular literature. [5] More

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[3] Anthony D. King, The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), p. 65.

[4] King; for other studies of this architectural form see: Clay Lancaster, The American Bungalow (New York Abbeville Press, 1984); Deryk Holdsworth, "House and Home in Vancouver: The Evolution of a West Coast Urban Landscape, 1886-1929," PhD. dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1981; Deryk Holdsworth, "Regional Distinctiveness in an Industrial Age: Some Californian Influences on British Columbia Housing," The American Review of Canadian Studies, 12, (1982), 64-81; R.A. Briggs, Bungalows and Other Country Residences (London: Batsford, 1891).

[5] King, p. 130. According to King, "At one level, the actual idea of the bungalow seems to have arrived in North America by way of an increasing professional network, an interchange of books and journals, including the English Building News, and The Studio ...." King, p. 130. See, for example, R.N. Shaw, Sketches for Cottages and Other Buildings (London: W.H.

importantly, he argues that Americans, at the end of the nineteenth century, were struck with the full impact of urbanization and turned to nature in an attempt to "escape the minor irritants" of urban life. [6] The bungalow form was accepted wholeheartedly by the general public, because it was associated with a back-to-nature movement which promoted rusticity, rugged life, and vacationing in rural regions away from the industry and noise of the city. In fact, residents of the many suburban neighborhoods throughout North America either chose this form, or had this form imposed upon them by developers who were attempting to meet the public's need for mass housing.

This returning to nature was not new, for it was a recurring theme in the eighteenth century with the development of romanticism which influenced all forms of the arts and literature, and even helped promote an interest in

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Lascelles, 1878), and Briggs. Pattern books have been popular since at least the eighteenth century; see Dell Upton, "Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America, 1800-1860," Winterthur Portfolio, 19 (1984), 107-150. Upton argues that "Pattern books served two primary functions in the transformation of American domestic architecture. One was to pick up thoroughly familiar forms, give them the blessing of fashion and sometimes a slightly different appearance, and pass them on.... More important, pattern books reinforced the notion that novelty and distinctiveness were desirable in the appearance of a building, while casting these into specific forms that made it possible to adopt the new superficially without seriously disrupting the old." Upton, "Pattern Books," pp. 149-50.

[6] King, p. 133.

the study of folklore and folk culture.[7] This end of the nineteenth century back-to-nature ideology was accompanied by an American interest in the English Arts and Crafts movement, which also promoted an interest in nature and handcraftmanship. People such as John Ruskin and William Morris, two of the British founders of this movement, influenced and inspired American proponents of the Arts and Crafts movement. Underlying their philosophy was a dislike for modern civilization, industrialization and materialism; these were viewed as degenerative forces on society. Conversely, all things pre-industrial, from handcraftmanship in textiles and stained glass, to medieval stories of knights and chivalry, were perceived to be inherently beautiful and regenerative forces for the human being.[8] The North American bungalow form as we know it developed at the end of the nineteenth century from this ideology.

The word "bungalow" in the Codroy Valley does not refer

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[7] One of the major forces in the development of Folklore as a discipline was this romantic idealism. See,for example, some of the standard histories of Folklore: Richard M. Dorson, The British Folklorists: A History (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968); Simon J. Bronner, American Folklore Studies: An Intellectual History (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1986), p. 29; Dag Strömbäck, ed. Leading Folklorists of the North (Oslo: Scandinavian University Books, 1971); Jouko Hautala, Finnish Folklore Research, 1929-1919 (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1969).

[8] King, p. 133; see also: Edward P. Thompson, William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976); for a study of the Arts and Crafts movement see: Isabelle Anscombe and Charlotte Gere, Arts and Craft in Britain and America (New York: Von Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1978).

to a summer dwelling, nor to a suburban house, but to a one storey dwelling house used the entire year.[9] There are two subtypes of what I have called "local bungalows": those with an entrance in the gable end, and those with a symmetrical facade and entrance in the long side of the house.[10] Nicholas Luedee's house in Loch Lomond is an example of the first type (Figures 107 and 108). Built in 1935 by Nicholas just before he was married, it is 25 by 39 feet and has a floor plan of a parlour, kitchen, four bedrooms and a bathroom. A root cellar is located in the basement. A two storey flat roof house, biscuit box type, initially owned by Angus J. MacNeil, was located on this property before Nicholas built the bungalow. Nicholas cut all his own wood and bought his windows from a travelling merchant from Spaniards Bay.[11] He had to use a "stumper," a machine for clearing land, to prepare the ground for his house (See Figure 136). The idea for this house derived from a magazine he had seen; he referred to the plan as a "Kenmore plan."[12] Originally the house had two bedrooms with no indoor bathroom; when Nicholas' family grew, by 1947,

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[9] In the Codroy Valley summer houses are referred to as "cabins", "camps" or "shacks".

[10] Research on bungalows in other areas shows that both these types were common; the gable entry form may have been more common in urban areas where lot sizes were small and narrow. See King, Figures 80-84.

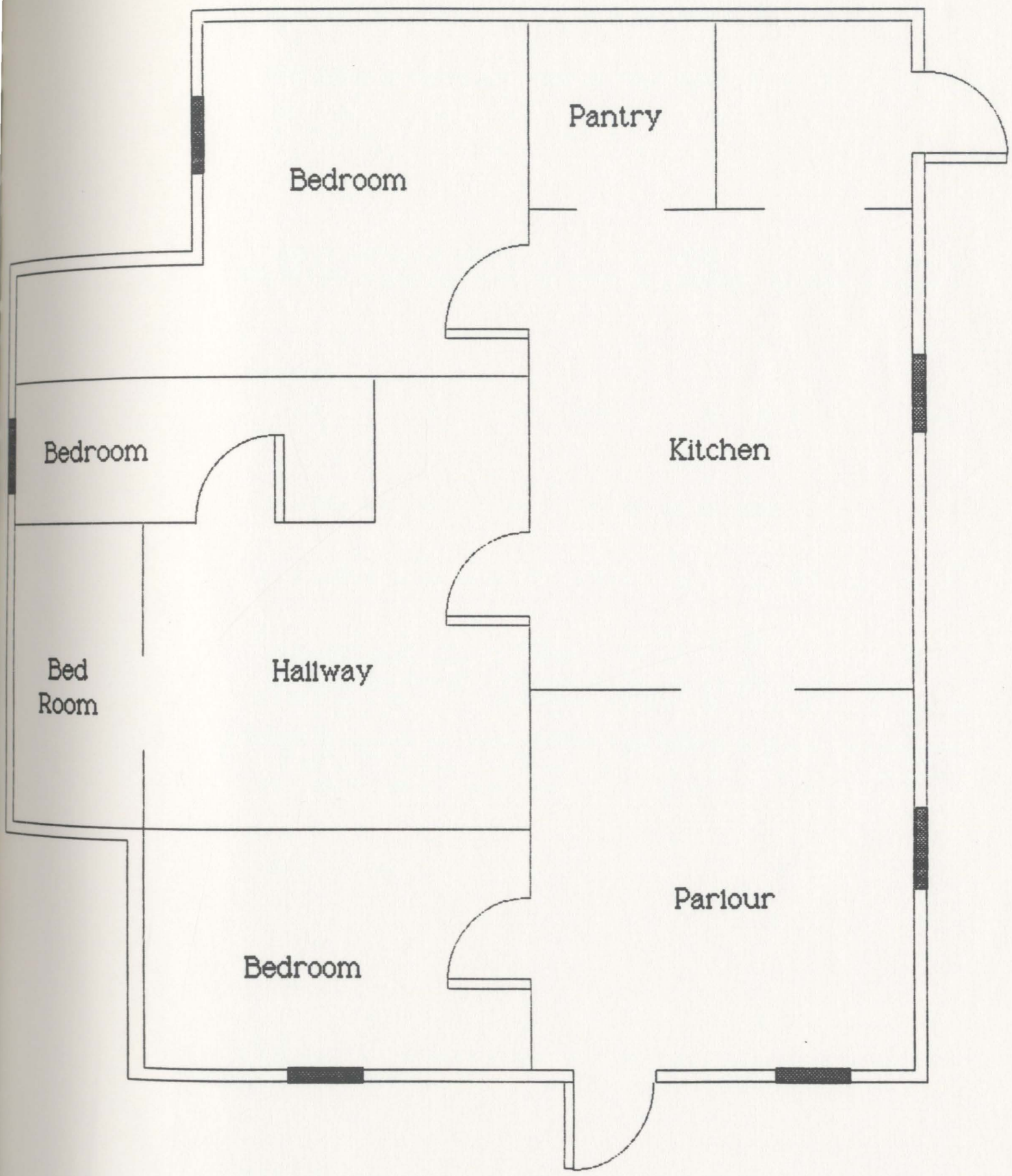
[11] The merchant was Mark Gosse.

[12] Nicholas could not remember the name of the company or the book; I was not able to discover the source.

Figure 107 Nicholas Luedee's house, Loch Lomond.



Figure 108 Floor plan. Nicholas Luedee's house.



Nicholas Luedee's House

1/4" = 1'

he needed to build a side addition which included two more bedrooms and a bathroom. Other renovations included replacing the original four pane windows in 1975.

A second example of this gable entry local bungalow type is Ned Gale's house in South Branch (Figures 109 and 110, See also Figure 80). Ned's house, built in 1954, and similar in form to Nicholas Luedee's house, has a different interior floor plan. Its main floor consists of a kitchen, pantry, parlour, four bedrooms and a storage room with a root cellar underneath. Even though it was built in the 1950s, the house is without electricity and an indoor bathroom. Ned's lumber was cut on his own land, and he used his saw mill to cut and plane the wood necessary for construction. Two wood stoves heat the house, one in the kitchen, and the other in the hallway. The kitchen stove is a "Perfection" made at the Thompson and Sutherland foundry in North Sydney with a patent date of 1898 printed on it (See Figure 80).[13] According to Ned, he followed no plan when he built this house; rather, he built a frame and then decided upon the interior space. He completed the kitchen first, as it is the most used room, and then divided the rest of the house. The kitchen contains two chairs, a daybed, a wood box, a bench, a photograph of the William Carson ferry on the wall and a Codroy Valley Farm Supplies calendar. Since Ned is the only occupant of the

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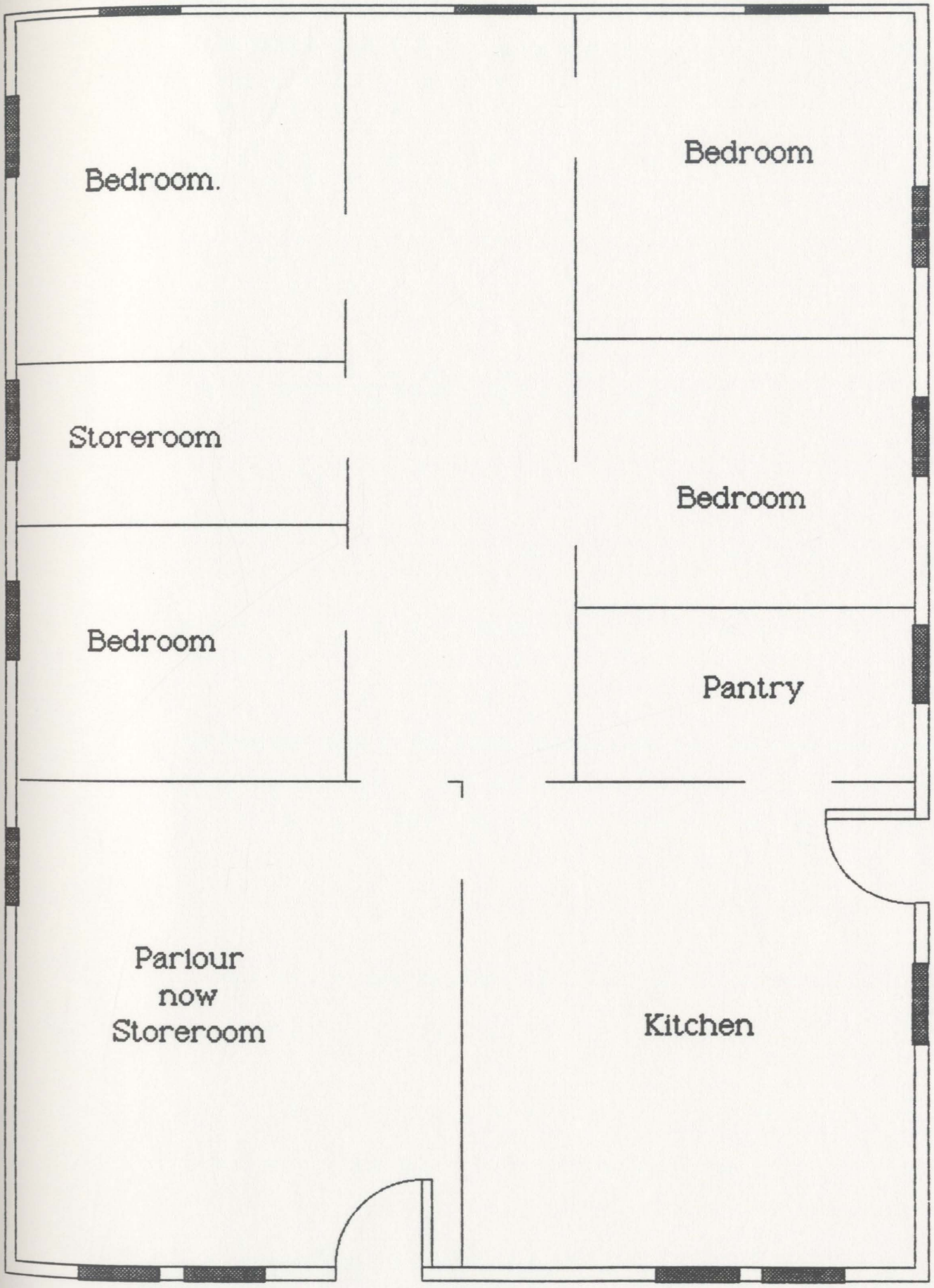
[13] For a listing of foundries in Nova Scotia see: MacLaren, pp. 20-21.

Figure 109 Ned Gale's house, South Branch.



Figure 110 Floor plan, Ned Gale's house.



Ned Gale's House
Circa 1954

1/4" = 1'

dwelling, the kitchen is the room used most often for eating and sleeping while the parlour and other bedrooms are used mainly for storage. Within the parlour, Ned keeps such things as tools, parts of engines and saw blades; in fact, this room now functions more as a storage barn than a parlour.

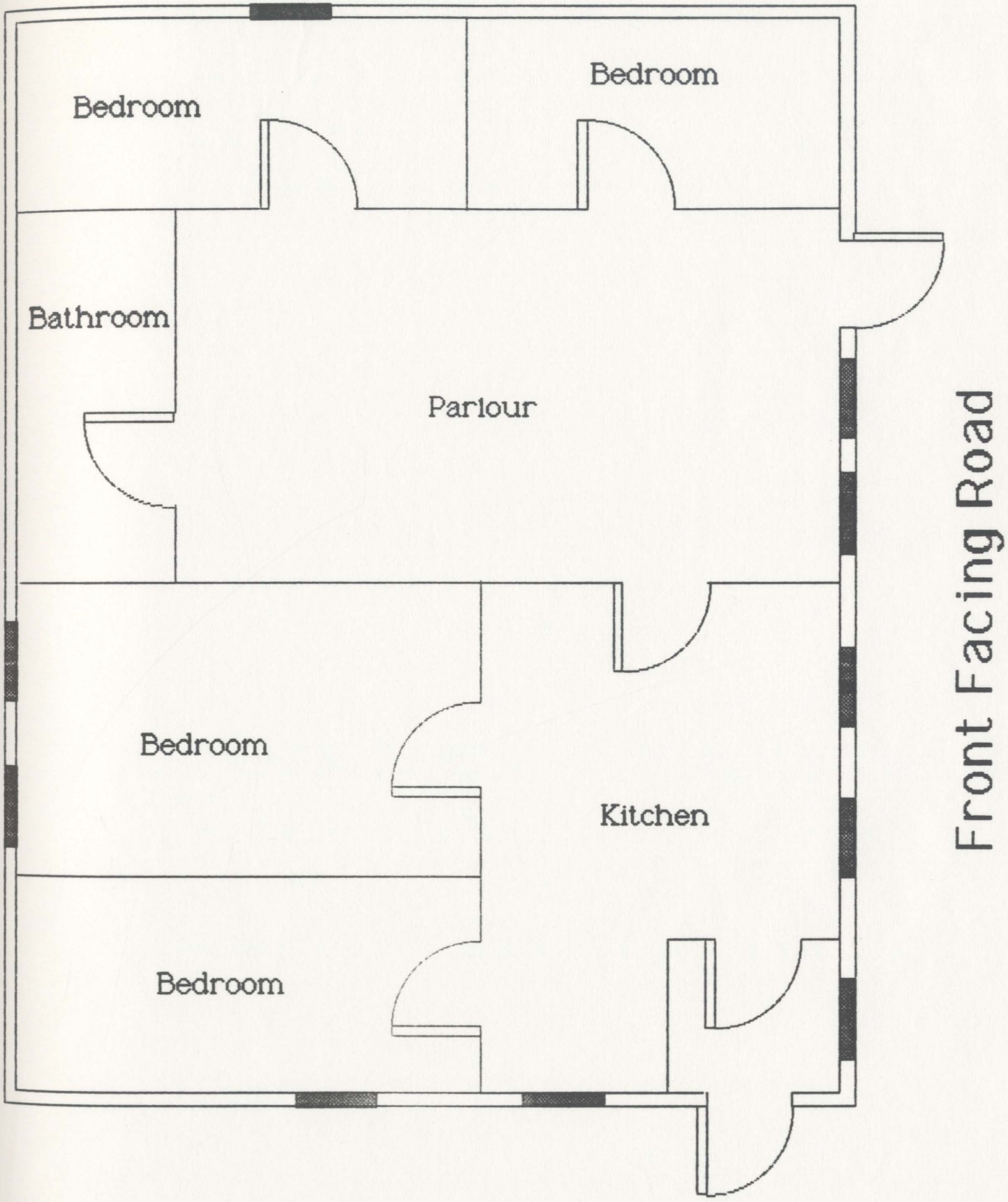
A third example of this subtype is Jack Campbell's house in Loch Lomond. This house was built by Jack Campbell in 1937 shortly after he was married (Figures 111 and 112). There was another house on the property at the time of construction, a two storey, flat roof, central door biscuit box house owned by Malcolm Campbell, which--by the late 1970s--had burned down. The house originally possessed a kitchen with two bedrooms and a bathroom; a side addition was constructed in the early 1950s, adding a kitchen with two bedrooms. As with many nineteenth century Codroy Valley houses, and some of the twentieth century bungalows, the house sits on a fieldstone foundation, without a cellar. A daybed, table and chairs, and a stove are placed in the kitchen, with the walls adorned by holy pictures of Christ, the Last Supper, as well as assorted family photographs.

The second subtype of the local bungalow style is the one storey house with a shallow pitched roof, symmetrical facade and a central door flanked by two windows. An example of this form is Mike MacNeil's house in St. Andrews (Figures 113 and 114). Built in 1957 by Reginald Hibbs, it was located next to the train station in St. Andrews. It was moved in 1960 one-half mile to the north, to its present location near

Figure 111 Jack Campbell's house, Loch Lomond.



Figure 112 Floor plan, Jack Campbell's house.



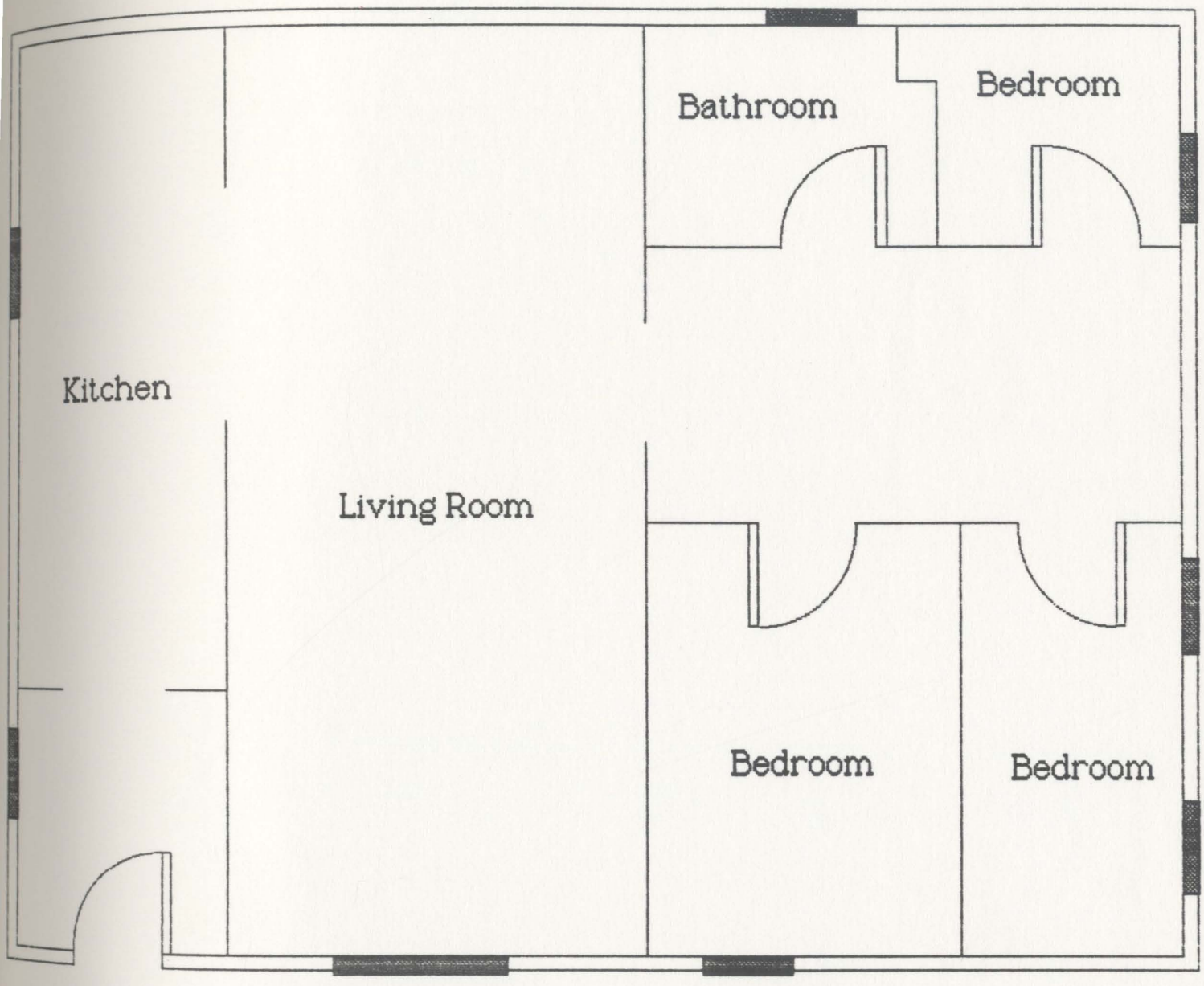
Jack Campbell's House

1/4" = 1'

Figure 113 Michael MacNeil's house, St. Andrews



Figure 114 Floor plan, Michael MacNeil's house.



Mike MacNeil's House
Circa 1957

1/4" = 1'

the Church of the Precious Blood in St. Andrews. Shortly after the move, a back addition was built, making room for a larger kitchen. The house was bought by Mike MacNeil in 1979, and he built a second addition in 1981, adding yet more space to the kitchen. The present floor plan consists of a kitchen, living room, three small bedrooms, and a bathroom, with no basement underneath.

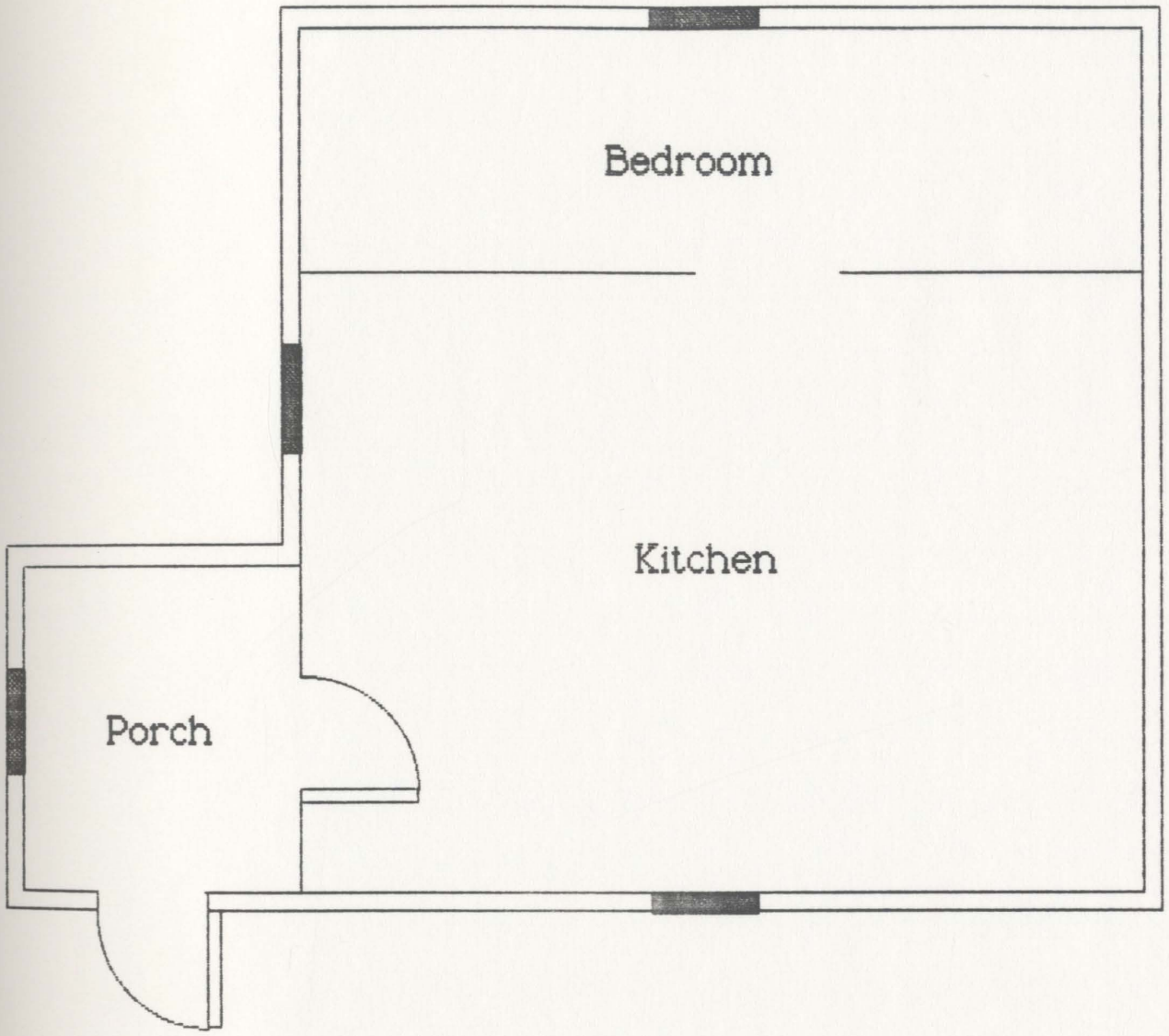
In contrast to the local bungalow type with its two sub-types, there is the minimal unit bungalow containing a large kitchen and a small sleeping area. An example of this type is Peter Blanchard's house, used now as a shed by Mike MacNeil (Figures 115 and 116). Built in the 1930s, it was originally located on the Searston Road, about one mile from its present St. Andrews location; it was moved to this site in the early 1950s. Peter moved to a Senior Citizen's home in Stephenville by 1965, and the house was empty for the next 15 years until, in 1980, Mike MacNeil began using it as a shed. Much of the lumber and materials in the construction of this building were re-used from older buildings. The six-over-six window, for example, was borrowed from an older building dismantled in Searston. With this building, as with other bungalow forms in the Codroy Valley, it is common to find hand-hewed lumber, re-used from earlier barns and houses, alongside sawmill-cut timber. Other small houses of this kind include Neil McIsaac's house in St. Andrews and Hughie O'Quinn's house in the area known as "The Block."

Larger than the minimal unit bungalow, but smaller than

Figure 115 Peter Blanchard's house, St. Andrews.



Figure 116 Floor plan, Peter Blanchard's house.



Peter Blanchard's House
Circa 1932

1/4" = 1'

the local bungalow type, is the pyramidal roof bungalow or, as it is locally called, the "barrack roof" house. Built from the 1920s until the present, its name derives from the hay barrack, a hay storage structure which was once common not only in the Codroy Valley and in its antecedent area of Cape Breton Island, but also in other regions of North America. Individuals have chosen a number of different plans; there does not seem to be a standard floor plan for this form. Archie Francis and Lizzie McIsaac's house in St. Andrews is one example of this form (Figures 117, 118, 119, and 120; see also Figure 7). It was built in 1932, the year Archie Francis and Lizzie were married, and was originally 21 x 28 feet in length. In 1970, the year their daughter Philamena was married, an 8 foot back addition was constructed. Windows were originally four-paned; these were replaced in 1976 with sliding windows. It is clapboarded on two sides and shingled on the other sides. The front door is seldom used; in fact, it is nailed shut. The plan includes a kitchen and parlour back to back, two bedrooms, a bathroom, storage room and back porch. The house sits on a fieldstone foundation and does not contain a cellar.[14]

Another floor plan used in houses of this kind is Johnny Archie (the fiddler) MacDonald's house in St. Andrews

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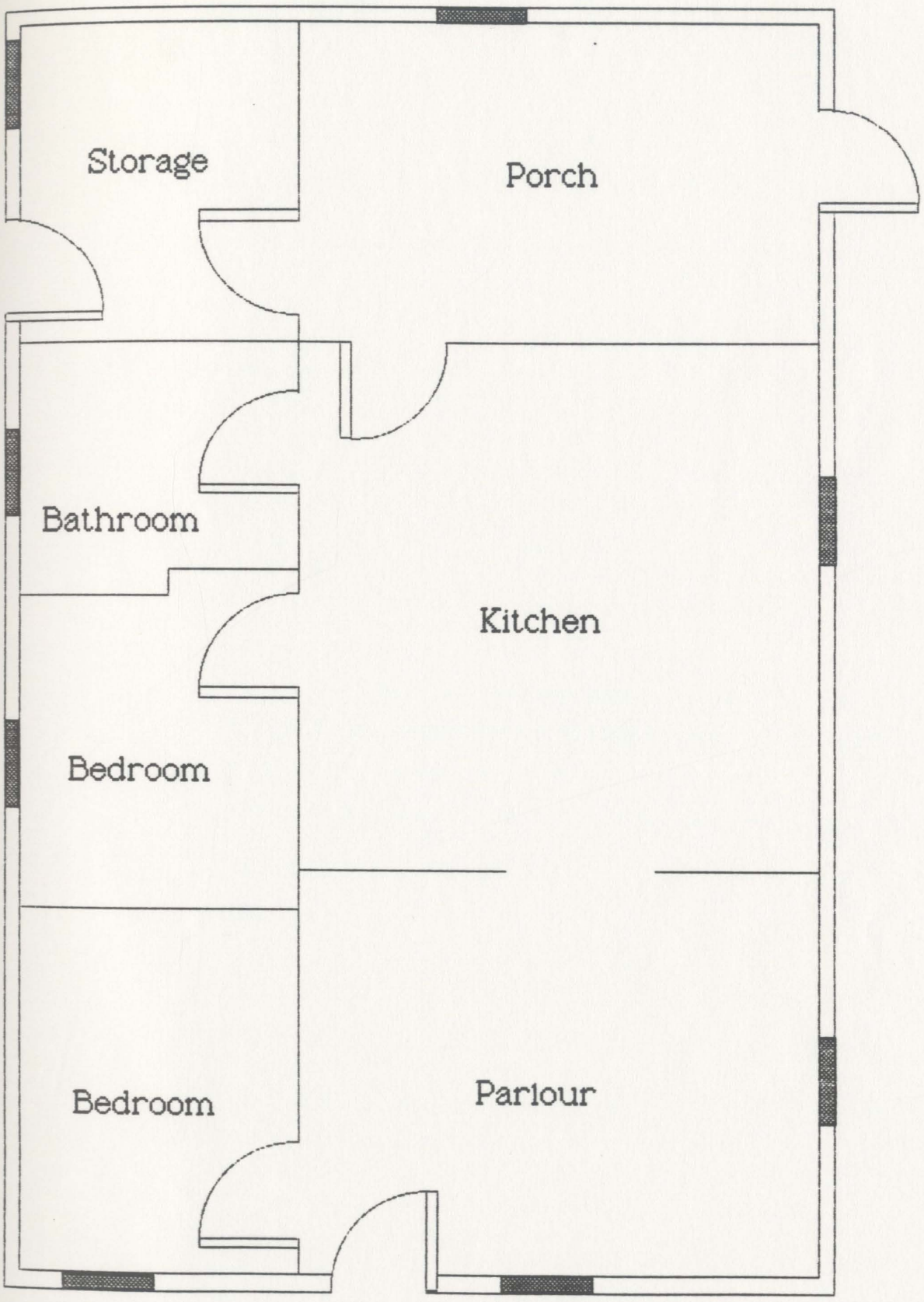
[14] This roof form is most frequently found on one and one-half storey houses in the Codroy Valley; only in one case--Paul Joseph O'Quinn's house in Millville--is this roof type found on a two storey building.

Figure 117 Archie Francis McIsaac's house, St. Andrews.



Figure 118 Floor plan, Archie Francis McIsaac's house.



Archie McIsaac's House
Circa 1932

1/4" = 1'

Figure 119 Kitchen, Archie Francis McIsaac's house.



Figure 120 Parlour, Archie Francis McIsaac's house.



(Figures 121 and 122). Built in the 1930s, the same time as Archie Francis McIsaac's house, and although similar to Archie Francis's house, MacDonald's house has a completely different spatial layout. The front door enters directly into a parlour, and the kitchen is located beside the parlour at the front of the house. To the rear of the kitchen and parlour is added a small hallway, off of which are located three bedrooms and a bathroom. Shortly after the house was constructed, a porch and pantry were added to the side of the dwelling. Measuring 24 by 36 feet, it was heated by one stove in the kitchen and one at the end of the hallway; this was a common pattern in Codroy Valley houses. It sits on a concrete foundation with no cellar.

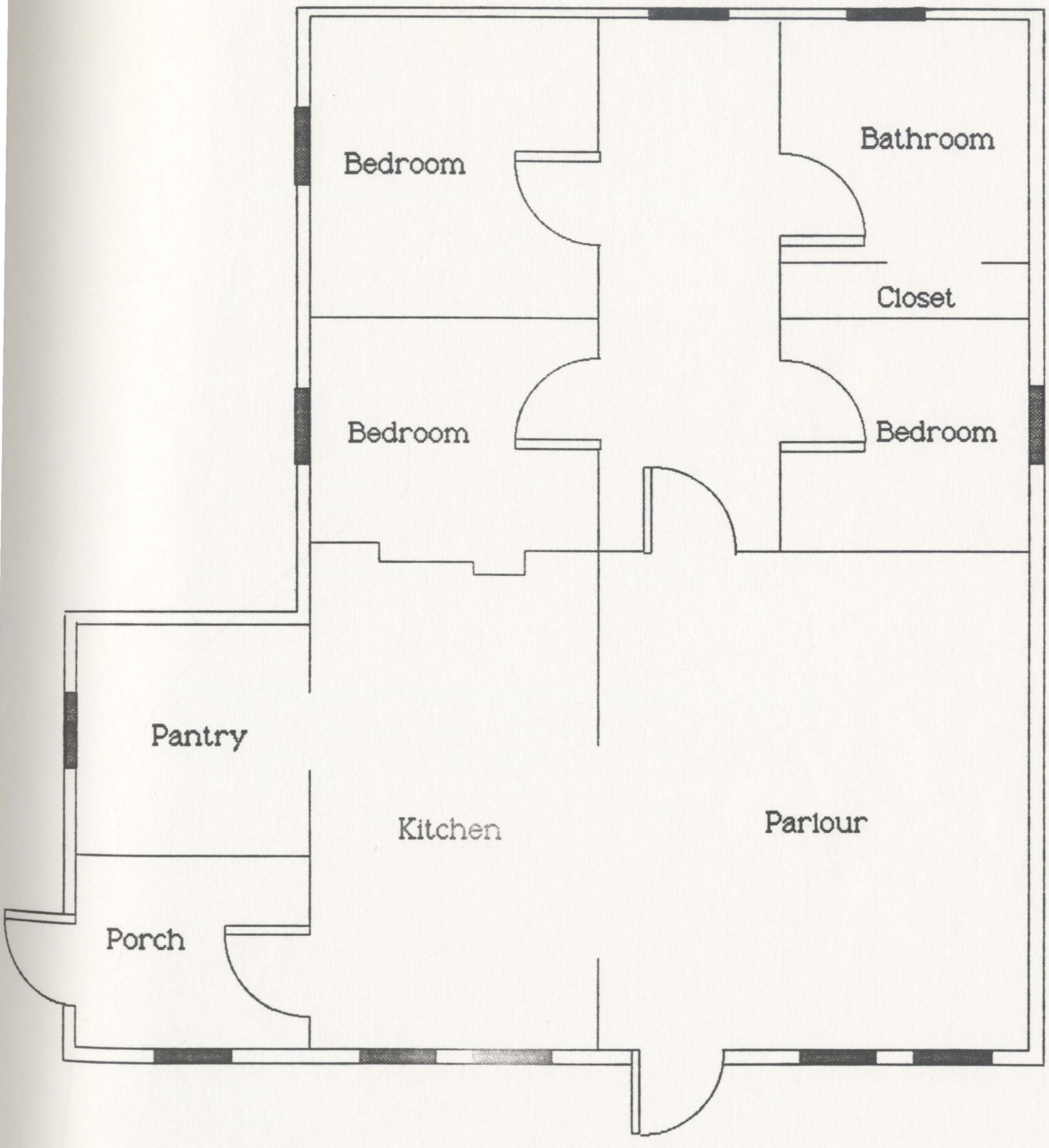
Yet another floor plan type appears in Angus MacNeil's barrack roof house in Upper Ferry (Figures 123 and 124). Built in 1943, it has a central door on a symmetrical facade, flanked by two windows on each side. The door leads into a central hall which contains a stairwell leading to an upstairs bedroom. At the end of the hallway are doors leading to a parlour and kitchen located at the front of the house, and two bedrooms and a bathroom situated at the rear. It is 29 by 27 feet and is situated on a concrete foundation. Cutting the roof line is a square-headed dormer which allows light into the upper storey. Other barrack roof houses appear in communities such as Tompkins, Upper Ferry (Figure 125), Searston, St. Andrews, and Doyles.

Bungalow design books, written and distributed by the

Figure 121 Johnny Archie MacDonald's house, St. Andrews



Figure 122 Floor plan of Johnny Archie MacDonald's house.



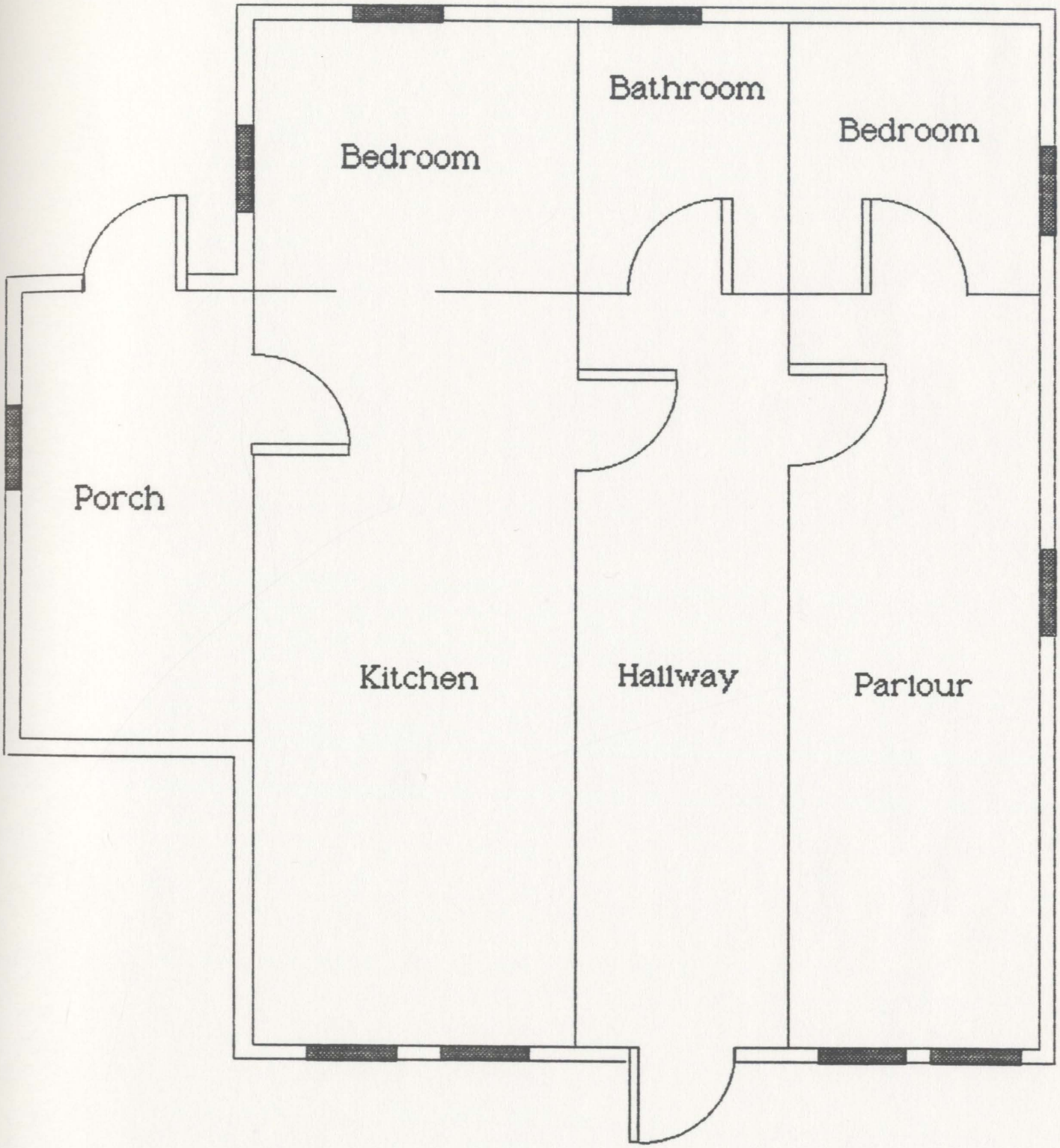
Johnny Archie MacDonald's House
Circa 1932

1/4" = 1'

Figure 123 Angus MacNeil's barrack roof house, Upper Ferry.



Figure 124 Floor plan, Angus MacNeil's house.



Angus MacNeil's House

1/4" = 1'

Figure 125 Artie Young's barrack roof house, Upper Ferry.



Canadian federal government, began to appear in the Codroy Valley by the 1950s. Central Mortgage and Housing and, later, the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation provided booklets displaying ideal house plans. New ideas for Codroy Valley residents were offered in these publications; one farmer showed me a copy of a Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation booklet he used dating from the mid-1950s.[15] This pamphlet offers a variety of bungalow plans for the builder of moderate means.

While Codroy Valley farmers were familiar with these plans, some of the notions expounded in this kind of material were rejected by Codroy Valley builders. In one pamphlet, Principles of Small House Grouping, many of the suggestions offered by the authors are irrelevant for Codroy Valley residents. For example, there is much discussion about how pleasing, economical and effective it is to group similar

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[15] Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Principles of Small House Grouping (Ottawa: Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, [1954]). Other publications from the Central Mortgage and Housing include: Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Small House Designs (Ottawa: Central Mortgage and Housing, 1949); Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Sketch Designs (Ottawa: Department of Finance, 1946); Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 67 Homes for Canadians (Ottawa: Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1947). For a short history of the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation which takes the point of view that the CMHC destroyed regional architecture in Canada see Joann Latremouille, Pride of Home: The Working Class Housing Tradition in Nova Scotia, 1749-1949 (Hantsport, Nova Scotia, Lancelot Press, 1986), pp. 83-91. Latremouille sees the passing of the Dominion Housing Act in 1935 and the National Housing Act in 1938 as destructive forces in Canadian architecture; Latremouille, pp. 84-85.

types of houses in the landscape to ensure a sense of order:

> Houses within a group should be so designed that they bear a family resemblance and complement one another. In this way the scene becomes one of harmony rather than a hodgepodge of shapes, materials and details which so often occur. [16]

This neighbourhood organization pattern was followed by suburban developers and citizens in small towns and cities of Canada, but was not deemed acceptable by Codroy Valley builders. In this region, houses were built individually, usually at around the time a young man and woman decided to marry, and people did not co-operatively build a number of houses or a "housing group," even though there was often much assistance provided by neighbors when a house or outbuilding was constructed. [17] This housing group concept promoted by

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[16] Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Principles, p.4.

[17] The co-operative philosophy, so popular in Cape Breton Island from the 1920s through to the 1980s, was brought to the Codroy Valley, but did not last very long. A number of Co-operative stores were constructed but likewise, were not successful. Now there is only one Co-operative store and one credit union operating in Doyles and Tompkins. The first group of Co-operative housing in Canada was in Tompkinsville, Reserve Mines, Cape Breton Island, organized in 1936 by Father James Tompkins and Father Moses Coady, via the St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department. The co-operative building program was legislated out of existence in Canada in 1973. For a discussion of the attempted development of co-operative stores and enterprises in the Codroy Valley see: John Szwed, Private Cultures and Public Imagery: Interpersonal Relations in a Newfoundland Peasant Society, Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies, No. 2 (St. John's:

the Central Mortgage and Housing was popular in the many small, industrial communities of Cape Breton Island from the 1940s through to the 1970s, but was foreign to Codroy Valley builders. Codroy Valley residents were familiar with some of the architectural plans produced by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, yet there was not a whole-hearted acceptance of these outside forms; only a select number of types were accepted. While the earlier Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation publications and the later Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation booklets provide a great variety of designs, ranging from split level bungalows, to three bedroom, two storey forms, Codroy Valley residents mainly chose one particular form for their dwellings--a one storey bungalow form with a front door on the long side of the house (Figures 126 and 127).

Codroy Valley residents also continued to alter these plans to suit their own needs. In contemporary Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation plans, the living room is often the largest room in the house. In Codroy Valley Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation-influenced houses, residents often enlarged the kitchens by eliminating the dining room or they combined a kitchen and living room to make one large room for much of their daily activity. Moreover, additions were frequently added to the sides or rear of the house,

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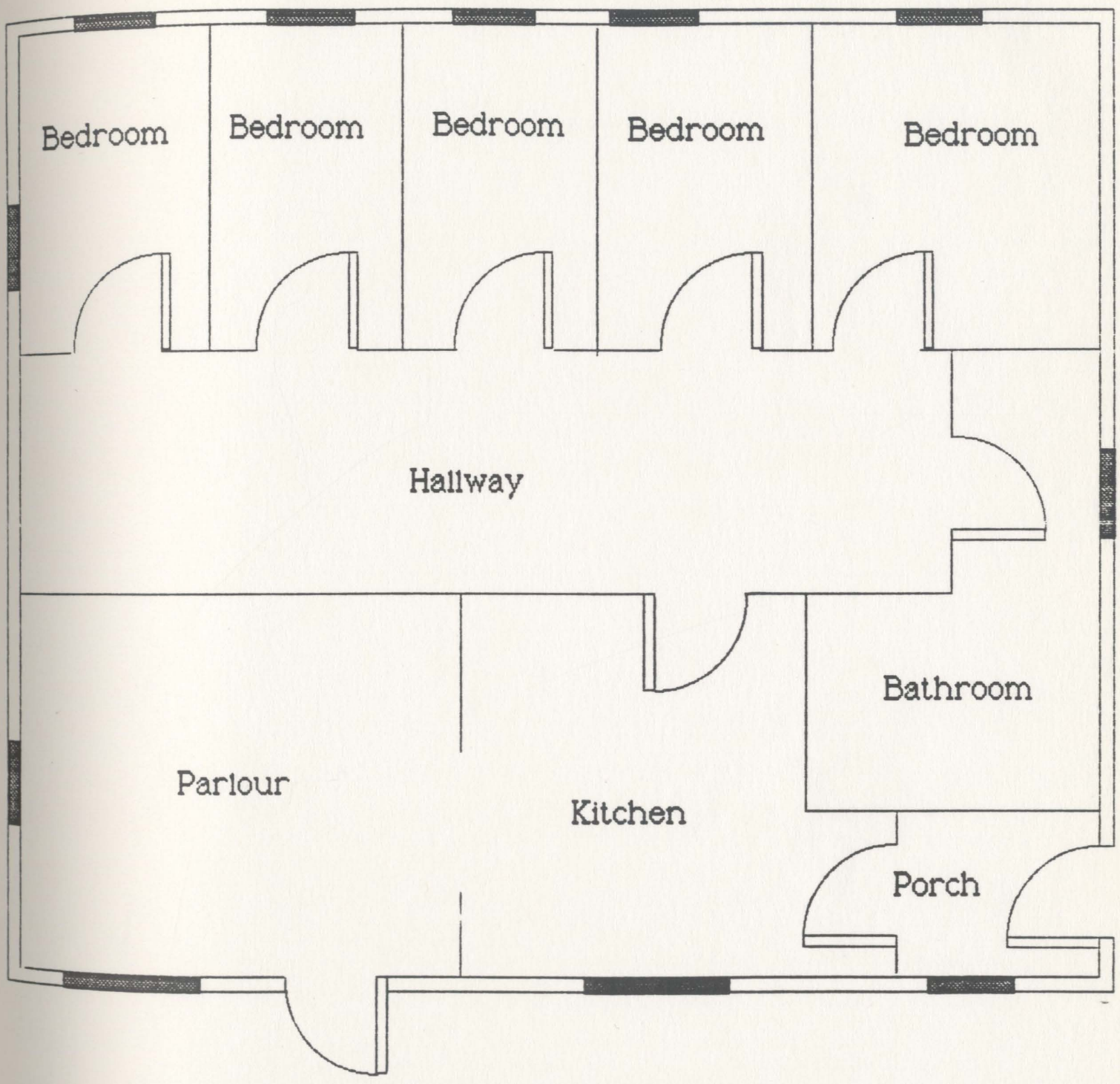
Memorial University of Newfoundland, Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1966), pp. 124-49.

Figure 126 Richard McIsaac's house, Tompkins.



Figure 127 Floor plan, Richard McIsaac's house.



Richard McIsaac's House
1974

1/4" = 1'

whenever there was a need for more space. Only recently has there been a tendency to create an actual living space in basements in the form of recreation rooms, laundry rooms or bedrooms.[18]

King claims that one of the main features of the American bungalow is that it is devoid of regional variation:

> the pattern books, the bungalow firms, the magazine articles and advertisements, the growing mobility of the population ensured that, after the first World War, the bungalow--and later the ranch house--became familiar all over the USA. Whilst Chicago's centre might be different from that of Philadelphia, the suburban bungalows of each were increasingly the same.[19]

Likewise, Latremouille argues that the bungalow form introduced by the Canadian Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation destroyed a longstanding Nova Scotia housing tradition:

> The final blow to regional architecture in Canada came with the publication of the

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[18] This area often includes a bar where mementos, souvenirs, trophies, and the like are displayed. Pat McIsaac's house, St. Andrews, has a bar in the basement complete with spinning wheels, trophies and various shell art objects ranging from lamps to lighthouses.

[19] King, p. 152.

> series, Small House Designs in 1949. These booklets presented plans for bungalows, storey-and-a-half, and two storey houses.The Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation distributed 160,000 copies of the series throughout the country in the first year of their publication.... By 1949 a housing tradition with a history of two hundred years of complex development had effectively come to an end in Nova Scotia. [20]

With Codroy Valley bungalows, in contrast, variation did occur at a number of levels. Bungalow dimensions and floor plans differed, as did the ways in which individuals decorated dwellings with exterior cosmetic details and interior ornamentation. But more importantly, Codroy Valley residents did not rely upon real estate companies or speculators for their bungalow forms; rather, the bungalow builders of this region cut their own wood, had it sawn at the local sawmills and, in most cases, built houses by themselves. Some assistance was provided by friends and neighbors, and some individuals were known as specialists in the construction of houses, outbuildings and churches. Nevertheless, the control remained solely in the hands of the local people.

Real estate firms and land speculators constructed bungalows for patrons or offered prefabricated factory-built bungalows for home owners in other Canadian towns, cities and

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[20] Latremouille, p. 87.

regions. However, this type of arrangement does not promote regional or individual variation. [21] Some Codroy residents did not have formal plans when constructing these dwellings, while others used patterns found in books and periodicals. It is difficult to discover the kinds of published materials which would have been in circulation throughout the Codroy Valley offering architectural ideas from this turn of the century period through to the 1950s. A superficial sense is obtained by wading through some of the magazines collected by one farmer--Fintan Downey of Great Codroy--which date from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. His collection includes religious magazines such as The Ave Maria, agricultural magazines such as Canadian Farmer, Good Farming Quarterly, The Goodyear Farm Yearbook, and The Taco Farm Yearbook, carpentry magazines such as Workbench, and The Family Handyman, and popular magazines such as The Atlantic Advocate, and The Family Herald. [22] Likewise, newspapers such as the Acadian Recorder, The Cape Breton Post Record, and The Boston Herald were found pasted to interior wallboards in

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[21] King, p. 152; Holdsworth, "Regional Distinctiveness," pp. 64-81; Diane Tye, "Workers Housing in Amherst," Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin, 11, No. 3 (1986),14-16.

[22] The magazines owned by Fintan Downey, Great Codroy, Codroy Valley have been deposited in the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archives. For a discussion of the influence of religious magazines on architecture see: Colleen McDannell, The Christian Home in America, 1840-1900 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 54-55.

many turn-of-the-century Codroy Valley dwellings as a base for wallpaper (Figure 128). The idea of the new bungalow form may well have derived from some of these published sources.

In contrast, the bungalow form may have been observed in other places by Codroy residents who, with the advent of the railroad, were beginning to travel more frequently to areas far away from the Codroy Valley. Some valley residents travelled to the west coast of Canada on the "harvest excursion" trains. Popular destinations for Codroy Valley travellers included Cape Breton Island and New England, where residents could visit friends and relatives who had already migrated to these districts in search of employment.[23]

Yet another source contributed to the development of the bungalow--the rise of tourism. Tourism has played an important role in the Codroy Valley since the late nineteenth century, when the region became a destination area for outside tourists. At a time when leisure travel was becoming more common in North America, wealthy tourists paid regular

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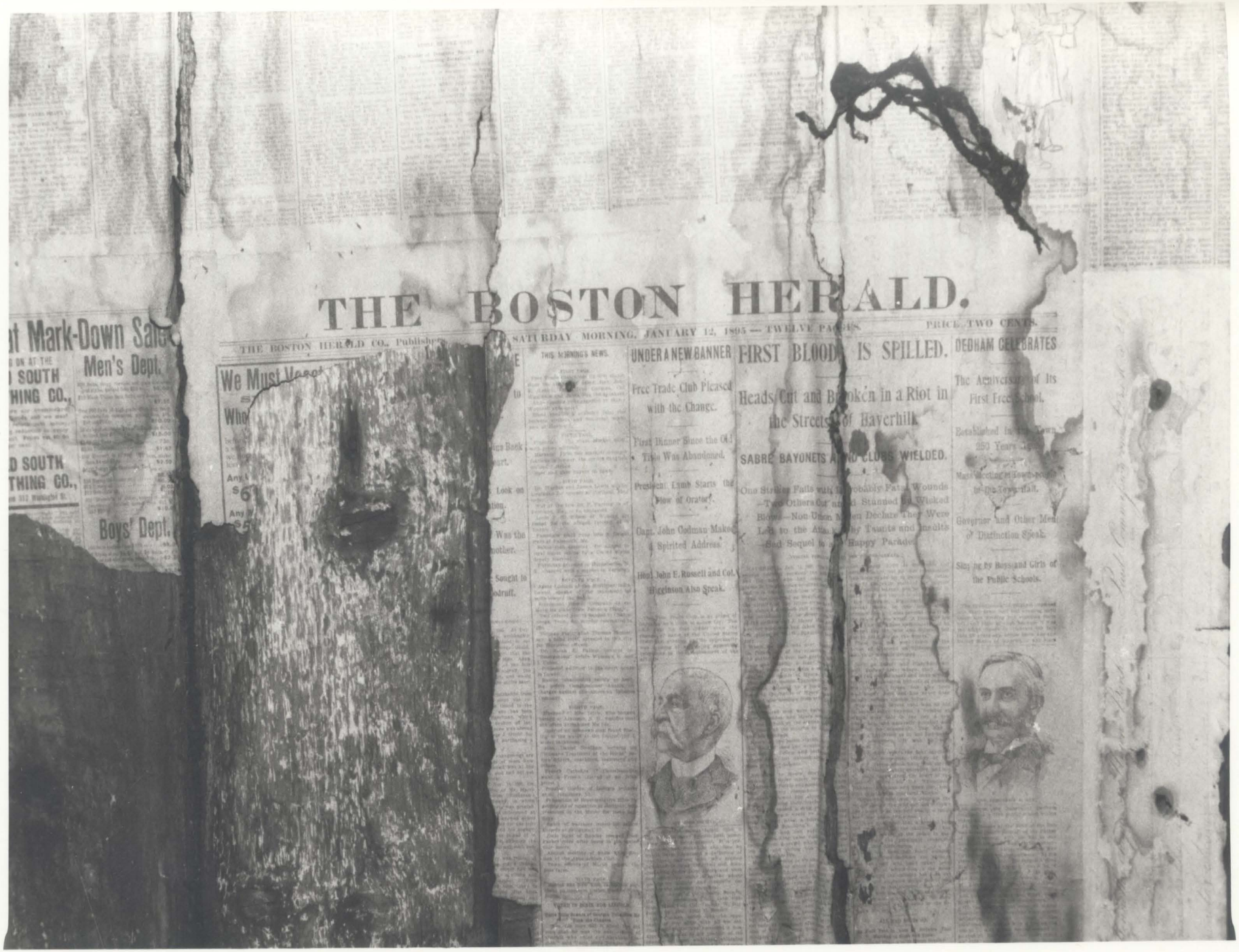
[23] For references to Codroy Valley residents travelling by train to other places outside the region see: Western Star, 11 November 1908; "Messrs. Hugh McInnis and Alex Ryan returned home last week from Sydney where they have been working most of the summer." Western Star, 23 December 1908; Western Star, 27 January 1909; Western Star, 1 June 1917; Western Star, 10 November 1920; Western Star, 22 November 1921. For a fictional description of the migration to New England from Atlantic Canada at this period see the novels: Margaret MacPhail, Loch Bras d'Or (Windsor: Lancelot Press, 1970); Margaret MacPhail, The Bride of Loch Bras d'Or (Windsor: Lancelot, n.d.); Margaret MacPhail, The Girl from Loch Bras d'Or (Windsor: Lancelot, 1973).

Figure 128 Copy of Boston Herald dating from 1895 pasted to the wall of Tommy Blanchard's house, now Angus Kettle's store, Searston.



THE BOSTON HERALD.

THE BOSTON HERALD CO., Publishers. SATURDAY MORNING, JANUARY 12, 1895 — TWELVE PAGES. PRICE TWO CENTS.

t Mark-Down Sale
ON AT THE
SOUTH
HING CO.,
Men's Dept.
D SOUTH
THING CO.,
Boys' Dept.

We Must Have
Who
Any
$6
Any
$5

THIS MORNING'S NEWS.

UNDER A NEW BANNER

Free Trade Club Pleased with the Change.

First Dinner Since the Old Title Was Abandoned.

President Lamb Starts the Flow of Oratory.

Capt. John Codman Makes a Spirited Address.

Hon. John E. Russell and Col. Higginson Also Speak.

FIRST BLOOD IS SPILLED.

Heads Cut and Broken in a Riot in the Streets of Haverhill.

SABRE BAYONETS AND CLUBS WIELDED.

DEDHAM CELEBRATES

The Anniversary of Its First Free School.

Established in [illegible] 250 Years Ago.

Mass Meeting in Town-room in the Town-hall.

Governor and Other Men of Distinction Speak.

Singing by Boys and Girls of the Public Schools.

visits to the region to fish for trout and salmon, hunt moose and caribou, and experience the wild outdoors in the picturesque valley nestled between the Anguille and Long Range mountains. A number of Codroy Valley families were able to make money on this tourist trade by providing accommodations, food, hospitality and guides for the visitors who were, in many cases, wealthy citizens from places such as Boston, New York, Halifax and St. John's. These visitors were primarily responsible for the introduction a sub-category of mass housing to the district--the tourist bungalow or cabin

Numerous small tourist cabins appeared throughout the valley, particularly in close proximity to some of the better known fishing spots and near the rivers, along the tracks of the railroad (Figures 129 and 130). These buildings were often given a rustic quality by the inclusion of stone chimneys and fireplaces, even though at this time architectural features such as these were not a part of the Codroy Valley building repertoire. Moreover, log construction was frequently employed in some of these buildings to add to the ambience of rusticity. Some tourist cabins are still being built and used at the present, although the contemporary ones do not use log construction techniques (Figure 131).

While these tourist bungalows or cabins became a part of the architectural landscape, a number of lodges catering to the tourist trade were also constructed, the best known being Afton house, in the community of Tompkins, operated by Myles

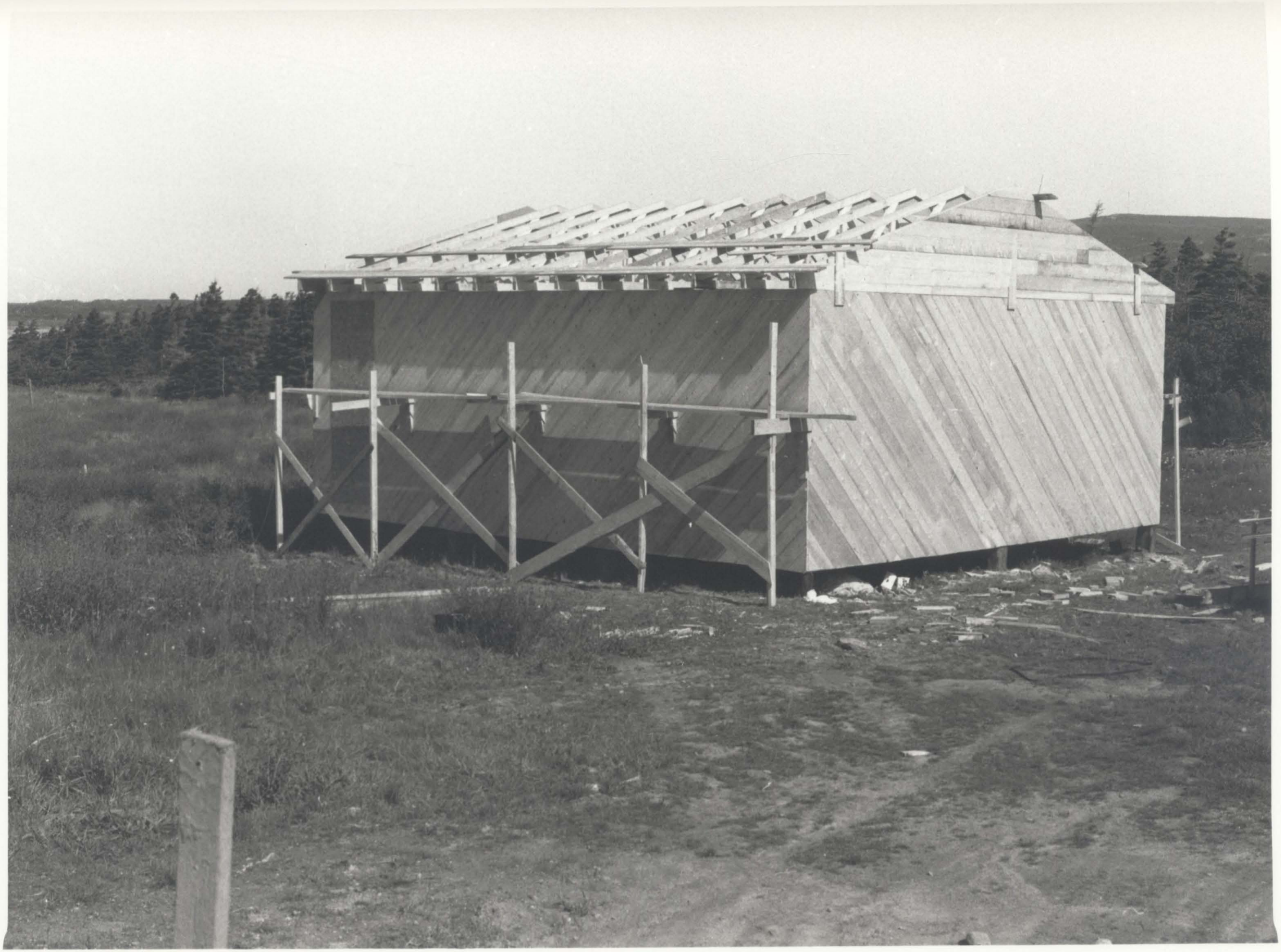
Figure 129 Tourist cabin in South Branch owned by the Tompkins brothers, the owners of Afton House tourist lodge. From Archie Francis McIsaac's photograph collection.



Figure 130 Remains of tourist cabin, South Branch, 1983.



Figure 131 Tourist Cabin being constructed along the Grand Codroy River, 1983.



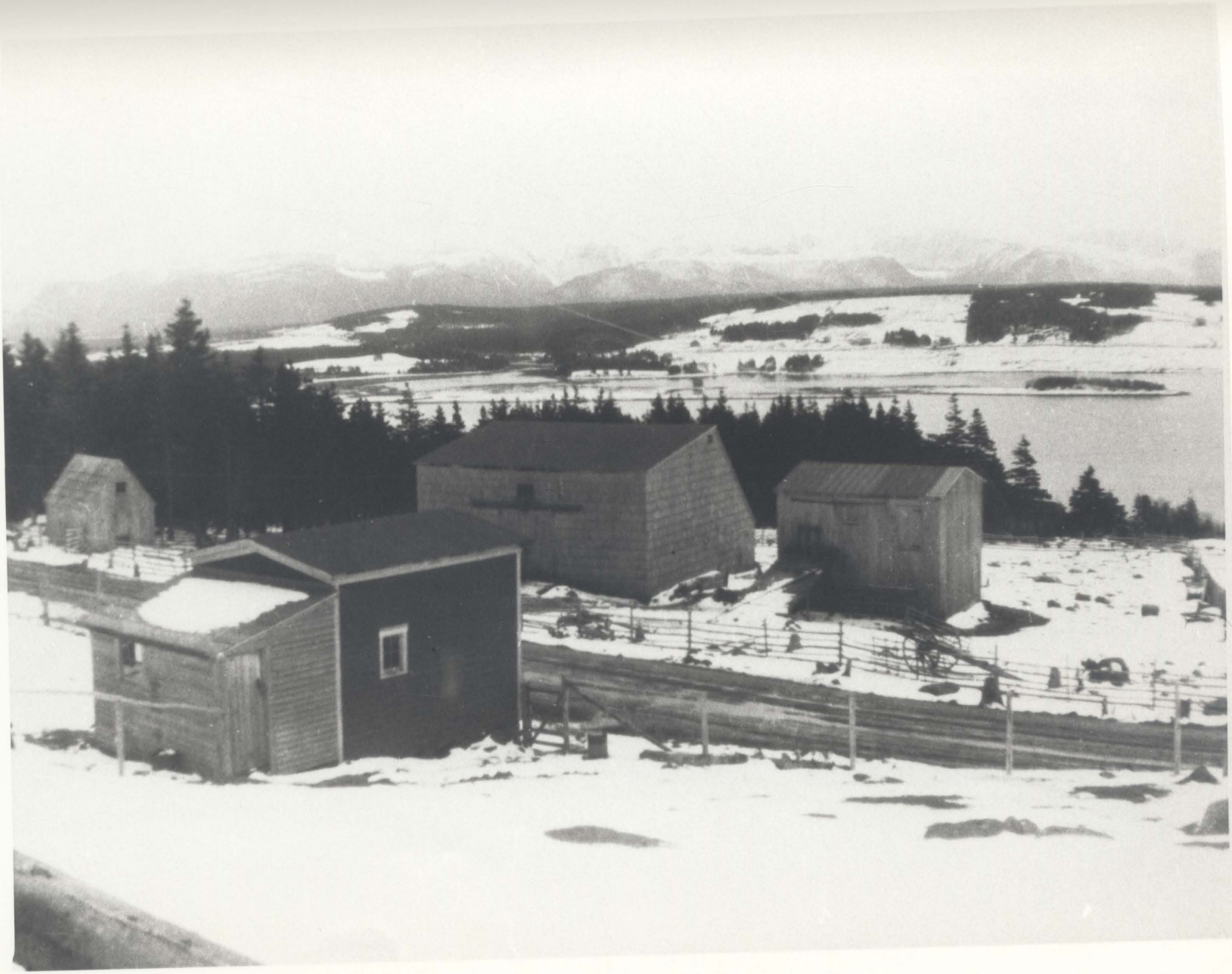
Tompkins. The tourist lodges were basically modified Codroy Valley homes; no new architectural types appeared to meet this new local need. Afton house was a large, two storey, biscuit box home, with a number of additions to accommodate paying guests. In fact, the tourist no doubt enjoyed the experience of living in a Codroy Valley home and having the opportunity to meet and talk with local residents in their own habitat. These places provided accommodations, and the hosts acted as local guides to take tourists to the well known hunting spots in the mountains and the salmon pools on the rivers. In a sense, these kinds of tourist experiences may be viewed as precursors to the bed and breakfast and Country Inn establishments, so popular in eastern Canada at the present.

In addition to encouraging local residents to open their homes to guests or to construct small tourist cabins, the tourist industry also introduced--or it may be more appropriate to say re-introduced--log construction techniques to the building repertoire of the region. Tourists, in their search for rusticity, wanted a symbol to help escape from the industrial world of the early twentieth century, a world of noise, crowding and increasing pollution. Log building was just the kind of technology needed to bring to mind a simpler way of life, a pioneer nostalgia, so to speak. Visitors could commune with nature in an area unaffected by industrialism, and could return to their log cabins after a day of fishing, hunting or exploring the river beds and nearby mountains.

Some Codroy Valley farmers found this architectural form could be readily employed not only for constructing tourist bungalows or cabins, but also for building their own outbuildings. There were two periods of construction for horizontal log buildings: the earliest period of settlement in the mid-nineteenth century, and the turn of the twentieth century. The building ideas in this first period were brought with the Codroy Valley settlers from Cape Breton Island; the ideas in the second period derived mainly from the outside tourists who began to visit the district at this time.

Mass housing influenced not only the dwellings of the district, but also some of the outbuildings. For example, another barn type, the bank barn, began to be built in the Codroy Valley by the 1930s. The two extant bank barns of the region were introduced at this time by Alban J. Downey, a farmer from Great Codroy (Figure 132). A draftsman with the Bowater Pulp and Paper Company in Corner Brook, and nephew of Alban J. Downey--Mike J.Downey--designed the bank barn for Alban in the 1930s. Common in other areas of North America, this type is said to have developed some of its unique features in the German areas of Pennsylvania. In fact, it is often referred to in the literature as the Pennsylvania bank barn. This barn type, however, was not readily accepted by Codroy Valley farmers, for only one other farmer in the valley, Frank O'Quinn from Searston, decided to copy this form for his main outbuilding. For the most part, the district's farmer chose the earlier log barns, the ubiquitous

Figure 132 View of Fintan Downey's farm, Great Codroy showing a bank barn.



frame English barns, and hay barracks to house their livestock, implements and hay.

This chapter has indicated that mass housing influenced both building form and technology in the Codroy Valley. A mass building technique--balloon framing--was used in both the flat and shallow pitched two storey houses, the bungalow forms, and the tourist cabins which began to appear at this time in the twentieth century. Even though the various one storey bungalow forms readily employed this construction technique, some Codroy Valley builders chose to re-use parts of older buildings in these newer forms. In fact, the whole concept of re-use is an extremely important part of the Codroy Valley vernacular building tradition. It is not uncommon to find an early twentieth century bungalow, with hand hewed floor joists and wall plates, that were re-used from earlier Codroy Valley structures.

This chapter has also shown that the turn-of-the-century period brought new floorplans and styles to the Codroy Valley; houses were not only smaller, but were divided into more rooms. But not everyone followed this pattern, for some builders decided to retain the older derivation of the hall-parlour plan while building a pyramidal or "barrack roof" bungalow.

While numerous bungalow forms existed in North America at this period, Codroy Valley residents chose particular forms to suit their own needs. Two local bungalow types were

common: the gable entry form and the long side entrance form. Owners often built additions on these types when, for example, a family expanded, or when there was a real or perceived need for more space. The other major bungalow type in the region is the pyramidal roof or barrack roof form. While this form seems to be ubiquitous to North America at this time, Codroy Valley bungalows retained some of the older patterns by constructing root cellars along with large kitchens and parlours. Living rooms appeared in some of these forms but often functioned as the parlour did in earlier houses--as a place for special occasions. In essence, behaving in this way, Codroy Valley builders were preserving an older spatial pattern in a new house form. Central Mortgage and Housing bungalows, perpetuated by the Canadian federal government, likewise were adapted and altered to meet the needs of community members.

The vernacular architecture of the Codroy Valley was influenced greatly in the twentieth century by a mass housing tradition from outside the district. Even though people were geographically isolated, they were following some mainstream architectural trends. This shows that mass culture is all-pervasive, but it also reveals much about Codroy Valley people. They did not merely copy these forms; rather, residents selectively borrowed from this tradition, taking a few templates from it, and modifying these to suit their own requirements.

To this stage of the thesis the processes of historical

evolution have been clearly outlined. While it is necessary to understand these patterns of development, it is also important to assess some local contextual topics; they have, likewise, influenced the region's architecture. The Codroy Valley's local dialect of mass housing provokes the conclusion that modification is an important part in the process of personalizing the buildings which people live in and use. It is in the modifications that one can see some of the desires and attitudes of people. The next chapter, therefore, addresses the way in which Codroy Valley buildings have been altered, changed, converted, and moved with the passage of time, and examines why this is an important part of the vernacular building tradition of the region.

Chapter 6 - House Movings and Alterations: Stability and Change in the Codroy Valley Landscape

While driving along the banks of the Grand Codroy River on a sunny August afternoon, the visitor gets a magnificent view of the Long Range and Anguille mountains, the winding Codroy River, and the many farms which dot the shoreline and road. He will be able to delineate the different architectural types ranging from nineteenth century one and one-half storey Cape Cod variants to local bungalows, from horizontal log sheep barns to classic English barns, and from hay barracks to small community general stores. Much about the Codroy Valley's past and present is revealed in these artifacts, but a closer inspection indicates that, with the passage of time, these structures have been continuously modified, converted and altered.

A quick windshield survey on a traverse through the valley provides the researcher with an impression of buildings in the landscape, but this initial viewing can lead to inaccurate conclusions if the investigator is unfamiliar with local ways of altering and changing buildings. Issues such as technological and stylistic change are important to vernacular architecture scholars, and a number of recent studies have been devoted to these concerns.[1] Nevertheless,

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[1] The introduction to a recent collection of essays on vernacular architecture states: "It is tempting to people steeped in the rapidly shifting fashions of modern popular culture to think of vernacular architecture, particularly in

many of our reconstructed and preserved buildings--the merchant's houses, the churches, the homes of our political leaders--often appear as if untouched by the passage of time and the concomitant changes in the economy, fashion and fad. Seldom does one find added kitchen wings, changes to roof lines, rear room additions, or second or third storeys added to original structures. Instead, buildings often appear to be in the same condition as when originally built. In a recent study of Ontario housing, Thomas McIlwraith points out that, in many of our reconstructed buildings, "the implication is that change occurred by discrete steps, and that entire units were constructed all at once, never again to be altered by more than a different coat of paint." [2] My fieldwork in the

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its traditional forms , as changeless. An emphasis on the enduring as indicative of deeply held values leads us at times to ignore change, or to treat it as unimportant." Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, ed. Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1986), p. xx. Within this collection there are a number of essays which focus on the crucial issue of change: Henry Glassie, "Eighteenth Century Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Building," pp. 394-425; Thomas C. Hubka, "Just Folks Designing: Vernacular Designers and the Generation of Form," pp. 426-432. See also: Thomas C. Hubka, Big House, Little House, Back House Barn (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1985); Peter J. Hugil, "Houses in Cazenovia: The Effects of Time and Class." Landscape, 24, No. 2 (1980), 10-15; David Lowenthal, "Age and Artifact: Dilemmas of Appreciation." in The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes ed. Donald W. Meinig (New York: W.W. Norton, 1980), pp. 103-29.

[2] Thomas F. McIlwraith, "Altered Buildings: Another Way of Looking at the Ontario Landscape," Ontario History, 75, (1983), 111.

Codroy Valley indicates that many buildings have had major and minor alterations, and some have been moved varying distances within Codroy Valley communities. This chapter focuses on the ways in which buildings were and still are altered, converted, and even moved in the Codroy Valley, an issue seldom explored in most architecture studies. This will give an insight into how a local building tradition operates, how an architectural landscape changes with time, and why this kind of traditional activity occurs in a place such as the Codroy Valley.

My fieldwork in 1982 and 1983 revealed that more than twenty buildings were moved from one location to another (Figure 133). Some were moved within the boundaries of a farmer's land, some within the limits of a community, and yet others, from one community to another, for various reasons.

These buildings were moved in a variety of ways using a diversity of power sources. From the mid to late nineteenth century, oxen were frequently used for a variety of tasks on the farm, as well as for moving buildings. Today, the yokes which hang in many of the region's unused barns are the only reminders of these once common animals (Figure 134). With the advent of horse-drawn farm machinery in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, horses were being used more as farm animals, and some were regularly used for the moving of buildings. If farm animals were unavailable, large groups of men provided the power source for a house moving. With the introduction of road graders, tractors, and flatbed trucks by

Figure 133 Map of House Movings. Codroy Valley.

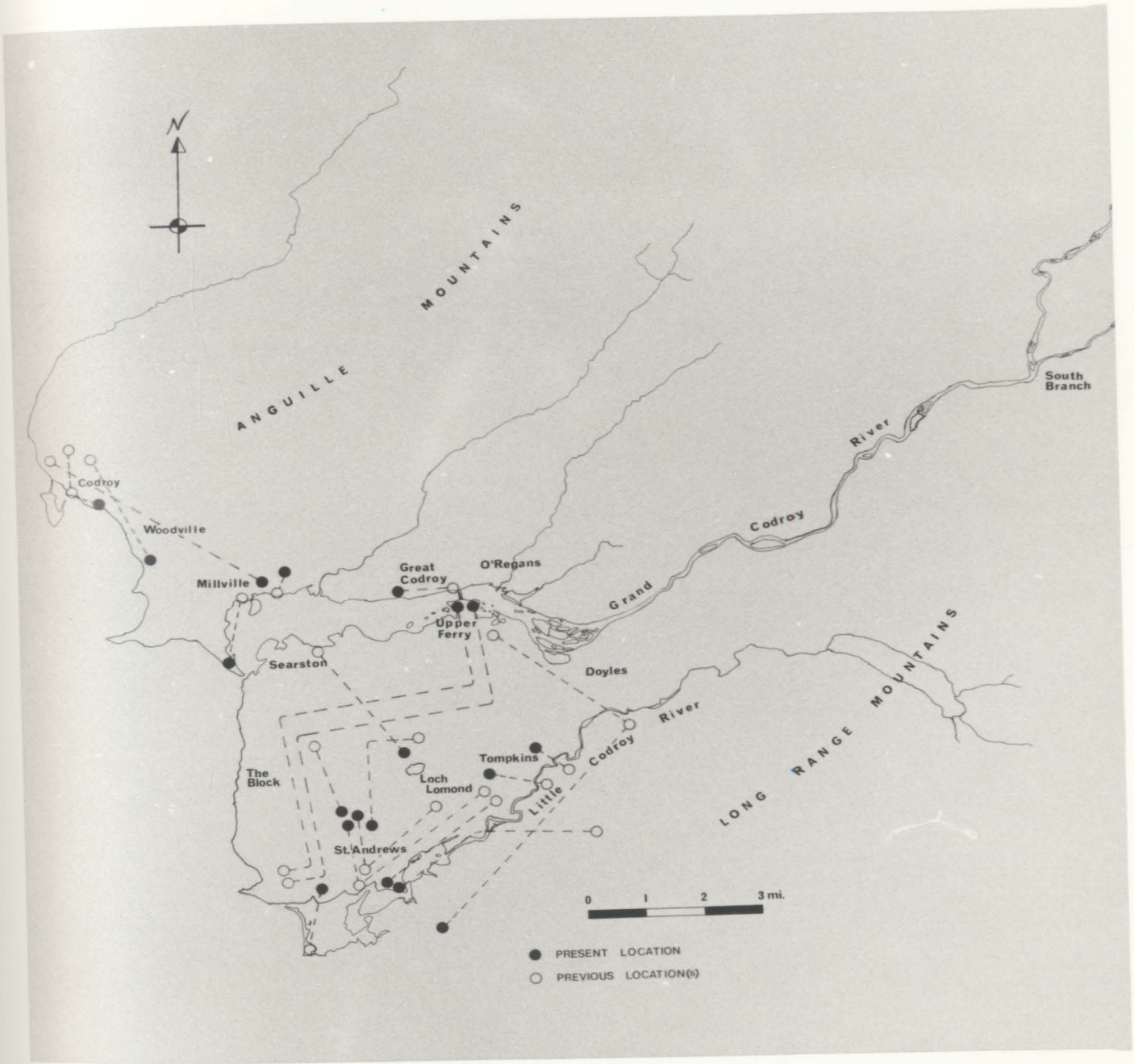
N
ANGUILLE MOUNTAINS
Codroy
Woodville
Millville
Great Codroy
O'Regans
Upper Ferry
Searston
Doyles
Grand Codroy River
South Branch
Tompkins
The Block
Loch Lomond
Little Codroy River
St. Andrews
LONG RANGE MOUNTAINS
0 1 2 3 mi.
PRESENT LOCATION
PREVIOUS LOCATION(S)

Figure 156 Ox Yoke, Allan MacArthur farm, Upper Ferry, 1982.



the 1940s, 50s and 60s, new power sources were used when moving buildings (Figure 135). Neil McIsaac described to me how a road grader, "skids," and "rollers," were used to haul his father's house about a mile in the community of Tompkins in 1934. First, the house was jacked up from its stone foundation, and large logs as long as the house were cut to be used as "skids" or "runners," which were wedged under and spiked to the building. After this preparation, "rollers" or green cut logs, were placed on the ground in front of the house to help move the "runners" along. As Neil commented:

> Spruce or var [fir]...was the real thing because you'd want to get something slippery, well the shores or runners would run on it. And the runners, once you'd get it going the runners would slide right along it. And you had to keep them shores going ahead, according to the house. It would go off, a bunch of men picking them up and keeping them ahead. [3]

In this particular house moving, a horse-drawn road grader with a cable attached to the runners by spikes provided the power for the move. These events were often large community gatherings, as important on a local scale as millings,

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[3] MUNFLA, MacKinnon Codroy Valley Architecture Collection.

Figure 135 Flat bed trailer being used in the moving of a building from St. Andrews to Upper Ferry.



spinnings, house or barn raisings or wood hauling frolics. [4] While men were busy nailing spikes, putting rollers in place, attaching cables and watching along with the children, women were preparing a large meal for the participants. As Neil explained:

> You had to prepare for a big dinner and there was liquor involved too. You'd kill a lamb and have it all, everything that goes with it, and after supper that lamb would be gone, there'd be none of it left.[5]

The food was often prepared in the field during the move, or within the house, as the building was being readied for its new location.

Buildings were hauled not only in springtime but also in winter. It was easier to haul houses and barns on the frozen rivers, which often became main valley roadways at this time, than on the muddy roads or rough terrain. When men hauled houses without the aid of tractors or animals, they often employed what are locally referred to as "stumpers" (Figure 136). Reverend Michael J. Howley, on a trip through the

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[4] Margaret Bennett Knight, "A Codroy Valley Milling Frolic," in Folklore Studies in Honour of Herbert Halpert: A Festschrift, Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Publication Series, Bibliographic and Special Series, No. 7, ed. Kenneth Goldstein and Neil Rosenberg (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1980), pp. 99-110.

[5] MUNFLA, MacKinnon Codroy Valley Architecture Collection.

Figure 136 Stumper owned by Nicholas Luedee, Loch Lomond.



Codroy Valley in 1881, observed a stumping machine : "If this farming is carried on to a large extent, the stumps are extracted by a stumping machine at a cost of about 10 or 15 shillings per days hire." [6] Mainly used for clearing land, a stumper also works well in moving large objects such as houses or barns. Nicholas Luedee's stumper, shown in Figure 136, was manufactured by the W. Smith Grubber Company from La Crescent, Minnesota, and although there is no date on the object, oral accounts record its use back at least to the turn of the twentieth century.[7] It works by inserting a pole into the stumper and having a large number of men push on the pole, which, in turn, causes the cable to tighten, moving the building along.

The house moving tradition is not unique to the Codroy Valley. In fact, house movings were prevalent not only in other parts of Newfoundland but also in the areas of Cape

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[6] Reverend M.J. Howley, "Reminiscences of a Trip to the Western Shore of Newfoundland," Terra Nova Advocate, 9 February 1882, p. 4.

[7] An Ontario farm yearbook from 1944 obtained from Great Codroy farmer, Fintan Downey, advertises a stumper: "Taco Big Giant Stump Puller, two to four men with an average team can pull up to a hundred stumps a day according to size, condition, and size of lumber. They do a far better job than explosives. They do not disturb the soil to any great extent, neither do they endanger the life of the operator. The work is thoroughly and safely done at a fraction of the cost. Designed for pulling stumps up to 30 inches in diameter, supplied with twelve feet of 3/4 inch rope and 100 feet of 3/4 inch pulling cable; weight, 560 pounds." The Taco Farm Yearbook for 1944 (Orilla, Ontario: Otaco Limited, 1944), p. 67.

Breton Island from where Codroy Valley emigrants migrated.[8] Moreover, there is also evidence of a similar barn moving tradition in areas of Quebec, Ontario, Pennsylvania and Maine.[9] In Pennsylvania, Howard Acree, a local innovator from a coal-mining community "paid $100.00 for his coaltown house" in the early years of the twentieth century, "which he numbered board by board, dismantled, and transported with a team and wagon to its present site." [10] Likewise, Victor Konrad and Michael Chaney concluded from a study of Madawaska Twin barns: "Considerable barn moving was the rule throughout

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[8] See: Aubrey Tizzard, On Sloping Ground:Reminiscences of Outport Life in Notre Dame Bay, Newfoundland, Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Publications, Community Studies No. 2, ed. John D.A. Widdowson (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1979), pp. 214-17; for two interviews discussing house moving in Cape Breton Island see: "Dan Alex MacLeod: 'I Moved Houses,'" Cape Breton's Magazine, No.35 (1984), pp. 13-19; "A Visit With Mary and William Crowdis," Cape Breton's Magazine, No. 30 (1981), pp. 1, 31-35; for a discussion of a late eighteenth century house that was stolen and moved see: Bernard L. Herman, "Architectural Renewal and the Maintenance of Customary Relationships," Material Culture, 19, No. 2-3 (1987), 85-99.

[9] See: McIlwraith, "Altered Buildings," p. 116. McIlwraith points out that barns often defy classification by style and they "are among the most altered buildings in the countryside." p. 20. For a study discussing the moving of barns see: Victor Konrad and Michael Chaney,"Madawaska Twin Barn," Journal of Cultural Geography, 5, No. 1 (1984), 64-75. See also: Thomas Hubka, Big House.

[10] Charles Martin, "Howard Acree's Chimney: The Dilemma of Innovation," Pioneer America, 15, No. 1 (1983), 40.

late nineteenth and early twentieth century Maine." [11] Thomas Hubka analyzed the connected farm buildings of New England, and pointed out that the moving of structures was a common activity: "The frequency of moving major domestic and agricultural buildings in 18th and 19th century New England is staggering. When the history of building movement in a particular New England town is accurately recorded, as in the towns of Fryeburg and Cornish, Maine, it appears as if the entire town was constantly being moved about." [12]

It is misleading to think that this house moving tradition is specific to late nineteenth and early twentieth century North America; in fact, it was common in other cultures and countries for centuries. Richard Gough, in his description of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century English village of Myddle, reveals that architectural alteration was very much a part of that community:

> Richard Maddocks was a carpenter by trade, and an ingenious workman, but he was very slow, or as some said idle, so that few men employed him, and therefore he left his trade and turned carrier; but the death of an old horse broke him. He pulled down the barn which was at his house over against the litch gates, and set it up for a dwelling house (on a piece of ground

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[11] Konrad and Chaney," Madawaska Twin Barn," p. 68.

[12] Hubka, Big House, p. 139.

> that belonged to his tenement)
> at the foot of Myddle hill,
> near Pembrooke's gate, and
> there he sold ale.... [13]

George Ewart Evans, the English folklife scholar, discusses the system of marking used in the framing of a house and barn, making them easy to reassemble if necessary. He also points out that timber framed houses were often moved in the Suffolk district.[14] Likewise, an anthropologist examined the mobility of residents and residences in the island of Vanuatu, and discovered that movings and the conversion of buildings frequently occurred.[15]

Various scholars have offered reasons why activities such as alterations and house movings occur. A recent study of 18th century Pennsylvania German houses, for example, concluded that movings and alterations happened "at the junctures when the farm changed hands and the new generation assumed control." [16] Michael Owen Jones examined re-dos, add-ons, tear-downs, conversions and "move-ons" in a study of

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[13] Richard Gough, The History of Myddle (1706; London: MacDonald Futura Publishers, 1981), p. 95.

[14] George Ewart Evans, The Pattern Under the Plough (London: Faber and Faber, 1971), p 33.

[15] Margaret C. Rodman, "Moving Houses: Residential Mobility and the Mobility of Residences in Longana, Vanuatu," American Anthropologist, 87 (1985), 56-72.

[16] Yvonne J. Milspaw, "Reshaping Tradition: Changes to Pennsylvania German Folk Houses," Pioneer America, 15, No. 2 (1983), 71.

Los Angeles housing and pointed out that modifications and alterations involve tradition: "through the imitation or repetition of forms, design elements, materials, construction techniques--which people become aware of largely through oral communication and face-to-face interaction among friends, colleagues and acquaintances--fixxer uppers exhibit continuities and consistencies in human behavior." [17] Some of the reasons he cites for altering and moving include: to accommodate changing physical needs for more or different kinds of space, to make or save money, to re-establish a personal sense of self-worth, to maintain a sense of authority and degree of control over oneself and one's possessions, to attain intellectual and sensory goals, to actualize the self through symbolic statements, and to provide a basis for interaction and communication. [18]

These reasons do help to explain some of the motivations behind the moving and altering of buildings, but there are also some unique local explanations. A reason often cited by present-day Codroy Valley farmers is an environmental one. The southeast winds often blow through this district at over one hundred miles per hour and, for some people, the decision to move a dwelling from one location to another is

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[17] Michael Owen Jones, "L.A. Add-ons and Re-dos: Renovation in Folk Art and Architectural Design," in Perspectives on American Folk Art, ed. Ian M.G. Quimby and Scott T. Swank (New York: W.W. Norton, 1980), p. 328.

[18] Jones, pp. 331-37.

precipitated by a particularly bad storm or disastrous situation caused by extremely violent winds. Numerous oral and newspaper accounts exist, describing the damage done to various houses during storms. For example, in one wild December 1924 gale:

> the wind was driven with awful velocity wrecking the beautiful house of Mr. Sears Tompkins. The structure, a ten room building, was lifted clear from its concrete foundation ,carried clear over a fence striking into a pasture where it tore up several feet of earth. About this time the wind seemed to freshen, rolling the building over until it came in contact with an old green house, demolishing it and smashing it into smithereens, the last vestige of the former beautiful edifice. There was not a single thing left intact about the building except a doll's cradle, owned by one of the daughters of Mrs. Tompkins, and the front door of the house.[19]

A disastrous storm such as this provided the impetus for this particular farmer to rebuild his home in a different location. Chimneys and roofs of houses were often damaged by the high southeast winds, and various Codroy Valley buildings were blown down. [20] In 1933, the Roman Catholic chapel in the

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[19] "Terrific Gale Hits Little River," Western Star, 24 December 1924, p.1.

[20] For example, a report in the newspaper indicates that the chimney of the postal telegraph office in St. Andrews was blown down in 1926. Western Star, 27 January 1926. Another report in 1925 questions the validity of putting a road near Tompkins because, "All the old settlers that we have

nearby community of Highlands was blown down, and in the mid-1880s the frame for the Anglican church in Codroy was destroyed:

> A few years ago they went to work with a will, relying chiefly on their own exertions and on a promise from that noble and venerable Society for promoting Christian knowledge, which has already helped so bountifully in Newfoundland, after much labor and expense the frame was erected, but a gale of wind striking it before it was properly secured reduced it to ruin....[21]

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consulted say that the closer that you get to the mountains the more dangerous the south and southeast winds are.... It is a common occurrence to see water spouts going up in the air from ponds near the mountains where the present survey is...." Western Star, 23 December 1925. A newspaper report in 1909 mentions some buildings which were blown over: "Quite a storm raged here last week but little damage resulted with the exception of a few small buildings blowing over which can easily be placed in position again." Western Star, 10 March 1909, p.2.

[21] "Gale at Highlands," Western Star, 15 February 1933, p. 3; Evening Mercury, 22 December 1888, p. 4. "A number of fires are also said to have been fanned by the gale force winds of the district. One of the more memorable fires in living memory is the burning of the first St. Anne's church in Searston on September 22, 1930. After the spire was struck by lightning, there was a great attempt to extinguish the flames, but due to the high winds, this attempt was unsuccessful," Western Star, 24 September 1930, p. 3. The glebe house next to this church, used by Reverend Monsignor Thomas Sears, was also burned during a heavy wind in 1884: "The arrival of the Steamer Curlew has brought some particulars of the deplorable loss suffered by Monsignor Sears in the burning of his splendid house. This mansion which, after his 20 years of missionary labor, he had succeeding in erecting, was a truly elegant structure, neat

Codroy Valley residents may well have been influenced by seeing the result of this extreme wind and may have proceeded to move to an area perceived to be a less dangerous location. Thus, we do see at least five moves from the south side of the Little River--the area closest to the base of the Long Range mountains--where the high winds are said to funnel down from the southeast, creating havoc in the Codroy Valley. At the present, it is common for tractor trailers to stop at a gasoline station or motel in this particular district of the Codroy Valley, to wait until the heavy winds subside before travelling the highway to Port Aux Basques. Moreover, numerous accounts exist of trucks being blown off the highway and trains being blown from the tracks in this district and in the nearby community of Wreck House.[22] The builder of one house in a particularly windy area developed a long, sloping roof on his two-thirds Georgian house, offering less resistance to the high winds (See Figures 90, 91, and 92). While the facade of the house faces the Radio Range Road in St. Andrews, the rear of the dwelling faces the southeast and

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in design and ample in accommodation. The fire was caused by the igniting of a mattress placed to air before the kitchen fire...." Evening Telegram, 24 June 1888, p.5. After the fire, Reverend Sears had to abide in the old glebe house, which at this date, was being used as a barn.

[22] For a description of the wild winds in this area see: Michael MacKenzie, "Lauchie MacDougall: The Wreck House Human Wind Gauge," in Remember the Time... True Stories Old and New (Grand Falls, Newfoundland: Robinson, Blackmore Printing, 1981), pp. 71-81.

the sloping roof comes almost to ground level.

While this environmental reason is plausible, there is another social reason. Much moving and rebuilding occurred at the end of the nineteenth and turn of the twentieth century, a time when there was great optimism for residents of both the Codroy Valley and Newfoundland's entire west coast. In the mid to late 1890s, the mining of coal began, roads improved, and--more importantly--the railroad was built. In addition to making cadastral surveys (See Figures 3 and 4) and leasing some of their granted land to Codroy farmers, the Reid Newfoundland Railway built train stations in the communities of South Branch, Doyles and St. Andrews. At least four buildings were moved to sites near the stations. These residents may have wanted to be closer to the train - the physical symbol of the outside world. People who moved closer to the stations assumed that these locations would be important centres for the valley, offering services such as general stores, post offices, churches, and community halls. In St. Andrews, where a station was located, by the turn of the twentieth century, a blacksmith shop, tourist Lodge and general store were operating, and a church and hall were constructed by 1919.[23] Before the building of the Church of the Precious Blood in 1919, St. Andrews residents were required to travel to Searston for their church services.

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[23] See for example: Western Star, 3 September 1913; Western Star, 28 March 1917.

South Branch, likewise, possessed a chapel, post office and a number of tourist cabins at the turn of the twentieth century.[24] The South Branch district was sparsely settled until the time when the train came through the region; many settlers from other Codroy Valley communities decided to move here to farm the unsettled land and to work in the coal mine operating at Coal Brook.[25] Many built new houses, and some may have moved buildings, although I have not, to date, documented any moves to this district. Doyles, another station location, became an important Codroy Valley distribution centre. Codroy Valley farmers from the north side of the Grand River were able to ship their produce from the station at Doyles, after crossing the river by ferry boat at the community of Upper Ferry.[26] By the 1970s, a carding mill, gasoline station, general store and grocery store were located in this district. By the 1980s, one of two provincial tourist campsites was situated in Doyles, near the Grand Codroy River, on the abandoned site of the Tom Doyle farm. While the train was a lure, these other services provided in

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[24] Western Star, 4 November 1908; Western Star, 2 June 1915; Western Star, 3 July 1907.

[25] For descriptions of the South Branch coal mining operations see: Western Star, 10 November 1920; Western Star, 2 February 1921; Western Star, 8 June 1921.

[26] This community is called Upper Ferry because it was one of the two ferry boat locations on the Grand River. The other ferry was located at the "Gut", Searston, and was referred to as "Lower Ferry." The present-day bridge crossing the river is located at Upper Ferry.

the communities also influenced the decision to move from one community to another

While the train opened new markets for Codroy Valley produce and cattle, it also brought the outside world to the region. Wealthy American sportsmen came at this time, to fish the plentiful trout and salmon in summer, hunt moose and caribou in winter, and to experience the rugged outdoors of Newfoundland.[27] These early tourists offered cash to Codroy Valley residents for serving as guides while a number of Codroy Valley residents constructed lodges, cabins and small hotels to accommodate these guests.

A third possible reason for house movings is a social one. Some farmers say buildings were moved because of animosities between neighbours. Paul Joseph O'Quinn, a former carpenter states, "When one fellow would fall out with his neighbour, well, he'd haul his house away, and then when he'd get good friends with him again, he'd haul it back." [28]

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[27] For a study of the Newfoundland Railway see: Frank Cramm, "The Construction of the Newfoundland Railway," M.A. Thesis Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1951; Robert G. Reid, owner of the Reid Newfoundland Company was awarded grants of Codroy Valley land when building the railway through the region in the 1890s. In turn, Mr. Reid sold the land to Codroy Valley residents for the sum of one dollar per lot to the people who had already been long settled on this land. The average grant is approximately 100 acres, but there are some who were granted as much as 137 acres and others who received only 36 acres. The land arbitration awards and the maps showing the various lots of Reid land can be examined at the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland, RG/17, 174/76, 1-560; Atlases 25-27.

[28] MUNFLA, MacKinnon Codroy Valley Architecture Collection.

Another explanation given for this phenomenon is that moving buildings was a way for farmers to relieve boredom in the slower times of the year. The winter time was indeed a slow period for the Codroy Valley farmer; once the wood was cut and stacked, buildings repaired, and preparations made for the next season, activities on the farm slowed down. It is in the winter when Codroy Valley farmers and their families were able to indulge in activities such as horse-racing on the river ice and evening card games--pursuits not able to be enjoyed at other times of year. It was at this time when many alterations of outbuildings and homes occurred.

But these explanations for movings--feuds with neighbours and boredom--may well be the rhetorical stance of present-day people, who are trying to comprehend and make sense of a distant past. The actual reasons for many of these moves are long forgotten, and these rhetorical statements in contemporary conversations help to provide a connection with past relatives and neighbours.

Furthermore, these comments may also demonstrate the esoteric-exoteric factor in folk tradition.[29] When these explanations are cited by residents of the Codroy Valley, they often refer to movings which happened in the nearby community of Codroy. The community of Codroy, a fishing community from where the Codroy Valley gets its name, is

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[29] William Hugh Jansen, "The Esoteric-Exoteric Factor in Folklore," in The Study of Folklore, ed. Alan Dundes (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 43-51.

situated close to the valley (about three miles from Millville), but is not considered to be a part of the Codroy Valley. First, the majority of Codroy's residents are Protestants, unlike the predominant Roman Catholic population of the Codroy Valley. Second, fishing was and still is the primary occupation in Codroy, whereas the majority of Valley residents trace their occupational roots to agriculture. These differences have helped to keep these two communities distinct. In conversations with Valley residents, I have occasionally heard disparaging remarks about residents of Codroy. A study of the region's marriage patterns reveals there were very few marriages between residents of Codroy and the Codroy Valley; instead, partners were found in other Codroy Valley sections, in south coast communities, or in other more eastern areas such as Bay St. George and Stephenville.[30] These explanations about house movings may well be a part of the whole complex of subtle ways in which one community develops its identity. These stories help to elucidate the distinctiveness between us and them; they are a way of reinforcing attitudes and behaviors.

A marriage or a death were yet other reasons for a house moving. Tom Luedee's house, for example, was moved from

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30 Rosemary Ommer, "Highland Scots Migration to Southwestern Newfoundland," in The Peopling of Newfoundland: Essays in Historical Geography, ed. John Mannion, Social and Economic Papers, No. 8 (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1977), pp. 224-225, 229.

Tompkins to St. Andrews shortly after he was remarried; his old house in a new location, for him, symbolized a new beginning in a new relationship. His Roman Catholic faith also influenced the move in that he consciously relocated his house close to the St. Andrews Catholic church, so he and his wife could have easy church access when they grew older. Joseph Campbell, a resident of New Waterford, Cape Breton Island, but originally from the Codroy Valley, bought a house in 1953 when the owner died and moved it to Campbell's Creek (near Tompkins) to be used as a summer cabin.

Another important reason why movings might have occurred is that Codroy Valley residents, like many folk artists, continue to follow a tradition of reusing materials. Just as quilters or mat hookers readily employ older pieces of clothing to produce a new product, Codroy Valley people re-use older buildings for new purposes. For example, when the Searston post office was abandoned in 1950, Nicholas Luedee bought it and moved it to his farm in Loch Lomond (See Figure 141). Similarly, when the two houses owned by the Canadian federal government on the Range Road, St. Andrews, were abandoned in 1965, they were bought and moved to Upper Ferry, to be modified for a convent (See Figure 135).

The conversion of buildings or re-use of their components is a common form of Codroy Valley alteration. For example, Frank O'Quinn's storage barn in Searston is comparable in size to some of the sheep barns which dot the valley, but closer inspection reveals that it was once a

house, and oral evidence indicates it was probably Frank's grandfather's house, constructed shortly after the period of Codroy Valley migration (See Figure 58). According to family tradition, a log dwelling was constructed near the bank of the Grand Codroy River, and this frame dwelling was the second home, constructed a few years after the log house. This use of the older house as a barn when a new building was constructed was a common practice in the Codroy Valley. Other examples of this form of conversion include Ned Gale's barn in South Branch, once John MacNeil's house (Figures 137 and 138), Joe Gale's barn in Millville (Figure 139) and Bernard Benoit's barn in O'Regans (Figure 140). The Dan Gale house in O'Regan's has had major changes in its facade--the central doorway was replaced by windows in the process of transforming it from a dwelling to a hen house (See Figure 57). Likewise, Nicholas Luedee's present-day storage barn in Loch Lomond was once the post office in Searston, about five miles away. When it fell into disuse it was moved in the 1960s to Loch Lomond where it was initially used as a small house for Nicholas's newly married daughter (Figure 141). St. Anne's Church in Searston, built in 1931 under the direction of Monsignor Sears in order to replace an earlier church which had burned, was torn down in 1982 (Figures 142 and 143). Its salvageable parts were re-used in the construction of a new church in the northern peninsula of Newfoundland (Figures 144 and 145).

Converting older buildings to new purposes was common.

Figure 137 Ned Gale's barn which was once John MacNeil's house, South Branch.

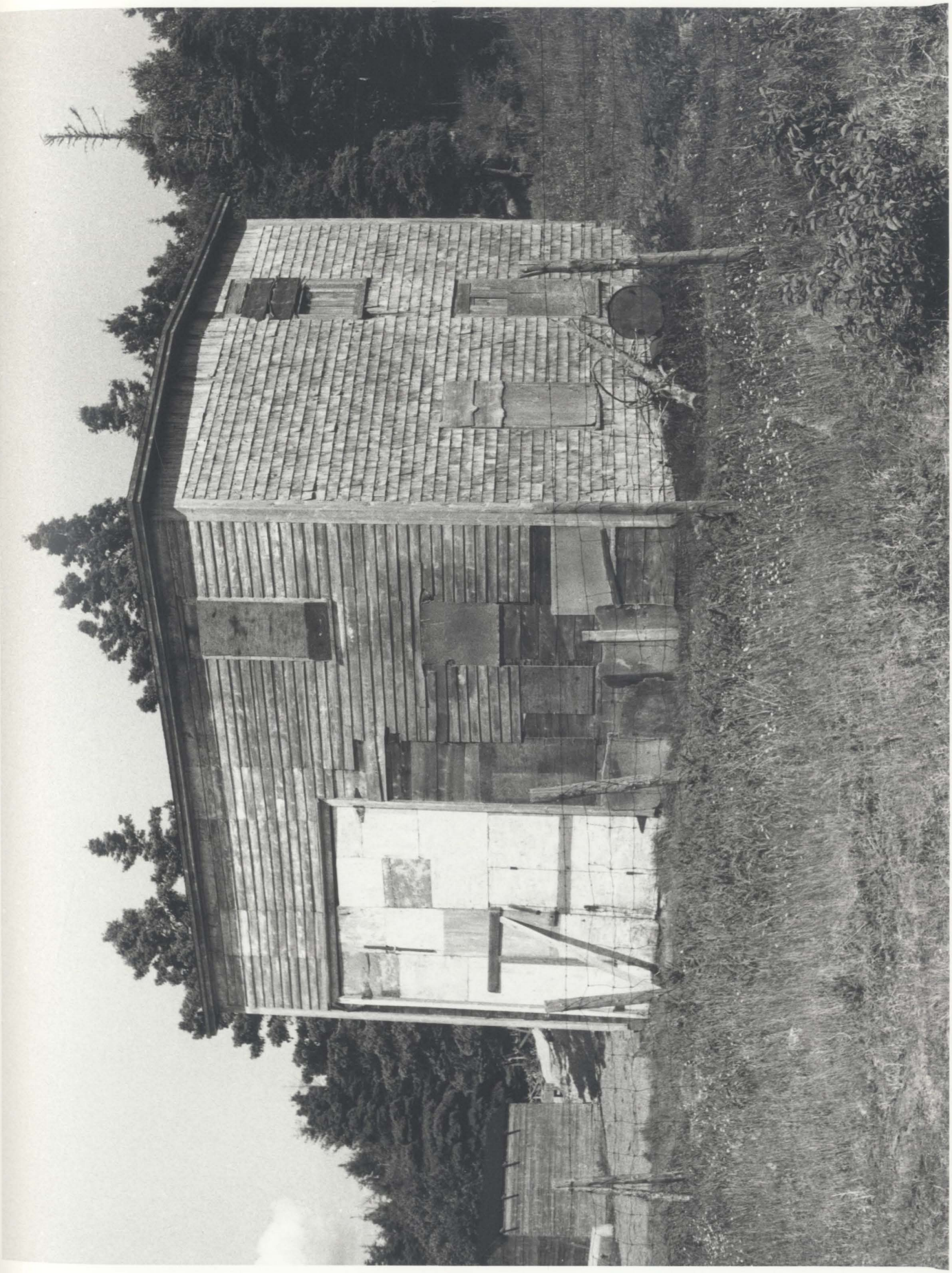

Figure 138 Interior, Ned Gale's barn, South Branch.



Figure 139 Joe Gale's barn, Millville.



Figure 140 Bernard Benoit's barn, O'Regans, once Bernard Benoit's home.



Figure 141 Nicholas Luedee's storage barn, once the post office in Searston.



Figure 142 St. Anne's church, Searston; from Annie Wall's photograph collection.


ST. ANNS CATHOLIC CHURCH
SEARSTON - NFLD
1931.

Figure 143 Men who helped to build St. Anne's church posing with Monsignor Thomas Sears.



Figure 144 St. Anne's church being torn down, 1982.



Figure 145 Men removing usable materials from St. Anne's church.



The addition of one or more rooms to the sides or rears of buildings was also a popular form of alteration. Kettle's store in Searston, once Tommy Blanchard's house, shows a multitude of additions to the side, rear and front (Figure 146). Front additions and porches were another popular form of alteration at the turn of the twentieth century. John Gale's house in Millville is an example of a one and one-half storey type, possessing a one and one-half storey high front porch, a feature also common in Cape Breton Island (See Figure 56). Holdsworth and Ennals, in their work on the vernacular architecture of the Maritimes, acknowledge that modifying and altering was common throughout the Maritimes: "later additions--typical features of all Maritime house types--frequently added one or more rooms to the side or rear."[31]

As with the moving of buildings, the enlargement of dwellings or, as Alan Gowans calls it, "the addition principle," was also common in other areas of the western world. [32] Alan Gailey points out that "whenever in Northern Ireland larger multi-storied vernacular houses are encountered, they almost invariably conform on their ground floors to the patterns represented by the smaller dwellings. Many were created by simple enlargement of the older houses,

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[31] Ennals and Holdsworth, "Vernacular Architecture," p. 91.

[32] See: Alan Gowans, Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1966), p.16.

Figure 146 Angus Kettle's store, Searston.


PEPSI
KETTLE'S
PEPSI
GROCERIES & CONFECTIONERY
AGENT
AGENT
IRVING
Searston

bedrooms being added above." [33] In contrast, one North American study points out that a late nineteenth century innovation to the repertoire of Pennsylvania builders was the inclusion of a kitchen ell by the end of the nineteenth century: "the add-a-house style became popular at this time... the Georgian-English notion of the integrity of the facade... is neither accepted nor considered." [34] This need by Codroy Valley farmers to create more space by adding to existing dwellings indicates a growing sense of individuality and a newly perceived need for private space which seemed to prevail throughout North America at this period.[35]

While additions were common, subtractions were yet another major form of Codroy Valley alteration. Smaller houses were the norm in the early years of the twentieth century because of factors such as rural depopulation, and the popularity of the one-storey bungalow form. Rather than build new houses, some Codroy Valley residents chose to cut down their older one and one-half and two storey houses, transforming them into one storey dwellings. William Roach's house in Searston, for example, was a one and one-half storey Cape Cod variant, built in 1902, before it was cut down in the 1940s, giving it a new height and roof (Figure 147; see

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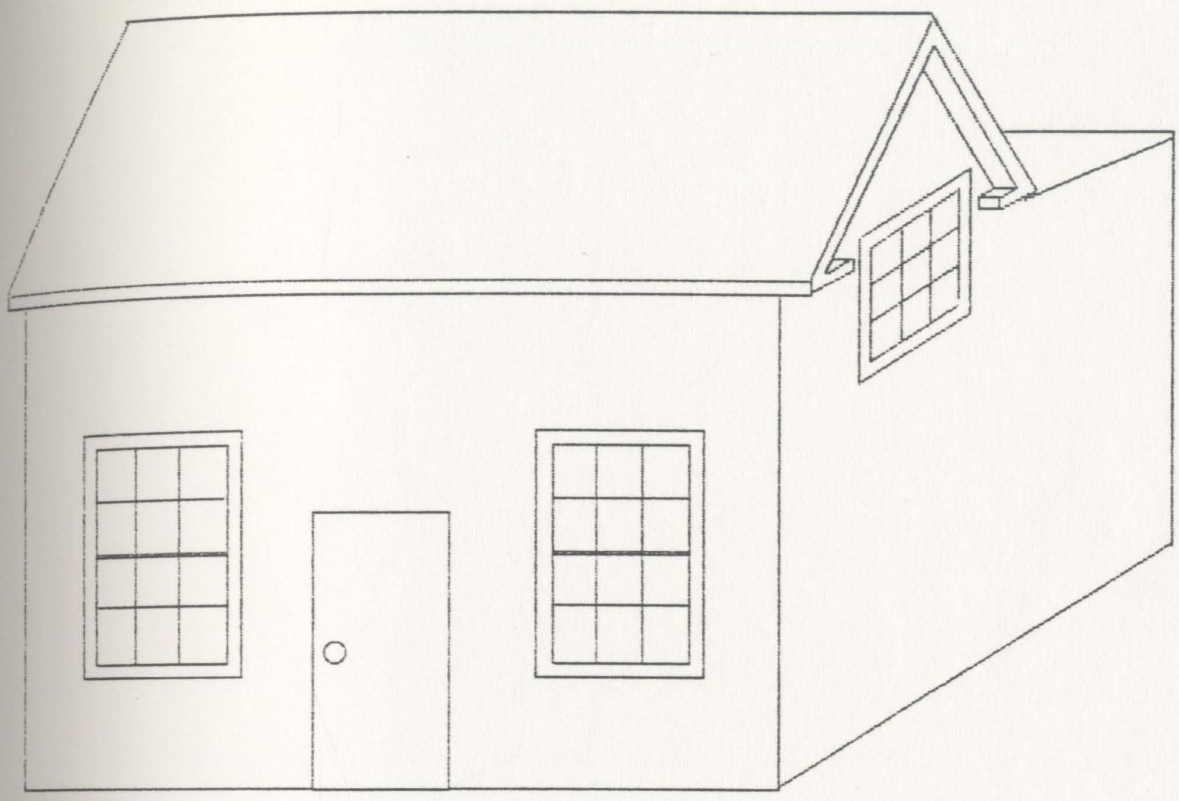
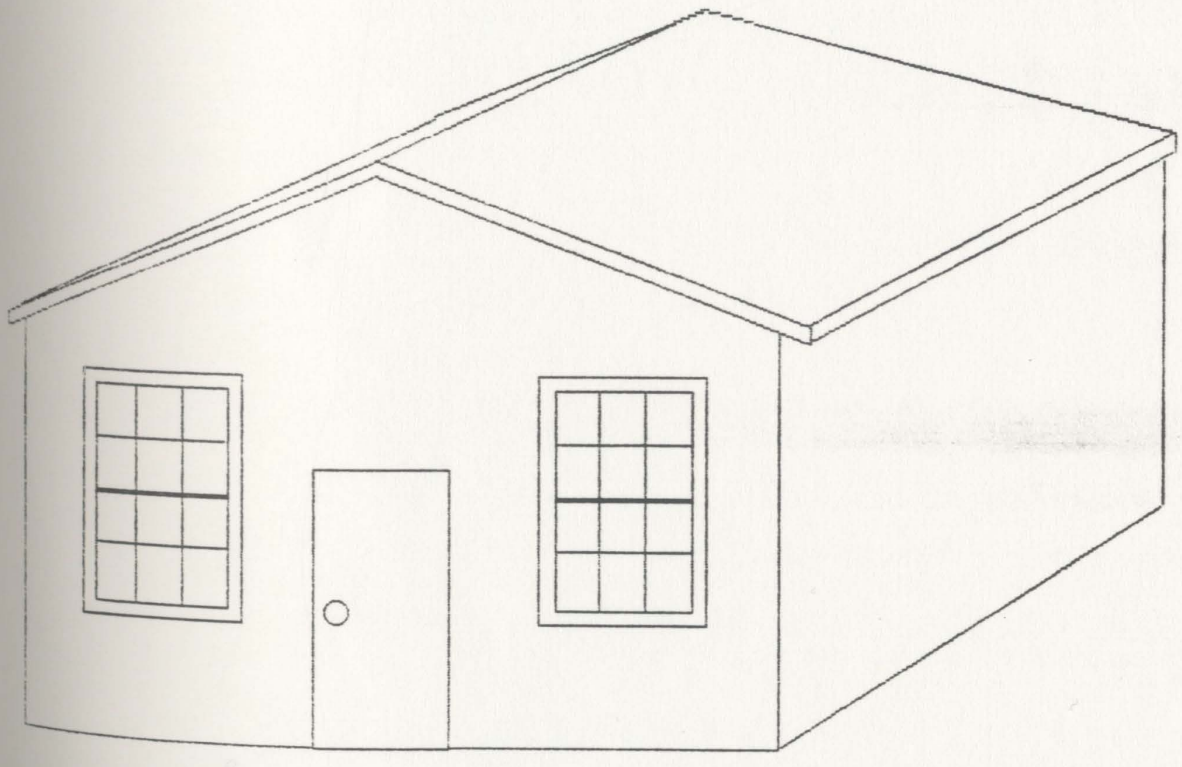
[33] Alan Gailey, Rural Houses of the North of Ireland (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1984), p. 8.

[34] Milspaw, "Reshaping," p. 80.

[35] Milspaw, "Reshaping," p. 79.

Figure 147 Drawing showing William Roach's house before and after renovations. Top sketch (before alterations); bottom sketch (after alterations).

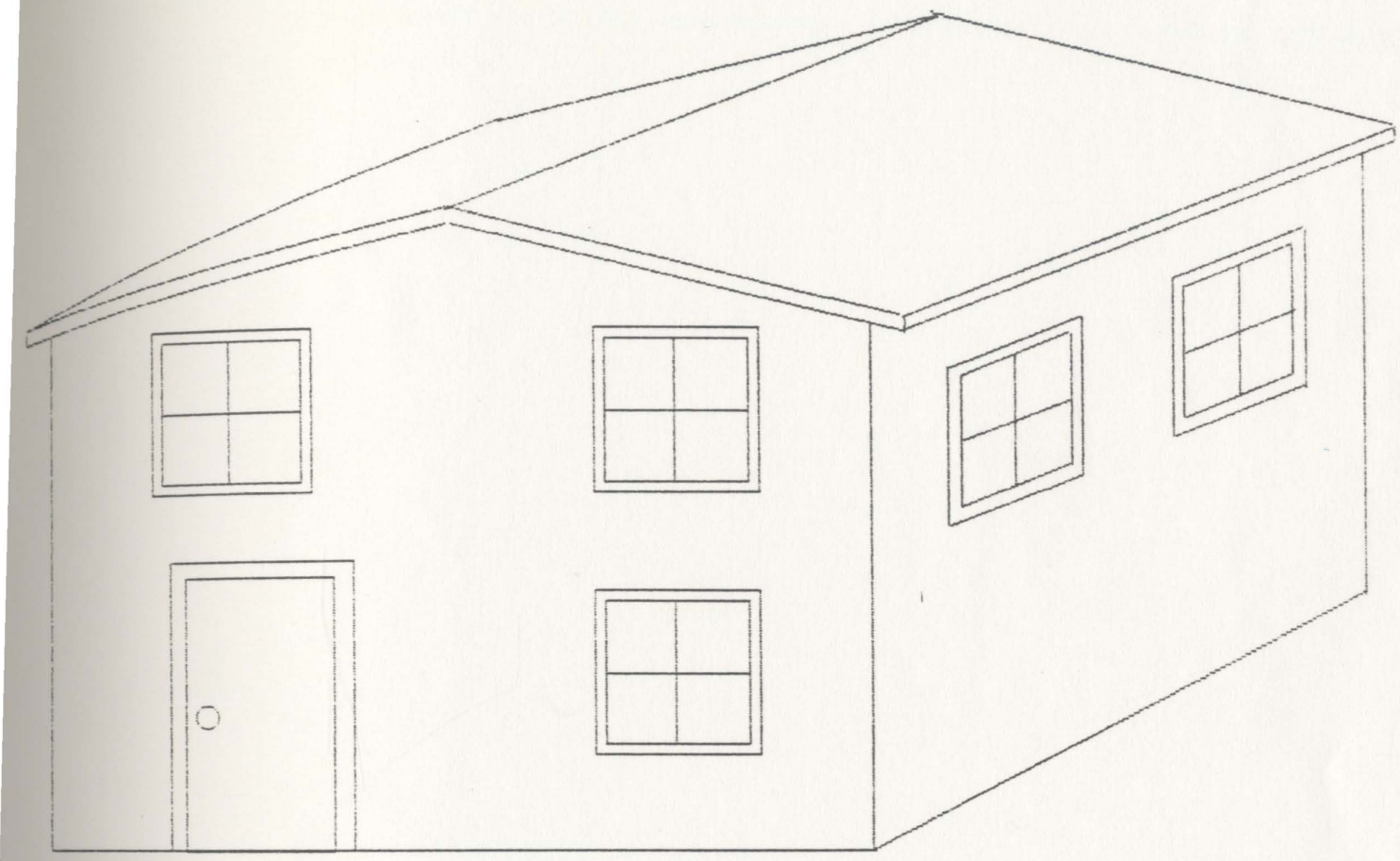




also Figures 36 and 37). Various other examples can be found throughout the valley, and this form of subtraction has continued up until the recent past. Dan Martin's house, built in 1902, had the second storey removed in the 1960s (Figure 148); the only reminder of the former structure is a part of a front bay window (See Figures 88 and 89). Similarly, Bert O`Quinn's house in Searston had the second storey removed; the only visible evidence of the former building is some gingerbread trim and brackets at the eaves (Figures 149 and 150). In 1982, Gerald McArthur began to tear down his two-storey house in Searston, originally built in 1917, making it a one-storey building (Figures 151 and 152). Watching the process provided me with a sense of how this subtraction occurred, showing that it was literally a removal process.

Parallel to this process, roofs were often raised to provide extra bedrooms in the upstairs, giving the roof line a flatter appearance. At the turn of the twentieth century through to the 1930s and 40s, flatter roofs were more popular, which may have resulted from the introduction of the bungalow form. Perhaps two of the most radically altered roofs in the Codroy Valley are Fintan Downey's house in Great Codroy and Allan McArthur's house in Searston. Fintan's house is now a slightly hipped roof, two storey dwelling (Figures 153 and 154). Before the 1940s, this house had a peaked roof, with a gable on the facade and a one storey back addition (Figure 155). In the 1940s, the roof was changed and the back addition was enlarged to two storeys, radically

Figure 148 Drawing of Dan Martin's house (now George Anderson's), in Millville, before and after renovations. Top sketch (before alterations); bottom sketch (after alterations).



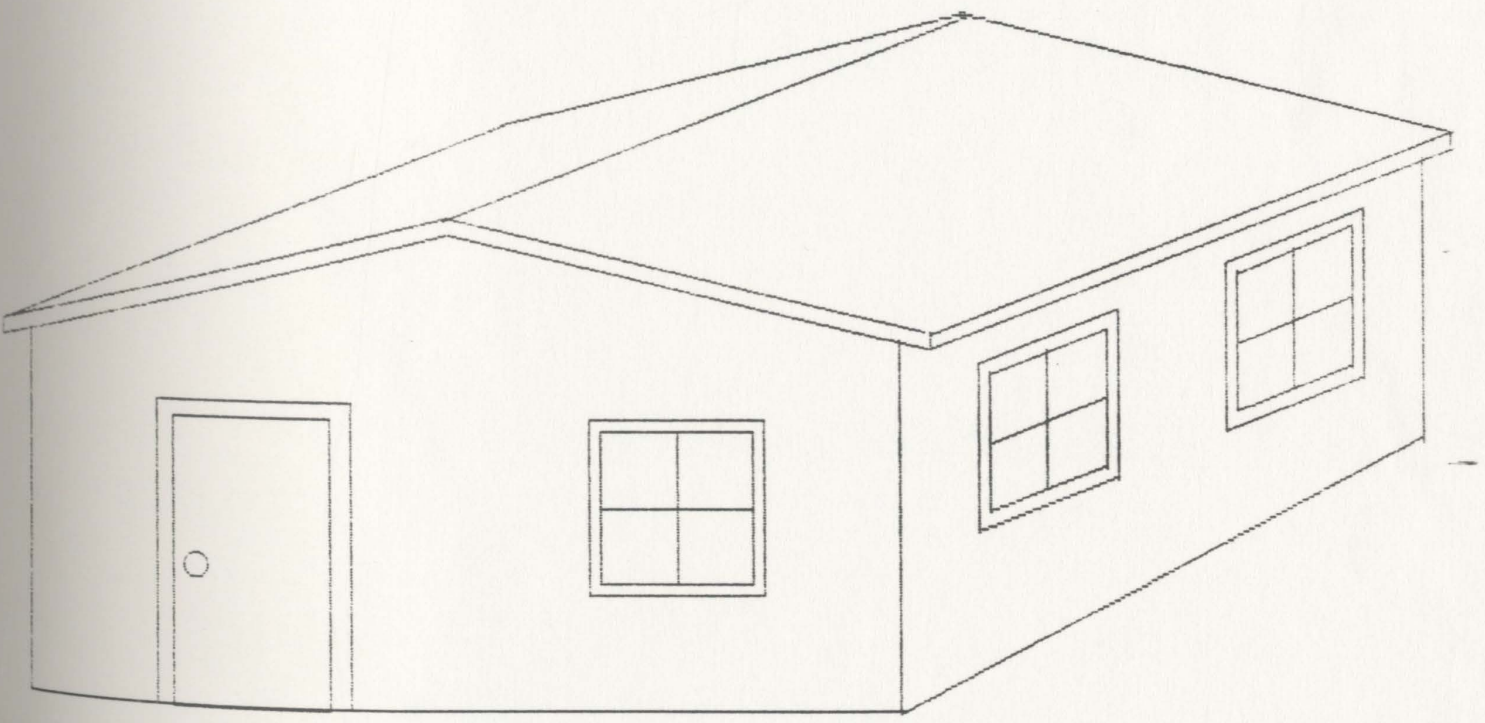
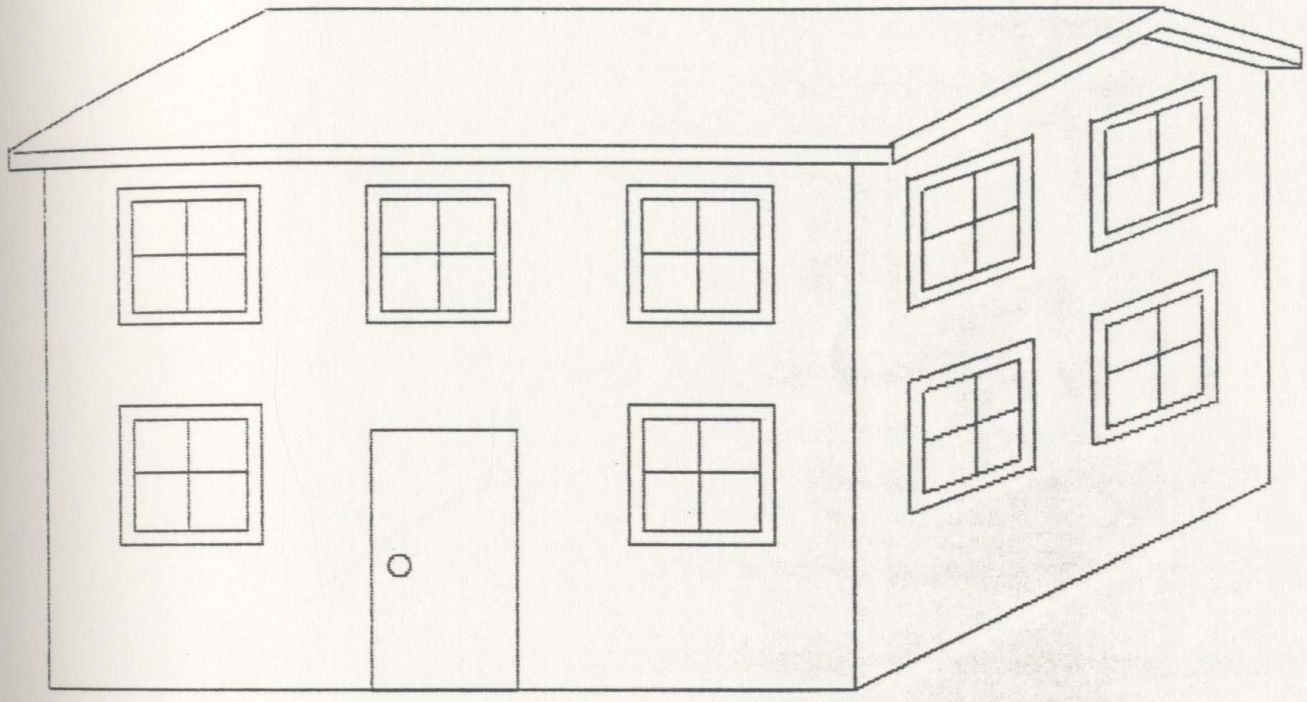


Figure 149 Bert O'Quinn's house, Searston.



Figure 150 Drawing of Bert O'Quinn's house before and after renovations. Top sketch (before alterations); bottom sketch (after alterations).



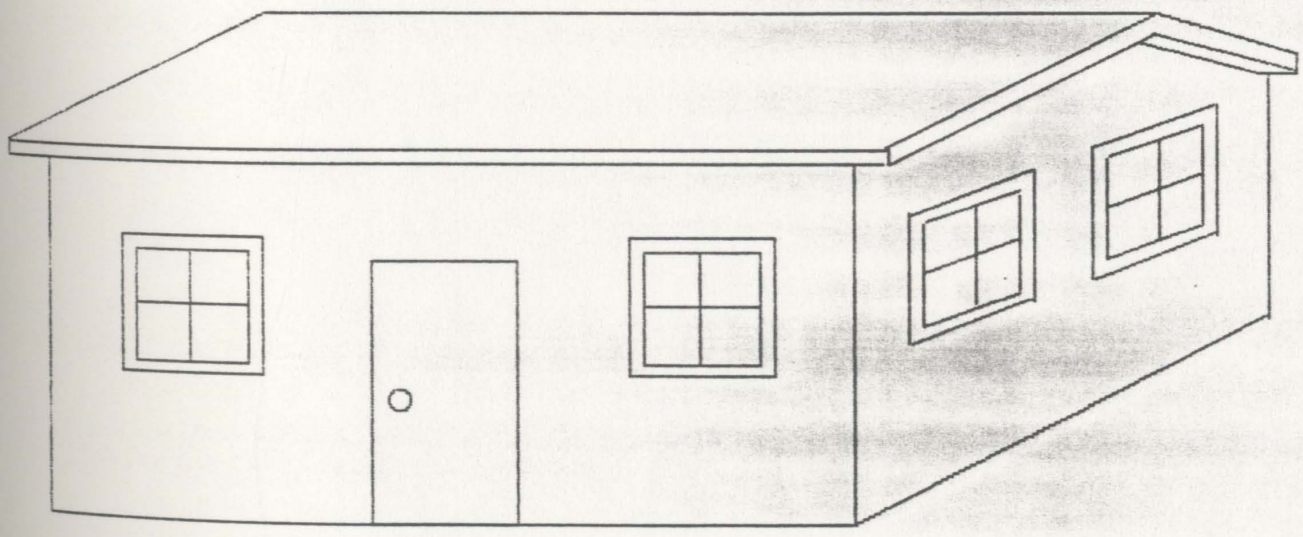


Figure 151 Joe McArthur's house being torn down, 1982; now Gerald McArthur's house.


FARMALL
140
FAA·177

Figure 152 Joe McArthur's house with second storey removed, Searston, 1982.

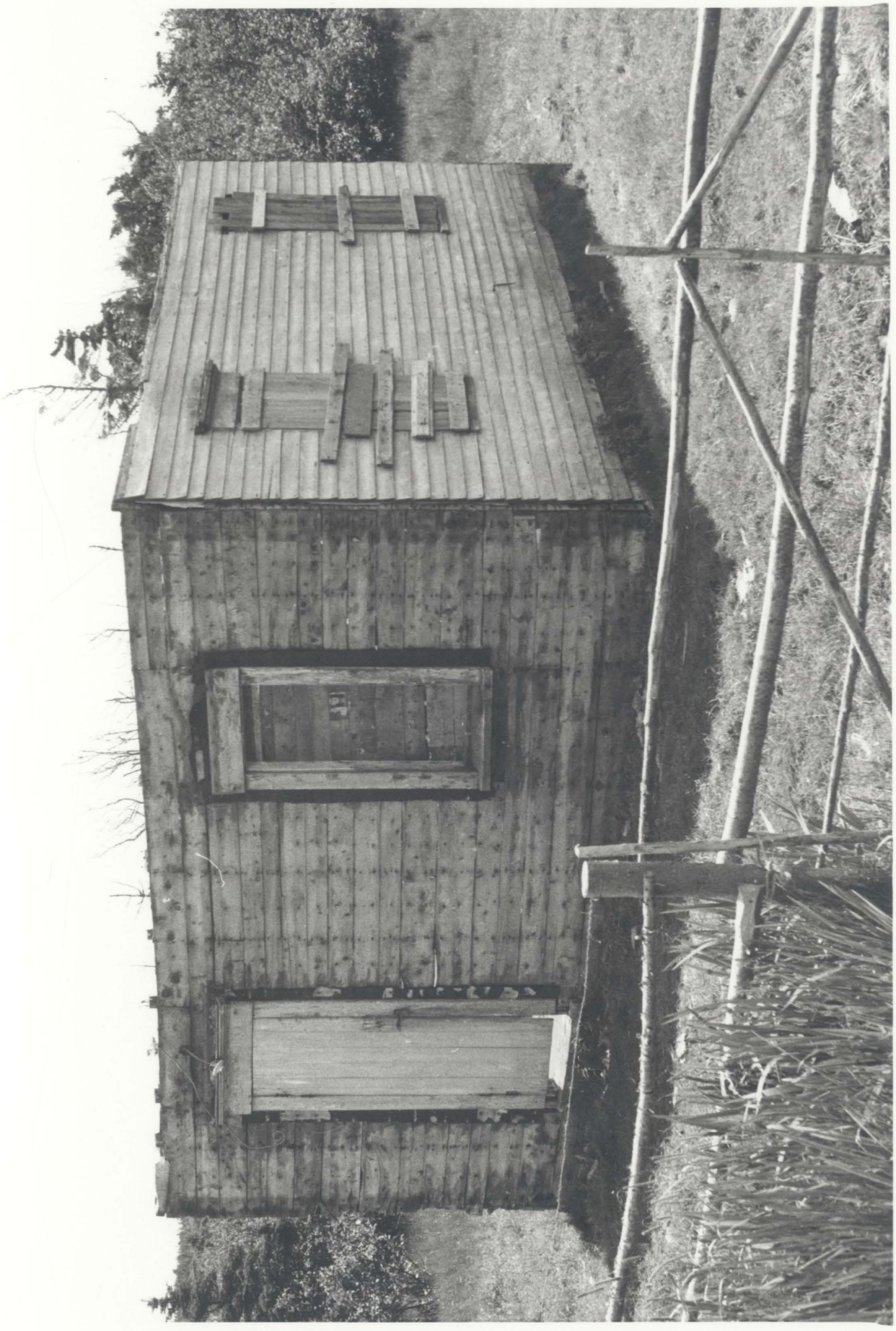
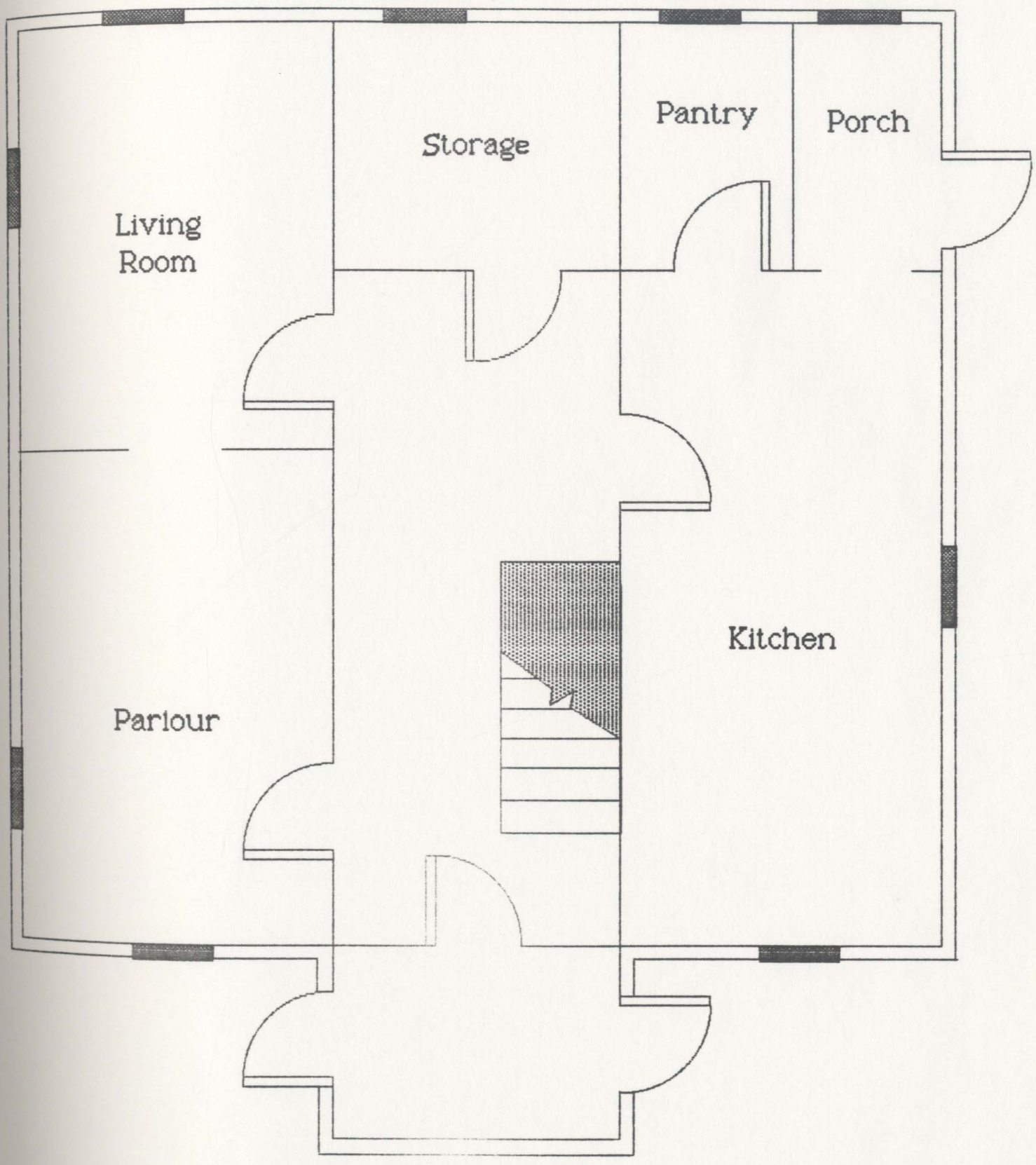


Figure 153 Fintan Downey's house, Great Codroy, 1982.



Figure 154 Floor plan of Fintan Downey's house, Great Codroy, 1982.



Fintan Downey's House

1/4" = 1'

Figure 155 Fintan Downey's house before the roof was modified. From Fintan Downey's photograph collection.



altering the appearance of the house. Likewise, Allan McArthur's late nineteenth century house, was a one and one-half storey house representative of the gothic revival style, with a gothic peak and gingerbread trim (Figure 156). In the 1920s, the roof was raised, altering its appearance drastically, and in 1949, a back kitchen was added (Figures 157, 158, and 159). Today, the only evidence of its former appearance is the ornamental pediment over the door and the ornate window surrounds (Figure 160).

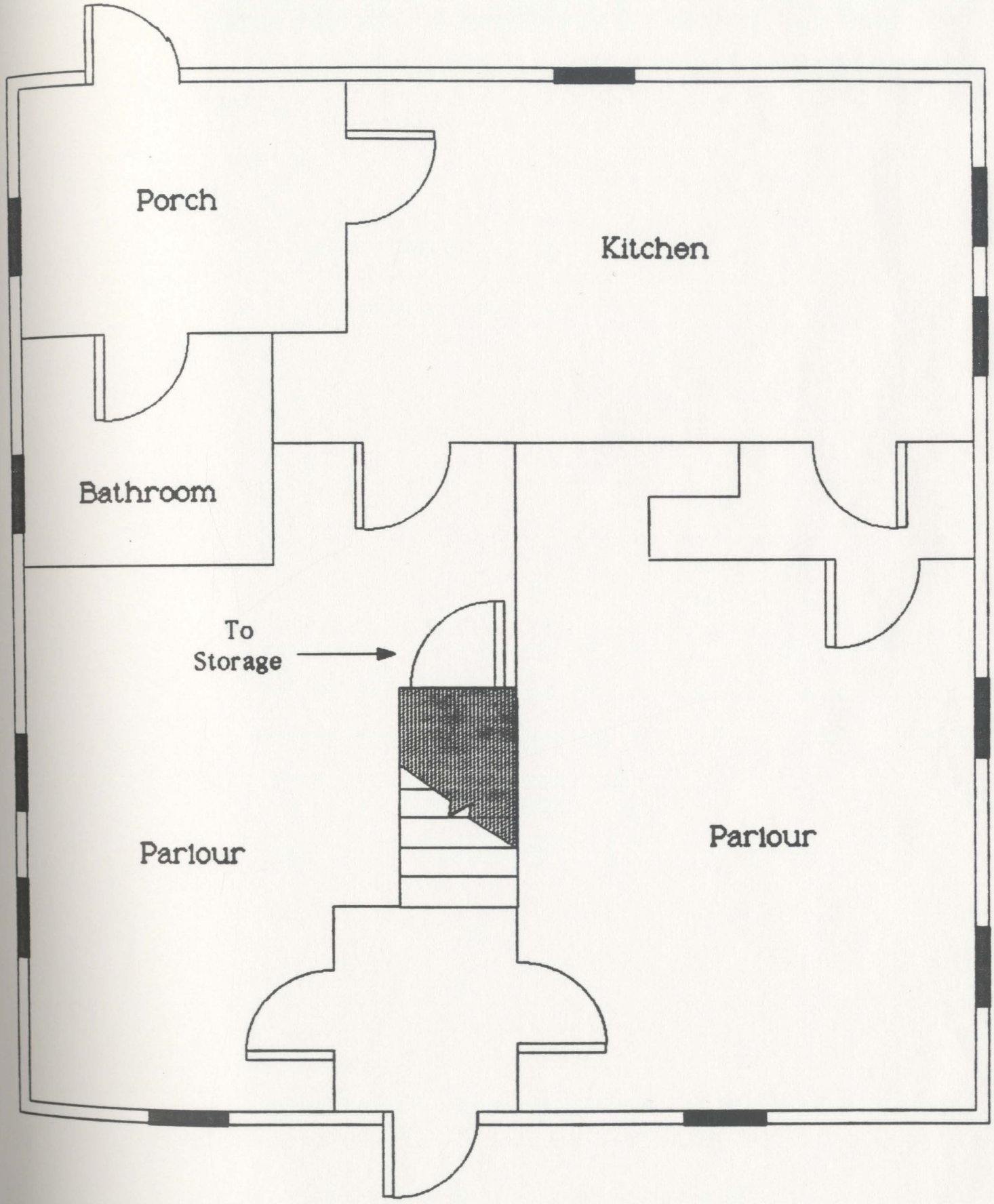
While there are a variety of reasons for house movings, there are also a diversity of explanations for minor and major alterations. Minor alterations such as repainting or repapering walls, reshingling or reclapboarding the sheathing, or replacing of older windows with newer ones, regularly occurred from the time of initial settlement, as finances allowed. However, substantial renovations occurred at specific times. For example, when more space was needed in a home, a major alteration might occur. Archie Francis McIsaac cut his own wood and built his own house the year he was married, in 1932; but in 1970, the year his daughter Philamena was married, he built an addition on the house (See Figures 117, 118, 119, and 120). He thought that with this marriage bringing a new member to his family--his daughter's husband--and the possibility of grandchildren coming into his life, more space was needed. Likewise, Nicholas Luedee in Loch Lomond built his house in 1935, and added two bedrooms and a bathroom to the side in 1947, when his family began to

Figure 156 Allan MacArthur house, Upper Ferry, before renovations.



Figure 157 Allan MacArthur house, Upper Ferry, after renovations.





Allan MacArthur's House

1/4" = 1'

Figure 159 Kitchen, Allan MacArthur house, Upper Ferry, 1982.



Figure 160 Ornamental window surrounds, Allan MacArthur house, Upper Ferry, 1982.



get larger. In 1975, he replaced the older four-paned windows with aluminum sliding windows because, at this time, he was financially able to purchase these new windows which were advertised as cost-saving, efficient products.

While extra bathrooms (in the 1940s, 50s and 60s) and bedrooms were common additions, kitchens were also frequently enlarged after the initial date of house construction. These extra kitchen spaces were often located in a side addition, particularly on houses with two-thirds Georgian plans. With larger families and the continued use of the kitchen as the main room in the Codroy Valley, house owners sometimes saw a need to expand this particular room.

In contrast to the additions, many of the subtractions were a response to some of the changes in architectural fashion in the outside world. For example, the outside form of the bungalow emerged in the Codroy Valley by the 1920s. Many builders chose this house type for their new homes, but others, who lived in older homes, converted their dwellings into bungalow forms by removing the second storey. When I was first conducting fieldwork in some of these bungalows, I was confused because I was finding older technologies such as mortise and tenon framing, and hand-hewed plates and floor joists in this twentieth century form. People often made decisions to convert to a bungalow when children were married, or living away from the family home. An explanation often cited is that a bungalow is easier to heat than an older one and one-half storey or two storey house.

Other Codroy Valley residents such as Fintan Downey or Allan MacArthur decided not to reduce their houses to one storey forms, but to radically alter appearances by changing their roofs. But, nevertheless, they were also reacting to architectural trends and community aesthetic. Flat and shallow pitched roofs, from the turn of the twentieth century until well into the 1950s and 60s, became one of the more popular roof forms of the district. Bungalows were frequently built with this roof type, as were the two-storey, biscuit box houses which are now ubiquitous in Newfoundland. Allan MacArthur, in modifying his late nineteenth century gothic revival house, and Fintan Downey, in altering his cross-gable roof house, were, in essence, keeping up with current architectural fashion.

We have seen in this chapter that modification is an extremely important aspect of this local building tradition. Dwellings of the region have been extensively altered showing that this architectural landscape is always in motion, incrementally changing with the passage of time. Moreover, there are a number of reasons why this activity has occurred; these range from a practical need for more space, to social and environmental concerns.

We sometimes have a static image of the past, one that is often fostered in our many historic sites.[36] Some of

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[36] Many of our designated historic buildings in Atlantic Canada are never viewed as having been altered with the

Atlantic Canada's downtowns have recently been reconstructed, largely through the efforts of preservationists who have transformed these places into colourful neighborhoods and waterfront offices, shopping malls and tourist attractions. Anne Falkner expresses an attitude toward buildings common amongst preservationists: "The all-inclusive rule... do not diminish architectural detail or humiliate the original principle or character of the building; do not destroy its integrity; do not alter, modernize, or add discordant details

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passage of time. Our local historical societies, government agencies, and interested preservationists attempt to find the "original" form of the house, completely ignoring the succeeding years and generations who lived in the house. This attempt to find the "original" is not new in the field of Folklore, for many of the early folktale and ballad scholars spent much time attempting to discover the original form, myopically focusing their attention on this issue. One whole school of Folklore thought--the Finnish Method or the Historic-Geographic method--developed from this line of reasoning and has greatly influenced contemporary material culture scholarship. For a short assessment of Atlantic Canadian interpretations of the past see: Peter E. Rider, ed., The History of Atlantic Canada: Museum Interpretations, Mercury Series, History Division Paper, No. 32, (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1981). For an assessment of the Historic- Geographic Method see: Alan Dundes, "The Devolutionary Premise in Folklore Theory," Journal of the Folklore Institute, 6 (1969), 5-19; Heda Jason, "The Russian Criticism of 'The Finnish School' in Folktale Scholarship," Norveg, 14 (1970), 285-94 ; William A. Wilson, "The Evolutionary premise in Folklore Theory and the 'Finnish Method'," Western Folklore, 35 (1976), 241-49. David Lowenthal discusses the urge to reconstitute the past by restoring a building to what it might or should have been in: David Lowenthal, The Past is a Foreign Country (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 278-82.

to the facade of the structure." [37] This static view is an erroneous assumption, and, even in the eighteenth century, as Hugh Prince points out, "householders and shopkeepers were free and easy in their treatment of old buildings. They altered, pulled down, reconstructed and converted old structures to new uses, and they changed the exterior faces of buildings as architectural fashions changed."[38] Change is not exclusive to architecture, for with the passage of time, all artifacts go through a process of alteration. Codroy Valley cart wheels, ploughs and horse-drawn hay balers, for example, have new functions, different from the ones for which they were originally designed. Many of the older agricultural implements once commonly used for ploughing the fields or collecting the valley's hay, are now displayed as items of folk art on lawns and fields, as a tangible link for locals and tourists to the once prosperous farming community. Likewise, music, dance and singing traditions have moved from within the domain of the house kitchen and community hall to the open air folk festival stage--a major alteration--which may result in content and repertoire changes. Some singing traditions such as the performing of Gaelic and Acadian songs, are no longer common at parties in kitchens and

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[37] Anne Falkner, Without Our Past? (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. 121.

[38] Hugh Prince, "Revivals, Restoration, Preservation: Changing Views About Antique Landscape Features," in Our Past Before Us?: Why Do We Save It?, ed. David Lowenthal and Marcus Binney (London: Temple Smith, 1982), pp. 33-49.

community halls, yet the few remaining singers of such songs are brought to the open-air stage to perform for the community and tourists. In moving these oral traditions from the house interior or from recent memory to the open-air stage, the community is attempting to preserve these items at a time when the young find it difficult to identify with the concerns addressed in these older items of tradition.

While movings and alterations play important roles in local building traditions, only now are these kinds of concerns receiving the attention of scholars. For example, a recent issue of Material Culture is devoted entirely to architectural remodeling and alteration.[39] Henry Glassie has commented, "always in process, unstoppably changing, houses record the local will, the cultural history of the people."[40] We fail "to capture the continuity of life" in a region if we do not explore the ways in which people continually manipulate their surrounding spaces. [41]

While this chapter attempts to comprehend house modification, the next chapter further explores how a group of buildings are modified with the passage of time by providing a case study of one Codroy Valley farm--the Downey

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[39] Material Culture, 19, No. 2-3 (1987), 63-141.

[40] Henry Glassie, Passing the Time in Ballymenone, p. 379.

[41] McIlwraith, "Altered Buildings," p. 111.

farm on the north side of the Grand Codroy River in the community of Great Codroy. This will provide a closer view of the development of a farm, outlining the many changes occurring as the nineteenth and twentieth centuries progressed. Moreover, it provides an indication of some of the other buildings and work processes: in other words, a sense of the context of Codroy Valley homes. The Downey farm is a representative example of the many farms which once prospered along the banks of the Grand and Little Codroy Rivers.

Chapter 7 - A View from the Farm: The Context of Codroy Valley Homes

While house movings and alterations are important features of the Codroy Valley building tradition, the typical pattern of farm development is equally significant. Most of the district's houses were only one part of a complex of buildings and activities which developed in stages over time. A case study of one family farm will provide the community and work context needed to understand this progression. An examination of the Downey farm, situated on the north side of the Grand Codroy River, about five miles from the river mouth, offers a sense of where the home fits in relationship to the other buildings and activities of a Codroy Valley farmstead. More importantly, this case study outlines the development of the Downey farm by describing the pioneer stage, examining the farm's modifications over time, and by assessing its two periods of rebuilding at the end of the nineteenth century and in the 1940s and 50s.

At the period of the migration from Cape Breton Island to the Codroy Valley--from approximately 1840 to 1860--some settlers were already living in this region. Reports indicate that Micmac and Beothuk Indians resided on the Grand Codroy River near the present-day community of Great Codroy and around Codroy Pond.[1] One area on the north side of the Grand River, the site of the present Roman Catholic graveyard, is

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[1] J.B. Jukes, Excursions in and About Newfoundland During the Years 1839 and 1840 (London: John Murray, 1842), I, 172.

still referred to as "Indian Hill," after the aboriginal settlers; this designation appears on an 1860 map of the district.[2] The first non-native settlers were a group of twelve or fourteen English families who lived at the mouth of the Grand Codroy River, and who fished cod and salmon, traded with coastal schooners, and trapped the region's fur-bearing animals.[3] The gravestones of some of these settlers--the Gales--can still be seen in an abandoned graveyard in a wooded area along the north bank of the Grand Codroy River, a few hundred yards from the river mouth (Figure 161).

Michael Downey came from Ireland to St. John's, Newfoundland, in the early years of the nineteenth century. He came to the Codroy Valley in 1846, following his brother James who had settled in the Codroy Valley by 1842.[4] We are told that Michael bought land and a building called a "hut" from an Indian for twenty shillings and began fishing and tilling the soil.[5]

By 1866, he had a house and barn on the site, and occupied three hundred acres with fifteen under cultivation.

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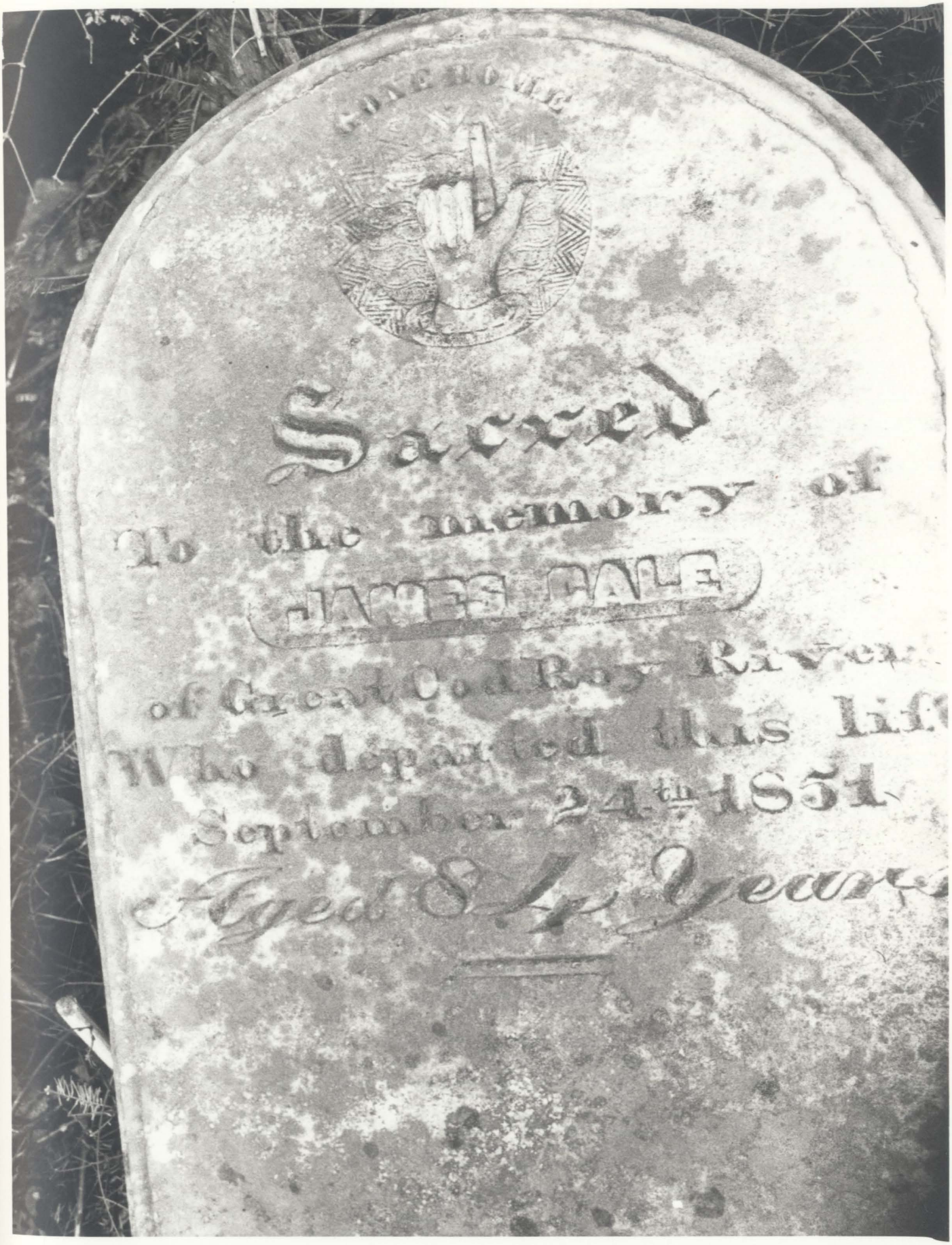
[2] Murray map, 1860, Map Collection, Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.

[3] W.E. Cormack, Narrative of a Journey Across Newfoundland in 1822 (London: Longman, Green and Company, 1828), p. 105.

[4] Journal of the House of Assembly, 1871, pp. 77-78.

[5] Report of James S. Hayward, Landing Surveyor, St. John's, on a Visit to the Western Portions of Newfoundland, Journal of the House of Assembly, 1866, p. 431.

Figure 161 Gravestone of James Gale who died September 4, 1851, aged 84 years; situated at abandoned graveyard, north side of Grand Codroy River.


Sacred
To the memory of
JAMES DALE
Who departed this life
September 24th 1851
Aged 84 years

He owned a horse at this time, along with eleven cows, four yoke oxen, ten head of cattle, three pigs and forty-five sheep--thirty of which he had kept for the winter. In the spring of 1866, he had a problem with wolves destroying some of his lambs. Moreover, he tried growing wheat this year, but found it to be an uncertain crop in the climate of this region. However, he had great success with oats and barley, producing twenty-five barrels of each in 1865, and discovered that flax grew very well on his farm. He planted ten barrels of potatoes in 1866 and sold two cwt [hundred weight] of butter to his neighbors and to traders in the nearby community of Channel. Moreover, he tanned thirty ox hides and calf skins, which took twelve and three months respectively before being ready for use. Through tanning, weaving and spinning, he manufactured much of the clothing he and his family required.[6]

His brother James's farm was situated two miles up the river, and bordered on the farm of Denis Ryan who kept fifty sheep, ten cows, some oxen and grew more than twenty tons of hay.[7] At this period, Michael Downey's farm was one of fifty-four on the north and south sides of the Grand Codroy River. Of the fifty-four, ten lived solely by farming; the rest, in addition to farming, caught small amounts of salmon, codfish and caplin. In 1866, the total sale of butter to traders from

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[6] Much of this description comes from Hayward, p. 431.

[7] Hayward, p. 431.

Channel amounted to five tons; in this year, farmers received one shilling per pound for butter, which was payable in goods. The Channel traders regularly visited the Codroy River to barter fish and manufactured goods with the local farmers for sheep, cows, cattle and butter.[8]

Much of the hay grown on Codroy Valley farms by this time was wild grass from the low, intervale land along the banks of the river, and on the low-lying islands within the river. It was mowed early in August, and put into stacks and hay barracks where it remained until the river froze over. It was then brought to the various farms by horse and oxen.[9]

A geological surveyor, Alexander Murray, pointed out in 1867 that the Codroy Valley was about seventy-five square miles or approximately 48,000 square acres, most of which was well wooded. [10] The Codroy Valley farmer had a variety of trees such as spruce, balsam fir, yellow birch, white birch and tamarack on his farm at this period. Much of the barren, swampy marsh land, where bakeapples flourished, had no timber, but rather small tamarack bushes and a stunted growth of evergreen.[11]

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[8] Hayward, p. 431.

[9] Hayward, p. 431.

[10] Preliminary Report of Alexander Murray, Esquire, on his Geological Survey of 1867, Journal of the House of Assembly, 1867, Appendix 855.

[11] Murray, Appendix 855.

By 1871, both the Downey brothers had well established farms in the the community of Great Codroy. By this time, Michael and James had twelve and fourteen children respectively. Both brothers also annually dealt £50 worth of produce with the traders from nearby Channel, and estimated that their farms were worth £1050 and £1250 respectively, a little more than what the average Codroy Valley farm was worth at this time.[12]

The Downey brothers and their children must have been well respected members of the Codroy Valley community, for throughout the 1870s and 80s they were regular petitioners to the St. John's government, representing their fellow Codroy Valley farmers. For example, in 1873, Patrick Downey, Michael's son, petitioned the House of Assembly for governmental representation and a grant to build a road from the Codroy Valley to Channel.[13] When Sir John Howley Glover became Governor and Commander in Chief for Newfoundland in 1876, Michael, James and Patrick Downey were again amongst the list of people from the Codroy Rivers offering congratulations in a letter published in a St. John's newspaper.[14]

Throughout the 1870s and 80s the Downey brothers

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[12] Journal of the House of Assembly, 1871, pp. 77-78.

[13] Journal of the House of Assembly, 1874, p. 131.

[14] Newfoundlander, 5 September 1876.

continued to be signatories to petitions as well as principal petitioners to the Newfoundland government for the improvement of the Codroy Valley community. When Captain Howarth was appointed judicial representative for Newfoundland's west coast, James Downey was one of eighty-one Codroy Valley farmers who signed a letter welcoming him and thanking him for this service. [15] Likewise, Michael Downey was the chief petitioner for the construction and repair of Codroy Valley roads in 1878, 1879 and 1881.[16] Michael's son James, born in 1857 and called after Michael's brother, took over the farm at this period, when his father was unable to continue operating it.[17]

James P. Howley conducted a survey of Codroy Valley lands in 1883, and discovered that ninety-three lots were being farmed on the Grand Codroy River, having an average size of 163 acres for a total of 15,204 acres.[18] Even though much of the Codroy Valley land was not granted, it was occupied. A surveyor summarized the situation in 1884 by remarking, "a very large area of land is here found to be in possession of or claimed by persons under what they term,

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[15] Newfoundlander, 25 April 1878.

[16] Journal of the House of Assembly, 1878, p. 142, p. 83; Journal of the House of Assembly, 1879, p. 100; Journal of the House of Assembly,1881, p. 111.

[17] Newfoundland, Department of Colonial Secretary, Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1921.

[18] Journal of the House of Assembly, 1884, Appendix, 508.

'squatter's rights'," and suggested there be a special inquiry into this matter.[19] Howley initially intended on his trip to the Codroy Valley in 1883 to lay off all the valley's lands on the American township system of blocks of thirty-six square miles each. Upon arrival, he discovered that much of the land was already occupied, and consequently was not able to follow his plan. Instead, he decided to define the boundaries and extent of the various occupied farm lots, but received opposition from Codroy Valley farmers who were opposed to this systematic survey. Only with the influence and support of Monsignor Sears was Howley able to accomplish his task. His survey enabled Codroy Valley residents to apply for and obtain title for their land, but it was not until the 1890s that many Codroy Valley residents received their official land grants, even though some had occupied the land since the mid-century.[20] James Downey Senior and Michael Downey both received their 160 acre land grants on 6 December 1894.[21] By 1896 two of James's sons--Thomas and Patrick--had received land grants of one hundred and forty and one hundred and fifty-four acres respectively.[22] By this time James was

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[19] Journal of the House of Assembly, 1884, Appendix 453.

[20] James P. Howley's Survey of Codroy Valley Lands, Journal of the House of Assembly, 1884, Appendix 508.

[21] Return of Crown Lands, Journal of the House of Assembly, 1896, Appendix 184.

[22] Journal of the House of Assembly, 1896, Appendix 189.

appointed way officer for the Great Codroy Valley post office, receiving a renumeration of eight dollars per year.[23]

James Downey, son of Michael, was operating the family farm at this turn-of-the-century period (Figure 162). Though a farmer, he also lists himself as a Port Master for the Grand Codroy River in the 1921 nominal census.[24] He was sixty-four years old in 1921, a widower, and his thirty year old son, Alban, had taken over the family farm, although James still lived with Alban and his family. Alban and his wife Rose had seven children between 1920 and 1930: Bertram, Kevin, Fintan, Aloysius, Margaret, Walter and Robert. In addition to their seven children, Alban's single aunt, Anastasia, 68 years old, and his single brother, Bertram, 27 years old, were living in Alban's house with the family. By 1935, Anastasia had died and Bertram had started his own family on a nearby farm.[25]

Alban Downey began recording some of the details surrounding the operation of his family farm in 1918, and sporadically wrote entries until 1958, providing an intimate view of life on a Codroy Valley farm at this period.[26] A

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[23] Journal of the House of Assembly, Sessional Papers, 1887, p. 803.

[24] Newfoundland, Department of Colonial Secretary, Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1921.

[25] Newfoundland, Department of Colonial Secretary, Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1921, 1935.

[26] This diary was given to me by Fintan Downey, the son of Alban.MUNFLA, MacKinnon Codroy Valley Architecture Collection.

Figure 162 Downey house, turn of the twentieth century.



close examination of this diary provides an idea of some of the daily and annual activities on the farm, the degree of economic interaction with local farmers and merchants, and a sense of the occupational pluralism prevalent in the Codroy Valley. Mr. Downey begins his diary with a curt entry for February, 1918: "Cut about 200 poles." The winter months were a time when wood was accumulated for both repairing buildings and fences on the farm, obtaining necessary firewood for heating and cooking throughout the year, and gathering materials for any extra off-farm work which might be available. On 3 April, he records that his tender for repairing the "B. Bridge" was accepted and adds on 20 April: "Finished (practically) cutting, hewing and putting scantling for B.B." The bridge referred to here is for what is locally called Broomman's Brook, a brook which flows from the Anguille mountains to the Grand Codroy River, near the community of Great Codroy.

By the end of March and throughout April we begin to see the arrival of new animals at the Downey farm: 25 March, "Beauty Calved (B) [Bull];" 31 March, "Blackie calved (B) [Bull];" "Liddy calved (H) [Heifer];" 24 April, "four new lambs. Started in feeding three calves on barley and oats;" and 1 May, "Bloss calved." The springtime brought both new forms of life, as well as death to the Downey farm, for between March and May, three sheep and a pair of lambs died; however, we are not given information about what caused these deaths.

With May came the end of cutting wood, calving and caring for newly born cattle; but it also brought the time for the preparing of fields, planting, and the selling of the farm's produce or meat to neighbours and merchants. By 13 May, Mr Downey "Sowed 3/4s of an acre in wheat," on the 14th, "sowed nearly one acre in oats," and on the 15th, "sowed four pounds of peas." On 21 May he planted 3 and 3/4 barrels of "D.Blues," 1/3rd of a barrel of "cobblers," 1 and 3/4s of a barrel of "calicoes" and two gallons of "E. Roses" totalling six barrels; in total, the potato planting consumed one hundred and five loads of manure. In addition to potatoes, at this time, he also planted barley, flax and turnip.

June was the month for sheep shearing and for readying and marking lambs for butchering. Unfortunately, Alban stops writing in his diary on 18 June, just after sowing a few barrels of barley, perhaps because he became very busy with farm work in the summer months. He does not resume his writing until 12 December when he records the selling of 941 pounds of beef to D.M. McIsaac for $188.00. In the interim, he was undoubtedly busy making hay, butchering cattle, gathering his crops and selling any of his surplus butter, potatoes and beef to neighbors and merchants.

In 1919, we obtain a clearer sense of the commercial network to which he belonged. By 13 June, Mr. Downey "sent to J.H. Pike six barrels of potatoes at the cost of $4.00 per barrel," and on the 15th sold forty-nine pounds of beef to

Alex Gale, the merchant in Millville, for $10.78. On 21 June he filled his first thirty-three pound butter tub and sold it on the 24th to Mr Gale for $18.00. In addition to butter, he sold fifty-seven pounds of veal and two barrels of potatoes to merchant Gale and brought his wool to Gale's Woollen mill for carding and rolling. One week later, on 1 July, Alban returned from Gale's mill in Millville with thirty-seven pounds of rolled wool.

While Mr. Downey sold much of his farm produce and meat to Mr. Gale, the merchant was by no means Alban's only buyer. Mr. Downey sold potatoes and butter to his neigbour Christena Jennings, and sold butter, carcasses of animals and hides to individuals such as C.P. Eagan, Ruban King and A.D. McIsaac (a merchant in St. Andrews). In addition, he wrote on November 5th that he "put fourteen barrels, 129 pounds of turnips aboard McLean's schooner at the cost of $3.25 a barrel," and loaded another $90.55 worth of potatoes on board the schooner on 7 November. John MacLean's schooner, the Jane Anderson, was plying around St. George's Bay, across the Cabot Strait to and from Cape Breton, along the south coast of Newfoundland, and across the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Prince Edward Island and other mainland Nova Scotia ports. A newspaper reports in 1921 that it ran ashore in Francois Harbour while on the way from the Codroy Valley to Grand Bank

with a load of Codroy Valley potatoes.[27] In 1919, Mr Downey states he made a total income from the farm of $776.50.

In addition to providing an indication of the yearly round of activities on the farm, and the small scale commercial activity occurring, Downey's diary provides us with a glimpse of the co-operative nature of Codroy Valley farmwork. On 29 December 1919 Mr. Downey stated that "M. Farrel had his horse with us hauling four loads of oats" and they continued hauling oats and hay on December 30th and 31. And again on 14 January 1920, we obtain a sense of one neighbour assisting another: "Andrew Benoit with us putting up kelp - 12 loads." Kelp was used both for fertilizer and for insulating the foundations of dwellings without cellars. By 24 February 1920 Downey stated: "All the kelp hauled."

In 1928, Mr. Downey condenses his diary citations; from this date on until 1958, he summarizes the yearly activities on the farm on one page in the diary per year. Consequently, much detail about daily farm life is excluded. Nevertheless, there is much statistical information included such as the number of sheep sheared, the number of calves born, the number of lambs marked for butchering and the amount of crops

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27 Western Star, 16 November 1921. Other Codroy Valley residents who operated schooners at this time included John Blanchard from Searston, Paul Hall from Millville, Dan MacLean from Searston, and Joe Bruce from the Gut. From Augustine O'Quinn, The Fishing Settlement of Codroy Before 1900, St. John's: Maritime History Group Archives, Memorial University of Newfoundland, n.d., pp. 10-12.

sold per year.

While this diary provides an impression of some of the activities common on the farm, other sources such as historical photographs, newspaper accounts and the physical landscape itself, offer further insights into the way in which the Downey farm developed. These indicate there were three major periods in the development of the Downey farm: 1) the mid-nineteenth century, 2) end of the nineteenth century, and 3) the 1940s and 1950s. These periods coincide with the three major stages in the development of Codroy Valley architecture discussed in this study. In the initial period of settlement, in the late 1840s, Michael Downey built his house and barn close to the river, although the exact location of the buildings has not been established because of the extensive ploughing in this area in later years. The Grand Codroy River was, at this time, the roadway in winter and summer; flat-bottomed river boats were employed for travel in summer, and oxen and carts, or, in later years, horses and sleighs, in winter.

By the end of the nineteenth century, James built a new house and some small barns a few hundred yards away from the the first house, higher up on the gentle, sloping hill, upon which the Downey land was situated, and closer to the newly built road going through the settlement (Figure 163). A photograph taken in the late 1920s shows the many stumps situated on the land surrounding the house, indicating that the farm was still being cleared at this time (Figure 164).

Figure 163 Drawing, Downey farm, 1890s.

Downey Farm Circa 1890

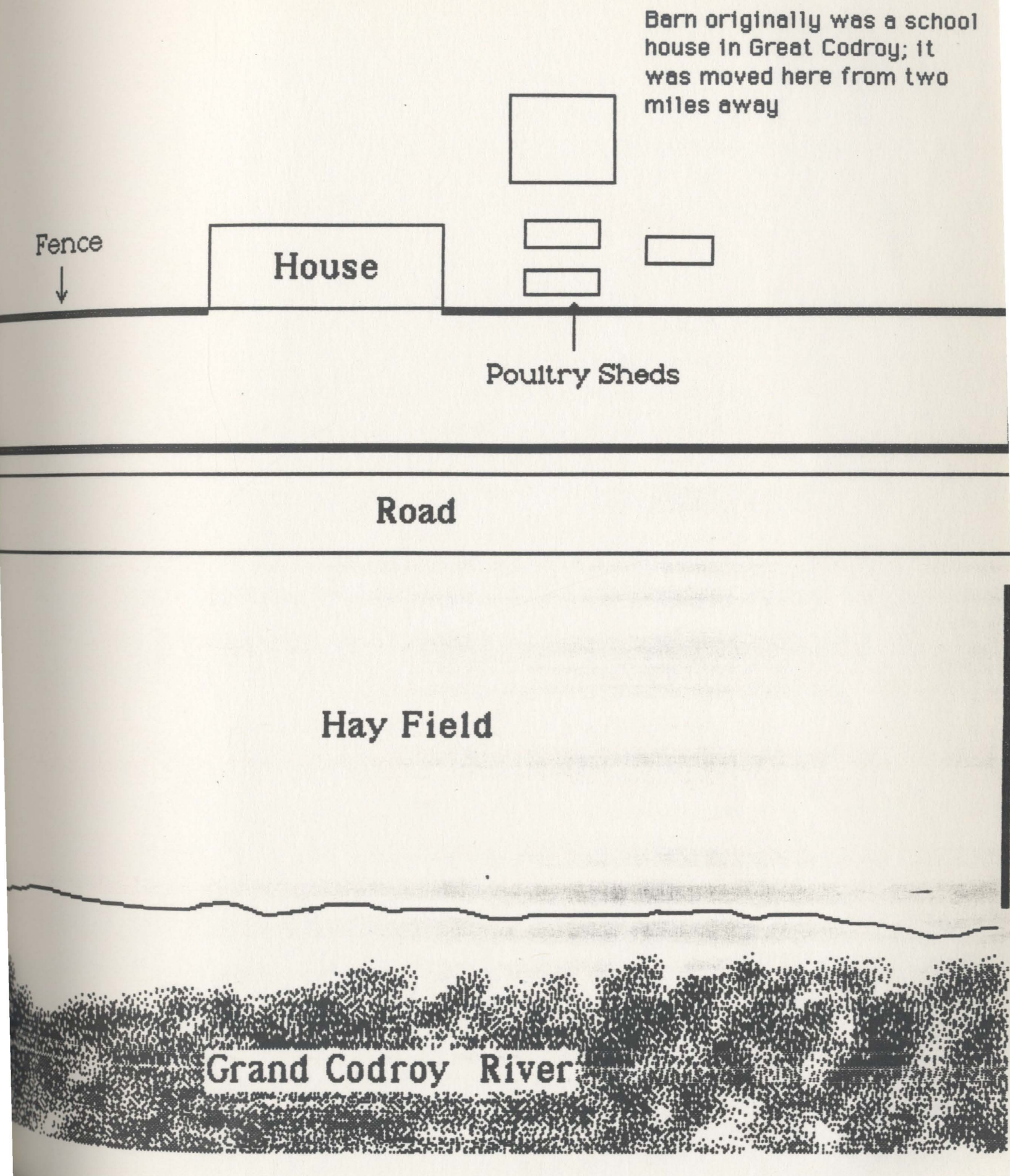

Figure 164 Downey farm, 1920s; from Fintan Downey's photograph collection.



Throughout the early years of the twentieth century, much activity occurred on the Downey farm. By the 1920s, Alban was selling railway car loads of vegetables in Port aux Basques and St. John's, and young colts and 800 pound horses to his fellow Codroy Valley farmers.[28] Throughout this period, and well into the 1940s, most Codroy Valley farms, including Alban Downey's, possessed horse-drawn farm machinery; it seems these machines were introduced to the region at around the turn of the twentieth century, while gasoline-powered tractors were not introduced to the Codroy Valley until the 1950s. A survey of Codroy Valley farm machinery indicates that, by 1945, Alban Downey's farm had a horse-drawn mowing machine, raking machine, potato digger, cultivator, walking plough, a two wheeled farm cart, a four wheeled wagon, a cream separator, and two spinning wheels.[29] In the 1950s, Alban purchased a McCormick Farm All tractor, purportedly the first one introduced to the Codroy Valley, and other various pieces of tractor-driven farm machinery. In addition, by this time, the Downeys were operating a small sawmill in their back pasture for their own use and for their friends and neighbors.

The buildings on the Downey farm were being modified at

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[28] Western Star, 10 November 1920; Western Star, 1 September 1920; Western Star, 11 October 1922; Western Star, 1 March 1922.

[29] Newfoundland, Department of Colonial Secretary, Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, Farm Machinery, 1945.

the end of the nineteenth century. By the turn of the twentieth century a new house was constructed close to the road, about four hundred yards north of the river. A building was moved to this site to be used as a barn; it was originally a school house, situated two miles down the road (Figure 165). Sitting on a fieldstone foundation, it is sixteen by twenty-two feet, and now consists of one large storage room. The vertical studs within the building are all hand-hewed, spaced three feet apart, and are morticed and tenoned into the wall plate and sill. It was transformed first from a school house to a barn, then to a wagon shed, and finally, to its present state as a storage shed. Three small sheds next to the barn served as hen houses. The field adjacent to the river was the hay field; the fenced area in front of the house was where the family's garden was situated.

By the 1950s a number of alterations occurred on the Downey farm (Figure 166). In 1954, the house was modified significantly by Fintan, Alban and two carpenters--Chris Evans and Ken Bragg--who replaced a peaked roof with a shallow pitched roof, and added a two-storey back addition replacing the single storey back shed (Figure 167). A new hen house was added to the assortment of poultry sheds at this time; this building originally was the entrance porch to St. Thomas' school, two miles away. It was hauled to the Downey farm by horses and skids (Figure 168). A new machinery storage shed and pig barn were added in the 1940s, below the

Figure 165 Downey barn, originally a school house. Fintan Downey is in the foreground.

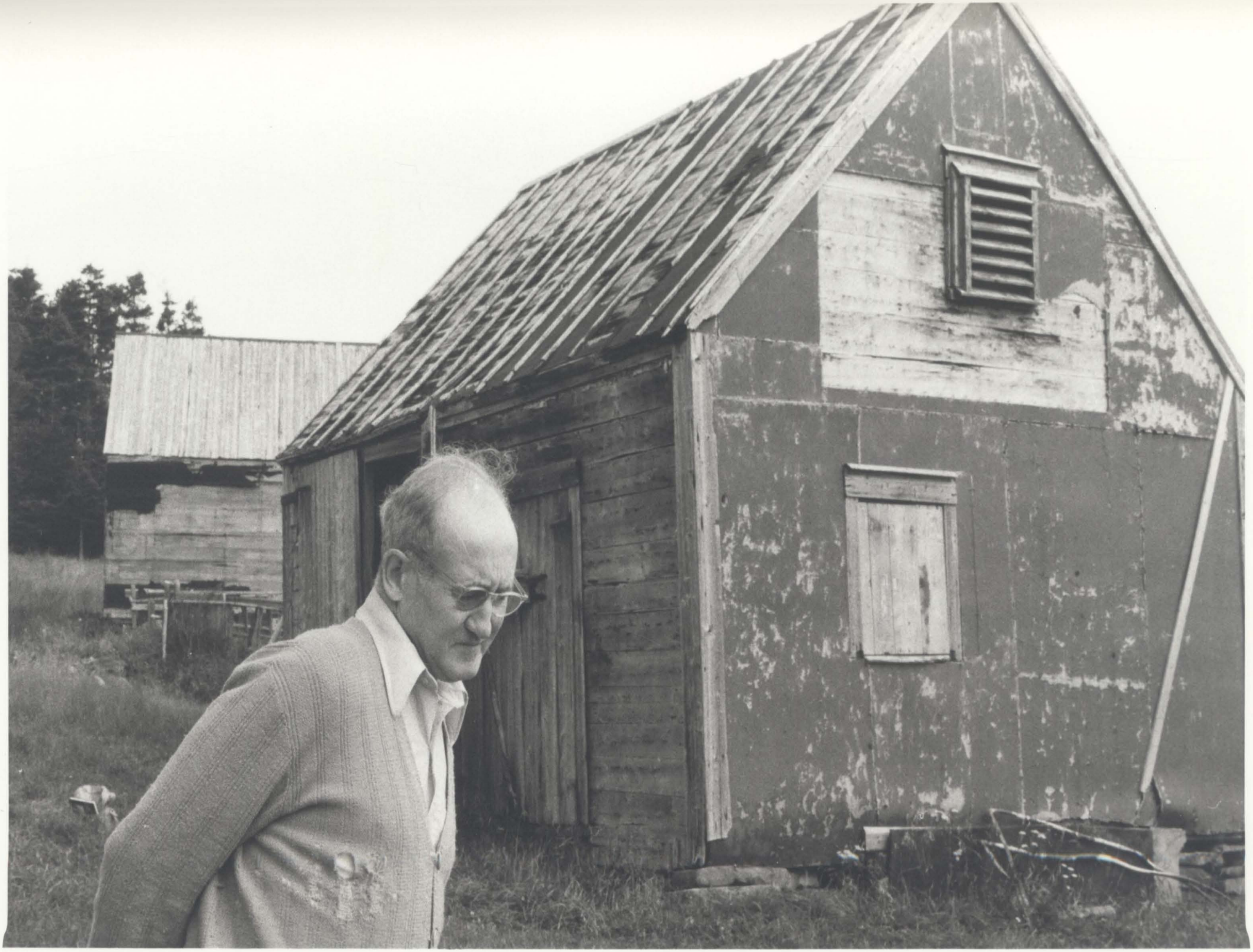

Figure 166 Drawing of Downey farm, 1950s.

Downey Farm Circa 1950

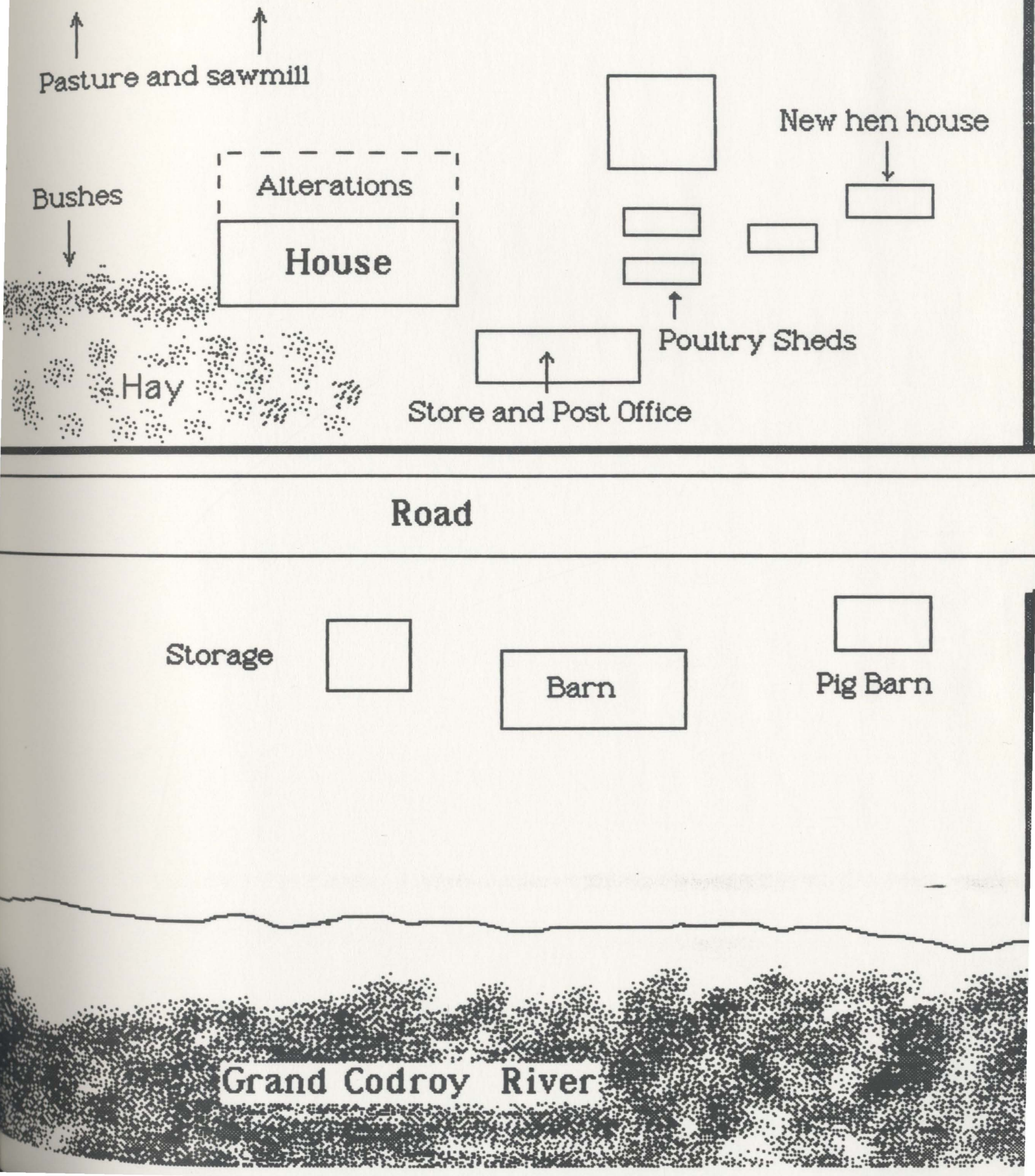

Figure 167 Downey house after modifications in the 1950s. From Fintan Downey's photograph collection.



Figure 168 St. Thomas' School, Great Codroy, 1950s. From Fintan Downey's photograph collection.



road through the settlement. The original barn became a wagon shed, at this time, and a new bank barn--a unique type in the Codroy Valley--was constructed below the main road (Figure 169).

This barn was designed by Mike J. Downey, a former school teacher, and nephew of Alban's, who was an architect and engineer with the Newfoundland Pulp and Paper Company. He specialized in designing woods camps for this company all through the 1930s and 40s, and by the 1950s, became one of Corner Brook's best known architects, designing buildings such as the Co-operative Store, the Newfoundland Tractor and Equipment Company Building, the Curling Church, and the Corner Brook Country Club.[30] This form of barn was foreign to the Codroy Valley building repertoire; until this time, Codroy Valley farmers mainly built what are commonly referred to as English barns. Only one other farmer--Frank O'Quinn from Searston--copied this form when deciding to construct a new barn in the 1950s. Another small building near the main house was constructed to house a small confectionery store and post office operated by Alban and his family (Figures 170 and 171).

By the 1980s, Alban's son Fintan was operating the farm. Fintan moved the small store and post office from close to the house to the nearby road in 1950, adding a back addition to transform the building into a blacksmith's shop. In this

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[30] Western Star, 30 January 1953, p. 11.

Figure 169 Downey farm, showing the bank barn; from Fintan Downey photograph collection.



Figure 170 Former confectionery store and blacksmith shop, 1982.



Figure 171 Confectionery store, 1940s; from Fintan Downey's photograph collection.



same year, he removed the second storey of the machinery shed next to the barn and added a small section to the west side of the building (Figure 172). By 1983, Fintan moved one of the hen houses from beside the house to behind the house, to be used as a storage shed.

The Downey farm was one of the more progressive farms of the valley. By the 1950s the Downeys were expecting better times ahead with the advent of Canadian confederation, and proceeded to purchase more modern farm machinery. The valley's first tractor--a McCormick Farm All--was purchased by the Downeys in the 1950s (Figure 173). Likewise, the Downey farm possessed a threshing machine which travelled around to the various Codroy Valley communities during harvest time (Figure 174). Moreover, it was one of the first farms in the valley to adopt some of the tractor-driven machines such as balers, tedders, mowers and rakers (Figures 175, 176, and 177).

This chapter has looked at the development of the Downey farm as following the pattern typical in much of the Codroy Valley. The earliest farmers of the valley, like the Downeys, located their buildings near the river--the main Codroy Valley roadway in winter and summer. With the establishment of roads between various Codroy Valley settlements at the end of the nineteenth century, new buildings were located close to the road, rather than on the banks of the river. These connecting links were developed largely by the local farmers themselves, who regularly asked the St. John's government for

Figure 172 Modified storage shed, Downey Farm, Great Codroy, 1982.

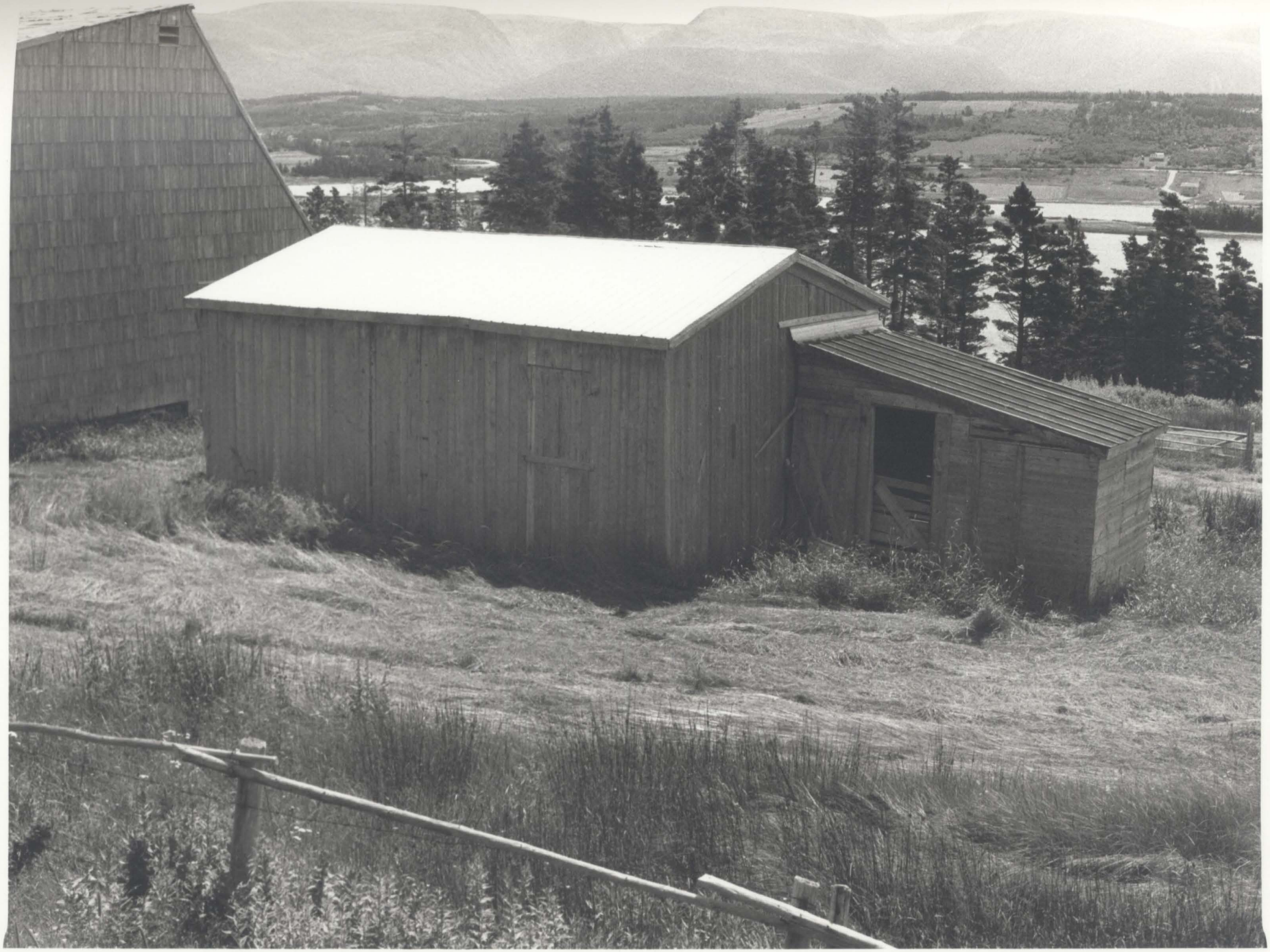

Figure 173 The Downey's McCormick Farm All tractor, 1960s; from Fintan Downey's photograph collection.


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Figure 174 The Downeys' tractor hauling a grain thresher, 1950s; from Fintan Downey's photograph collection.



Figure 175 Alban Downey ploughing on the Downey farm, 1960s; from Fintan Downey's photograph collection.



Figure 176 Cutting hay on the Downey farm, 1960s; from Fintan Downey's photograph collection.



Figure 177 Baling hay on the Downey farm, 1960s; from Fintan Downey's photograph collection.


McCORMICK

financial assistance for their improvement. Some saw improved roads as a way to increase their ability to market Codroy Valley produce. Throughout the 1880s, a number of petitions for the improvement of valley roads and river crossings were presented to the government in St. John's on behalf of Codroy Valley residents, and by 1884 even outsiders such as James P. Howley were arguing for improved roads in the region.[31]

Alterations and modifications of the farm buildings occurred on the Downey farm, just as on other Codroy Valley farms. Additions and deletions to buildings, the moving of buildings, and the construction of new buildings as new needs arose, were common to both the Downey farm and to other Codroy Valley operations. There were two major periods of rebuilding, when renovations and alterations were most common: 1) the end of the nineteenth century and 2) the 1940s and 1950s. These periods were times of hopeful anticipation in this district. The arrival of the railroad and tourism at the end of the nineteenth century brought new ideas to the area and allowed farmers to demonstrate their positive attitude toward the future with alterations, movings and reordering of their environment. In the 1940s and 50s, Confederation with Canada brought similar hopes and dreams. On the Downey farm, this was also the period when new tractor-driven machinery was introduced, and a number of

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[31] Public Ledger, 18 March 18, 1877, p. 3; Journal of the House of Assembly, 1884, Appendix 508.

modifications were made to the farm.[32]

Between these two periods, a number of factors affected the Codroy Valley farm community. A potato blight in the late 1920s and 30s, the depression of the 1930s, and the Second World War all helped to drive Codroy Valley young people to leave the region for occupations in other places.[33] Attempts were made to establish Co-operatives, to help improve the quality of life in the valley, but, while successful in Cape Breton Island and eastern Nova Scotia, these associations were largely unsuccessful in the Codroy Valley.[34] Co-operative Farmers Associations, Co-operative Stores and Credit Unions were established, but did not last long.[35] Today, one Credit Union and one Co-operative store exist in the region.

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[32] Gerald Pocius found these same periods were times of rebuilding on the Southern Shore of Newfoundland. Gerald L. Pocius, "Raised Roofs and High Hopes: Rebuildings on Newfoundland's Southern Shore," Material Culture, 19, No. 2-3 (1987), 67-83.

[33] See for example, Western Star, 11 November 1931.

[34] For a discussion of Co-operatives in the Codroy Valley see: John Szwed, Private Cultures and Public Imagery: Interpersonal Relations in a Newfoundland Peasant Society, Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies No. 2 (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1966), pp. 124-49.

[35] When conducting fieldwork in the region in 1982 and 83, I discovered upon an empty Co-operative store from this period in the community of South Branch, complete with cardboard boxes of ledgers and documents. These are now housed in the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland.

Confederation with Canada in 1949 did not bring the expected economic boost to Codroy Valley farming. Instead, farmers of the region faced keen competition from other regions such as Prince Edward Island and found it increasingly difficult, by the 1950s and 60s, to maintain family farms. The 1960s brought electricity and, by 1965, the Trans-Canada highway, but by this time many of the Codroy Valley farms were no longer worked. Instead, a number had been sub-divided into lots to be sold to non-Codroy Valley residents for summer tourist cabins. By the mid-1980s, there were only a dozen or more serious farmers in the valley: many found it necessary to purchase some of the smaller adjoining farms to increase their productivity.

Today, farming is not one of the major occupational choices for Codroy Valley residents. Fintan Downey's farm is now almost a hobby, with Fintan and his sister planting a garden and keeping a few hens and sheep for their own use. There are no horses or cattle, and much of their hay is mowed and used by other Codroy Valley farmers. The threshing machine and the Farm All tractor sit unused in the cavernous bank barn, along with other unnecessary farm implements such as flails, adzes, hewing axes and harnesses.

Although some Codroy Valley farmers keep a few sheep and cattle, cut lumber in winter and operate small farms, many choose to work in the towns of Port aux Basques, twenty miles away, or even Stephenville, a one and one-half hour automobile drive from the Codroy Valley. Many of the valley's

young people live in the cities and towns across Canada wherever steady employment is found. According to Brendan Doyle, the present-day high school principal, seventy-five percent of the region's children leave after graduation from school.[36] For many, an education at a mainland university, or at Memorial University of Newfoundland in St. John's, is the road to success, not life on a Codroy Valley farm. Today, unemployment is one of the more serious problems faced by residents, and the Canadian federal government unemployment insurance benefits provide much of the cash income for many residents.

Just as it was at the turn of the twentieth century, the one business which has been nurtured and developed in recent years is tourism. Each year the foreign license plates multiply, but so far the region has escaped much of the detrimental effects of tourist development. There are no blinking billboards, fast food chain outlets, or condominiums built on the beaches of the river. But there are increasing numbers of small summer cabins on what were once some of the valley's better farms. A letter to the editor of the local newspaper in 1982 complains about the increased number of these summer cabins, referring to them as, "chanties [sic] no larger than a regular washroom."[37]

Fintan Downey and the remaining Codroy Valley farmers

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[36] Interview with Brendan Doyle.

[37] Gulf News, 4 August 1982, p. 5

are facing change, just as their forefathers faced it when they chose to live in this land in the mid-nineteenth century. Their children are departing, some of their farms are being transformed into summer recreation areas or are growing in with uncut alders, and the Gaelic and Acadian languages, once so common, are now infrequently heard. But while there are many changes, there are also many aspects of Codroy Valley life which remain the same. The next chapter will explore some of the complex elements of Codroy Valley personality in an examination of how local culture activities have affected the architecture of this region.

Chapter 8 - People and Buildings: The Influence of Cultural Activities on the Built Form

Many vernacular architecture studies show how factors such as economics, climate, and environment have influenced the architecture of a region, but few have focused attention on the influence of cultural activities on the built form.[1] Some North American vernacular architecture studies search diligently for ethnic characteristics in architecture, mining old world antecedent source areas for any possible features indicating cultural transfer to the new world. In this process, cultural factors such as spatial usage, siting of buildings, and the choice of building materials, have been analyzed, but seldom are the cultural activities within buildings used as a starting point.[2] Rapaport points out

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[1] One scholar who has discussed this issue is Amos Rapoport. See for example, Amos Rapoport, House Form and Culture, Foundations of Cultural Geography Series (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969); Amos Rapoport, The Meaning of the Built Environment: A Nonverbal Communication Approach (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1982); Amos Rapoport, ed., The Mutual Interaction of People and their Built Environment: A Cross-Cultural Perspective, World Anthropology Series (The Hague: Mouton, 1976); Amos Rapoport, "Vernacular Architecture and the Cultural Determinants of Form," in Buildings and Society: Essays on the Social Development of the Built Environment, ed. Anthony D. King (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), pp. 283-305.

[2] See for example: Edward A. Chappell, "Acculturation in the Shenandoah Valley: Rhenish Houses of the Massanutten Settlement," in Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture, ed. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1986), pp. 27-57; John Michael Vlach "The Shotgun House: An African

that many vernacular architecture studies end with the classification, listing and description of house types; he adds: "Little attempt has been made to link these forms to life patterns, beliefs and desires, although form is difficult to understand outside the context of its setting, culture and the way of life it shelters." [3] This chapter attempts to examine some aspects of Codroy Valley culture to assess the influence of that culture on the built form. Much of the material for this section derives from fieldwork interviews and observations along with some documentary material, historical newspaper accounts of the region, and published and unpublished material collected by students and folklorists who have conducted research in this region.

A number of architectural forms were common in the Codroy Valley throughout the nineteenth century. Some, such as the hall-parlour type, followed a pattern common to the areas of Cape Breton Island from where Codroy Valley emigrants migrated. Others, such as the gothic peaked houses of the late nineteenth century, show that Codroy Valley builders were, at this period, keenly aware of international

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Cultural Legacy," in Common Places, ed. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, pp. 58-78; Kenneth A. Breisch and David Moore, "The Norwegian Rock Houses of Bosque County Texas: Some Observations on a Nineteenth Century Vernacular Building Type," in Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture II, ed. Camille Wells (Columbia: Published for the Vernacular Architecture Forum by the University of Missouri Press, 1986), pp. 64-71.

[3] Rapoport, House Form and Culture, p. 17.

fashion. While a variety of architectural forms exist, there are a number of local cultural influences observable in the buildings of the region. One common pattern throughout the valley is the large size of kitchens. In all house forms documented in this study, including the small bungalows as well as the large two storey houses, kitchens often occupy the largest amount of space within dwellings. This is evident not only in nineteenth century types, but also in the many twentieth century forms. In Mary Ona McIsaac's two-thirds Georgian house in St. Andrews, built in 1882, for example, the kitchen occupies almost two-thirds of the floor space (Figure 178). Likewise, in Archie Francis McIsaac's bungalow, built in 1932, the kitchen is the largest room of the house (See Figures 117, 118, and 119).

Besides functioning as the central room within houses, this was the space where important community events such as milling frolics occurred. As Bennett has pointed out, in the early years of settlement the valley's different ethnic groups conducted separate milling frolics, but by the end of the nineteenth century, and well into the twentieth century, "the milling frolics brought Scots, French, Irish and English together...."[4] Each spring, Codroy Valley families sheared their sheep, and proceeded to spin their wool. In spring and summer the many activities on the Codroy Valley farm included

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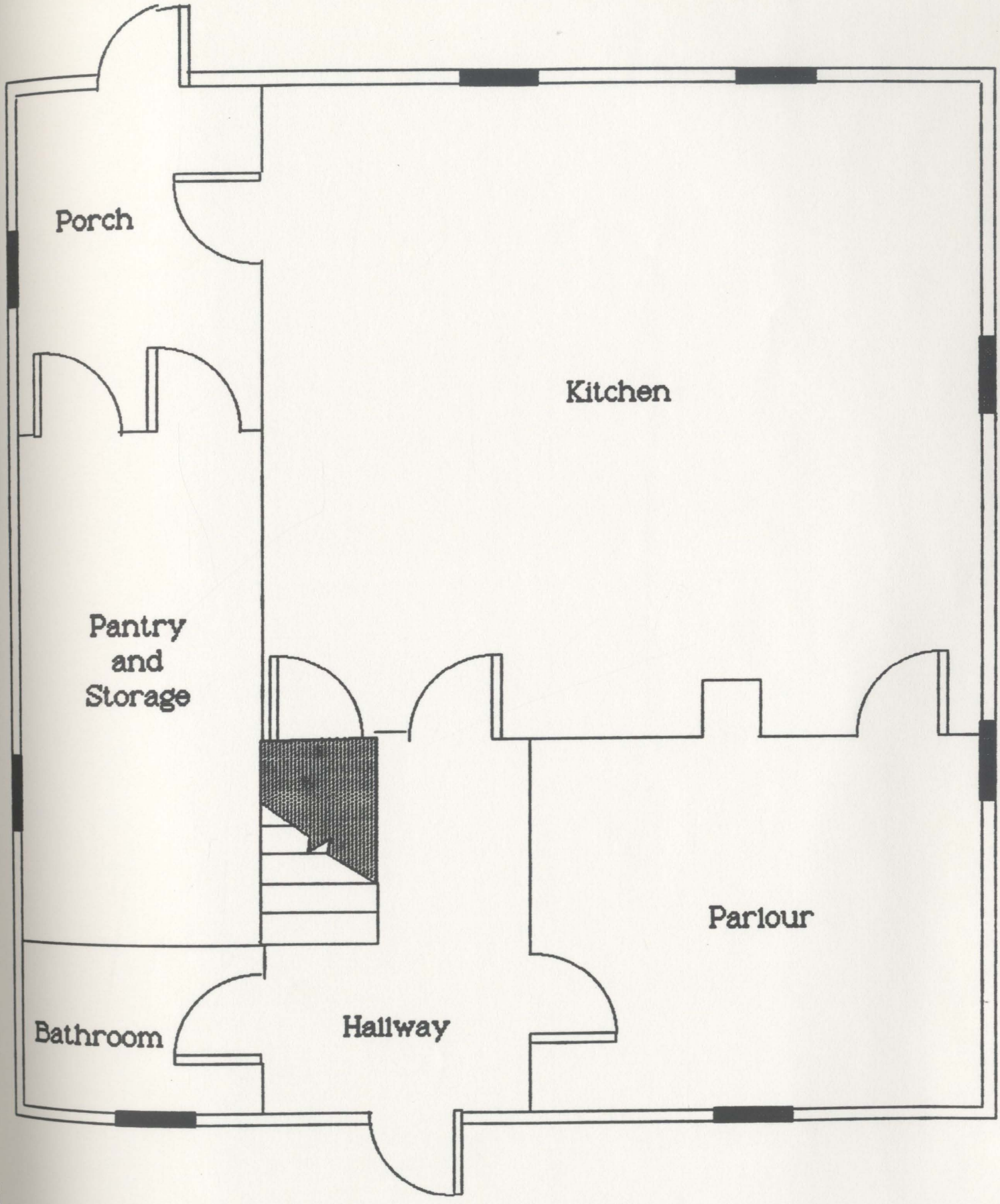
[4] Margaret Bennett, "Some Aspects of the Scottish Gaelic Traditions of the Codroy Valley, Newfoundland," M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1975, p. 100.

Figure 178 Floor plan, Mary Ona McIsaac's house, St. Andrews.



Mary McIsaac's House
Circa 1882

1/4" = 1'

planting, weeding, making hay, and harvesting. Not until autumn and winter, when farm work slowed down, and the butchering of animals was completed (Figure 179), were people able to hold milling frolics.

A large group--from twenty to fifty--gathered at one particular house to mill or, as it is referred to in the Scottish Highlands, to "full," "waulk" or "work" the cloth (Figure 180).[5] According to Margaret Bennett, the milling of the cloth in the Scottish highlands was generally the work of women. In the Codroy Valley, and in Cape Breton Island, in contrast, both men and women conducted this work.[6] Margaret Bennett provides a description of the process:

> Preparation for the milling consisted of setting up a long table, usually made out of four or five planks of wood, 6 to 8 inches wide and about 15 feet long. These were laid side by side on top of two or three wood trestles. Sometimes a couple of old doors placed end to end, or two 14 inch wide planks would serve the same purpose....Benches or chairs were set on either side of the table to accommodate up to twenty people; one seat was

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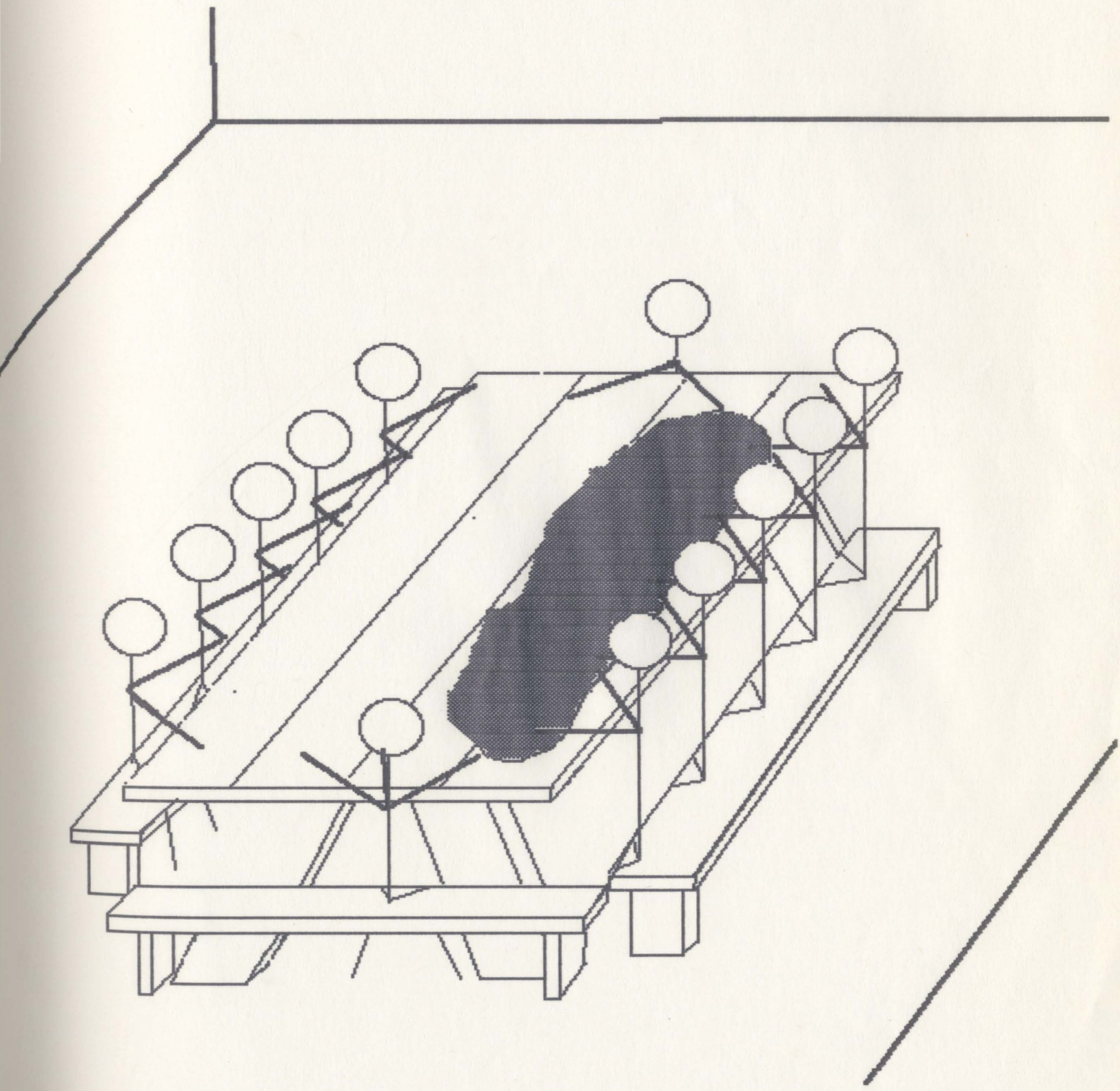
[5] Margaret Bennett, "A Codroy Valley Milling Frolic," in Folklore Studies in Honour of Herbert Halpert: A Festschrift, Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Publication Series, Bibliographic and Special Series, No. 7, ed. Kenneth S. Goldstein and Neil V. Rosenberg (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1980), p. 99.

[6] Bennett, "A Codroy Valley," p. 99.

Figure 179 Butchering on the John MacNeil farm, Loch Lomond; from Michael McNeil's photograph collection, St. Andrews.

Figure 180 Composite sketch of a milling frolic.

Composite Sketch of a Milling Frolic in a Codroy Valley Kitchen



> placed at each end for the two people (usually men) who would make sure the cloth passed around the table....The two ends of the 30 yard roll of cloth were sewn together. The cloth was submerged in a big tub of soapy water placed at one end of the table and was then lifted out. The excess was squeezed from it, and the cloth was placed on the table in a large loop.... [7]

People sat at the table, with the better singers sitting at the end positions. The milling commenced with the beating of the cloth on the table, accompanied by Gaelic, English and Acadian songs. It was passed around the table, from hand to hand, thickening as it was beaten; the women were the acknowledged experts on how thick and wide the cloth had to be.[8] After the milling was completed, the cloth was smoothed out on the table and rolled, accompanied by what were referred to as "rolling" songs. Bennett says, "These were also accompanied by laughter and lightheartedness, reflecting not only the theme of the songs but the pleasure of finishing the work and the anticipation of the night of merrymaking that would follow." [9] The cloth and table would be removed after the work was finished and a party or "kitchen racket" would continue well into the evening with much food and drink

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[7] Bennett, "A Codroy Valley," p. 101.

[8] Bennett, "A Codroy Valley," p. 101.

[9] Bennett, "A Codroy Valley," p. 107.

offered by the host, with plenty of singing, playing music and dancing. Lucy Cormier, a well known Acadian singer who participated in many millings states:

> Perhaps the milling would be done by 11 or 12 o'clock. You'd have a cup of tea, then dance the rest of the night. All hardwood floor in your kitchen or living room. No such thing as canvas or carpet in our day. They used to have a good time; play the fiddle, the accordion....[10]

In addition to performing a needed function for the making of blankets and clothes, this was an important social event, bringing together young men and women for courting, neighbours and family for gossip and discussion, and fellow farmers for drinks and conviviality. It was even a time for pranks:

> My mother tells about a milling she attended shortly after she married and moved to the valley thirty four years ago. A touch of levity was added when a practical joker who had done little all day but stick pins in the busy workers was, himself, sat in the tub of water used for soaking the cloth! [11]

The songs sung at these gatherings were extremely

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[10] MUNFLA 79-370, p. 18.

[11] MUNFLA 71-87, pp. 22-23.

important items of the region's folklore, addressing age old themes of love, courtship, departure and love of homeland. Moreover, there is a strong satiric song tradition in the valley and, at a milling frolic, local composers might provide satiric commentary on the actions and behaviour of particular individuals from the community.[12] Bennett Knight points out that Acadian, Gaelic and English songs were regularly sung along with "macaronic" songs, or those which were amalgams of different languages.[13]

The tradition of milling frolics was no longer practised by the 1950s, around the time of Confederation with Canada, and the period when many residents began leaving for other parts of Newfoundland, Canada and the United States. Moreover, this was the period when residents had easier access to commercially made cloth resulting in a decline in sheep raising. Milling frolics were revived for a short time in the late 1960s when Margaret Bennett, a Folklore graduate student from Scotland, attending Memorial University of Newfoundland, began collecting aspects of the Scottish Gaelic

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12 For a study of this satiric songmaking tradition see John F. Szwed, "Paul E Hall: A Newfoundland Songmaker and Community of Song," in Folksongs and their Makers, ed. Edward D. Ives, Henry Glassie and John F. Szwed (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press), pp. 149-67.

13 See: Bennett, "A Codroy Valley;" Margaret Bennett, "Scottish, Gaelic, English and French: Some Aspects of the Macaronic Tradition of the Codroy Valley, Newfoundland," Regional Language Studies: Newfoundland, 4, No. 1 (1972), 25-30.

traditions in the valley. After collecting narratives and descriptions of milling frolics from many residents, she decided to hold an actual milling frolic. On one level it was a major success; she was able to bring together a large group of people to sing the older songs no longer sung in most families. Although many residents were enthusiastic about this occasion, after Bennett left the region, the enthusiasm abated and the milling frolic tradition did not continue. Her recordings of these songs are invaluable, as they are, in some cases, the only record we have of the performance of these older Gaelic and Acadian songs from this district.[14]

Millings were not the only frolics in the Valley, as there were other frolics for various kinds of work. The shearing of sheep, the spinning of wool, the gathering of wood, and the threshing of grain were activities commonly organized as frolics. The shearing of sheep commenced whenever the weather became warm--usually in late May or early June. If a family kept only enough sheep for their own use, this work was usually performed by the males of the family; if a family was involved with the selling of meat or yarn, hired help and neighbours would begin this activity. A

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[14] Milling frolics using a symbolic cloth still occur in Cape Breton Island, although this may well be a revival dating from the 1960s when outside researchers began to visit the Cape Breton Island Gaelic community to collect oral materials. At present, local Gaelic societies regularly hold milling frolics--particularly when there are tourists or visitors from outside the local community who may want to experience Gaelic singing.

sheep would have its front and back legs tied, and two men would place the sheep on a short, flat table; one man tried to restrain the struggling animal while the other began to clip with the sheep shears, taking great care not to cut it. One researcher states:

> Not anyone could shear the sheep, that is, one probably watched his father or brothers and then shown [sic] the process before they were allowed to participate in the task. The children usually gathered together to watch the process so they had lots of opportunities to learn.[15]

While it was the male's task to shear the sheep, it was the duty of women and young girls to wash the wool. The women and young girls of a family, along with their female neighbours, took the sheared wool to a brook and, with the hope of fine weather for three or four days, began the washing process. A boiler made from a cut-off drum was filled with water from the brook, soap was added, a fire built, and the wool was boiled in the drum, at as hot a temperature as the workers could stand. After washing, the wool was placed in a smaller tub before the wrenching or squeezing out of the excess water. The wool was then spread on the grass to dry which would take at least two days. If windy weather prevailed, boards were placed over the wool to prevent it

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[15] MUNFLA 79-700.

from blowing around the field. Much of this activity occurred outside the house in the field; the process would then move inside to the kitchen for the picking or the pulling of the wool, so it could be cleaned of all the sticks and particles of hay. Following the cleaning, the carding of the wool began, using hand cards obtained from factories in Canada or the United States. This again was a female activity occurring within the confines of a house's kitchen.

While shearing occurred outside the dwelling house, and was mainly done by men, the spinning of wool was an interior activity, primarily done by women. Rather than an individual's work, this became a communal gathering for women:

> Usually all the women in the community would take turns coming to each other's houses in order to spin the wool. They would stay at one house until they got all the wool spun and then move on to another house.[16]

These gatherings were usually held in kitchens and were accompanied by much food, conversation, gossip and, when the spinning was over, by activities such as card games:

> the women would gather at a home to spin for a neighbour. They came early and worked until late at night. Some spun the yarn (the husbands having

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[16] MUNFLA, 79-700, p. 20.

> brought the spinning wheels that morning), others doubled and twisted it on a big wheel, while yet others hanked the yarn on home-made hanking reels.... The women baked for days in advance of a spinning party and, besides the main meals, served a lunch at night to the women and to the husbands who would come in the evenings for a card game [17]

The kitchen is where neighbours visited and family and friends worked; whether milling, cleaning wool, spinning, card playing, or just talking, the kitchen space was the most important intermediary space between family and community.

Many of the kitchen activities here described no longer occur in the 1980s. These communal kitchen gatherings, in fact, were no longer necessary in the early years of the twentieth century, for at this time water-powered carding mills began to appear in the valley. One carding mill, still standing in Millville in the 1980s, was owned by the Gale family; it began operating by 1900 and continued until the late 1940s (See Figure 99). Even though the Codroy Valley possessed the technology to eliminate these kitchen gatherings, residents felt the need to continue this traditional pattern of neighbourliness. A gradual erosion seems to have occurred with fewer and fewer gatherings of this kind being organized as the century developed. It was not until the 1950s and 60s that this work tradition in

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[17] MUNFLA, 71-87, pp. 21-22.

neighbours' kitchens almost ceased. This may well be a result of major transitions at the time such as: outmigration to other places, a departure from the family farm, decline in sheep raising, the decline in use of both Gaelic and Acadian French, and the development of a tourism industry with outsiders buying land and building summer cottages in the region.

While some important Codroy Valley work traditions occurred within houses, traditional activities surrounding weddings and wakes also took place within the confines of the Codroy Valley house. Whole clusters of traditional behaviour and performances surrounding eating, dancing, drinking and playing music occurred at a Codroy Valley wedding. The local churches were where the wedding ceremony was performed by a priest, but the celebrations afterward occurred at the family homes of the bride or groom. A newspaper account in 1923 provides a glimpse of this activity by describing the wedding of Allan MacArthur, the main character in Margaret Bennet's research, and a well known Gaelic seanachaidh [recorder, oral historian, storyteller]:

> St. Andrews, Little River - May 23 - Allan McArthur, Little River, married Mary Cecilia McDonald.... After mass the bridal party drove to the home of the bride accompanied by a band of pipers and invited guests, where dinner was served and an enjoyable afternoon was spent with music and dancing. In the

> evening the party proceeded to the home in appropriately decorated vehicles. The drive was so enlivened by the strain of bagpipe music.... Supper was served immediately and dancing was again resumed until the 'wee sma hours' [i.e. wee small hours] of morning.[18]

Eating, music and dancing all played a major role at this wedding. A cultural transfer from Cape Breton Island Scottish culture--bagpipe music--played an important ceremonial role in this event. The many photographs of bagpipe musicians in Codroy Valley family photograph albums do not show a musician dressed in the stereotypical tartan kilt and sporran, but merely young and old men dressed in their best suit of clothing, ready to perform for the wedding of a neighbour or friend (Figures 181 and 182).[19]

Another account from 1909 provides a description of a Tompkins/ MacDonald wedding:

> After the ceremony the newly made bride and groom, with numerous guests, repaired to the bride's former home, where a sumptuous dinner had been prepared. But the festivity was only to begin at 'Afton' [the resort hotel owned by the groom]. At 4 pm arrived the

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[18] Western Star, 6 June 1923, p. 4.

[19] Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland," in The Invention of Tradition, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp.15-42.

Figure 181 Johnny Archie MacDonald playing the bagpipes, St. Andrew's, Codroy Valley; from Michael McNeil's photograph collection.


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Figure 182 Sears MacArthur playing bagpipes at the Codroy Valley Folk Festival, Upper Ferry, 1982.



> bridal party, and by 5 o'clock no less than 50 sleighs stood before the door. Two hundred guests were to be entertained and there was food and entertainment for all and of the best. Dancing was the greatest attraction of the evening (next to the bride of course).... The rooms were many and spacious and the music of the kind our Scottish youths love best-the bagpipes. There were several present, chief among the performers being, of course, Mr. Andrew D. McIsaac. Several violins and other music had to be requisitioned to supply the main sets continually on the floor. At 8.30 on Wednesday morning the guests slowly and reluctantly began to withdraw, the night having been all too short.[20]

The playing of fiddles, bagpipe music and dancing were an extremely important part of a traditional Codroy Valley wedding. Other accounts report storytelling, step dancing, and Gaelic singing at weddings during this period.[21] At the present, most Codroy Valley wedding parties are set at local halls or at one of the local clubs or lounges such as the Lion's Club in Searston or the Starlight Lounge in Tompkins, but important segments of the event still happen within Codroy Valley homes. Some families continue to sponsor

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[20] Western Star, 27 January 1909, p. 5.

[21] Western Star, 21 May 1913; Western Star, 14 October 1914; Western Star, 17 November 1920; Western Star, 13 July 1932.

parties for close friends and relatives before and after weddings at the home of the bride or groom. Nevertheless, the construction of schools and community halls in the different sections began early in the twentieth century; by the 1920s, there were four schools and three halls in the district. While some dances and parties after weddings were held at the halls, many of the non-church events surrounding weddings continued to be held in the houses of the district throughout the twentieth century.

Codroy Valley houses were also the setting for wakes. Friends of a family went to the house where someone had died, offering condolences and bringing food, then helping to prepare the body for a wake and a funeral. Some men were asked to dig the grave, and others to build a coffin. The wake began in the evening:

> People come from miles around to pay their last respects to the dead and to extend sympathy to the bereaved. The house is usually full of people - the remains resting in the front room. Out in the kitchen people are meeting those they have not seen for a while and their conversation flows on. In the front room, near the casket, sit most of the members of the family....[22]

While the body was laid out in the front room or the parlour

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[22] MUNFLA 71-39, p. 9.

in a coffin, food was consumed and friends, neighbours and the grieving family conversed in the kitchen. The drinking of beer or homebrew was consumed outside the house; drinking was not approved within houses during wakes. The priest led the mourners in prayer and in saying the rosary. While most mourners left for home by midnight, three or four men or women stayed for the whole night, playing cards, and checking to make sure the candles surrounding the coffin in the front room stayed lit. While playing cards, the participants told stories about the deceased and reminisced about personal associations with the deceased.[23] At the present most wakes are not held within people's homes but, following a common North American pattern, are held at commercially-run funeral parlours. Nevertheless, segments of the older pattern remain with neighbours and relatives visiting the family of the deceased at their home, bringing food and offering their condolences.

While some of these kitchen activities such as milling frolics are no longer practised in the 1980s, other daily activities still occur here. The kitchen is still the place in the region's homes where food is prepared and eaten. Small pantries attached to a kitchen were common and the kitchen's basic furnishings consisted of cupboards, a table, chairs or a bench, a rocking chair and a daybed. In the 1980s many modern bungalows delete the dining room called for in the

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[23] MUNFLA 71-39, p.10.

original plan to allow a larger kitchen to be constructed. Likewise, activities such as card games are still regularly held in kitchens; I spent many evenings talking to Neil McIsaac in his kitchen while we played card games such as "Hearts" and "Forty-Fives," common games of the region. These games are more commonly played in the fall and during long winter nights, but if the occasion arises, they are also played in the summer. In winter Neil McIsaac travels to the home of his friends, Archie Francis and Lizzie McIsaac, in St. Andrews, for an entire evening of playing cards. Accompanying this game is much conversation along with a lunch of sandwiches, sweets and tea. This kind of visiting tradition to play cards and converse in kitchens is still a common activity in the region in the 1980s.

While weddings and wakes were important communal events within kitchens and parlours, important co-operative work often took place in the fields and woods surrounding Codroy Valley dwellings. "Hauling," "chopping" and "ploughing" frolics were organized for the church, for individuals unable to procure their own wood, or for people having difficulty ploughing their own land. A newspaper account described a hauling frolic to gather hay and wood for one family:

> Isaac Lomond's house was the scene of one of the old time hauling frolics on Tuesday. About twenty horses from Codroy and Grand River took part in hauling hay and wood. Everything loose in sight was

> picked up and carried along. In the evening all the old folk assembled at Mr. Lomond's home where they enjoyed the light fantastic till quite late at night.[24]

An event such as this was an occasion for alcohol consumption and a party of some kind when the work was completed. Food, drinking, dancing and music were all a part of this co-operative custom; while the wood hauling occurred outside the house, these other activities took place inside Codroy Valley houses and most often in kitchens. It is interesting to note that in 1926, the custom of a hauling frolic was considered to be "old time" and thereby newsworthy enough to be commented upon in the newspaper. Moreover, only the "old folk" assembled at the house for a dance and party after the frolic. This suggests that the tradition was no longer as common as it once was, and the younger people, it seems, were not a part of this gathering. They may have viewed this as an "old" tradition, one that their parents and grandparents engaged in, but a tradition not for them. By the 1980s, when I was conducting my fieldwork, frolics of this kind were no longer a part of Codroy Valley culture.

While the community itself organized and engaged in some co-operative enterprises, the churches in the various Codroy Valley communities supported and sponsored outdoor co-

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[24] Western Star, 10 February 1926; for other descriptions of frolics such as these see: Western Star, 9 November 1921; Western Star, 3 March 1926.

operative gatherings ranging from frolics aimed at obtaining materials for constructing churches, to visits from special clergy members. When churches were built, local men helped in the cutting of wood while well known carpenters helped to construct the buildings. Activities such as card games, garden parties, play productions and dances were held to raise money for the construction of churches. [25] A description of a visit by the Archbishop in 1917 shows the way in which the community co-operated in a church-sponsored event:

> Archbishop Roche and party arrived at St. Andrews by Friday's express. They were given a great reception by Monsignor Sears and parishioners on arrival. They drove to Searston accompanied by two of our best Scotch pipers, playing the bagpipes and the longest procession of horses and carriages ever seen in Searston Road.... [26]

Bagpipe music and a parade accompanied this important community event.

More important, however, is a note appearing in the newspaper two months later:

> The Catholic people of Codroy

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[25] See Western Star, 2 June 1915; Western Star, 29 October 1930; Western Star, 20 May 1931.

[26] Western Star, 1 June 1917.

> Valley... thank George Collier of Codroy, who so kindly loaned his double seated carriage to convey his Grace Archbishop Roche and party from Searston to Upper Ferry here....[27]

This shows that this form of co-operation crossed religious boundaries, for George Collier was not a Roman Catholic, but a Protestant from the nearby fishing community of Codroy. Five years later, in 1922, bagpipe players and little girls dropping garlands and flowers accompanied Bishop Renouf's visit to the Codroy Valley. As with the Archbishop's visit in 1917, a Protestant, Mr. Patry, the lighthouse keeper at Cape Anguille, offered his new automobile, one of the first in the valley, to drive the Bishop wherever required.[28] Church sponsored events such as a visit by a Bishop or Archbishop, the blessing of a new Church bell, the dedication of a new church or even an annual garden party, included a gathering at the end of the day in a church hall for a dance and a celebratory party. The schools and church halls appeared in the valley within the first ten years of the twentieth century, after the construction of better connecting roads to the various Codroy Valley communities. Events aimed at raising money for churches and schools were regularly held in these buildings. Card games, teas, dances, plays, and even balls were held in these facilities. A 1915 report states:

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[27] Western Star, 8 August 1917.

[28] Western Star, 30 August 1922.

> Before the penitential season overtakes them, the ladies of Searston held their annual ball in St. Anne's hall on Monday night, 8th inst. The programme of the evening was opened by the playing of the bagpipes, after which followed the usual dance programme.... Music was furnished by local talent, violin, organ and bagpipes, which sent a spirit of cheerfulness through the whole crowd, and made even the oldest feel like dancing and enjoying themselves..... The proceeds of the evening will go towards repairing the parish church.[29]

While events such as these began to be held outside family dwellings in community buildings, it did not cause a complete change in usage, for kitchens were still community gathering places. Newly constructed houses in the early years of the twentieth century were generally smaller than those constructed throughout the previous century. Instead of building one and one-half storey dwellings and two storey structures, Codroy Valley residents began to use one storey structures based on the ubiquitous bungalow type. But even within these bungalows, the kitchen was an extremely large room and often was the largest room of the house. In a sense, Codroy Valley residents were experimenting with outside ideas--taking the bungalow type as a common building form,

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[29] Western Star, 24 February 1915.

building community halls, and attending plays in those halls--but were also retaining some of their own traditional culture.

When a dance was held in a hall, for example, bagpipe and fiddle music--the kind heard in Codroy Valley kitchens--was often the accompanying music. Today you are still able to hear the older fiddle tunes, locally composed songs and, to a lesser extent, bagpipe music in community halls and at outdoor festivals. In 1982, the first Codroy Valley "Folks" festival was organized and sponsored by members of the local valley Lion's Club. Held at the sports field beside the high school, the festival brought together local country bands, older French Acadian singers, Scottish Gaelic singers, a young rock band, step dancers, square dancers, a bagpipe player and a number of fiddlers to offer Codroy Valley citizens and the tourist a sense of the variety of local entertainment available in this region. Financially it was very successful, prompting the organizing group to hold an annual festival every summer since 1982. What is interesting about the Codroy Valley folk festivals is the diversity of creative expression found in the performers and, more important, the co-existence of the older form of expression with the new. These newer ideas did not usurp all of the older expressive culture, but complemented the existing traditions.[30]

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[30] Richard Bauman suggests that folklorists must begin to face modernity by examining festivals or what he terms,

While co-operation seems to have been an important part of Codroy Valley culture, egalitarianism did not mean that competitiveness or non-co-operation did not exist. John Szwed, an anthropologist who examined interpersonal relations in the Codroy Valley, argues that in the early days of settlement, co-operative work was carried on, but always in the context of social activities.[31] After tracing the failure of institutional co-operative enterprises in the region, he concludes that consensus and co-operation are not great concerns in the Codroy Valley: "Rather, it is the avoidance of dissension that is important."[32] He sees this avoidance of conflict which pervades the "public culture" of the Codroy Valley as a way to ensure equality and reciprocity in interpersonal relationships. Non-co-operation was allowed and indeed encouraged within the confines of regulated events at special times of years. Calendar customs such as Halloween, mummering, and the annual Codroy Valley winter horse race are times when competitiveness, hostility and unsanctioned activity were engaged in within the region. At the turn of

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'display events" --festivals, fairs, meets, and the like--to see how members of a community "deal expressively with the forces of modernity." Richard Bauman, "Folklore and the Forces of Modernity," Folklore Forum, 16 (1983), 158.

[31] John F. Szwed, Private Cultures and Public Imagery: Interpersonal Relations in a Newfoundland Peasant Society, Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies No. 2, Institute of Social and Economic Research (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1966), p.103.

[32] Szwed, Private Cultures, p.104.

the twentieth century, every February, March or April, when ice covers the Grand and Little Codroy Rivers, a horse race bringing Codroy Valley men and women together was held (Figure 183). It was a regular occurrence until the start of World War Two; it does not seem to have been revived after the war. Men brought their fastest horse, bets were laid, and a course was laid on the ice. At times more than four hundred local residents came to watch the event. A local poet wrote about this occasion:

> Twas April the 1st, a fine
> clear day,
> The valley turned out in sport
> array,
> To witness a feat which all
> agree,
> In horse race contest, all
> others flee.
> In last year's race, all
> readers may know,
> That Mollie Bell her tail did
> show,
> To every horse that entered
> the race,
> And one round year she held
> first place.
> Her owner, John Doyle, again
> this year,
> Must needs try hard to win the
> cheer.
> As 'Uncle Thomas' with Darkie
> G,
> Beheld the prize with
> wholesome glee,
> So only the names above were
> heard,
> 'If other should come it must
> be thirds,'
> This the opinion and general
> remark,
> when 'Horseman Jack' came in

Figure 183 Horse Race on the Grand Codroy River, 1940s; from Annie Wall's photograph collection, St. Andrews.



with Lark.
The people have thronged to
Great Codroy,
Their faces are marked with
anxious joy.
While up the ice each jockey
went,
To be in first was fully bent.
'They're coming down ' is
echoed round,
And not could 'vert that gaze
profound,
When 'Horseman Jack' with
beauty Lark,
Outstrips opponents enough to
mark.
In six full heats the match is
close,
The winner oft gains by length
of nose.
And each has yet a chance to
win,
For all are ties who entered
in,
The 7th heat must tell the
tale,
Of who shall win, or who shall
fail,
'Twas only he who saw that
part,
Can tell the capacity of the
heart,
The race is over for this
year,
the hills re-echo the
deafening cheer,
Applauding the winners in the
hard day's toil,
The veteran sport, Mr. Jack G.
Doyle.[33]

The annual horse race was a day when farmers competed with their fellow farmers, displaying the strength and speed of their own horses. Many residents in the 1980s fondly

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[33] Western Star, 12 April 1922, p. 3.

reminisce about these races and point out that the farmers took these events very seriously, betting money, and regularly grooming a particular horse for this annual occasion.

Halloween was yet another time when families were allowed to engage in pranks which at other times of year were not allowed. Teenagers and young adults were allowed to steal chickens, sheep and vegetables from other farms; this food was used in the 'scoff' or meal that night in the kitchen to which neighbours and friends were invited. It was even more pleasurable when the meal was shared with the person who was robbed. Outhouses were overturned, fences, gates, and even horses were stolen, and various pranks were played on individuals. Fourach, a traditional Halloween food of cream and raw oatmeal, and maragan, or blood pudding [sometimes called black pudding] were eaten at the tables of Scottish families. Coins, buttons, rings and other smaller articles were placed in the fourach, used by Codroy Valley children as a way to predict the future. If a button was found in the fourach, it meant the holder would forever be a bachelor; a coin, the person would become wealthy; and a ring, the holder would have a happy marriage. The various schools organized apple bobbing, ring games, and the cutting and making of Halloween figures such as black cats, and witches on broomsticks from construction paper for the children. While the schools played a role in the daytime activities of this custom, it was within Codroy Valley homes, outbuildings and

yards where many of the pranks on this day and night happened.

Likewise, the traditional custom of mummering during the twelve days of Christmas allowed residents to behave in ways not normally sanctioned by the community. In the Codroy Valley, as in other areas of Newfoundland, this activity is largely a visiting custom without the elaborate mummering plays described in other regions and cultures.[34] The practice of mummering has been found to exist mainly amongst settlers of Irish and English extraction in Newfoundland. There do not seem to be reports of this activity amongst Highland Scottish communities, nor have reports of this custom been found in Cape Breton Island Scottish communities. Nevertheless, there are some parallels to this tradition in the behaviour and activities of the lowland Scottish Hogmanay guisers who travel from house to house in disguise on December 31 singing, dancing and at times, guessing identities.[35] In Cape Breton Island, however, amongst Acadian communities, a custom similar to mummering--the Mi Careme or mid-Lenten celebration--is still practised. In the

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[34] See, for example, the standard work on Newfoundland Mummering: Herbert Halpert and George M. Story, eds. Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland: Essays in Anthropology, Folklore and History (Toronto: Published for Memorial University of Newfoundland by University of Toronto Press, 1969).

[35] Herbert Halpert, "A Typology of Mumming," in Christmas Mumming, p. 39.

Codroy Valley, mummering may well have originated with the minority English and Irish settlers or, perhaps, with the Acadian settlers. This tradition may be an example of cultural borrowing by the Scots from some of the other ethnic groups in the region.

The existence of the Codroy Valley mummering tradition is one of the reasons why there is a cultural preference for large kitchens in this region. The kitchen, the most public room of the house, is the main setting for mummering. It is here where the host accepts the night visitors who are dressed in old clothes, table cloths, hip boots, woollen underwear, old hats or virtually any material available to disguise one's identity.[36] Margaret Bennett describes the clothing worn by a group of three mummers who visited neighbors from Upper Ferry to Searston along the Grand Codroy River, to St. Andrews, and then back to Upper Ferry through Loch Lomond:

> They dressed that evening in 'homemade rigs of brin bags [hemp sacks]' and hardly a soul recognized them. Although mummers would sometimes make 'rigs' such as Margaret

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36 Much of this description of mummering or "mumming" in the Codroy Valley comes from: Margaret Bennett, The Last Stronghold: Scottish Gaelic Traditions in Newfoundland, Canada's Atlantic Folklore and Folklife Series, No. 13 (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1989), pp. 101-17. See also: John F. Szwed, "The Mask of Friendship: Mumming as a Ritual of Social Relations," in Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland, pp. 104-118.

> described, they almost always dressed in whatever was available in the way of old or ecentric clothing--old, worn pants [trousers], long underwear, old fashioned or torn dresses, strange footwear, such as long rubber hip-waders, old hats, or whatever else they could find. Much of the fun in mummering was in getting dressed up and laughing at the unlikely costumes of the others in the party, as some men dressed as women and vice versa.[37]

A small group of two to six mummers travel from house to house entering the houses of their neighbours, and accepting food and drink from the host. Margaret Bennett provides a clear description of important aspects of this tradition when she asked an informant to comment on anthropologist John Szwed's discussion of Codroy Valley mummering:

> It was true, she said, that they were not invited, as the surprise was part of the fun, but they always knocked loudly on the door before walking in. Usually they did not wait for someone to answer the door, but the loud knocks gave a moment's warning that the mummers were at their house. Yes, they stamped their feet, Margaret said, and when she read Szwed's description of the 'mummers walk' she laughed heartily and said that was just what they did.... She also agreed that they went out

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[37] Bennett, The Last Stronghold, p. 110.

> of the kitchen, usually into the sitting room [parlour] if they thought someone was missing out on their visit, and there were times when they'd 'have a bit of fun' and nudge someone, but she did not equate this behavior with aggression as Szwed did. She said that it was only playful and that no one minded, especially as they all had 'real fun when the mummers danced with each other or with the people in the house.'... When she came to the section where Szwed referred to mummers playing musical instruments, Margaret said that this was true, but generally they would only play the mouth organ which they could do underneath their masks.... She also added to the description by saying that whenever they spoke they would use 'mummers talk,' a high-pitched tone, while inhaling, in very rapid speech.[38]

The disguising of identity is obviously an important aspect of this tradition with the males and females dressing in the clothes of the opposite sex, and the disguising of voices or any other distinguishable physical features. While disguising of identity is important, part of the tradition also includes the host's guessing of the visitors' identity. In some cases, the mummers are identified by the host, in others, the guests are not identified; the mummers have a great chuckle amongst

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[38] Bennett, The Last Stronghold, pp. 111-112.

themselves if they are not identified.[39] Food or drink is given to the mummers once they unmask. Szwed interprets the ritual as a time when individuals are allowed to be aggeressive to the host; however, this is refuted by one of Margaret Bennett's informant who "was most surprised that any mummers would go out mummering so that they could show aggression towards their host."[40] She pointed out that mummers visited houses where "they knew the people real well, or if someone you were with knew them" and wondered how people would still co-operate and live together afterwards if aggressiveness was a part of this ritual.[41]

This chapter has discussed a wide range of activities occurring within the Codroy Valley dwelling that have influenced house form. Many functions, then, still occur in the kitchen, the public room of the Codroy Valley house (Figures 184 and 185). Card games such as crib and forty-fives are played in kitchens during the long winter nights with friends and neighbours. Likewise, the kitchen is the setting for many of the non-church activities of local weddings and the socializing aspect of wakes when friends gather with food to show their congratulations or

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39 Bennett, The Last Stronghold, p. 112.

40 Szwed, "The Mask of Friendship," p. 117; Bennett, The Last Stronghold, p. 113.

41 Bennett, The Last Stronghold, p. 113.

Figure 184 A Codroy Valley kitchen.



Figure 185 Rose MacDonald's kitchen, St. Andrew's.


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condolences. In a sense, the use of the kitchen in this way follows the older ceilidh [house visit] tradition, common in Cape Breton Island and in the Scottish Highlands. When men drink with their friends or when songs are sung, it is usually the kitchen where this activity occurs.

I was given a first-hand account of this when, in my first summer of fieldwork in the valley, I visited a local singer, Hughie O'Quinn, from the area known as the Block. Having been told that he had composed a number of satirical songs about life in the Codroy Valley, I set out with Codroy Valley friends, Neil McIsaac, Mike MacNeil, and Brendan McArthur and two university friends from St. John's and Delaware. We entered the singer's house through a front door leading directly into a large, open room--a kitchen--where he sat at the table. After drinking some beer and talking about the Codroy Valley, we finally asked him to sing for us. After much denial, he finally sang a number of locally composed ballads. What is interesting is that the building he lives in is a recent building, constructed in the 1970s which follows the pattern of some local bungalows. The floor plan of this one storey house is fairly minimal containing a bedroom, bathroom, small pantry and a large kitchen which takes up most of the space of the house. This use of the kitchen in this way follows a very old British Isles pattern of using the "open hall" for all daily activities. According to Ronald Brunskill, the open hall plan is the vernacular counterpart to the Saxon communal hall, a large room open to the roof

timbers, containing the living quarters for a family.[42] As Brunskill says, "the open hall remained in use at a steadily decreasing social level until the nineteenth century, when the principal living-room of a quarryman's cottage might be open to its roof."[43]

One of the reasons for this usage of space is the large size of Codroy Valley families. It was not uncommon in the past to have families as large as ten or twelve. A survey of the 1921 nominal census reveals that in some houses either nephews, adopted children, parents, unmarried siblings, widowers or boarders were living with the head of a household and the other family members. A survey of fifty families from this 1921 census on the north side of the Grand Codroy River indicates a total population of 324 people in these fifty homes; this averages approximately 6.5 people per household. The actual number of people per household is actually larger than this sample indicates; the sample is skewed because of the large number of bachelors in the Codroy Valley who appear in the census as single member households.[44]

Even in modern CMHC designed houses in the Codroy Valley there is a need for larger kitchens; some families rearrange

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[42] Ronald W. Brunskill, Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture, 3rd ed. (London: Faber and Faber, 1978), pp. 114-15.

[43] Brunskill, p. 114.

[44] Newfoundland, Department of Colonial Secretary, Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1921.

the original design to delete a dining room to allow a larger kitchen. Rather than having three large rooms--kitchen, dining room and living room-- in addition to bedrooms, many new Codroy Valley houses have only a large kitchen and living room. The living room takes on the function of the older parlour. The parlour, or "the room" as it is often called in many Codroy Valley houses, is an area of display where the important objects of a family--the family photographs, the piano, the organ, the inherited furniture--are preserved and displayed. In many cases, the parlour is the family museum where there is a record kept of the important rituals of a family - the weddings, births, and deaths. It is the most formal room of the house where special visitors such as priests or ministers are entertained. This again is an older pattern, commonly found in areas of the British Isles. Henry Glassie, for example, provides a description of how this room functions in Ballymenone, Ireland:

> The Room is used ceremonially. When the family gathers to mark an event in its history, another Christmas or a wedding, the solemn furniture that stands in decorous idleness for months will work to serve rich meals. Christmas brings a fat goose. Then the certificates framed on the walls--the school prizes, military citations, and elevations of rank in fraternal orders-- will remind everyone of past familial

success....[45]

At the present, in many Codroy Valley homes, the living room takes on the function of the older parlour where important items such as VCRs, televisions and chesterfields exist along with the many photographic records of a family's past. The terms, "parlour" and "front room" are now no longer commonly being employed to designate this special room; the living room has become a room which functions somewhat like the older parlours, although it is used much more frequently than parlours were.

Local folk cultural activities do have an important impact on the architecture of the Codroy Valley. This survey of some of the cultural activities affecting house form only scratches the surface; much more work is needed before we will obtain a better understanding of this complex issue. It can be concluded, however, that there was a locally perceived need for large kitchens from the time of initial settlement to the present. Large kitchens remained even when new architectural ideas emerged in the district; the many local folk cultural activities required this kind of large room to allow for the sharing and communalism which were important parts of these events. Szwed points out that reciprocity and the dyadic contract--the bestowing of a favour on another person to form an unwritten contract or obligation--was the

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[45] Henry Glassie, Passing the Time in Ballymenone: Culture and History in an Ulster Community, Publications of the American Folklore Society, Vol. 4 (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), p. 342.

way in which Codroy Valley people ensured equality and democracy in their communities. It is the favours and obligations, he argues, which bind the individuals together and leads to a cautiousness which underlies most community relationships.[46] This cautious approach may well be part of the reason why some of the older patterns of architecture remained and continue to a certain degree at the present. Individuals were careful not to discard too many of the older ways, even with different, more modern, approaches continually encroaching upon the district. The various traditional activities occurring within and outside Codroy Valley homes encouraged the development of a distinct architectural personality of this folk culture region of Newfoundland. It was in these face-to-face interactions of the various local folk cultural activities, calendar customs and rites of passage--within and outside houses--that the the Codroy Valley developed its unique architectural personality.

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[46] Szwed, "The Mask of Friendship," pp. 107-08.

Chapter 9 - Conclusion: The Nature of Codroy Valley Vernacular Architecture

My experiences in the Codroy Valley have taught me much about the people and buildings of this district and have forced me to think more carefully about the nature of vernacular architecture. When Neil McIsaac and I visited Codroy Valley houses, we seldom knocked on doors and instead walked directly into the kitchens. In all cases, no doubt, the occupants knew about us long before we entered the room either because friends had told them about what we were doing, or because they had in fact seen us travelling the roads, visiting the district's older homes. When we visited Archie Francis McIsaac and his wife Lizzie at their bungalow in Tompkins, for example, our visit did not end when the recording of the house was complete. Rather, Lizzie prepared us a fine lunch in the hot kitchen, where we listened to Archie and Lizzie answer our questions about the once common milling frolics, about the preparing, carding and spinning of wool, and about how a house was built when a young man decided to get married. With Lizzie sitting in a rocking chair while knitting a sweater, and Archie seated at the head of the table with his arms folded on his chest, they graciously answered our questions, and when we finished, allowed us to photograph their family album. They told us about other homes we should plan to visit in the valley and were sincerely interested in our project to record some of

Codroy Valley's architecture. Only later that summer did Neil tell me that he still regularly visited Archie Francis and his wife in the winter for conversation and card playing.

My experiences visiting Codroy Valley homes illustrates that older patterns, such as this use of kitchen as a public room, are still part of this district's building tradition. On a wider level, they speaks to the issue of stability in vernacular architecture. They tell us that some patterns of the Codroy Valley building tradition are remarkably stable, continuing in use for a long period, even going back to the pre-migration period in Cape Breton Island. Older patterns which continue to the present day include, to name a few, the use of root cellars (Figure 186), the construction of hay barracks, a pattern of alteration and modification, and the tradition of re-use. Some of the common construction methods and floor plan types of Cape Breton Island were also directly transferred across the Cabot Strait to the Codroy Valley. Settlers chose to construct their homes and outbuildings using similar plans to the ones used in their home district including: (1) the one cell plan, (2) derivative of the one cell plan, (3) the hall-parlour plan, and (4) a derivative of the hall-parlour plan. While stone construction was not found in the Codroy Valley, log and frame construction techniques, similar to those once used in Cape Breton, were common. This leads to a clearer understanding of the nature of vernacular architecture: that architectural patterns and techniques at the vernacular level are often repeated in a relatively fixed

Figure 186 Root Cellar.



form for a long time. Vernacular patterns are stable and tenacious, lasting much longer than many fads or fashions designed without the needs of the user in mind.

But this does not mean that vernacular architecture is uninfluenced by outside ideas or that change does not occur in this kind of building. We sometimes assume that people of rural and isolated regions are geographically isolated and unaffected by outside ideas. As George Kubler says, "Human desires in every present instant are torn between the replica and the invention, between the desire to return to the known pattern, and the desire to escape it by a new variation."[1] While there was much permanence there were also many changes in Codroy Valley architecture with the passage of time. These changes came about when international ideas and styles different from the conventional ones of the district began to arrive here in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century. People such as Francis McIsaac chose to retain an older floor plan style while using the new form of the biscuit box exterior for his new house at the turn of twentieth century. Others chose to add to their homes selected features of international style such as Martin Devoe's choice of bay windows and Joe Pat Downey's front gothic peak, making a statement to their neighbours that they were well aware of these new outside ideas. Even though some of the new forms

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[1] George Kubler, The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1962), p.72.

required more spatial division within houses, Codroy Valley builders continued to construct large kitchens and smaller parlours within the confines of these international forms. The new manner of building, however, did not hastily usurp the older form of construction. Just as linguists see regional dialects as local examples of standard language, we see here indigenous versions of international styles. Economic changes in the region and an optimistic attitude toward future development of Codroy Valley resources were the catalysts for the entry of these new architectural ideas. So, vernacular architecture, while following conventions and older ways, also allows for the entry of new ideas. These new ideas are often not wholeheartedly accepted by a vernacular district, but are given regional characteristics; the builders and residents stamp these outside ideas with their own personality and way of life. In some regions the building itself may be a replica of a particular international type, but the way in which the structure is built -- re-using local materials, getting assistance from friends and neighbours, using the barter assistance for obtaining materials--are all ways in which the local region can express its personality and folklife. While the form and construction methods used might be international, the use of a structure is often where one can see the local influences on the architectural type.

From 1920 to the present mass housing began to influence local architecture. Three unique bungalow types--the gable entry form, the long side entrance type and the

barrack roof style--became the most common buildings in the Codroy Valley at this time. While these houses were following a template designed primarily for a suburban North American market, local people still adjusted these forms to suit their own needs. For example, owners often built additions on these types when a family expanded, or when there was a real or perceived need for more space. In addition, there was much re-use occurring: builders often re-used the remains of older buildings when constructing these newer styles. Other builders chose to retain nineteenth century floor plan types and building features such as root cellars within these newer bungalow forms. Moreover, tourism played a role in the shaping of Codroy Valley architecture by introducing a subtype of mass housing--the tourist bungalow or cabin--and by re-introducing log construction techniques to the district. While commonly employed by the pioneer settlers, by this time log construction had become vestigial and was no longer seen as a choice for builders. Yet, the tourist interest in this form encouraged some local residents to use this older technology in the construction of some of their outbuildings. This shows clearly how vernacular regions, while often geographically isolated, are nevertheless linked to and greatly influenced by the wider North American society. Michael Taft argues that in Newfoundland scholars have often ignored the many links between isolated communities and mainstream North American society, and instead have focused on the pure folk culture maintained by

the geographic isolation. He concludes his study of the influence of film and the itinerant person who played the movies by stating: "Despite the isolation of the outports, popular culture is as much a reality there as anywhere in North America. For this reason, it is a distortion to study outport life as though it were in a cultural vacuum."[2] Likewise, vernacular architecture is often an amalgam, a blending of local features with the wider mainstream architectural pattern, and to ignore these important outside influences in any study is to distort the reality of a region's physical landscape.

While the built landscape of this district was shaped by its antecedents in Cape Breton Island, and international fashion, many specifically local aspects of Codroy Valley culture also affected the homes and outbuildings of the region. An examination of house modifications and the tradition of moving houses shows that vernacular buildings are not preserved forever in the same condition as when initially built, but are often being altered to suit the needs of the owners. Houses such as Fintan Downey's or Allan MacArthur's do not cease to be "vernacular" when major modifications occur; rather, the changes demonstrate local needs and wants, thereby providing the researcher with evidence for understanding the local

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[2] Michael Taft, "The Itinerant Movie-Man And His Impact On The Folk Culture Of The Outports Of Newfoundland," Culture & Tradition, 1 (1976), 119.

characteristics of these houses. Allan MacArthur, a well known Gaelic tradition bearer and preserver of many aspects of Gaelic lore and Codroy Valley oral history, showed his interest in a new house style by completely modifying his older home to match the trend for houses with gable ends facing the road. To him, and to many Codroy Valley residents, the co-existence of older traditions and modernity was not a paradox. Allan would sing a Gaelic song or hold a ceilidh in his kitchen, but would also modify his house to incorporate a newer fashion, stove or refrigerator. Likewise, Fintan Downey thought it important to save many commonly used older objects such as a horse-drawn threshing machine, carding equipment, photographs, agricultural magazines, a diary written by his father and hand flails, but also modified his home by raising a roof and completely altering the facade of the dwelling. Older patterns and newer ideas co-existed in the Codroy Valley, and I suspect that this was the case in many North American geographic regions.

Likewise, local culture extensively influences vernacular architecture in most regions including the Codroy Valley. While a building such as Nicholas Luedee's shed, once the Searston school house, may appear to be like many small, one-room school houses throughout North America, the process of moving this building to its present site offers insight into aspects of the local culture. For example, neighbours and friends aided in the whole process of relocating this structure; the move itself was an important community event

which included much traditional activity in the form of food, reciprocity, neighbourliness and the like. By watching or even asking questions about this kind of event, as I have done, one obtains a clearer sense of just how the informal economy works in the Codroy Valley. Moreover, this building's use, first as a small dwelling for a married daughter, and later as a storage shed, provides an understanding of how important re-use is within this district.

Further insight into re-use, modification, and change is obtained by understanding how one farm--the Downey farm in Great Codroy--developed and changed with the passage of time. From the pioneer stage to the present we see how the Downeys created a farm, complete with a series of outbuildings built from portions of older buildings such as St. Thomas's school in Great Codroy. An examination of this farm provides a paradigm for Codroy Valley homes, offering insights into the kinds of activities and outbuildings which were common on Codroy Valley farmsteads. In addition, it offers a sense of some of the folklife, the texture of everyday life on a Codroy Valley farm. The planting, the haying, the work processes of the Downeys lead to a basic premise for the study of vernacular architecture; that is, it is very difficult to understand this kind of architecture in isolation--one must also know much about work and folklife in before obtaining a clearer sense of the meaning of these buildings. For example, there was a continual need for large kitchens from the time of original settlement to the present

because of the kinds of activities for which this room was needed. This again shows that, to fully understand vernacular buildings, one must move beyond the physical structures to the context--the physical, social and cultural--to gain a better understanding of the interaction between people and buildings.

By travelling through the Codroy Valley, visiting the people, and closely analyzing the district's common buildings, I have attempted to understand some of the processes involved in the establishment of a vernacular building tradition. Relying upon fieldwork, the never-ending assistance from new Codroy Valley friends, and available historical documentation, I have outlined some of the decipherable patterns in this unique ever-changing landscape showing that the dual forces of conservatism and dynamism have continually been at work in the development of this architectural tradition.[3]

Vernacular architecture is developed and maintained in a complex manner over time in the Codroy Valley and a number of forces influence it, including: the conventional ways of building in the past, particularly in the antecedent region,

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[3] Barre Toelken defines and discusses dynamism and conservatism calling them "the two most prominent characteristics in our perception of (and discussion of) any item tentatively classified as folklore." He refers to these concepts as the"twin laws of folklore process." Barre Toelken, The Dynamics of Folklore (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1979), p. 35.

outside international architectural ideas and the mass housing tradition, and aspects of local culture ranging from a house moving and modification tradition to customary activites such as weddings, wakes, visiting and mummering. It is inadequate to simply define vernacular in a negative way as many have done by calling it non-academic, non high-style, unsophisticated or non-professional, for vernacular architecture exists when a people or a community have some element of control over their physical environment. When individuals are able to continue to build homes or barns following older, conventional patterns in a region, when they are able to adjust and alter their architecture to suit their own needs, or when they are able to express their wishes and desires in the making of a home or building, we are dealing with architecture at the vernacular level. This does not mean that only old and rural architecture is vernacular, although my study and many vernacular architecture studies to date focus on older forms, for many new, urban houses also exhibit vernacular features. But only recently have scholars begun to explore the vernacular aspects of contemporary or mass housing. As Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach state: "Clearly more investigation of contemporary buildings, including commercial as well as residential structures, is needed."[4] Tracy Kidder in House describes how Judith and Jonathan

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[4] Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, "Introduction," Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1986), xvi.

Souweine plan, discuss, and argue with an architect and builders in the designing of their new home on the outskirts of Amherst, Massachusetts. While the house they finally decide upon is a modern home based on a common older architectural style in the Amherst area--the Greek Revival--clearly the interaction between architect, builder, owner and community follows some of the patterns of vernacular architecture.[5]

This study of Codroy Valley architecture raises a number of issues about Canadian vernacular architecture. First, much more architectural fieldwork needs to be done in Canada's rural and urban communities before we can begin to understand the complexities of this country's vernacular buildings. Some of the structures examined in this study such as local bungalows and hay barracks are seldom recorded in the many architecture studies sponsored by local historical societies and municipalities. Yet we now need the recording of the more common kinds of buildings to more fully understand the shaping of Canada's physical environment. Any future fieldwork should not myopically focus on the buildings of the region's elite, but on buildings, both past and present, constructed and lived in by ordinary citizens.

There should also be more consultation in the future between people in local communities and designers, architects and planners outside the communities who make decisions about

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[5] Tracy Kidder, House (New York: Avon Books, 1985).

the kinds of buildings that we live in. A knowledge of local cultural traditions and conventional ways of building can only help in the designing of more appropriate buildings to suit the needs of Canada's native groups, ethnic population and distinct geographic regions.

Codroy Valley people and their architectural tradition can teach others about creative re-use with respect to the physical environment. At a time when citizens are becoming more aware of both environmental destruction and preservation, the idea of creatively re-using older buildings for new purposes is one which is logical and intelligent. A knowledge of the way in which other Canadian communities and regions contend with their older buildings would be a great asset to developers, government agencies, and historical societies concerned with preservation.

Finally, there must be more attention paid to the impact of tourism on the country's regions. Even though this late nineteenth and early twentieth century phenomenon, which continues into the present, has greatly affected much of Canada, there is still not a comprehensive study of how it has shaped the taste and aesthetic of Canadian regions.

While doing fieldwork for this thesis I have travelled through what George Kubler calls, "mysterious uncharted regions"--whether crawling about in bat-infested attics of empty houses, or attempting to make sense out of the complex

patterns in the present and past Codroy Valley landscape.[6] The people of the Codroy Valley made my journey easier by offering their continuous hospitality and assistance. I hope this regional study of the vernacular architecture of the Codroy Valley, based primarily on fieldwork, may offer some suggestions for future researchers in the ongoing attempt to understand the interrelationship between people and the built environment in Atlantic Canada.

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[6] George Kubler, The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1962), 18.

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