Ethnologies

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

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Résumé de l'article

La façon dont les habitants de la Codroy Valley, à Terre-Neuve, modifiaient et déplaçaient leurs maisons fournit à l'auteur matière à réflexion sur le paysage bâti au fil des ans. En modifiant et déménageant leurs maisons pour des raisons bien définies, ces Terre-Neuviens nous ont légué un héritage significatif en architecture vernaculaire.

HOUSE MOVINGS AND ALTERATIONS: STABILITY AND CHANGE IN THE CODROY VALLEY LANDSCAPE

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While driving along the banks of the Grand Codroy River, Newfoundland, 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. One can 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 research 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 numerous studies have been devoted to these concerns.[1] Nevertheless, many of our reconstructed and preserved buildings–the merchants' 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

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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 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." Upton, Dell and Vlach, John Michael. 1986. *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*. Athens and London: University of Georgia Press. Within this collection there are a number of essays which focus on the crucial issue of change: Glassie, Henry. Eighteenth Century Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Building. (pp. 394 - 425); Hubka, Thomas C. Just Folks Designing: Vernacular Designers and the Generation of Form. (pp. 426 - 432). See also: Hubka, Thomas C. 1985. *Big House, Little House, Back House Barn*. Hanover: University Press of New England; Hugil, Peter J. 1980. "Houses in Cazenovia: The Effects of Time and Class." Landscape, 24(2): 10-15; Lowenthal, David. 1980. Age and Artifact: Dilemmas of Appreciation. In *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, ed. Donald W. Meinig, pp. 103-29. New York: W.W. Norton. A more recent study looking change in the landscape focuses on a stolen house: Herman, Bernard L. 1992. *The Stolen House*. Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia.

or third storeys added to original structures. Instead, buildings often appear to be in the same condition as when originally built. In a 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 Codroy Valley indicates that many buildings have had major and minor alterations, and some have been moved varying distances within Codroy Valley communities. This paper focuses on the ways in which buildings were and still are altered, converted, and even moved in the Codroy Valley. 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 (Fig. 1). 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. 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 the 1940s, 50s and 60s, new power sources were used when moving buildings. 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]

2 .   McIlwraith, Thomas F. 1983. Altered Buildings: Another Way of Looking at the Ontario Landscape. *Ontario History* 75:111.

3 .   Interviews I conducted are found in the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archives, hereafter referred to as MUNFLA.

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, 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" (Fig. 2). Reverend Michael J. Howley, on a trip through the 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 Fig. 2, 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

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4 . Knight, Margaret Bennett. 1980. A Codroy Valley Milling Frolic, in *Folklore Studies in Honour of Herbert Halpert: A Festschrift*, ed. Kenneth Goldstein and Neil Rosenberg, pp. 99-110. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland.

5 . MUNFLA.

6 . Howley, Reverend M.J. 1882. Reminiscences of a Trip to the Western Shore of Newfoundland. *Terra Nova Advocate* Feb. 9:4.

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. 1944.*The Taco Farm Yearbook for 1944*, p. 67. Orilla, Ontario: Otaco Limited.

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

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8 .   See: Tizzard, Aubrey. 1979. 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, pp. 214-217. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland; for two interviews discussing house moving in Cape Breton Island see: 1984. Dan Alex MacLeod: "I Moved Houses." *Cape Breton's Magazine* 35:13-19; 1981. A Visit With Mary and William Crowdis. *Cape Breton's Magazine* 30:31-35; for a discussion of a late-eighteenth-century house that was stolen and moved see: Herman, Bernard L. 1987. Architectural Renewal and the Maintenance of Customary Relationships. *Material Culture* 19:85-99.

9 .   See: McIlwraith. (1983:116). 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: Konrad, Victor and Chaney, Michael. 1984. Madawaska Twin Barn. *Journal of Cultural Geography* 5:64-75. See also: Hubka (1986).

10 . Martin, Charles. 1983. Howard Acree's Chimney: The Dilemma of Innovation. *Pioneer America* 15:40.

11 . Konrad and Chaney (1984:68).

12 . Hubka (1986:139).

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

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 village 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 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 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–fixer 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 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:

14 . Evans, George Ewart. 1971. *The Pattern Under the Plough.* p 33. London: Faber and Faber.

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

16 . Milspaw, Yvonne J. 1983. Reshaping Tradition: Changes to Pennsylvania German Folk Houses. *Pioneer America* 15:71.

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

18 . Jones (1980:331-37).

... 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 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]

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

19 . "Terrific Gale Hits Little River," *Western Star* 24 December 1924:1.

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
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 1909:2.

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 succeeded in erecting, was a truly elegant structure, neat 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.

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, to offer less resistance to the high winds (Fig. 3). While the facade of the house faces the Radio Range Road in St. Andrews, the rear of the dwelling faces the southeast and 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 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. 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

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

23 . See for example: *Western Star* 3 September 1913; *Western Star* 28 March 1917.

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.

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 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] 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 was in the winter that 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

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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.

27 . For a study of the Newfoundland Railway see: Cramm, Frank. "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.

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 fishing community of Codroy, from where the Codroy Valley gets its name, is 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 the village'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. 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 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 occur 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. Similarly, when the two houses owned by the Canadian federal government on the Range

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

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

Road, St. Andrews, were abandoned in 1965, they were bought and moved to Upper Ferry, to be modified for a convent.

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 (Fig. 4). 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 abound in all the Codroy valley communities. Nicholas Luedee's present-day storage barn in Loch Lomond was once the post office in Searston, about five miles away (Fig. 5). 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. 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. Its salvageable parts were re-used in the construction of a new church in the northern peninsula of Newfoundland (Fig. 6).

Converting older buildings to new purposes was common. 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 (Fig.7). Front additions and porches were another popular form of alteration at the turn of the twentieth century. 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, bedrooms being added above."[33] In contrast, one North American study points out that a late-nineteenth-century innovation to the repertoire of Pennsylvania

31 . Ennals, Peter and Holdsworth, Deryck. 1981. Vernacular Architecture and the Cultural Landscape of the Maritime Provinces: A Reconnaisance. *Acadiensis* 10(2):91.

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

33 . Gailey, Alan. 1984. *Rural Houses of the North of Ireland*, p. 8. Edinburgh: John Donald.

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 (Fig. 8). Various other examples can be found throughout the valley, and this form of subtraction has continued up until the recent past.

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 one of the most radically altered roofs in the Codroy Valley is Allan McArthur's house in Upper Ferry. 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 (Fig. 9). In the 1920s, the roof was raised, altering its appearance drastically, and in 1949, a back kitchen was added (Fig. 10). Today, the only evidence of its former appearance is the ornamental pediment over the door and the ornate window surrounds.

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 was married, he built an addition on the house. 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

34 . Milspaw (1983:80).
35 . Milspaw (1983:79).

two bedrooms and a bathroom to the side in 1947, when his family began to get larger (Fig. 11). 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. 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 bunga-lows, 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.

Codroy Valley resident Allan McArthur, a well-known Gaelic tradition bearer and preserver of many aspects of Gaelic lore, decided not to reduce his house to a one-storey form, but to radically alter its appearance by changing its roof. But, nevertheless, he was also reacting to architectural trends and commu-nity aesthetics. 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 McArthur, in modifying his late-nineteenth-century gothic revival house was, in essence, keeping up with current architectural fashion.

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

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36 . Many of our designated historic buildings in Atlantic Canada are never viewed as having been altered with the 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. For a short assessment of Atlantic Canadian interpretations of the past see: Rider, Peter E. ed. 1981. *The History of Atlantic Canada: Museum Interpretations*, Mercury Series, History

reconstructed, largely through the efforts of preservationists who have trans-
formed these places into colourful neighborhoods and waterfront offices, shop-
ping 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 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 collect-
ing 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 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 recently have these kinds of concerns started receiving the
attention of scholars.[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

 Division Paper No. 32. David Lowenthal discusses the urge to reconstitute the past by restoring
 a building to what it might or should have been: Lowenthal, David. 1985. *The Past is a Foreign
 Country*, pp. 278-282. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
37 . Falkner, Anne. 1976. *Without Our Past?* p. 121. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
38 . Prince, Hugh. 1982. 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, pp. 33-49. London: Temple Smith.
39 . 1987, *Material Culture* 19:63-141.
40 . Glassie, Henry. 1982. *Passing the Time in Ballymenone: Culture and History of an Ulster
 Community*, Publications of the American Folklore Society, Vol. 4, p. 379. Philadelphia:
 University of Pennsylvania press.

explore the ways in which people continually manipulate their surrounding spaces.[41] In a figurative sense, these objects—altered and moved buildings of the Codroy Valley–speak to us. They tell us much about what residents are thinking about, their concerns and their world view at specific stages in their lives. Through more fieldwork in distinctive regional cultures we will discover much more about the meaning and role of movings, modifications and alterations and how the built environment influences our lives.

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41 . McIlwraith (1983:111).
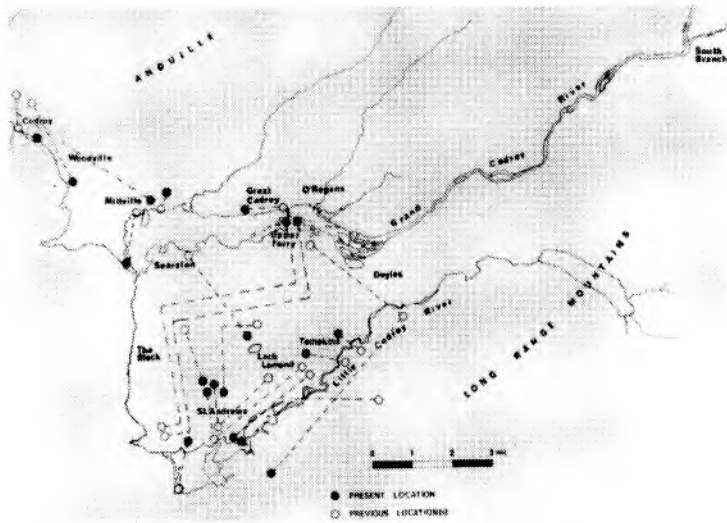
Fig. 1 - Map of House Moving, Codroy Valley.
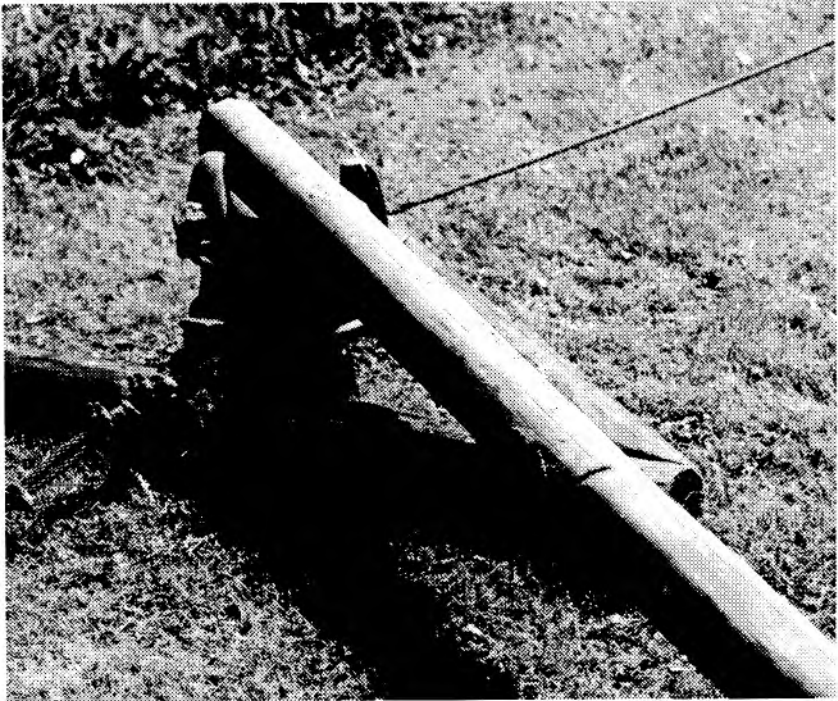
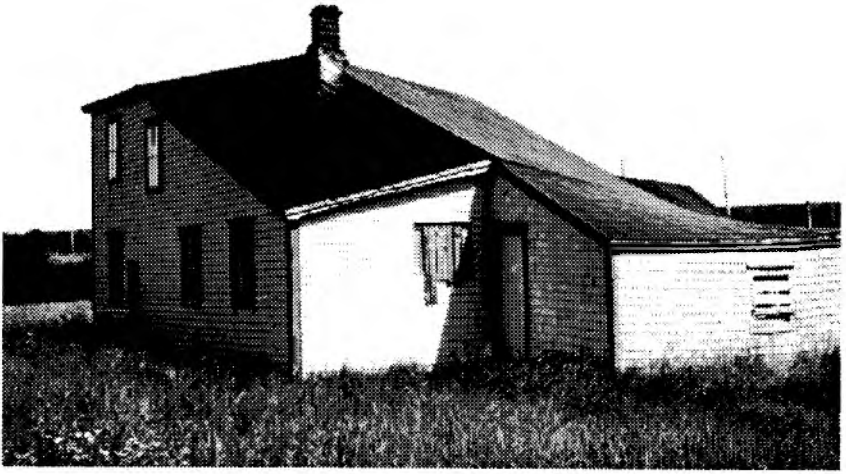Fig. 2 - Stumper owned by Nicholas Luedee, Loch Lomond, Codroy Valley.

Fig. 3 - Roof, Rose MacDonald's House, St. Andrew's, Codroy Valley.

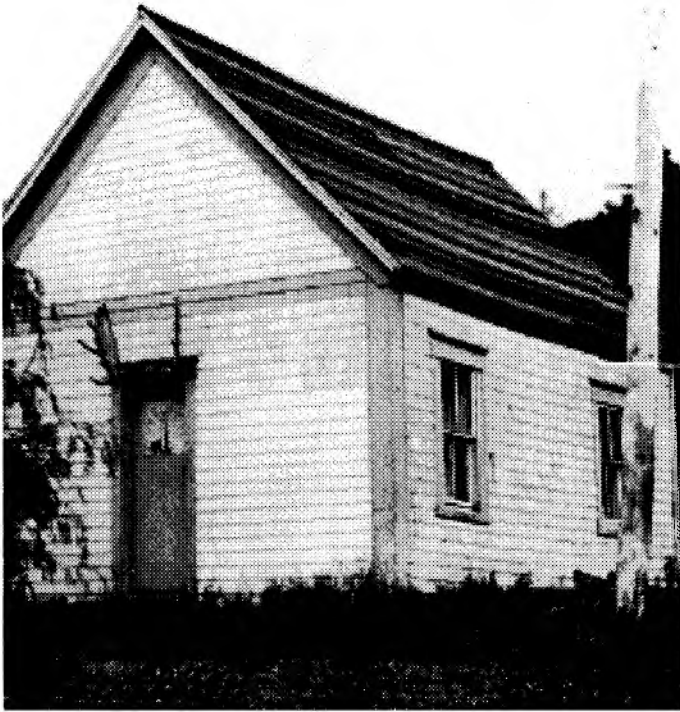*Fig. 4 - Anosan O'Quinn's storage barn; originally Anosan O'Quinn's house.*

Fig. 5 - Nicholas Luedee's storage barn; once the post office in Searston.

Fig. 6 - St.Anne's Church being torn down, 1982, Seartson.
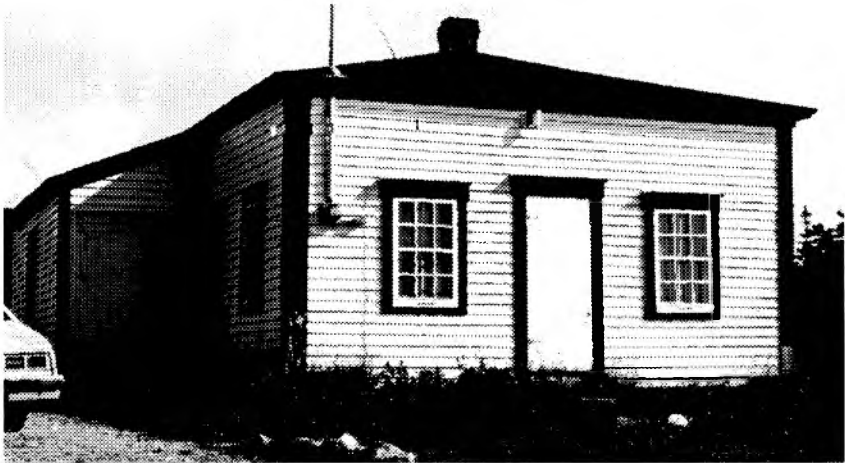
Fig. 7 - Kettle's Store, Searston.

Fig. 8 - William Roach's house, Searston.

Fig. 9 - Allan McArthur's house, Upper Ferry, before renovations.
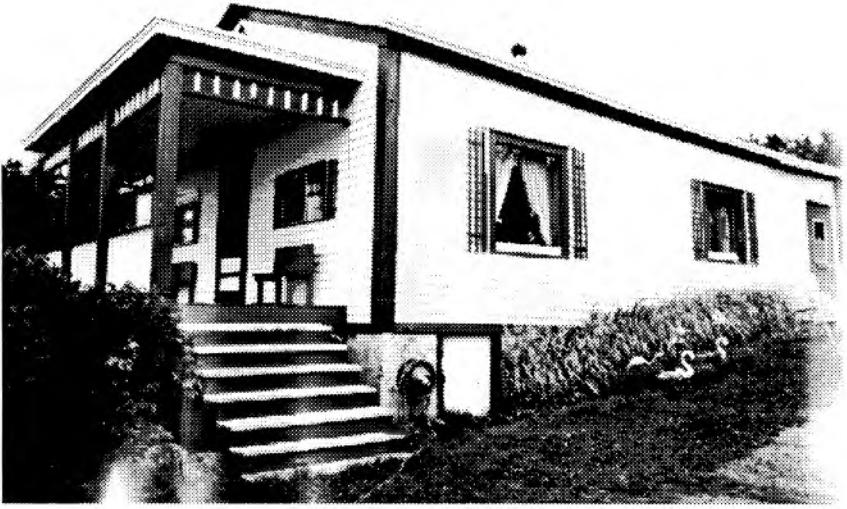

Fig. 10 - Allan McArthur's house, Upper Ferry, after renovations.

Fig. 11 - Nicholas Luedee's house, Loch Lomond.