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THE IDENTIFICATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS IN HOUSING IN RALEIGH TOWNSHIP AND SOUTHWESTERN ONTARIO IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

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by

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ABSTRACT

THE IDENTIFICATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS IN HOUSING IN RALEIGH TOWNSHIP AND SOUTHWESTERN ONTARIO IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

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This study investigated how a settlement of Black builders built their dwellings in Canada immediately after slavery. The primary research revealed differences in how the settlers of the Black settlement of Buxton and a White settlement of Talbot Road in Raleigh township of Southwestern Ontario, Canada, built their houses in the mid-nineteenth century.

The secondary research was designed to propose an answer for the difference using an historical and anthropological focus. In conjuncture were African forms and characteristics and European origins in the United States seventeenth century preadapted architecture and eighteenth century acculturation in folk architecture.

Architecture of Ontario, Canada, was reported to have its antecedents in the United States. Migrations during the mid-nineteenth century supported the argument.

Mid-nineteenth century architecture in the settlements showed acculturation with strengthened preadapted influences. The White builders of Talbot Road followed the popular trend in house building, while the Black architecture of Buxton was of the non-popular folk type.

To

My Mother

and

My Children

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The determination to put together the following research grew out of my own dissatisfaction with the existing literature. Each study investigated housing in early America from the standpoint of the occupancy or major ethnic settlement in a particular area. Little or no consideration was given the African slave as the main labor force, or in some cases, the majority of the population for their participation in house building. More credit for American folk architecture should be given the Afro-American than the literature thus far has allowed.

Most of these chapters came about, then, because of my own experience teaching the history of interior design and architecture, and my background in the study of Black history. Europe, which awakened culturally in the twelfth century B.C., borrowed and diffused design elements from the ancient world. Africa was part of that ancient world. The recent information about Africa and its beginnings may explain, perhaps, the beginnings of all cultures of humankind. Once the attitude is taken that Africa was a major contributor to all ancient cultures, then it is fitting to assume that the people of Africa, because of their numbers in the Americas, were major contributors to the North American culture, even though they were brought to the Americas in bondage.

My sincere thanks is extended to my major professor, Mr. Richard Graham, for his guidance and encouragement; to Dr. Gertrude

Nygren who kept me on track; to Dr. Sadoyoshi Omoto, who inspired me to give the thesis the historical focus; to Dr. Lawrence Robbins who inspired me to add on an anthropological point of view; and to Dr. Barbara Stoew and Dr. Norma Bobbitt for their continued support.

Special thanks is extended to Mrs. Arlie Robbins, historian of the North Buxton Museum, whose knowledge of the Buxton settlement was invaluable; also special thanks go to Miss Lona Talbot for working through all the rough drafts with me; to Mr. Paul Chartos for assisting me with the photography; to Mr. Eric Chase for assisting in recording oral information; to Dr. Gaston Franklyn, Mrs. Mary Nanio, and Mrs. Jo-Ann Shreve for editing; to Mr. Sam Bass for his continued support; and to my children, Leslie, Linda, Cheryl and Brian who made it all possible.

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Patricia Neely McCurcy

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INTRODUCTION

If the combination of an Afro-American Influence on folk architecture with the migration of people from different cultural traditions can be historically illustrated to show evidence of borrowing and diffusion in vernacular architecture, the result of the investigation of these influences will add to the body of knowledge and understanding of Black people and will be the appreciation of their artifacts, and give them credit for any contributions made. Essentially, the historical analysis of primary and secondary sources will be to:

1. Identify the characteristics of Afro-Canadian folk architecture in Southwestern Ontario, in the mid-nineteenth century.

2. Illustrate vernacular house types in the country of origin of the earliest settlers who came to the Americas.

3. Provide an historic overview of the cultural traditions in vernacular architecture of the seventeenth century.

4. Illustrate the interactions through migration of European and African people, and its effect on the vernacular architecture of the eighteenth century.

5. Offer some explanations of how certain characteristics came to be in folk architecture in the mid-nineteenth century in Southwestern Ontario.

6. Expand the body of knowledge of Afro-American content as it relates to Afro-Canadian folk architecture and to European-Canadian folk architecture in Raleigh Township in Ontario, Canada.

7. Demonstrate the impact of Afro-American migrations from 1833 to 1870 into Southwestern Ontario, as evidenced by the housing architecture of the area.

Definition of Terms

Folk Architecture

Architecture made by homeowners or neighbours without the aid of a trained architect. Unpopular styles which exist in justaposition with popular styles.

Material Culture

Objects made by man.

Vernacular

Housing made by owner or local people without a trained architect, which reflects the settlers' heritage.

Preadaptation

The settlers' heritage which made possible their occupancy even before they arrived in the new land.

Diffusion

Cultural borrowing

Acculturation

The reciprocal modifications that occur when individuals from two or more different socio-cultural systems come into contact.

Architecture is tangible evidence of a man's culture. It exhibits the logical expressions of the minds of men and shows a continuation of cultural traditions. These thoughts have been expressed by architectural historians about the great monuments of time. Recently, these thoughts have been expanded into the newly investigated field of folk architecture.

Folk architecture in America has been expressed by innovations. Louise Spindler said, "an innovation is the recombination of existing ideas into a new idea, and it is closely linked with diffusion and acculturation."[1]

Interest in folk architecture has grown steadily over the years. One of the results of the interest is that it has aided in the identification and designation for historic preservation, buildings built by the English, French, Dutch, Swedes, Spanish and Native Americans. The criteria used to identify the various ethnocultural dwellings was made possible by books and periodical articles written about particular architectural characteristics. As yet, there has been little acknowledgment of Black architecture, especially in the areas of heavy Black population or areas where the Blacks were original settlers. Southwestern Ontario is one of these areas.

The first Black immigrants who founded settlements in Canada came in the mid-nineteenth century. Slavery was abolished throughout the British Empire in 1833. Fugitive slaves and free persons migrated to Canada by way of the Underground Railroad from southern parts of the United States, where the institution of servitude was retained until 1865. By the late 1840s there were between 35,000 to 40,000 Black settlers in Ontario. The fugitives and free persons founded settlements in this southwestern province in areas known as

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[1]Louise Spindler, Cultural Change and Modernization (New York; Toronto, Canada: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1977), p. 13.

Amherstburg, Anderdon, Lucan, Buxton, Dresden, Maidstone, Harrow, Windsor, Puce and Gosfield.[2] Today in some of these former settlements, dwellings, churches, schools and other structures built by the first Black immigrants in the mid-nineteenth century still exist. Buxton is one of these settlements.

The recognition of an architectural tradition in the Buxton settlement might illustrate the intimate details of the foundations and strength of the communal consciousness within the one remaining settlement in Southwestern Ontario. This communal consciousness was not brought out in the book, Look to the North Star, by Victor Ullman, which put its emphasis on the life of William King. The Buxton settlement founded in 1840 by Reverend William King, a Presbyterian minister, became the largest, the most important and most successful of all the Black settlements in Ontario. The settlers owned their own land and developed their own businesses. Today, most of the land is owned and businesses are still run by the descendants of the original settlers.[3] An historical museum has been erected in the settlement. An archaeological plaque has been placed in front of the remodeled Presbyterian Church, which was built by the first Black settlers. One of the original houses, also remodeled, still stands across the street to the northeast of the church. The church and the house are no longer owned by the

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[2]Carter G. Woodson, The Journal of Negro History, Vol. V (Lancaster, Penn. and Washington, D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1920), p. 195.

[3]Victor Ullman, Look to the North Star (Boston; Toronto: Beacon Press, 1969), pp. 179-206.

Blacks. The material culture still standing in Buxton might nevertheless provide evidence of a cultural tradition. A tradition in architecture may account for part of the foundation and strength of the community. Buxton, therefore, may become important as a model for identifying Black architectural characteristics in Southwestern Ontario.

Canada's national multiculturalism policy was proclaimed by Prime Minister, The Right Honourable Pierre Elliott Trudeau in 1971. In 1973 a Multiculturalism Directorate was established and is administered through a minister responsible for multiculturalism. A prime objective of the Directorate is to build an awareness of the contributions made to Canadian social and political development by the various ethnocultural communities.

Since the beginning and development of the North American way of life a system of myths and misconceptions has been perpetuated about Africa. This must be recognized in any study dealing with the Afro-Americans. Evidence accumulates, nevertheless, that Africa gave rise to all our cultures in the sense that humankind originated there. The myths and misconceptions are so ingrained into the North American way of life, that, to be sure, it will take time to even begin to convince the White world that Africa may be the mother of us all. The myth that Africa was savage and had no cultures has kept researchers and historians from objectively

studying African contributions. In the field of folk architecture it may also be found that emotions interfere with facts.[4]

If architecture is evidence of culture, an if we believe in the multiculturalism concept that says, in effect, that all ethnic groups have equal status in Canada, then it is important to understand North American Folk Architecture as a whole, and that the unique contributions of all ethnic groups should be identified and made known, and made available.

It has been well established by historians, archaeologists, and geographers that wherever the English went in the Americas they took with them the traditions of their past. Many architectural historians, such as Hugh Morrison and William Pierson, believe that architecture is an expression of man's culture.

The earliest English architecture in the Americas was based on previous knowledge. It was not inspired by books, availability of certain materials, or the climate. It can also probably be said that the Africans, even though they came to the Americas as unwilling immigrants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, brought with them traditions of their past.

The European tradition in house building of the seventeenth century, according to Morrison, was a house built on the ground with no foundation. The main all-purpose room was the kitchen with

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[4]See John E. Pfieffer, The Emergence of Man (2d ed.; New York: Harper & Row Publications, 1972), p. 112; J. D. Clark, "Africa in Prehistory: Periferal or Paramount," Man, X (1975), pp. 175-198.

a large fireplace for cooking and warmth. The houses were usually two storeys in height.[5]

In the first colonial settlement of the south in America, Morrison makes reference to several curious new elements which came into the eighteenth century architecture, such as the replacement of the fireplace with the iron stove. When and where the cast iron stove began remains a puzzle. It was mentioned that houses had evolved the use of a central hallway, and that kitchens were being built separate from the main house, but nowhere did Morrison relate the central hallway, or separate kitchen, to European traditions of the past.[6] Reference was also made to the obscure origin of the poteaux-en-terre, the French colonial house of Mississippi, which means built on poles as post in the earth. Houses built on posts were different from the European tradition of building on the ground with no foundations.[7]

The Africans, according to Paul Oliver, built from a tradition based on nature, available materials and climatic changes. Oliver tells of shelter, in an area of West Africa, built along the waterfront on poles which support the floor and a wide over-hanging roof, high above the water, with a gallerie around the house.[8] The majority of the slaves came from West Africa.

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[5]Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), pp. 20-22.

[6]Ibid., p. 297.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Paul Oliver, Shelter in Africa (London: Barrie and Lenkins, 1971), pp. 39-45.

From archaeological investigations of the Kingsley Plantation in Florida, it was discovered that the slaves built their cabins up on piers and there were few dirt floors. The cabins were built along the riverfront.[9] Traditions based on nature and climatic changes are probably a part of the way the African built in the Americas.

A Canadian architectural historian, Alan Gowans, found that the architecture of Ontario had its antecedents in the United States.[10]

The first European house types were brought to Canada by the French. The house was known as the pavilion. This style had the pyramidal characteristics of the Normandy house, very French in origin, with steep front and back, and steeper still at the ends. It was built with no foundations and had a small projection of the eaves.[11] In the late 1600s the French Colonial style of Mississippi was built in Quebec.[12] The French Colonial style, which was said to have had its antecedents in the United States, had wide overhanging eaves, bell-shaped roofs supported by poles, and was built upon piers from the ground and had a porch or gallerie around the house.

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[9]Stanley South, ed., The Conference on Historical Site Archaeology Papers, Vol. VII, Part II, The Kingsley Slave Cabins in Duval County, Florida, 1968 (Spartanburg: University of South Carolina, 1974), pp. 62-93.

[10]Alan Gowans, Building Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 34-42.

[11]Roy Wilson, The Beautiful Old Houses of Quebec (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 12.

[12]Alan Gowans, Looking at Architecture in Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 29-32.

This style may be a diffusion of two traditions, one Afro and one European, but it was not looked at as such.

Credit in architecture has been given to every ethnocultural group in early Canada except the Afro-Canadian.[13]

Before establishing settlements in the nineteenth century, Black slaves were brought to Canada in the eighteenth century by the French from the southern American colonies.[14] Also in the eighteenth century, slaves escaping for freedom from the American Colonies joined the British Empire Loyalists in Canada.[15] The Ontario architecture of the nineteenth century Afro-Canadian may have, indeed, had its antecedents in the United States, but no investigation has been made to explore this theory.

Black artists and their expertise have long been acknowledged but not extensively analyzed to establish a tradition. The work of the skilled craftsmen has only been given cursory summarization.

Scholars and folklorists who have studied material culture, such as Fred B. Kniffen and Henry Glassie, gave the Black people credit for such things as tools, art works, musical instruments, certain foods, clothing, jewelry, iron-smithing, but nothing as major as architecture.

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[13]Gowan, op. cit., pp. 166-197.

[14]Papers and Records, Ontario History, XLI, No. 1 (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1949), pp. 102-103.

[15]James Walker, The Black Loyalists (New York: Dalhousie University Press, 1976), p. 22.

The literature also underestimates the fact that slave labour was involved in the construction, perhaps, of most all of the Southern American Architecture.

David C. Driskell, Elsa Honig Fine, and Judith Wragg Chase, scholars of art history and architecture, discuss the relative independence of some Black architects, and in some cases their designs merged with plantation style architecture developing in various parts of the South, particularly in Louisiana.[16]

A circular house was built by the Afro-Americans for their own use in Midlothia, Virginia. The style is stated to be African in derivation and is in marked contrast to the English architecture of that period.[17] It has been said that no circular or elliptical room, or curved projections on exteriors of Euro-American buildings appeared before the Revolution.[18] Many of the housewright's artisans worked from general description and had considerable latitude for interpretation. Whether owned by the housewright, planter or hired from neighbours, it can be assumed that most of the skilled craftsmen involved in building a plantation house were probably Black.[19]

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[16]David C. Driskell, Two Centuries of Black American Art (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), pp. 27-28.

[17]Elsa Honig Fine, The Afro-American Artist (A Search for Identity) (New York; Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971), p. 11.

[18]Fiske Kimball, Domestic Architecture (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1950), p. 81.

[19]Judith Wragg Chase, Afro-American Arts and Crafts (New York; Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1971), pp. 80-81.

The existing literature on Folk architecture signified that the process of acculturation was, indeed, a one-way flow. The slaves operating culture for work context would conform to appropriate Euro-American standards.[20] The idea of a reciprocal flow of ideas of African standards to Euro-American standards has been overlooked. If the slave did not construct his own huts from African prototypes, then, one is led to beleive that no African culture existed in architecture. Although the slaves were forced to work through new technology, the designs, forms and characteristics of their native culture may have remained in their heads.

The African came from a society where he had to fashion things for every day living by hand. The Europeans were further removed from basic survival techniques, because they, for the most part, came from a society of manufactured goods and services. Therefore, the African possessed the ability to produce an animated style and uninhibited handling of materials which seemed foreign to the Euro-American.[21]

Regardless of the number of Black people in the population of areas investigated by folk scholars, they intuitively, for the most part, looked at the innovations in architecture of the

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[20]John Solomon Otto, "Status Differences and the Archeological Record, A Comparison of Planter, Overseer, and Slave Sites from Cannon's Point Plantation" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida, 1975), p. 380.

[21]Henry Glassie, Patterns in Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), p. 116.

eighteenth century as being distinctively English or a combination of European characteristics.

A house called Mulberry in South Carolina was built in 1714. Tradition says it was modeled from a house on the estate of a family in England. The evidence, however, showed the English house was built in 1718-28. Mulberry defied labeling for any particular period; it seemed a sort of melting pot of architectural forms as diverse in origin as the population of South Carolina at that time.[22]

The population of South Carolina, according to Peter Wood, during the time Mulberry was built, was 5,000 Blacks and 4.050 Whites in 1710.[23]

The I-house, found in folk architecture by Fred Kniffen, was called an innovation of eighteenth century English architecture by Glassie. At the time of Glassie's investigation, the area of his research had a Black majority in its population.[24] Estyn Evans, a geographer-archaeologist, called the I-house, moreover, a convergence of several house types and somewhat outside of the folk idiom.[25]

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[22]Morrison, op. cit., p. 173

[23]Peter H. Wood, Black Majority (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1974), p. 152.

[24]Henry Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia (Knowville, Tenn.: The University of Tennessee Press, 1975), p. 6.

[25]Estyn Evans, "Folk Housing in the British Isles in Materials Other than Timber," Geoscience and Man, edited by B. F. Perkins, Vol. V (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2974), p. 54.

Fred Kniffen looked at eighteenth century house forms in the tidewater and upland South. He found an evolutionary series beginning with the English and ending in the rise of houses with front porches and rear appendages. Innovations in house types such as the I-house, single log Pen, dogtrot, the shotgun, the saddlebag and bungalow types were found.[26] The innovations were all found in areas of heavy Black populations.[27]

In New Jersey it was pointed out, by Peter Wacker, acculturation was responsible for the appearance of the Dutch house styles. Wacker dismissed the Black input, however, by pointing out that Blacks were only fifteen percent of the population in 1760 and, not being free agents, they were unable to transfer their material culture in the form of traditional building types.[28] Gowan suggests, nevertheless, that the New Jersey Dutch Colonial style was a melting pot, a composite cretation of diverse races and traditions reminiscent of all but distinctive of none alone--putting the style outside of a traditional form.[29]

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[26]Fred Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LV (December 1965), pp. 561-563.

[27]Glenn T. Trewartha, "Types of Rural Settlements in Colonial America," The Geographical Review (1946), p. 592.

[28]Peter O. Wacker, "Traditional House and Barn Types in New Jersey: Key to Acculturation, Past Cultureographic Regions and Settlement History," Geoscience and Man, edited by B. F. Perkins, Vol.V (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1974), p. 166.

[29]Alan Gowan, "Architecture in New Jersey," The New Jersey Historical Series, I (New York; Toronto: D. Van Nostrand Co., Ind., 1964), p. 21.

Cultural diffusion and acculturation, indeed, has long been a practice of Europeans. Innovations are closely linked with diffusion and acculturation.[30] Innovations are more often the products of diffusion, although they may also be produced within the cultural system.[31]

The scholars who were of European background and part of the North American culture, at best found it difficult to see the diffusion of Afro-American characteristics in distinctive North American styles.[32]

Two scholars, who were not of European background, were able to perceive another dimension of the eighteenth century folk architecture. Richard Dozier, a Black architect and private consultant in the field of historic preservation and Black landmarks, suggests the following characteristics in house types as being African influences--sloping hip roofs, porches, wide over-hanging roofs, earth and moss construction.[33] John Michael Vlach, a native of Hawaii and professor of folklore, suggests elements of African Architecture are in styles such as the shotgun house, the single log pen, the double log pen, and the porch.[34] Vlach found an

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[30]Earlier in the paper the definition of an innovation was given by Louise Spindler, p. 1.

[31]Spindler, op. cit.

[32]Refer to page 6, paragraph 1, for a detailed discussion of myths and misconceptions.

[33]Richard Dozier, "The Black Architectural Experience in America," AIA Journal (July 1976), p. 162.

[34]John Michael Vlach, The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts (Cleveland: Museum of Arts, 1978), pp. 124-126.

African tradition in the Lousiana shotgun house types. His research traced a form from Africa to Haiti into New Orleans, establishing a tradition with modifications which persisted throughout time.[35] The shotgun house evolved in New Orleans at the time of Black majority population and spread into the Southern parts of the States in areas of heavy Black concentration.

With the new multicultural consciousness among ethnocultural groups growing in Canada, it is, indeed, important that an architectural tradition by Black people be established in Southwestern Ontario. Dozier and Vlach limited their investigations to the South of the United States in the eighteenth century. The fugitive slaves and free persons who came to Canada during the mid-nineteenth century, for the most part, came from the Southern parts of the colonies. There is the probability that the antecedents of the architecture from the United States, therefore, might be found in the Black settlements as well as the White settlements of the mid-nineteenth century. Some modified forms of continuance in African traditions might be found.

This research looks at acculturation with the idea that it was a two-way flow.[36] An anthropological point of view has been taken. It looks chronologically at cultural migrations from the

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[35]John Michael Vlach, "The Shotgun House: An African Architectural Legacy," Part II, Pioneer America, VIII, 2 (July 1979), p. 69.

[36]Acculturation has been viewed as a one-way flow from highly technological societies to societies of little technological development. Spindler, op. cit., p. 31.

position that humankind and, indeed, cultures, had a common beginning. It is assumed that the movement of people through time, and the ecological changes of humankind, have always resulted in cultural change. At any point in history where groups of people come together there would be a cultural exchange. Common basic elements would be reinforced while elements that were different would be diffused or borrowed through acculturation.

The basic assumptions of the study are:

1. People, of any given culture, moving from one place to another, bring with them in their minds the memory of the cultural traditions of the way they built their houses.

2. A Black person can be made more aware of his own historical roots through knowledge of his past architectural forms.

3. A new idea can be explored with respect to unexplained architectural development in folk architecture during the eighteenth century.

Research Methods

The descriptive analytical data retrieval gathering process was used. Information was gathered from both primary and secondary sources. The sources of primary information were documents, observation and evaluation of slides taken of existing dwellings. The secondary information came from slides and information taken from books, periodicals, theses, historical writings and scholarly journals devoted to folk architecture, geographic, and archaeological writings. The writings and books included a widely diversified group of authorities, all of whose findings were made a part of the resultant conclusions.

The research is presented in two parts. Part one is the comparison of house types in Buxton (a Black settlement) with the house types along Talbot Road (a White settlement) next to each other in Raleigh Township.

The Canadian Inventory of Historic Building forms were used for recording purposes. The Inventory of Historic Buildings is a computerized program designed to record the architectural heritage of Canada.

The computerized recording technique involves the completion of a specially designed form, supplemented by photographs for each building.

The houses were analyzed from the standpoint of design forms and general characteristics. The technological aspects of building were not included as part of the study.

Six houses of Black builders, in the Buxton settlement between the years 1850 and 1970, in the township of Raleigh of Southwestern Ontario, were studied. Similarly, six houses of White builders, from a settlement near Buxton, along Talbot Road, in the township of Raleigh, built between the years of 1833 to 1870, were also studied.

Less than six houses of Black builders in the mid-nineteenth century existed in the other settlements; therefore, comparison by samples could not be made. Slides were taken of any remaining houses found in Dresden, Puce, Windsor, Gesto, and Chatham. A similarity was found in the existing house types between the settlements.

Only three of the structures in the Buxton settlement were occupied, three had been left standing for a number of years, and two were badly deteriorated. Some of the dating was done through the materials and technology of construction. The nails found in the structures were dated, the iron square head nails versus the steel round head nails. The square head nails were used in the mid-nineteenth century.[37] Evidence establishing the age of the dwellings was also obtained from the local historian and curator of the Buxton Museum by researching the register of lands and census dating from 1850 to 1970.

Photographs were taken of the dwellings, their structural details and characteristics, and of the interior where possible. Measurement of the floor plans of the first and second storeys were made.

A study of the furniture and interiors of the houses was incomplete because of the condition in which some of the structures were found. There were seven houses remaining in the Talbot Road settlement.

Dating of the houses was established through library materials, books, local historians, and interviews from decendants of the original builders who presently occupied the house. In the Chatham Library there was also a publication by C. M. Anderson who made a study for the Canadian Government of the older houses in that

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[37]Henry J. Kauffman, Early American Ironware Cast and Wrought (New York: Weathervane Books Crown Publishers, Inc., 1966), pp. 117-121.

area that were built before Canada's Centennial date of 1966 and 1967.

The data for the Buxton settlement was retrieved in March and April 1978. The data for the Talbot Road settlement was gathered during August and September of 1979. At the time of this writing only three of the six houses still stand in the Buxton settlement.

It was important to compare the house types of the two settlements of the mid-nineteenth century, because the people in each area built their own houses. Slave labour was not involved. A difference was found in the type of structures built by each group of settlers.

Part two of the research made use of secondary sources and illustrations to give significance to the difference found in the structures built within the Black and White settlements in Raleigh township of Southwestern Ontario. The material is used essentially to link the Black experience historically with seventeenth century preadaptation and eighteenth century acculturation in vernacular architecture in the Americas, and migrations of the mid-nineteenth century into Southwestern Ontario, demonstrating the types of houses found in Ontario Canada during that time.

Vlach believes that

> When studies of architecture are expanded to embrace the totality of the built environment all buildings great and small, the impact of an Afro-American tradition in architecture becomes evident.[38]

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[38]Op. cit., 1978, p. 122.

Vlach further notes that:

> Though the people of Afro-America were drawn from the entire continent of Africa, they did not lack certain shared cultural perceptions. One of these (and a perception more crucial than we have previously understood) was a preference for a specific kind of spatial arrangement both in form and dimension.[39]

Limitations

The limitations to the study were:

1. Only one area, which contained both a Black and White settlement, was studied.

2. There were only six dwellings of the mid-nineteenth century remaining in the Black settlement.

3. There was scant information in the literature pertaining to the characteristics of African and Afro-American architecture.

4. Not enough information concerning the interiors of the dwellings in the Black settlement could be gathered because of the deteriorated conditions of the structure and lack of furniture and furnishings; therefore, the interiors were not included as part of the study.

5 The technology of the building types was not studied.

6 Folk architecture is built by the houseowners or by local craftsmen without a set of plans from a recognized architect. Without documentation conjectures can only be made to show that the variety of folk architecture in the Americas was forged, perhaps, by slave labour and the various European immigrants into a melting pot.

Scholars have credited building techniques and technology to their country of origin. This study attempts to identify and give credit to the originators of the unexplained forms and characteristics in the variety of folk architecture in the Americas.

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[39] Ibid., p. 124.

PART I

IDENTIFYING AFRO-AMERICAN ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS IN HOUSING

CHAPTER I

THE DOCUMENTATION OF CHARACTERISTICS OF BUXTON, A BLACK SETTLEMENT, AND TALBOT ROAD, A WHITE SETTLEMENT, IN RALEIGH TOWNSHIP

The Township of Raleigh

Raleigh Township is located between Tilbury East and Harwich. It extends from Lake Erie to the Thames River. Close to it is a Ridge running east to west on the lakefront marked by steep clay cliffs, which in some places are cut by deep gullies. The land to the north slopes down into a marshy plain (Figure 1).

Along the Thames in the marshy lowlands there was too much water. The plains were made usable by extensive drainage systems which appear on maps of the area as hair-like black lines. Along the Ridge (as it became known) the soil was light, productive, and contained some gravel. Between these areas the soil was heavy, non-porous, adhesive clay. The area to the north was heavily wooded.

The land surface of Raleigh Township, covered with thick elm, oak and black ash, was monotonously flat. The crops grown by the first settlers were hay, grain, root and fruit crops, the latter probably flourishing better here than in any other township.[1]

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[1]Victor Loweston, Romantic Kent (Chatham: Shephard Printing Co., 1952), p. 287.

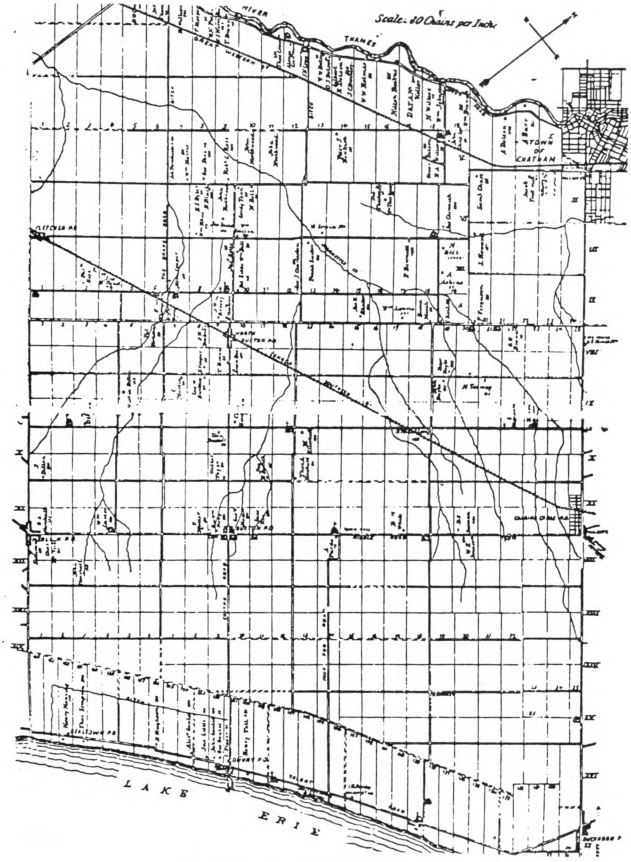

Figure 1.--Raleigh Township Map.

Talbot Road Settlement

By 1817, a year after its founding, the lake front settlement had 25 houses and 75 inhabitants. Assets of the township included one school, two "house mills," and a brickyard.

The settlement of Talbot Road, formed under the supervision of Colonel Talbot, had a stretch of land about 10 miles long along the lake front and two miles wide. He gave the settlers their locations and supervised their settlement duties. Information found in the Historical Atlas of Essex and Kent Counties said:

> The settlement duties--consisting of cutting out the road fronting their property and making certain stipulated improvements thereon, these duties constituting the purchase price of their farms, which were deeded to them on payment of not arial expenses connected with drafting and registering the necessary documents, them amounting to nearly thirty dollars. Many of the locatees in this, as in other sections of the Township, came to their new homes in abject poverty of worldly goods, some of them having but an axe, and industrious disposition and indomitable energy as a capital slack on which to begin the conquest of the forest. But their poverty did not deter them from the effective exercise of the advantages which nature had furnished them, and the result of their courage and perseverance in coping with difficulty cannot but challenge the respect and admiration of all who commend these sturdy qualities.[2]

The largest number of settlers came around 1816 and after. Some settlers came directly from the British Isles, some came from other parts of Canada and the Maritime Provinces, and some from the neighbouring township of Harwich, after finding the land there

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[2]H. Beldew, Historical Atlas of Essex and Kent Counties (Toronto: H. Beldew and Co., 1880-1881), p. 60.

already deeded. Among those who first settled were citizens who have since become the most influential of that locality.[3]

One of the first settlers of Talbot Road was Phillip Toll, who came from Detroit when the concession of Michigan to the United States was decided.

The Buxton Settlement

The Buxton settlement was six miles in length, by three in breadth. Its boundary was about a mile and one-fourth from the lake shore.[4]

The settlement of fugitive slaves was prepared by Rev. William King, a Presbyterian minister. The Historical Atlas of Essex and Kent Counties reports:

> When the rumor spread over the region that a Negro Colony was being planned, the most violent opposition was manifested in mass meetings and petitions to the Government to prevent a grant of land being made for that purpose.[5]

Victor Ullman said:

> Canada had a proud tradition as the first portion of the British Empire to abolish slavery in 1793. However, that does not imply that the traditional antipathy towards colour was abolished too. It existed in Canada in 1848 and it was on import with the immigrants from abroad, particularly among those who competed with Negroes for the available job opportunities.[6]

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[3]Ibid.

[4]Benjamin Drew, Narrative of Fugitive Slaves in Canada (Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1856), p. 291.

[5]Beldew, loc. cit.

[6]Victor Ullman, Look to the North Star. A Life of William King (Toronto: Beacon Press, 1969), p. 101.

Ullman also stated:

> The difference between Canada and the United States lay in the Governmental levels, although the colour antipathy was the same. In the United States no Congress nor President would dare violate the colour code. While in Canada equal protection by the law and by law-enforcement bodies was granted.[7]

In 1848 a settlement was established by Mr. King and 15 emancipated slaves he brought from Louisiana. A trace of 9,000 acres of heavily timbered land of elm, oak, hickory, maple and ash, was cleared and divided into 50-acre farms which were sold to the settlers at $2.50 an acre (Figure 2).

The minimum requirement for a house was set at 24 feet by 18 feet by 12 feet, oriented 33 feet back from the road. If desired, a larger house might be built. The Reverend King purchased a small house built several years before by a White settler.[8]

Later the Historical Atlas reports:

> The high development of her agricultural interests and prosperity of her people, rather than her possessions of numerous important trade marks, form the chief attraction of this Township. Its public affairs were well administered, its schools are neat, numerous and efficient, its residences uniformly indicative of taste, comfort, and in many cases, wealth.[9]

In 1852 the census reported 75 families and 400 inhabitants. In 1853 there were 130 families and by 1854 77 houses had been built.

By July 4, 1855 726 acres of land had been cleared and fenced, and a sawmill was completed. Also a plank road had been

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[7]Ibid., p. 102.

[8]Loweston, op. cit., p. 454.

[9]Beldew, op. cit., p. 61.

discussed, which would extend eight miles from Grand Western Railway to the lake giving the settlers two markets, one on the lake and the other on the Railroad.[10]

Dwellings

The first dwellings in each settlement of Raleigh Township were, in all probability, made of log.

Clapboard and brick structures were built after the establishment of sawmills and brickyards in each settlement.

In some cases, the log of the original structure was covered over with clapboard to match any additions to the houses.

The second houses of the settlers along Talbot Road were of brick. After the establishment of a sawmill clapboard houses appeared. In the Buxton settlement a sawmill was also established. Clapboard as used more than brick to build the settler's second houses.

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[10]Drew, op. cit., pp. 293-295.

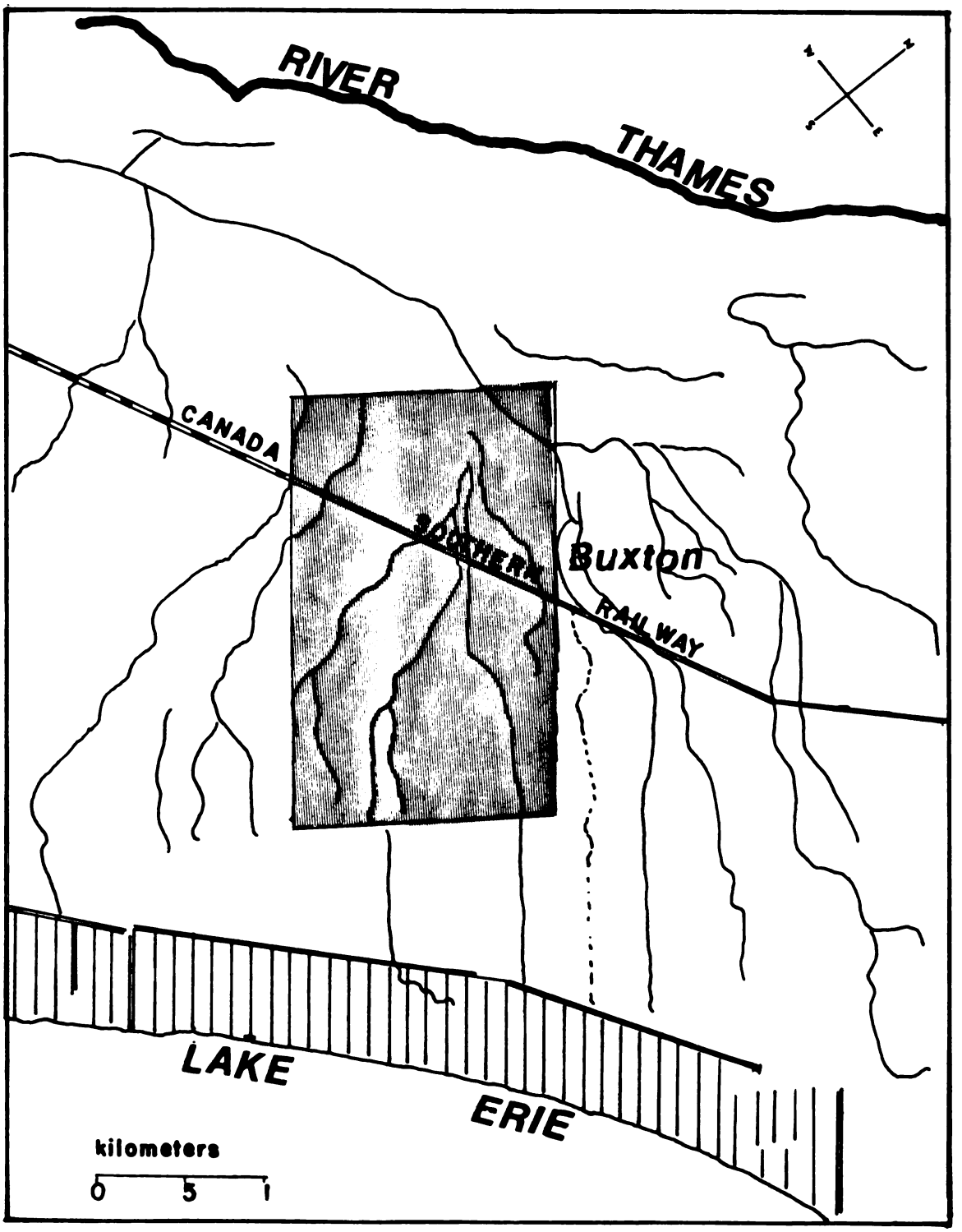


Figure 2.--Buxton Settlement Map.

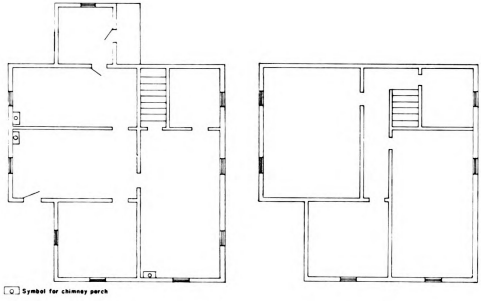


Figure 3.--House 1A - Buxton Settlement.

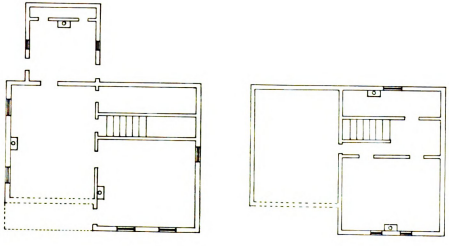
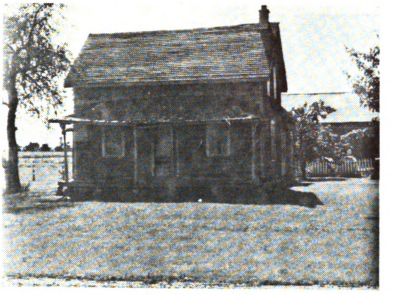


Figure 4.--House 2A - Buxton Settlement.



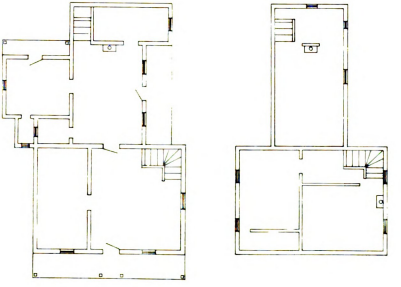
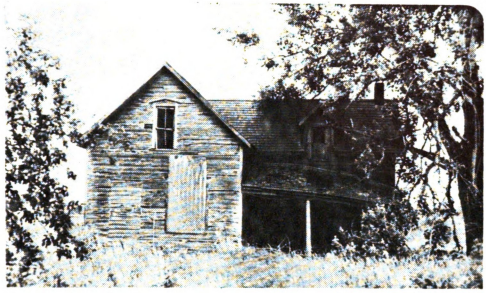


Figure 5.--House 3A - Buxton Settlement.



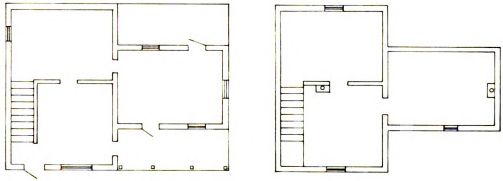


Figure 6.--House 4A - Buxton Settlement.

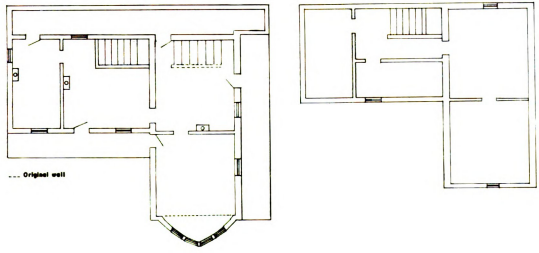
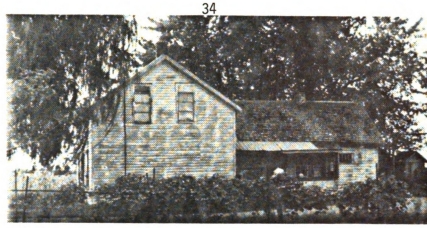
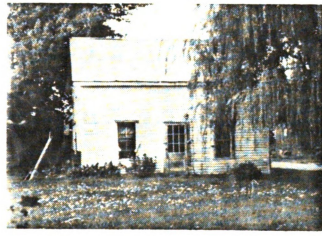


Figure 7.--House 5A - Buxton Settlement.





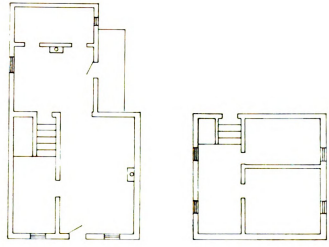


Figure 8.--House 6A - Buxton Settlement.

TABLE 1.--Canadian Inventory of Historic Buildings Involving Category Number, Code Number, and Explanations and Number of Houses in Buxton Settlement Which Fit House Characteristics.

Number of Houses	Category Number	Category	Code	Explanation
6	6	Residential	0101	Single Dwelling
6	11	Massing of Units	09	Other Joined Through Roof
6	12	Plan	02	Rectangular Long Facade
6	12	Plan	03	Rectangular Short Facade
6	13	Wings	04	Either Side
4	13	Wings	08	Rear
4	13	Wings	010	Rear and Either Side
4	13	Wings	11	Rear and Both Sides
1	15	Storeys	03	1½
1	16	Number of Bays Facade	11	First Floor
6	17	Basement/Foundation	03	Crawl Space Above Ground Level
4	18	Basement Material	04	Good
4	18	Basement Material	06	Brick
6	20	Exterior Wall Material	14	Clapboard
3	30	Exterior Bearing Wall Construction	06	Horizontal Finished Log
3	30	Exterior Bearing Wall Construction	08	Mortise and Tennon Solid
4	30	Exterior Bearing Wall Construction	11	Nailed Frame
4	32	Roof Type	03	High Gable

TABLE 1.--Continued.

Number of Houses	Category Number	Category	Code	Explanation
2	35	Roof Trim Eaves	6	Plain Frieze
6	37	Roof Trim Verges	3	Projecting Verges
1	37	Roof Trim Verges	4	Purlins Exposed
3	42	Dormer Type	3	Gable Projecting Eaves
	43	Chimney Location		
3	43	Side by Side	6	Side Left
2	43	Side by Side	7	Side Right
2	43	Front and Rear	3	Centre
2	43	Front and Rear	4	Offset-front
6	43	Chimney Stack Material	4	Brick
6	46	Chimney Massing	3	Single
6	48	Window Location	1	First Floor
6	48	Window Location	2	Second Floor
6	49	Structural Opening Shape	02	Flat
5	50	Trim Outside Structural Open	2	Plain
3	50	Trim Outisde Structural Open	5	Shaped
6	52	Trim Material	03	Wood
6	57	Number of Sashes	03	Two

TABLE 1.--Continued.

Number of Houses	Category Number	Category	Code	Explanation
1	57	Number of Sashes	03	One
6	58	Opening Mechanism	03	Single or Double Hung
6	60	Special Pane Arrangement	2	2/2
2	60	Special Pane Arrangement	25	2/1
2	61	Main Entrance Location	02	Centre of Facade
2	61	Main Entrance Location	03	Off Centre of Facade
6	62	Structural Opening Shape	02	Flat
6	63	Trim Outside Structural Opening	1	None
2	70	Leaves Special Features	3	Vertical Boards
5	73	Main Porch Type	06	Open Verandah
1	73	Main Porch Type	08	Other Back Porch
1	74	Main Porch Special Features	2	Post
2	74	Main Porch Special Features	3	Columns
1	74	Main Porch Special Features	13	Decorated
6	75	Main Porch Material	03	Wood
6	76	Main Porch Height	1	First Storey
1	77	Apparent Alterations or Additions	12	Stair
1	77	Apparent Alterations or Additions	10	Window
3	77	Apparent Alterations or Additions	14	Bathrooms

TABLE 2.--Summary of Highest Frequency of Houses in Black Settlement Which Fit Category Number, Code, and Explanation.

Number of Houses	Category Number	Category	Code	Explanation
6	6	Residential	0101	Single Dwellings
6	12	Plan	02	Rectangular Long Facade
6	12	Plan	03	Rectangular Short Facade
6	13	Wings	04	Either Side
6	17	Basement Foundations	03	Crawl Space Above Ground Level
6	20	Exterior Wall Material	14	Clapboard
6	37	Roof Trim Verges	3	Projecting Verges
6	45	Chimney Stack Material	4	Brick
6	46	Chimney Massing	3	Single
6	48	Window Location	1	First Floor
6	48	Window Location	2	Second Floor
6	49	Structural Opening Shape	02	Flat
5	50	Trim Outside Structural Open	2	Plain

TABLE 2.--Continued.

Number of Houses	Category Number	Category	Code	Explanation
6	52	Trim Material	03	Wood
6	57	Number of Sashes	03	Two
6	58	Opening Mechanism	03	Single or Double Hung
6	60	Special Pane Arrangement	2	2/2
6	62	Structural Opening Shape	02	Flat
6	63	Trim Outside Structural Opening	1	None
5	73	Main Porch Type	06	Open Verandah
6	75	Main Porch Material	03	Wood
6	76	Main Porch Height	1	First Storey
*1	77	Apparent Alterations	10	Window
*1	77	Apparent Alterations	12	Stair

*Lowest Number in Category 77 indicates highest frequency.

TABLE 3.--Structure Evaluation Showing Maximum Score and Structure Rating of Houses by Number for Buxton Houses.

	Maximum Score	No. 1A	No. 2A	No. 3A	No. 4A	No. 5A	No. 6A
A. Architecture	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
B. History	25	25	25	25	25	25	25
C. Environment	10	10	0	0	10	10	10
D. Usability	15	15	0	0	5	5	10
E. Integrity	15	5	0	5	2	2	5

Architecture: An early example of a particular style.

History: Associated with the life or activities of a person, group or organization.

Environment: Contributes to character of the street or area.

Usability: Present use is compatible with the current land use or zoning of the site, street or neighbourhood. Adequately serviced and protected for contemporary use.

Integrity: Has suffered few alterations. A low score for Number E. indicates less change, a high score would indicate more alterations were made to the original structure.

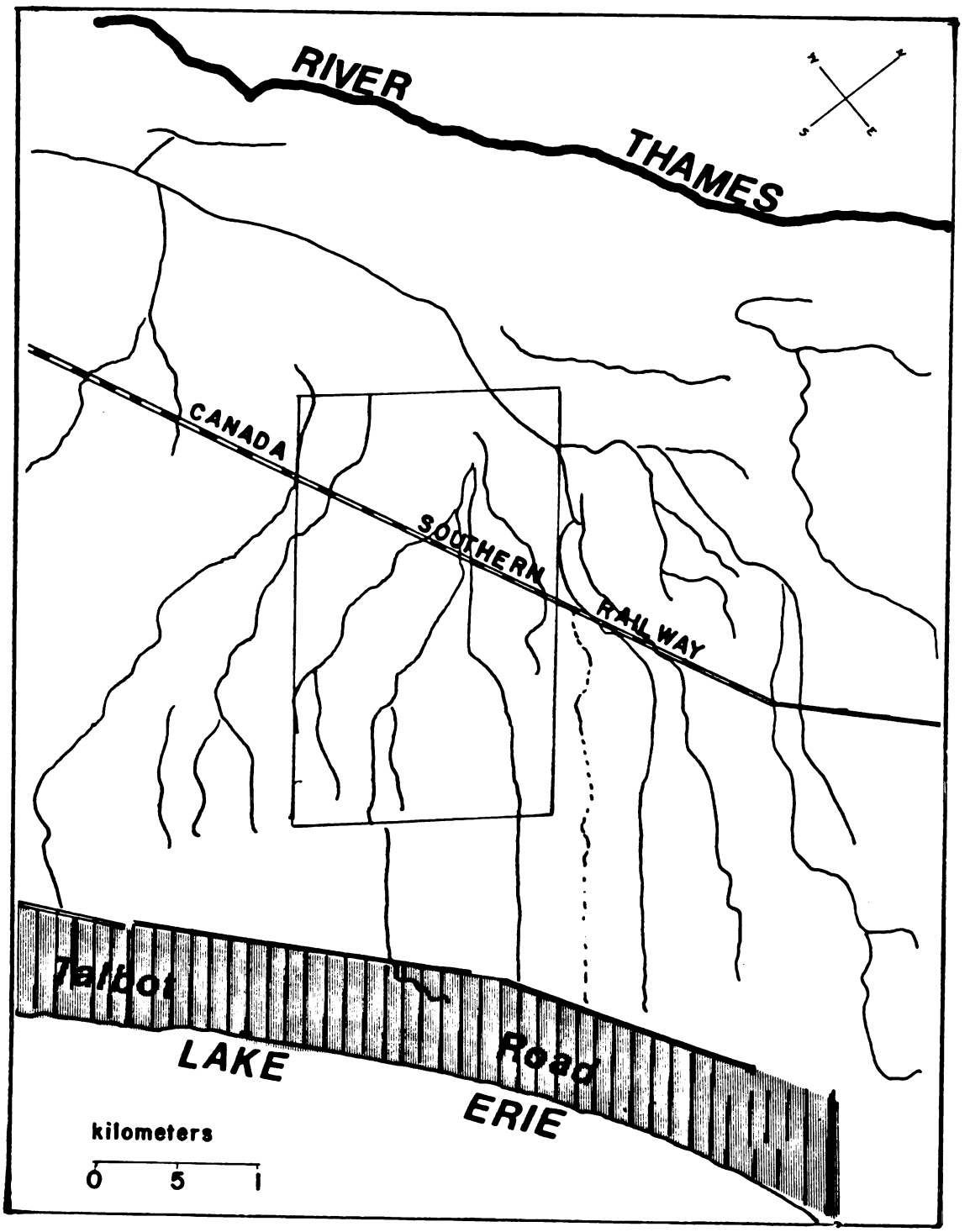
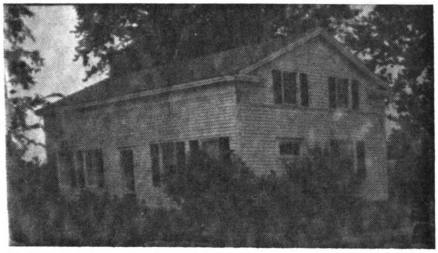


Figure 9.--Talbot Road Settlement Map.



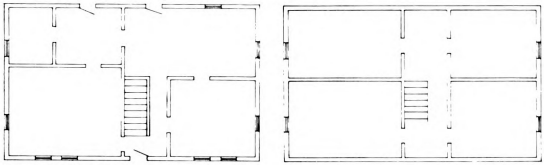
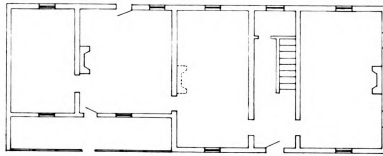


Figure 10.--House 1B - Talbot Road.



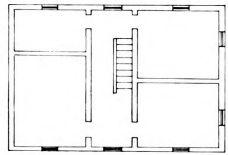


Figure 11.--House 2B - Talbot Road.

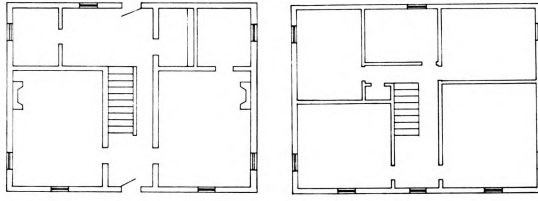


Figure 12.--House 3B - Talbot Road.

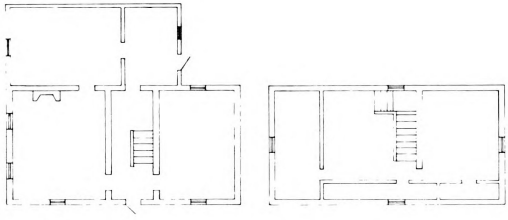
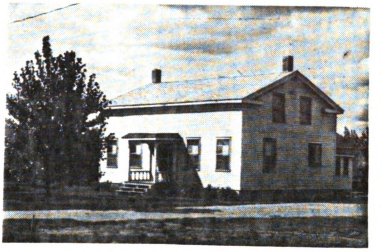
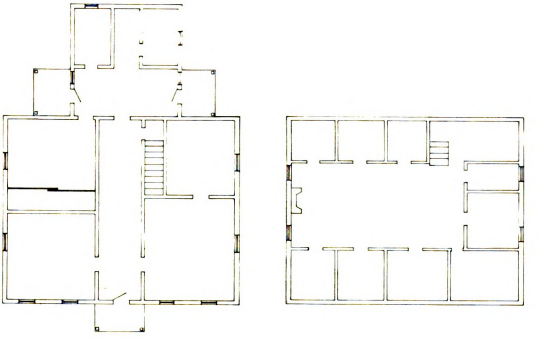


Figure 13.--House 4B - Talbot Road.





1st Floor

2nd Floor

Figure 14.--House 5B - Talbot Road.

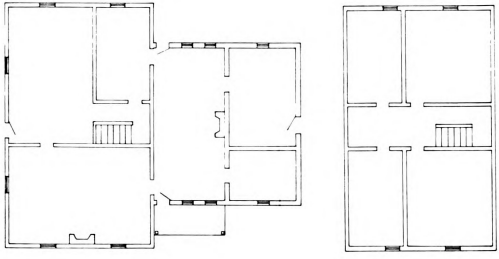


Figure 15.--House 6B - Talbot Road.

TABLE 4.--Canadian Inventory of Historic Building Involving Category, Category Number, Code Number, and Explanation and Number of Houses on Talbot Road Which Fit the House Characteristics.

Number of Houses	Category Number	Category	Code	Explanation
6	6	Residential	0101	Single Dwelling
5	11	Massing of Units	09	Joined Through the Side
6	12	Plan	02	Rectangular
1	12	Plan	06	Long Side Shape
4	15	Storeys	03	1½
2	15	Storeys	04	Two
5	17	Basement Foundation	01	None
1	17	Basement Foundation	06	Partial Below
3	20	Wall Material Exteria	14	Clapboard
3	23	Brick Bond	06	Common
3	30	Exteria Bearing Wall Material	11	Frame
3	30	Exteria Bearing Wall Material	16	Brick
1	32	Roof Type	12	Hipped Gambrel
5	32	Roof Type	01	Low Gable
1	33	Special Shape	3	Offset Gable
6	34	Roof Surface Material	04	Slate
2	35	Roof Trim Eaves	6	Moulded Fascia
5	37	Roof Trim Verges	16	Returned Eaves
4	37	Roof Trim Verges	11	Plain Frieze

TABLE 4.--Continued.

Number of Houses	Category Number	Category	Code	Explanation
1	42	Doremer	2	Gable Flush Eaves
1	43	Chimney Location	6	Side Left
1	43	Chimney Location	7	Side Right
5	43	Chimney Location	10	Both Sides
6	45	Chimney Stack Material	4	Brick
6	46	Chimney Massing	3	Single
6	48	Window Location	1	First Storey
6	48	Window Location	2	Second Storey
2	48	Window Location	3	Third Storey
6	49	Structural Openings	02	Flat
5	50	Trim at Head of Windows	1	None
1	50	Trim at Head of Windows	7	Plain Lintel
6	53	Still Type	05	Plain Lug Sill
6	57	Number of Sashes	03	Two
1	57	Number of Sashes	03	Four
4	60	Special Pane Arrangement	4	6/6
2	60	Special Pane Arrangement	10	8/8
6	61	Main Entrance	02	Centre Side Gable
4	62	Trim Outside of Structural Opening Sides	2	Plain Flat

TABLE 4.--Continued.

Number of Houses	Category Number	Category	Code	Explanation
6	64	Trim Outside of Structural Opening Sides	3	Moulded
6	65	Trim Outside of Structural Openings Material	03	Wood
3	66	Trim Within Structural Openings Head	5	Flat Transam Blind
1	66	Trim Within Structural Openings Head	7	Flat Transam Multiple Lights
2	67	Trim Within Structural Openings Sides	10	Side Lights
6	68	Number of Leaves	1	One Door in Main Entrance
1	73	Porch Type	06	Verandah
2	73	Porch Type	07	Closed Verandah
1	73	Porch Type	04	Open Porch
2	75	Main Porch Material	03	Wood
2	76	Main Porch Height	1	First Storey
2	78	Property Features	3	Garden Feature
5	77	Apparent Alterations and/or Additions	2	Extension
3	77	Apparent Alterations and/or Additions	12	Porch
2	77	Apparent Alterations and/or Additions	4	Basement
6	77	Apparent Alterations and/or Additions	14	Bathrooms
5	77	Apparent Alterations and/or Additions	19	Fireplace Removed

TABLE 5.--Summary of the Highest Frequency of Houses in White Settlement Which Fit Category Number, Code, and Explanation.

Number of Houses	Category Number	Category	Code	Explanation
6	6	Residential	0101	Single Dwelling
6	12	Plan	02	Rectangular
5	17	Basement Foundation	01	None
5	32	Roof Type	01	Low Gable
6	34	Roof Surface Material	04	Slate
5	37	Roof Trim Verges	16	Returned Eaves
5	43	Chimney Location	10	Both Sides
6	45	Chimney Stack Material	4	Brick
6	46	Chimney Massing	3	Single
6	48	Window Location	1	First Storey
6	48	Window Location	2	Second Storey
6	49	Structural Openings	02	Flat
5	50	Trim at Head of Window	1	None

TABLE 5.--Continued.

Number of Houses	Category Number	Category	Code	Explanation
6	53	Sill Type	05	Plain Lug Sill
6	57	Number of Sashes	03	Two
6	61	Main Entrance	02	Centre Side Gable
6	62	Trim Outside of Structural Opening Sides	2	Plain Flat
6	64	Trim Outside of Structural Opening Sides	3	Moulded
6	65	Trim Outside of Structural Opening Material	03	Wood
5	77	Apparent Alterations and/or Additions	2	Extension
6	77	Apparent Alterations and/or Additions	14	Bathroom Addition
5	77	Apparent Alterations and/or Additions	14	Fireplace Removed

TABLE 6.--Structure Evaluation Showing Maximum Score and Structure Rating of Houses by Number for Talbot Road Houses.

	Maximum Score	No. 1B	No. 2B	No. 3B	No. 4B	No. 5B	No. 6B
A. Architecture	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
B. History	25	25	25	25	25	25	25
C. Environment	10	10	10	10	10	10	5
D. Usability	15	5	15	10	15	15	0
E. Integrity	15	5	10	3	10	10	10

Architecture: An early example of a particular style.

History: Associated with the life or activities or a person, group or organization.

Environment: Contributes to character of the street or area.

Usability: Present use is compatible with the current land use or zoning of the site, street or neighbourhood. Adequately serviced and protected for contemporary use.

Integrity: Has suffered few alterations. A low score for Number E. indicates less change, a high score would indicate more alterations were made to the original structure.

TABLE 7.--Comparison in Category of Largest Margin of Difference in House Characteristics Between Black Settlement and White Settlement.

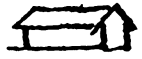
Category	Margin of Difference Between Settlements		Number of Houses	
	Black	White	Black	White
11. Massing of Units	joined through roof 	joined through side 	6	5
12. Plan	chain of room and central hall 	central hall 	6	6
13. Wings	rear and side 	none 	6	6
17. Foundation	crawl space 	none 	6	6
32. Roof Type	high pitched gable 	low pitched gable 	6	5

TABLE 7.--Continued.

Category	Margin of Difference Between Settlements		Number of Houses	
	Black	White	Black	White
37. Roof trim verges	projecting verges 	returned eaves 	6	6
60. Window special pane arrangement			6	6
*73 Porches	verandah integral part of house 	add on verandah type 	6	1
*77. Apparent alterations and additions	**exteriors of different material 	exteriors of different material 	2	5
Bathrooms			3	6
Fireplaces	None	6 original	0	5

*In Category 73 and 77 the difference between the highest and lowest number indicates largest margin of differences in house characteristics.

**Added portions of extensions are different materials.

Summary of Differences Found

The Black settlement had two distinct house forms attached at roof levels. Both connected forms had high-pitched gable roofs. One portion of the house had the gable end facing the road while the other portion was oriented with the side gable to the road.

Floor Plan - There was no set floor plan. A variety was found. The two forms were either attached at the side or to the back.

Foundations - A crawl space was provided beneath all of the houses.

Roof Type - High pitched gable roofs were used with projecting verges or wide over-hangs.

Porches - All of the houses had porches either at the front, to the side, or at the back.

Chimneys - The chimneys might be located on the gable end or in the center. Each of the massed forms had one chimney. None of the houses had fireplaces. The chimneys were bracketed on the interior wall into which a stove pipe from an iron stove was directed.

Alterations and Additions - All later additions to an original structure were covered in the same material except one.

In the White settlement only one major house form was found. The form had a low-pitched gable roof. It was rectangular in shape and two storeys high.

Floor Plans - The dominant floor plan was of the central hall variety.

Foundation - Most of the houses were built on the ground with no foundation. Two houses had a crawl space and one had a basement. These were added later.

Roof Type - The roof was a low-pitched gable with the gable side facing the road. At the gable ends there were returned eaves. This returned eaves was a neo-classic element in house characteristics.

Porches - There were no porches on the original structures. The porches that were found were part of later additions.

Chimneys - All of the houses had chimneys on each gable end. All originally had fireplaces. In all but two the fireplace had been removed and replaced by the iron stove. Later, gas was used to heat the homes.

Alterations - All additions to the original houses were attached either to the side or to the back one storey lower than the main roof height. The additions were of different materials than the original dwellings.

Why were there differences in house forms between the two settlements? And what was the significance of the differences?

The possibility that the differences in housing might be caused by economic variances was examined. The two settlements began in the mid-nineteenth century, each developing out of the wilderness. Each began their own industries and had markets for their goods. Both, being free peoples, had access to the same goods and services already available.

Otto maintained that to determine status there must be documentation of a difference in accessibility to goods and services shown by archaeological records. Housing alone cannot be the determinate factor in status and affluency, but status can be

determined by the variance of time and social context.[11] The two settlements developed in the same time period under similar circumstances and had access to the same markets and, perhaps, the same social conditions; therefore, social position was not a factor in determining house form.

The scholars of archaeological research suggest that culture migrations, diffusion and borrowing influenced house plans.[12]

The settlers in the Black settlement came from Louisiana and Southern parts of the United States. Two house forms and a variety of floor plans were found in Buxton, Ontario. The settlers from the White settlement came from Detroit, England, and other parts of Ontario. Yet, the house forms and floor plans with the Talbot Road settlement were basically the same. Alan Gowans argued "the architecture of Ontario had its antecedents in the United States, and the Europeans followed the trend in building styles of the period."[13]

To propose an answer for the differences found in house types between the two settlements, a sub-problem was designed using secondary sources. An historical focus was added to the research. Slides were taken of the vernacular house types in the country of

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[11]John Solomon Otto, "Status Difference and the Archaeological Record : A Comparison of Planter, Overseer and Slave Sites from Cannon's Point Plantation 1794-1861, St. Simons Island, Georgia" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida, 1975), p. 8.

[12]Michael C. Robbins, "House Types and Settlement Patterns," Minnesota Archaeologist, XXVIII (January 1966), p. 15.

[13]Alan Gowans, Building Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 34-42.

origin of the earliest settlers who came to the Americas. A study of seventeenth century and eighteenth century houses including the literature on folk architecture was used.

History traced migrations of the French, Blacks, and English into Ontario. The slides of house types found in the literature were compared with slides of both the Black and the White settlements in Raleigh Township of Southwestern Ontario of the mid-nineteenth century.

Figure 16.--Difference Found in House Types.

CHAPTER II

TRADITIONAL ORIGINS OF FOLK ARCHITECTURE OF COLONIAL IMMIGRANTS

English Vernacular

Researchers of folk architecture have agreed that Europeans who came to the colonies brought with them the traditions of their countries of origin.

Evidence has shown that houses of the pre-industrial period in Europe were much the same as houses in other parts of the world. All cultures used materials found in nature for building until the industrial period brought about a change. Many of the older type houses in England have been destroyed or replaced, being thought of as crude, without the realization they were a developing stage in the European culture.

The earliest homes of the British were of vestigial construction of branches, rushes, wattle clay and mud.[1] Construction of stone, brick and frame were later developments. Estyne E. Evans, a researcher, believes:

> There is evidence to show, however, that the house with walls of wattle, sod and clay, generally hip-roofed, was as common in Ulster in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as it was in the other Irish provinces, and many clay walled

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[1]Fiske Kimball, Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and the Early Republic (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1966), p. 3.

> houses are still inhabited in Ireland, particularly in the Central Lowlands. The fact that is emerging, is that until fairly recent times the majority of peasant houses in Ireland and Highland Britain were built of sods, clay or wattle, and thatched with rushes, bent or straw, occasionally with heather, broom, or reeds. They were rectangular in plan, but the ends were frequently rounded. They were single-storied, although often provided with a half-loft at one end, and the fire was at floor level somewhere on the long axis.[2]

Examples of the house types found by Evans are illustrated in Figure 17. The hip and gable roof type construction can be seen in Figure 18, along with a stone house.

The climate in Britain was cold and necessitated an indoor fireplace for warmth and cooking. A chimney was provided for smoke expulsion. The cold climate dictated that most of the daily living activities be carried on inside the dwelling. This created a need for large spaces. Space was also provided in the interior for the animals to keep them warm during the cold season (Figure 19).

French Vernacular

The Old World mode of French building followed closely the English structures. They also had houses of sod, clay and wattle with thatched roofs. The best known of the French folk architecture was the Normandy colombage pierotte, a building of wooden uprights with rubble filling. They had no cement, so lime-mortar was used. Great thickness of the walls was necessary for this construction to provide stability to the structure. The earliest roof types were very

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[2]Estyn E. Evans, "Folk Housing in the British Isles in Materials Other than Timber," Geoscience and Man, edited by B. F. Perkins, V (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1974), p. 56.

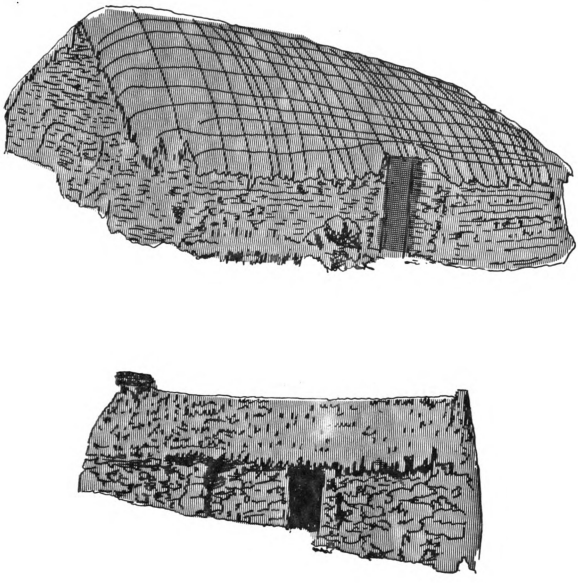

Figure 17.--English Vernacular. Reproduced with permission of Publications Sections, Louisiana State University, from Geoscience and Man, Vol. V.

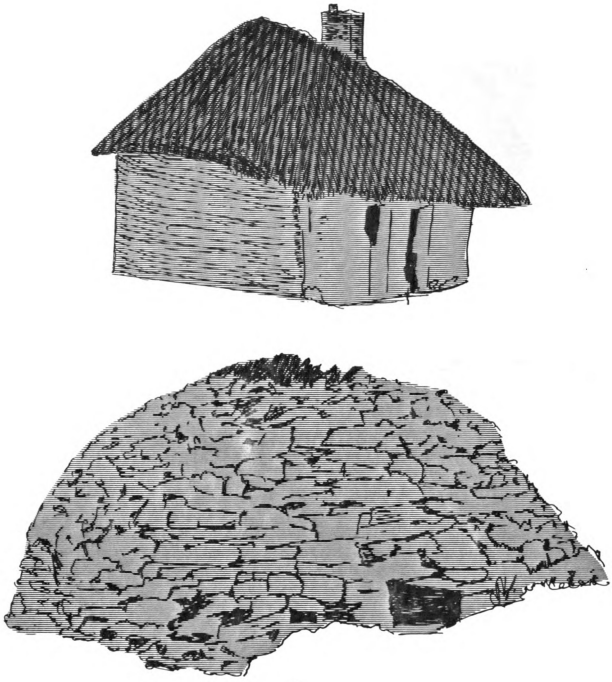

Figure 18.--English Vernacular. Reproduced with permission of Publications Sections, Louisiana State University, from Geoscience and Man, Vol. V.

Figure 19.--English Interior. Reproduced with permission of Publications Section, Louisiana State University from Geoscience and Man, Vol. V.

steep hipped roofs, front and back. The roofs of the houses were built pyramidal in shape with the eaves close to the side of the building. Small windows and a door characterized the asymmetrical facade. Dwellings had no foundations and stood one and one-half stories high. The French fenced the animals away from their houses to protect their gardens which were planted alongside the structures (Figure 20).

African Vernacular

The people of West Africa lived in many different regions. It is hard to describe Africa from the standpoint of sub-regional divisions of territories and provinces within national borders. An overlay of maps, political, tribal, and linguistic, would create a cultureal picture much closer to the distributions of peoples. Therefore, it is futile to consider Africa as a unit in any sense applicable to architecture.[3]

Researchers and scholars have paid little or no attention to African vernacular architecture, dismissing the architecture as primitive huts all round in shape.

Paul Oliver has edited a series of papers by different authors who were interested in the houseing architecture of the people of West Africa. This is significant because the Africans who were sold into slavery starting in the fourteenth century came mainly from regions of West Africa.[4]

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[3]Paul Oliver, Shelter in Africa (London: Barrie and Lenkins, 1971), pp. 17-18.

[4]Ibid., pp. 2-10.

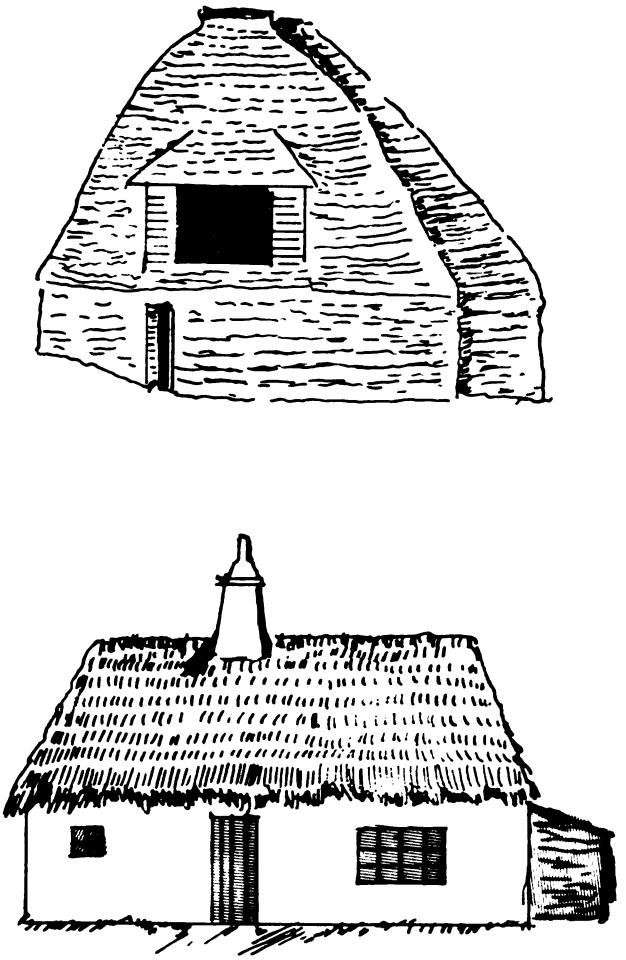

Figure 20.--French Style Houses. French vernacular emphasis on steep roof.

The African of the 1400s might have been the descendant of the ancient West African Kingdom of Ghana, Mali and Songhai. They were excellent wood carvers, weavers, tool makers and people from an elite society who did ironsmithing. There was no competition for monetary or material gains, and the ownership of land was not a measure of one's wealth.[5] These people lived in traditional farming villages or fishing villages and not being industrialized, they fashioned everything for everyday living by hand.

The Africans lived in compounds which kept their code of ethics, mores and rituals intact. The people were of different religious beliefs. Some believed in pagan religions, while others practiced the Islamic faith. Polygamy was a way of life for the Africans. Each wife within the compound had a separate house. The number of buildings required by the chief's wives and their religious rituals helped determine the shape of the compound.[6]

Basic to the compound was the open courtyard. The courtyard might be completely enclosed by houses, leaving an open space in the center, or it might be partially enclosed. In many parts of the world, and particularly in warmer climates, life is carried on far less in the inside of the dwellings than in the spaces outside and surrounding the enclosures.[7] The dwellings were joined at roof height, and, in some cases, verandahs extended into the yard. Some

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[5]Ibid., p. 80.

[6]Labelle Prussin, Architecture in Northern Ghana (Los Angeles; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 2.

[7]Ibid.

of the houses were built on the ground with dirt floors. Some were raised on piers with the floors constructed above ground. Kitchens were separate from the houses. There were separate buildings for the animals and for storage purposes also within the compound.

In each region women as well as men constructed the dwellings. The specialization in the division of labor was determined by the region. In some areas men were more involved with the structural design while women were involved with the structural decoration.

Many variations in forms were found in West African dwellings. It was suggested that the variations developed because of climate, environment, ethnic groups and available materials.[8]

To better understand West African vernacular architecture, it is necessary, in some cases, to consider the forms and structures of the settlement as a whole. The delicate balance between society and environment is immersed in housing and plan forms.

The houses of the Banta people, a farming settlement North of Ghana in the Black Volta, in an alternate hot and rainy climate, are rectangular in shape, as described by Barbara Mumtaz in the Oliver study.

These compound structures were one of rectangular courtyards completely enclosed by rectangular shaped dwellings. The house was constructed off the ground by slender poles at roughly three foot intervals. The side walls were six feet high. The house forms were

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[8]Oliver, op. cit., p. 82.

made of timber frames. One foot high and one foot thick courses of moistened mud were built up the sides, embedding the frames.

A gable thatched roof with a ten foot high ridge and wide overhang was structured over the top of the house. The overhang was supported by free-standing poles embedded in the ground. This overhang served as a social verandah for people wanting to sit outside the room as well as protecting the dwelling from the hot sun of the dry season and the continual rains of the rainy season.[9]

The Mo people, who lived in the same region, built quite similar to the Bantas except for the fact that they did not have a courtyard completely enclosed by houses. Instead, it was public open space with the main road passing to one side. People using the road would have to pass through the courtyard. In order to enter the courtyard, a public passageway was provided between two houses under a common roof. A house in the centre of the courtyard might have a verandah added for use as a stopping space for those who might get weary in their travels.[10]

Miles Danby studied the Ganvie people of Dahomey. These people in contrast to the farming societies lived in houses raised on stilts directly over the water, and made a living by means of careful farming and harvesting of fish. They also built with a thatched roof. The houses built by the Ganvie people were never more than one room thick which was an advantage for ventilation. Some houses were

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[9]Ibid., pp. 81-90.

[10]Ibid., pp. 81-82.

built with two storeys because of cramped vertical dimensions. There was an open platform outside the house used for storage and the repairing of fishing nets as well as for social life. A level was constructed below the house to store the fishing canoes and nets in the season when the water was low. During the flood season, brought on by water flowing into the river from other regions during their rainy season, only the upper level could be used (Figure 21).[11]

These people seem to be a migratory group of refugees of similar origin who escaped the slave raided villages from both the east and the west parts of West Africa.

In the Savannah belt of North Ghana lived a small family tribe of Nabdam people. According to Ian ARcher, these people lived in round houses with thatched or occasionally flat roofs. The structure was made of clay and dung. The compound walls were commonly decorated with bold abstract patterns.[12]

John Vlach found in Aroko, Nigeria, among the Yoruba people, a two-room house rectangular in shape, with the door openings in the gable end. The house had a thatched roof with solid mud walls layed in courses. The house size was small, approximately 10 feet by 10 feet. There were also other houses laid out in a chain of rooms, three or more sometimes, with gable side openings as well as the gable end front opening facing the road, as seen in the Yoruba House (Figure 22), illustrated by Vlach. The plan of a compound house and

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[11]Ibid., pp. 40-41.

[12]Ibid., p. 46.

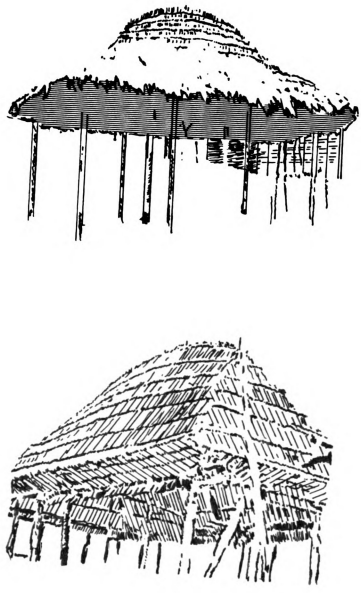


Figure 21.--Two Varieties of Roof Construction of Ganvie People. (Sketched from Paul Oliver, Shelter in Africa).

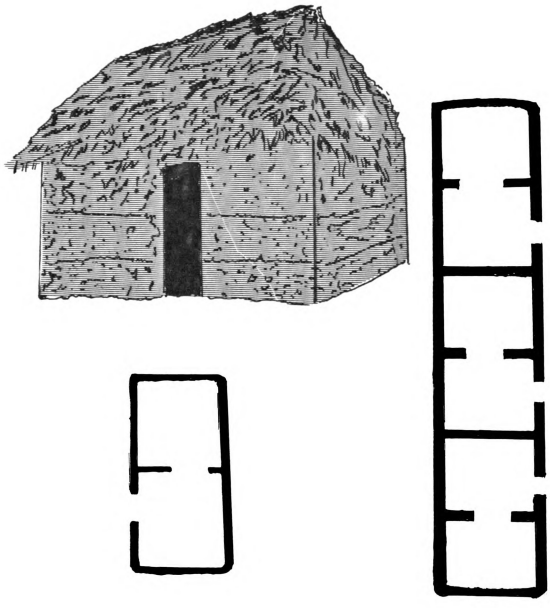


Figure 22.--Yoruba House. Courtesy of John Vlach, "The Shotgun House: An African Architectural Legacy," Part II, Pioneer America, VIII, 2 (July 1976).

a double module structure (Figure 23) was also illustrated by Vlach. The compound house had an open passage which allowed access into the rooms on either side of the passageway.

In the pre-industrial societies of the English and the French similar house forms were built using materials available in nature. Basic geometric forms of the rectangle and the circle were used.

West Africa, because of the wide variety of ethnic groups from region to region, the hot and rainy climate, the environment and available materials had a wider variety of house types (Figure 24).

If all cultures have one beginning, even though there was separation through time, there would be evidence in history of some common elements basic to all.

It is believed that the people of any given culture moving from one place to another bring with them, in their minds, the cultural memories of the way they built. In the seventeenth century the Europeans were able to demonstrate their preadapted architecture in the America.

The Africans in the American Colonies during the seventeenth century were forced to build under oppressed conditions. Even so, some characteristics of West African architecture were revealed.

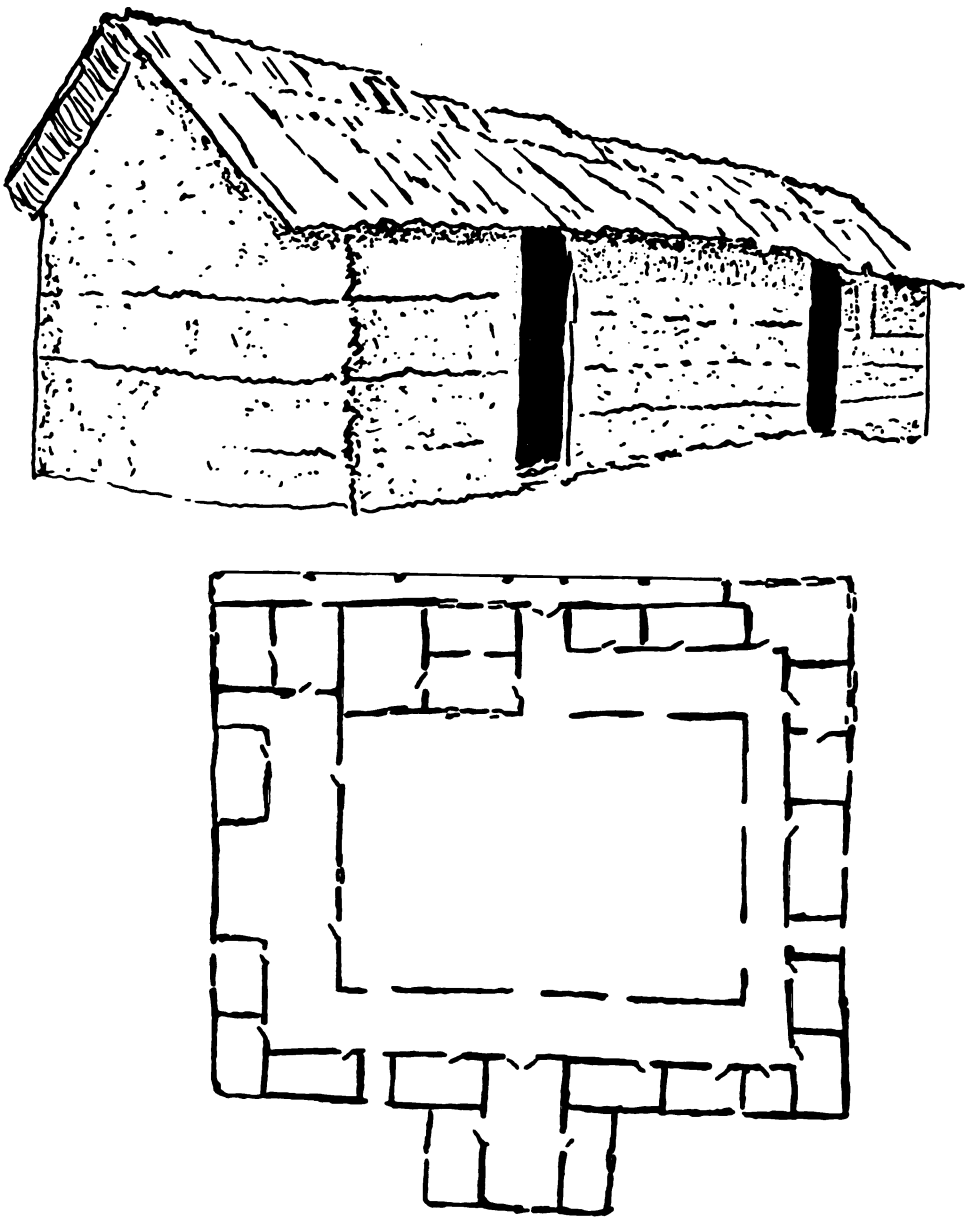
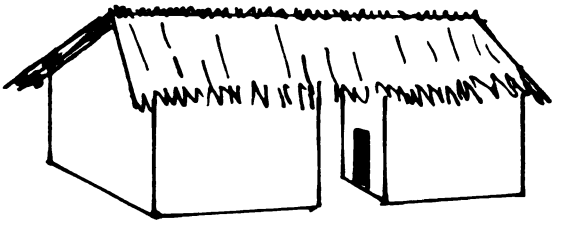


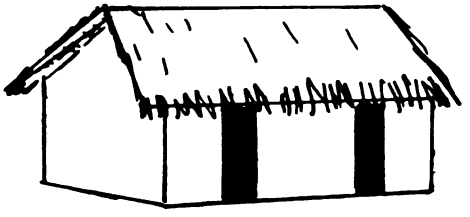
Figure 23.--African Double Module House. Courtesy of John Vlach, The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts (Cleveland Museum of Arts, 1978).

built on piers
wide overhang of roof
social verandah

social verandah
built on stilts



open passage



double module

round house
sketched by author
from Paul Oliver
Shelter in Africa

Figure 24.--Variety in African House Types.

CHAPTER III

PREADAPTATION OF COLONIAL IMMIGRANTS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

English Folk Architecture

The first house types built by the English reflected their Old World traditions. Two options were open to the settlers determined by whether they came from a farming background or the industrialized city background. Framed houses of wood were associated with prosperity among the yoemen back in England at that time, and it was these types of houses, the framed structures of wood, that were associated with the industrialized period. The frame houses reflected the trends in building designs of Western Europe which were, in the seventeenth century, Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque. The first trends in popular designs brought to the new world by the English, however, were the medieval and Gothic traditions.[1]

It was not the wealthy nor the talented members of the English society, who were first to arrive in the New World, but rather the poor peasant farmers and the poor as well as the cast-offs of the city who were promised a new life in the wilderness of the Americas. Some left their homes in the Old Country because of

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[1]Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), pp. 16-17.

religious persecution. In America they believed they would be able to worship as they pleased.

Modified Traditions

England's first arrivals in the New World founded settlements along the eastern coast of the Atlantic Ocean. The New England colonists did not come to supply England with raw materials or become a market for England's manufactured goods. They came to be independent land owners.

The houses of the earliest New England settlers were copies of the Native Indian dwellings. Not having the equipment or the materials to build as they did in England they borrowed the Indian's tradition or made dug-outs in the ground. The basic pre-industrial type dwellings were also used.[2]

As the people became more prosperous a second house was built. The house had one room with a fireplace at one side and a loft for sleeping. These houses had one window and one door to the side of the front and were known as hall type dwellings (Figure 25).

With increasing family and wealth an additional room might have been added to the other end of the fireplace forming the hall and parlor type house. This made a house with two rooms with a central fireplace (Figure 26).

There was an interior door opening between the two rooms and an additional sleeping area was added. Another window was added to

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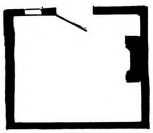
[2]Fiske Kimball, Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and the Early Republic (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1966), p. 3.

Figure 25.--Hall Type House.



Hall Type

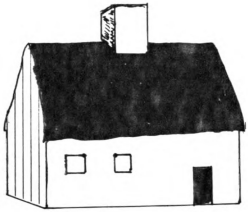
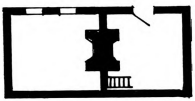


Figure 26.--Hall and Parlor Type.



Hall and Parlor Type

the facade, while the door and the window of the original portion remained the same.

Later the frame houses of Gothic influence were built. The houses were built with no foundation and were two storeys high. They had gable roofs with the eaves close to the sides of the structure. The second storey was built with an overhang of the first storey. The windows were small, sometimes made of leaded glass. The chimney was in the centre of the house and the facade was asymmetrical. Additional rooms were generally added to the rear, one storey high, with a shed roof. This addition was called a lean-to. This type became known as the salt box house. Some styles had gables added to the roof to give light to the second storey. Some houses had dirt floors, some had wide floor boards (Figures 27, 28).

The South of the United States was settled by wealthy English merchants, who set up fortified villages made up for the most part of the indentured labourers. The merchantes, who were responsible for colonization procedures, were interested in settlements that would bring them capital gains on their investments rather than settling a wilderness. Virginia was a settlement established as an investment. The picture so often given of Virginia as a wealthy and prosperous settlement with large tobacco plantations and scores of Black slaves did not come about until the eighteenth century.

In 1611 the population of 351 mostly males lived in stockaded villages under military management. The land was divided into districts worked by the labourers to produce raw materials for export to England. In 1616 the land was still not owned by the people who

Figure 27.--Salt Box House Type. The Whitman House, Farmington, Conn., 1664. Morrison, Early American Architecture. Courtesy of the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

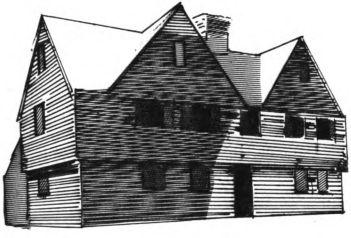


Figure 28.--Gothic Style House Type. The John Ward House, Salem, Mass., 1684. Morrison, Early American Architecture. Courtesy of the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

worked it. Most of the settlers by that time had a small patch of cleared land which they could work for themselves. Farmers with families were given 12 acres of cleared land, a house of four rooms, tools, seeds and animals.[3]

Glen T. Trewartha described the early house types as follows:

> The earliest residences were probably of crotch construction in which curved tree trunks or limbs joined together at the thop supported a roof or thatch weighted down with earth; the walls were wattle plastered with clay. The representative seventeenth century houses were of local materials, chiefly frame cottages of one storey besides the loft, with a chimney at each end. There was no pretence at beauty or design; even the homes of the most prominent planters were simple and plain.[4]

In 1704 the average number of workers, freeholders, and slaves on a farm was one to five.[5]

French Seventeenth Century Folk Architecture

France in the seventeenth century was the most powerful nation in Europe. New France in the New World was equally as strong with respect to landholdings. The French possession stretched from the island of Haiti to forts of New Orleans, up to forts at Detroit and on up into Hudson Bay. The French dominated both main waterways into the continent (Figure 29).

The oldest settlement was at Quebec in 1608 and later at Montreal in 1611. In order to make the land in the Quebec area

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[3]Glenn T. Trewartha, "Types of Rural Settlements in Colonial America," The Geographical Review (1946), pp. 585-587.

[4]Ibid., p. 592.

[5]Ibid.

Figure 29.--French Landholdings Map.

tillable many stones had to be removed. These stones became useful to the settlers in building the first houses which were of a type built in Normandy called the colombage pierotte. The house type was made of wooden frame with stone in fill. The walls of the structures were constructed with lime-mortar which had little strength. They had no cement and therefore great thicknesses had to be added to the walls to furnish stability. There are records of colombage buildings in New France dating from 1644, but they could not withstand the severe Canadian climate, and no important examples remain.[6]

The French also built a second style known as pavilion, which was very French in origin with respect to the roof. The roof had a graceful pyramidal character, steep at the front and back and steeper still at the ends with a slight bell cast at the eaves. The eaves had a small projection of nine inches to a foot. The house like the English house types was built on the ground with no foundation[7] (Figure 30).

Slave Dwellings

The Africans unlike the other immigrants did not come to the Americas seeking a better way of life. The Africans came as unwilling immigrants in bondage to serve a master. If the slaves happened to be in the West Indies or in Spanish colonies they were able to

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[6]Alan Gowans, Looking at Architecture in Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 34-37.

[7]Roy Wilson, The Beautiful Old Houses of Queebec (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 12.

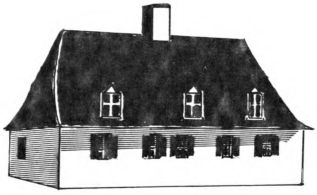

Figure 30.--French Pavilion House Type. Sketch from Building Canada by Alan Gowans.

maintain more of their traditions. The Africans in these cases might find themselves on large plantations with other slaves from the same region or they might be with members of their own families. In the English colonies the slaves, however, were sold individually to a single family. The slaves that were separated from their families, people speaking the same language, were less likely to conspire or maintain their own traditions.[8]

Travellers in their accounts, frequently included descriptions of planters' houses, especially the most elaborate. A more recent area of investigation is being done in the archaeological excavations of African slave compounds. Relatively more was known about slave housing and planters' dwellings than the housing of White farmers and craftsmen, who composed the bulk of the Southern plantation. Because of the concern over slave treatment, slave dwellings were often examined by pro-slavery apologists, as well as by abolitionists.

European Models

The planters usually provided standard size dwellings, based on European models for their slaves, the models being 16 feet by 18 feet or 20 feet. Some dwellings, though, based on archaeological excavations were small in size and were built up on poles; there were few built on the ground with dirt floors. The hip roof was

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[8]Elsa Honig Fine, The Afro-American Artist (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971), p. 9.

also used. In one case the wall height was found to be seven feet.[9] Some slave cabins on large plantations had gable roofs, no windows, no porches, and they possessed only mud and stick chimneys[10] (Figure 31).

Even though most planters used slave carpenters to build housing, most discouraged the African style. Specifications were provided and slave families had little opportunity to design housing to meet their special needs.[11]

In the seventeenth century, the Europeans' preadapted architecture became evident, first in pre-industrial styles then the industrial. The dwellings of this period were made of clapboard. There was no evidence to support the picture so often given of the English and French coming to the New World and building log cabins in which to live. Log cabin construction was unknown in the British Isles, France and the Netherlands. Log construction, however, was common in Sweden. The first log construction found in the colonies was assumed to be preadapted seventeenth century Swedish vernacular architecture.[12] The log cabin of Swedish origin after being introduced was diffused by other immigrants in the new land.

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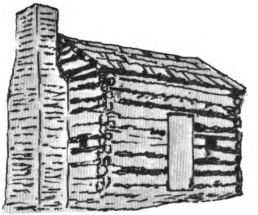
[9]Stanley South, "Archaeology of Black Settlements," The Conference of Historic Site Archaeology Papers, Vol. 7 (1972), pp. 62-93.

[10]John Solomon Otto, "Status Differences and the Archaeological Record: A Comparison of Planter, Overseer and Slave Sites from Cannon's Point Plantation 1794-1861, St. Simons Island, Georgia" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida, 1975), p. 102.

[11]Ibid., p. 103.



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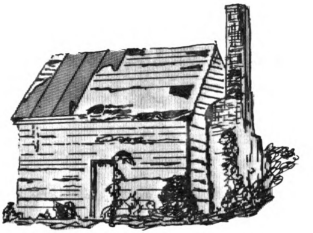

B.

Figure 31.--Slave Dwellings. A. Sketch of slave dwelling similar to the birth place of Booker T. Washington from Ebony Pictorial History of Black America. B. Henry Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia, c. 1975 by permission of the University of Tennessee Press.

The Africans also used the log construction. Because they built their own slave cabins, or they were built by slave carpenters, after European models, some of the African characteristics did, indeed, become evident. These could be seen in such things as cabins being built upon piers, the hip roof, and in some cases, the gable end opening facing the road.[13] Throughout all the different migrations of the seventeenth century, log construction seems to have a universal appeal.

In the eighteenth century, however, there was evidence of another universal appeal. More recent research has looked at folk architecture in the United States, which comprises the housing of the middle class farmers and craftsmen of the eighteenth century. Folk architecture displayed wide variations in house types, throughout the folk architectural areas.

Researchers have identified the architecture of the eighteenth century as being English, French and Dutch colonial.[14] There were, nevertheless, certain forms and architectural characteristics which could not be linked to European origins. There might be,

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[12]Harold R. Shurtleff, The Log Cabin Myth (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956; reprinted ed, Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1967), p. 53.

[13]Peter H. Wood, "Whetting, Setting and Laying Timbers, Black Builders in the EArly South," Southern Exposure, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring 1980), p. 7.

[14]Alan Gowans, "Architecture in New Jersey," Vol. 6, The New Jersey Historical Series (New York; Toronto: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1964), p. 23. See also C. Johnson, "Missouri-French Houses: Some Relic Features of Early Settlement," Pioneer America, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1974), p. 3.

however, a connection between the curious forms, the characteristics, and the circumstances of history during that period. Intrinsic to each settlement of newcomers was the one constant, the presence of the African slaves. Slave labour, perhaps, might account for the curiosities in architecture which became universal throughout the southern colonies during the eighteenth century. Illustrations demonstrate the common characteristics and forms that existed in eighteenth century folk architecture.

Estyn Evans put emphasis on the floor plans and technology to identify house types. Fred Kniffen put his emphasis on occupancy and technology.[15] This research put emphasis on the main labour force, the population and its involvement in form and characteristics of folk dwellings.

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[15]Fred Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 50 (December 1965), pp. 551-552.

CHAPTER IV

ACCULTURATION OF FOLK HOUSING IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Afro-American Impact on Folk Architecture

Up to the eighteenth century the Black population of the colonies was not significant enough to have an impact on colonial folk architecture, but in the eighteenth century the situation changed. The system in the South, of company owned land worked by indentured servants, moved toward a system of land owned by individual planters specializing in one money crop (such as tobacco or cotton). In 1738 large tracts of land were sold to individuals, the outcome being the development of the plantation system. Land at the time was cheap but labour was expensive and along with the plantation system admittedly came the African slave in large numbers.[1]

The appearance of a large number of African slaves brought with it still another significant change, the criteria for establishing social status.[2] This social status had been traditionally determined by occupations. Historians based social strata on land

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[1]Glenn T. Trewarths, "Types of Rural Settlements in Colonial America," The Geographical Review (1946), pp. 590-591.

[2]John Solomon Otto, "Status Difference and the Archaeological Record, A Comparison of Planter, Overseer, and Slave Sites from Cannon's Point Plantation" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida, 1975), p. 11.

ownership with the divisions being elite, middle class and poor. Conditions being as they were, a period characterized by cheap land, and expensive labour, it was more fitting to base the criteria for economic status on slave ownership rather than land ownership. John Solomon Otto states:

> Great social prestige and political power was associated with slave ownership, and the distribution of slaves was far more inequitable than the distribution of land in the south.[3]

It has been recognized that acculturation on reciprocal bases can take place at the individual level as well as between social cultural systems in contact.[4]

Herskovits maintains:

> Acculturation occurs as a result of contact and it is the continuing nature of the contact and the opportunities for exposure to new modes of life that determine the type and intensity of the syncretisms which constitute the eventual patternings of the resulting cultural orientation.[5]

Population

The character of the Black population formed a new relationship with the White population. In the eighteenth century the Black populations had developed social strata. There were free people of colour, the Afro-American slaves, and the African slaves.

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[3]Ibid.

[4]Louise S. Spindler, Cultural Change and Modernization (New York; Toronto: Holt Reinhart and Winston, 1977), p. 32.

[5]Melville J. Herskovits, The Myth of the Negro Past (Boston: Beacon Press, Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1941), pp. 116.

By 1819 New Orleans had 12,223 people: 4,507 Whites; 4,306 slaves, and 3,332 free people of colour. The 7,718 Blacks almost doubled the number of Whites.[6]

In Dutch-settled Bergen and Somerset Counties the population of African origins was 15 percent in 1760.[7] Figures show that the population of the free people of colour rose in 1799 from 59,557, nearly four percent of the total population of Blacks in the United States, to 488,070 in 1860 or nearly 11 percent of the Black population of 4,441,830 (Figure 32).[8]

The social cast of Blacks that formed an elite cast, who had been manumitted through purchase or escape was recognized in New Orleans, Mobile and Charleston. Most Blacks were chattel property. Elsewhere in the South, Whites lumped all Afro-Americans into one category.[9]

The Main Labour Force

Not only were Blacks the majority of the population in some counties of the South, but they were the main labour force which brought about constant opportunities for contact.

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[6]John Michael Vlach, "The Shotgun House: An African Architectural Legacy: I," Pioneer America, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (January 1976), p. 51.

[7]Peter O. Wacker, "Traditional House and Barn Type in New Jersey: Key to Acculturation, Past Cultureographic Regions and Settlement History," Geoscience and Man, edited by B. F. Perkins, Vol. V (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1974), p. 166.

[8]Cedric Dover, American Negro Art (New York: Graphic Society Ltd., Greenwich, Conn, 1970), p. 16.

[9]Otto, op. cit., p. 10.

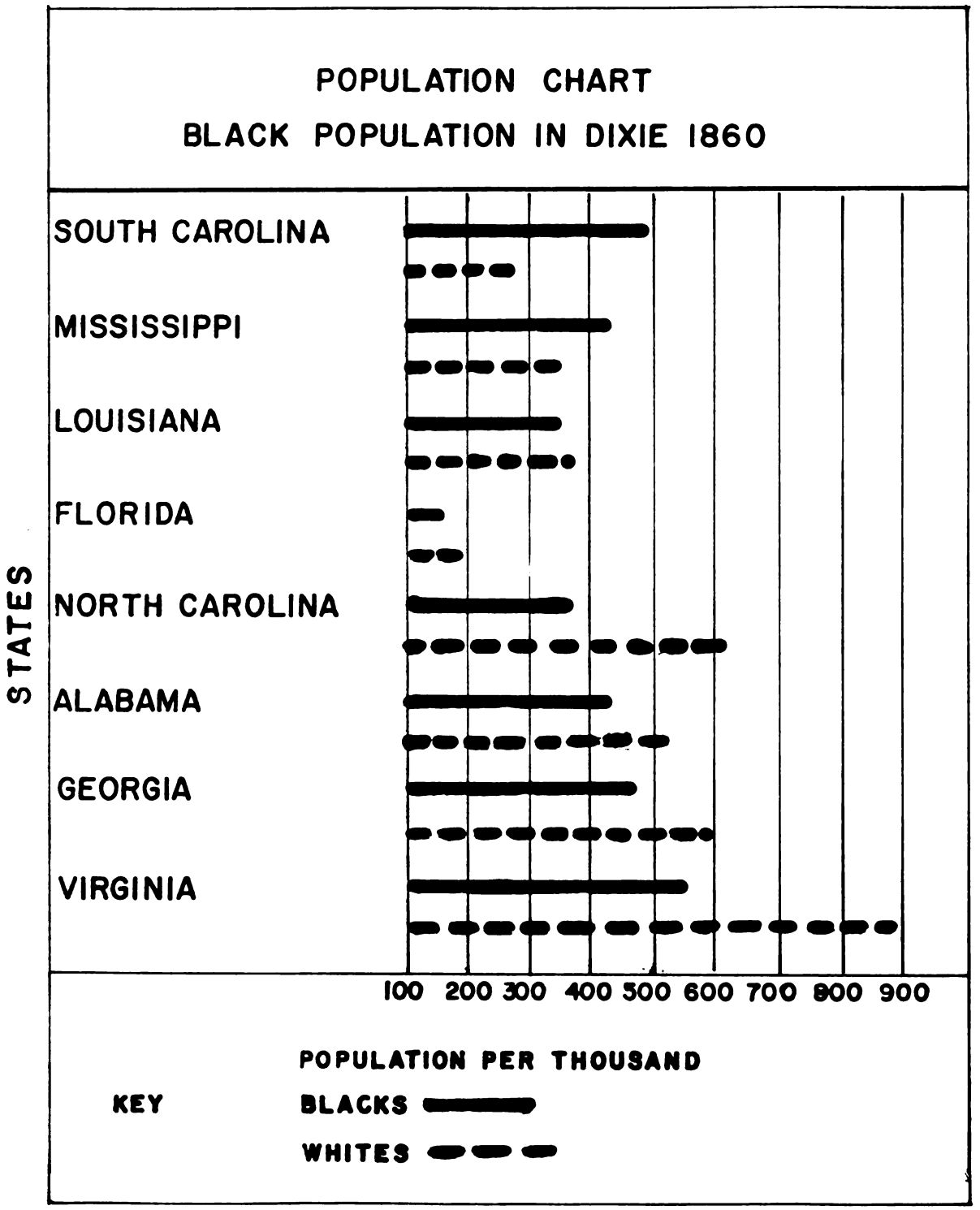

Figure 32.--Population Chart. The Black population in 1860 compared to the White population in the South.

By 1860 the Yoemen, or middle class farmers, craftsmen, shopkeepers, and overseers, made up half the total Southern population. Though the overseers rarely engaged in physical labour, other members of the yoemen did. They often did manual labour along with their slaves. Otto states:

> No man can travel one day through any thickly settled portion of the South but he will come up with some sturdy yeoman and his son working in the company of their Negros. Sometime their own property, and at times hirings whom they employed by the month or year.[10]

In the Old South the slave was the main labour force. He had the lowest social and political status. His children became the property of their owners and could be sold off to new owners. Blacks who had been manumitted were subject to many legal restraints. In some cases they were not allowed on the street without their manumission papers. In Georgia they had to pay a special head tax and they were not free to choose their occupations or places of residence.[11]

Solomon Northrup, a free slave who was captured and taken back into slavery, wrote a narrative telling of slave treatment. He tells how droves of slaves were sent out for hire on a neighbouring plantation and put to work at whatever tasks the master would see fit. Some of the tasks were building houses or making building repairs. If newcomers in the group had trouble with a task they were beaten. The beaten chattel eventually learned the task through

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[10]Ibid., p. 12.

[11]Ibid., p. 108.

the teachings of the other slaves. He also described how certain equipment was invented by slaves through necessity.[12]

Slave ownership was a measurement of wealth and there were constant new arrivals. Africans were being brought from all different regions, with some coming from the West Indies. This resulted in slaves speaking many different languages.[13] Otto said:

> Some slaves were African born, and they had to learn a new language in adulthood from fellow slaves and White supervisors. The plantation pidgins, spoken by newly arrived African slaves, as well as the plantation creoles that developed from the pidgins were often regarded with contempt by native speaking Whites.[14]

The mastery of a common pidgin language undermined the attempt by owners to put Africans from different regions together to minimize their chances to conspire. The common language aided slaves from separate parts of Africa to join in running away or organizing slave revolts. Some slaves ran away to live with the Indians. The owners, sensing the interest between the two groups, did all they could to promote hostility between the Black people and the Red people.[15]

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[12]Solomon Northrup, Twelve Years a Slave (Buffalo: Auburn, Derby and Miller, 1953), pp. 191-194.

[13]Peter Wood, Black Majority (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1975), p. 250.

[14]Otto, op. cit., p. 1011.

[15]Wood, op. cit., pp. 252-262.

Craftsmen

Despite the growing unrest between slave and master, being a craftsman served two purposes for the slave. It gave him pride in achievement and in some cases enough money to purchase his freedom. The eighteenth century was the time of new growth, increasing prosperity, education, comfort and good taste promoting a greater variety of needs for the Europeans.[16]

In time, an economic relationship developed between the southern White man and the Black. Judith Chase maintains:

> The southern white man did business with the Negro in a way that no one else had done business with him. According to Booker T. Washington, "In most cases, if a southern white man wanted a house built he consulted a Negro mechanic about the plan and about the actual building of the structure. If he wanted a suite of clothing he went to a Negro tailor, and for shoes a shoemaker of the same race."[17]

Judith Chase argues:

> Slaves helped to construct many southern churches and mansions, among them Cross Chapel in North Carolina and Thomas Jefferson's Monticello. The elegant iron works of the Vieux Curre in New Orleans, which include the splendid convent first occupied by the Ursuline nuns in 1734, is also attributed to slave craftsmen.[18]

In the book, The Black Loyalists, there were descriptions of slaves who escaped to join the Empire Loyalists in Canada. James Walker points out:

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[16]Cedric Dover, American Negro Art (New York: Graphic Society Ltd., Greenwich, Conn., 1970), p. 16.

[17]Judith Wragg Chase, Afro-American Arts and Crafts (New York; Toronto: Van Nostrand, Reinhold Company, 1971), p. 81.

[18]Ibid., p. 23.

> The skills brought by the black men and women who resorted to the Loyalists were greatly varied. Despite their origins in the southern colonies, particularly Virginia and South Carolina, the number of field hands or common labourers was surprisingly slight.[19]

Wide Variety in House Types

The seventeenth century was characterized by the Gothic trend in house types. The salt box house with a lean-to became common with the English (see Figure 27). The French built in the pyramidal shape with dormers added to the roof for additional light (see Figure 30). This Gothic trend can also be illustrated in the development of the floor plan (Figure 33), of English house types before the eighteenth century.

The preadapted architecture of the original settlers of the colonies changed in the seventeenth century. The popular trend in European traditions took its place.

By the eighteenth century the popular trend in architecture on the European continent had gone from style of the Gothic to the Renaissance, Baroque and Neo-Classic designs. These trends were brought to the New World for the wealthy by American architects trained abroad.

It seems that the middle class of the New World would also follow the European way of building. But the close contact of the middle class yeoman, who made up most of the Old South, with the slaves through acculturation, perhaps, produced innovations in house types.

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[19]James W. Walker, The Black Loyalists (Toronto: African and Dalhousie University Press, 1976), p. 5.

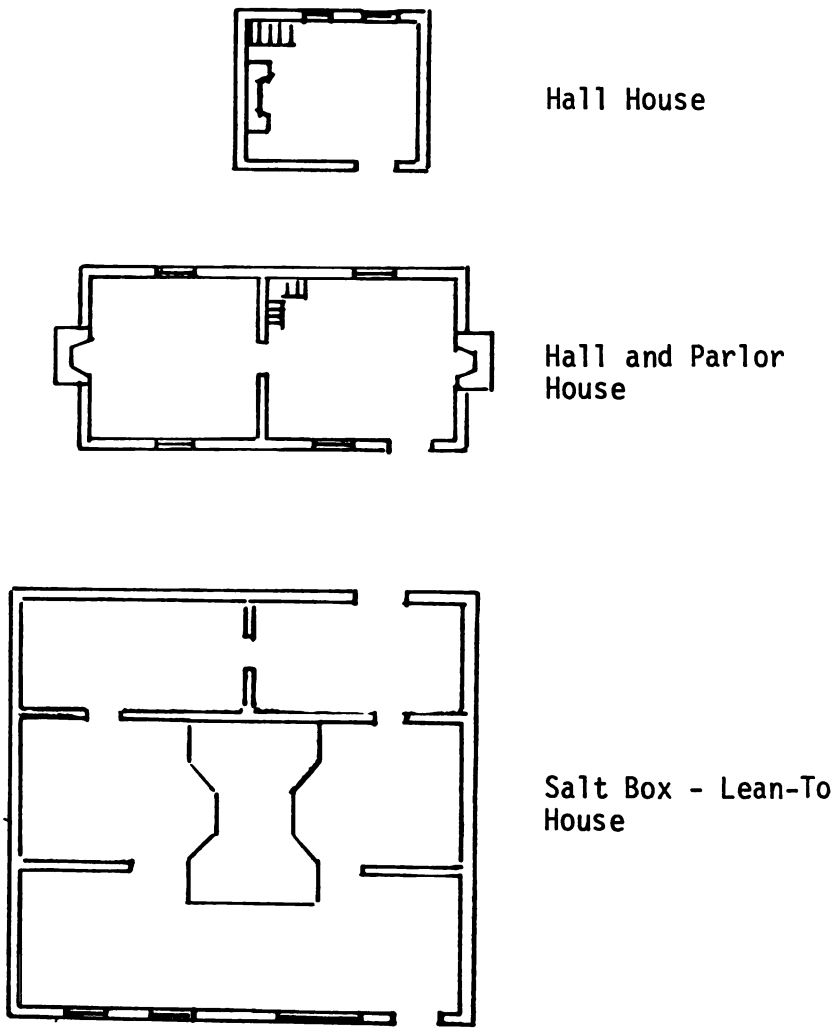

Figure 33.--Floor Plans of English House Types. The English floor plans changed at this point into a variety of folk type plans.

Spindler believes:

> The acculturation must take into account such factors as the relative size of the system, the status and power exerted by the system, and the number of individuals making contacts with each other in the system.[20]

Because of the research of geographers such as Fred B. Kniffen and folklorist Henry Glassie, not only the house types of the wealthy planters can be recognized, but the folk style built by the middle class farmers and craftsmen can be recognized as well.

An inventory of these house types was completed by Kniffen for his research for the Louisiana house types. The house types deal with those found in rural areas excluding the urban area. Kniffen found structures with gables facing sideward and built-in porches. On these types the porch is an integral part of the structure, the dwelling had two front doors in some cases, two pens and a passage. The former became known as the single pen and the latter as the double pen (Figure 34). The floor plans are also shown (Figure 35).

Variations of the built-in porch type and a type called the attached porch house (Figure 36) were found.

There were houses with frontward facing gables, one room wide, called the shotgun houses. Houses with frontward facing gables, two rooms wide were called bungalow types. The porch seemed to be a vital part of both the shotgun and the bungalow types. The shotgun type and the bungalow type can be seen in

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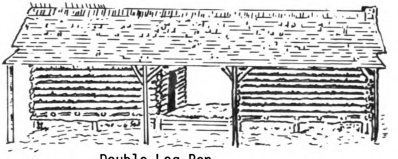
[20]Spindler, op. cit., p. 31.

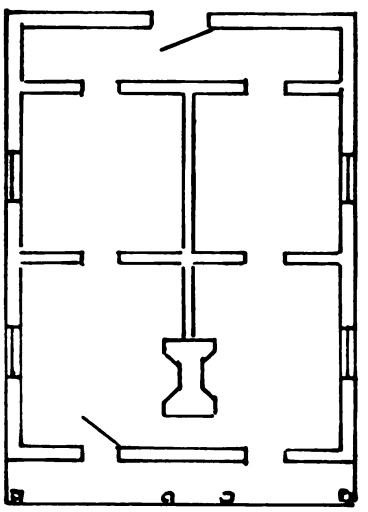
Built-in Porch Type



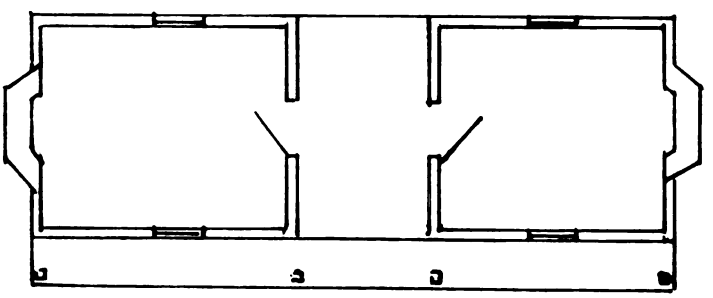
Double Log Pen

Single Log Pen

Figure 34.--Kniffen's House Types. Reproduced by permission from the Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. XXVI (1936), p. 182-Figure 7; p. 184-Figure 6; F. B. Kniffen.



Single Pen



Double Pen

Figure 35.--Floor Plans.

Built-in Porch Type

Attached Porch Type

Figure 36.--Variation of Built-in Porch Type House and Attached Porch. Reproduced by permission from the Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol XXVI (1936), p. 183-Figure 3, 4; F. B. Kniffen.

Figure 37. The floor plan of the shotgun type can be found in Figure 38.

There was still another, the two storey construction, which became known as the 'I' house. This house was one room deep with a central hall passageway with the gable side opening. The porch was not an essential part of this structure. Some were built with small porches in the door area; this type also had many variations in its floor plans (Figure 39).

According to Henry Glassie, the English house types of the seventeenth century would not be considered as folk architecture. Glassie argues that:

> Something which can be modified by "folk" is traditional. To be traditional it must be old and acceptable to the individual or group which produced it--old enough for there to be a record of its past in the procuder's culture, such as early reports in print of exact datable items.[21]

New developments in folk housing began for the English with the one room and end chimney type dwelling to the hall and parlor in an evolutionary series culminating in the raised house with front and back porches and rear appendages. These building types spread from the Atlantic up to the middle of Indiana (Figure 40). Glassie stated: "A folk thing is traditional and non-popular; material folk culture is composed of objects produced out of a non-popular tradition in proximity to popular culture."[22]

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[21]Henry Glassie, Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), p. 4.

[22]Ibid., p. 6.

Figure 37.--Shotgun Type.

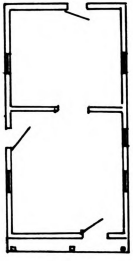
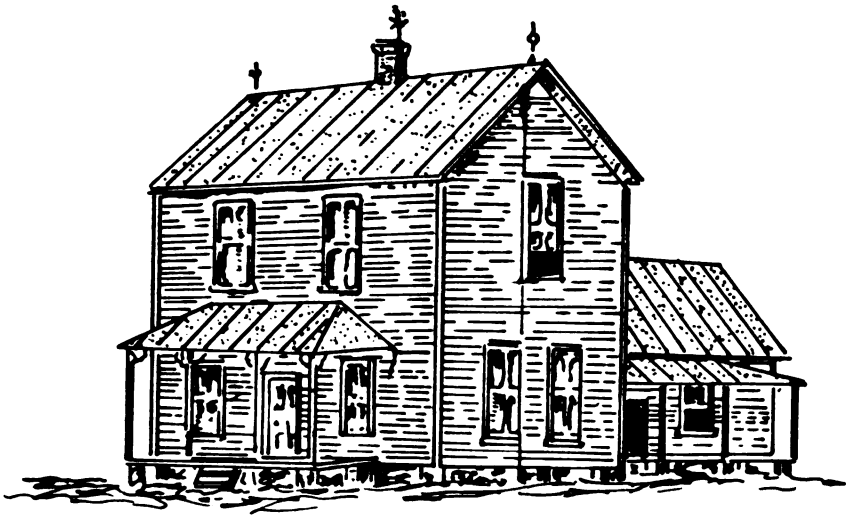
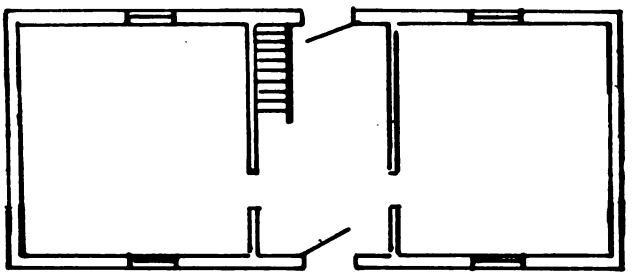


Figure 38.--Bungalow Type. (Reproduced by permission from the Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. XXVI (1936), p. 186 - Figures 9, 10; F. B. Kniffen).



I-House



Central Hall or
I-House Floor Plan

Figure 39.--I-House and Floor Plan. Reproduced by permission from the Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. XXVI (1936), p. 185-Figures 8; F. B. Kniffen.

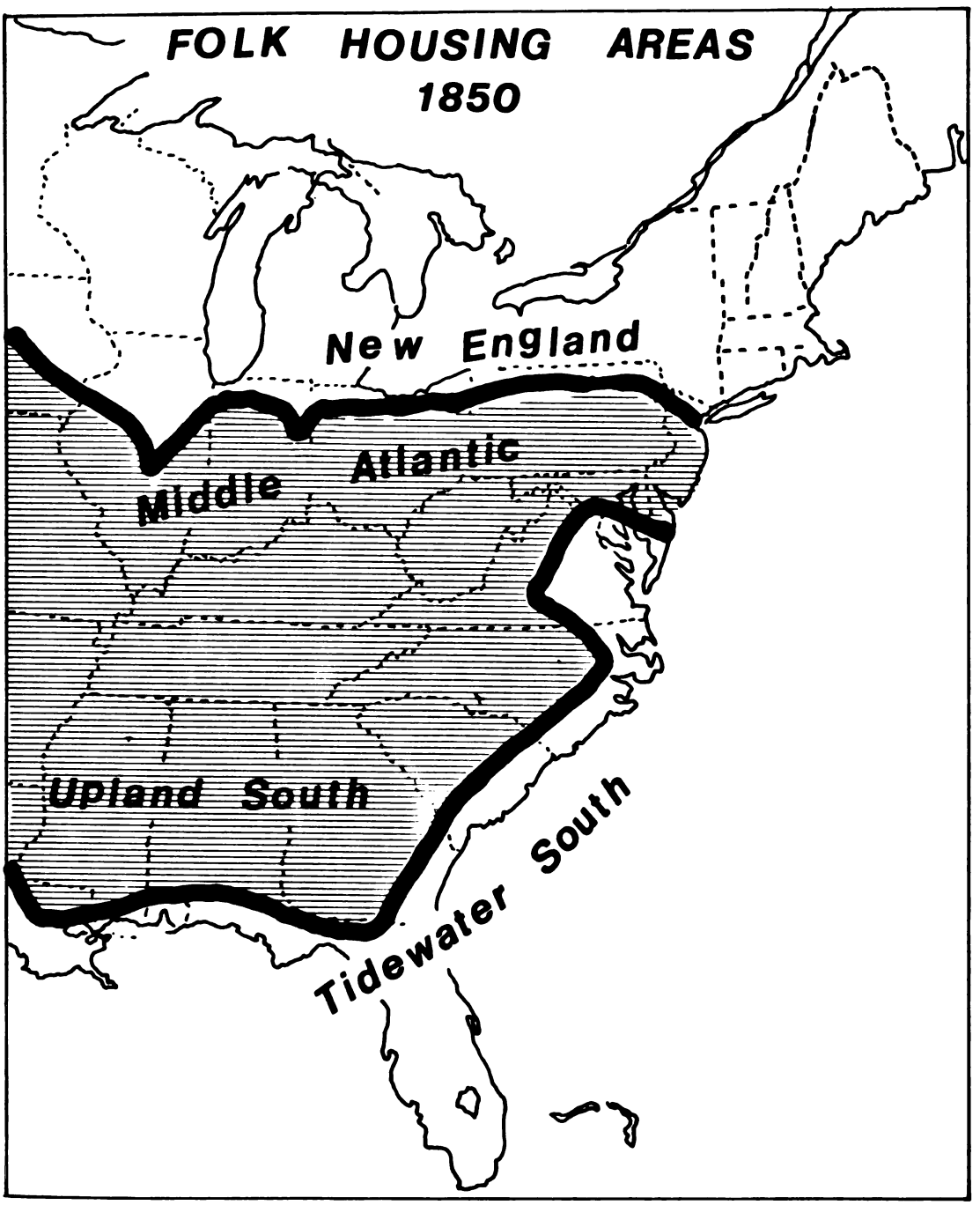


Figure 40.--Folk Housing Areas 1850 - Map. Reproduced by permission from the Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. LV (1965), p. 571, F. B. Kniffen.

Until the eighteenth century there was no record of European houses being raised off the ground, no record of porches, or of double modules, and no record of the gable end opening to the road among those of the New World. The new element seems to fit the characteristic of the African house types (see Figure 8).

Research found on folk housing in the past referred to these houses as innovations leading to the creation of English, French and the Dutch colonial structures. Perhaps it would be better to refer to them as Afro-English, Afro-French and Afro-Dutch, and to include in the explanation of their manifestations cultural diffusion, borrowing and acculturation. Louise Spindler explains:

> Diffusion is the cultural borrowing process. This is different from acculturation due to the fact that in order to have diffusion there need not be any physical contact. Acculturation, on the other hand, accompanies intermingling of two or more social cultural systems and the borrowing is a two-way flow.[23]

The cultural pool has always been a resource for the English who have long been great borrowers from other cultures. This can be seen in the architectural styles which traditionally follow trends.

Many anthropologists consider innovations to be the basic source of culture change.

There is a possibility of some direct African characteristics coming into the architecture when Black builders of the eighteenth century were a mixture of Africans, African Americans and free Blacks. The slave being the constant with each new group of settlers

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[23]Ibid., p. 17.

would explain the appearance of the same element throughout all the colonies.

The experts who labeled the architecture were not all in agreement. Most of the homes were connected to a country of origin such as English, French or Dutch, based on the construction and not on the form, floor plan or appendage.

Glassie took a diagnostic look at Kniffen's I-house in Middle Virginia and suggested that it is English in origin. Estyn Evans criticizes Kniffen's I-house classification when he said:

> I am inclined to consider his "tall shallow" I-house with its diversity of ground plans, not so much a valid folk house as a convergence of several humble house types toward a pretentious fashion that is somewhat outside the folk idiom.[24]

Hugh Morrison called the double pen house style the possum-trot and states that it probably originated in Virginia.[25]

Martin Wright described the double pen house style as the dog-trot. The most characteristic features of the Southern double-pen is its open passage, and this feature aspect of a dwelling was foreign to the Anglo-Saxons involved in the colonization of the Eastern Coast of America. Furthermore, Wright builds an argument around the possibility that the dogtrot may have been of Irish origin. He suggests that the first house of this type appeared in

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[24] Estyn E. Evans, "Folk Housing in the British Isles in Materials Other Than Timber," Geoscience and Man, edited by B. F. Perkins, V (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1974), p. 54.

[25] Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 170.

Delaware around 1750.[26] Variations of the dogtrot house can be found in Figures 41 and 42.

Glassie states that the dogtrot was widely used in the Black sections of small towns in the tidewater deep south.[27]

French Colonial

In America the French outside of Quebec did not set up permanent agricultural colonies. Instead they maintained trading posts and concentrated on establishing good relationships with the Indians. Only in areas which have been relatively untouched by progress has it been possible to find many relic features of the past. The region of the Missouri-French around St. Louis was one of the areas where the past has been preserved.[28]

The French houses were divided into four types: (1) palisaded, characterized mainly by its wall construction which appears to be native to North America; (2) timber framed, imported from northwest Europe via Canada; (3) masonry, and (4) horizontal log construction.

Two subtypes of the palisaded house are pieaux-en-terre or poteaux-en-terre (Figures 43 and 44).

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[26]Martin Wright, "The Antecedents of the Double-Pen House Type," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 48, No. 2 (June 1958), p. 111.

[27]Glassie, op. cit., p. 107.

[28]Alan Gowans, Looking at Architecture in Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 34-35.

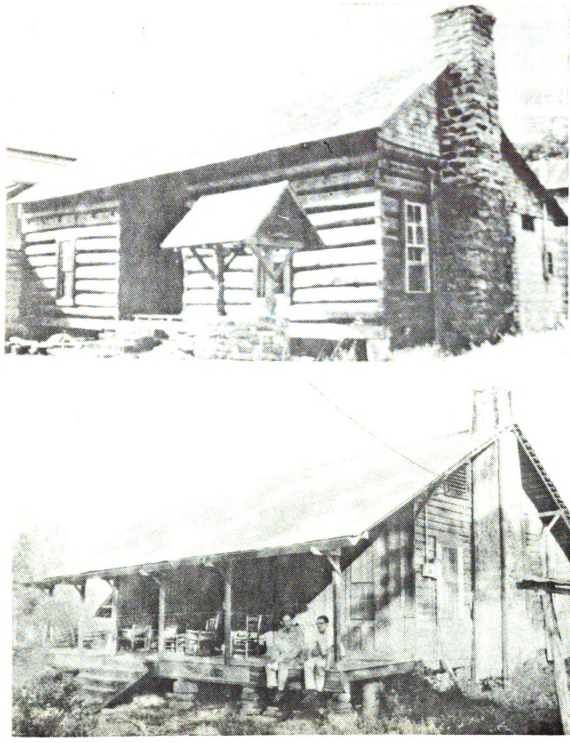

Figure 41.--Dogtrot House Types. Reproduced with permission of Publications Section, Louisiana State University, from Geoscience and Man, Vol. V.

Figure 42.--Dogtrot House Types. Reproduced with permission of Publications Section, Louisiana State University, from Geoscience and Man, Vol. V.

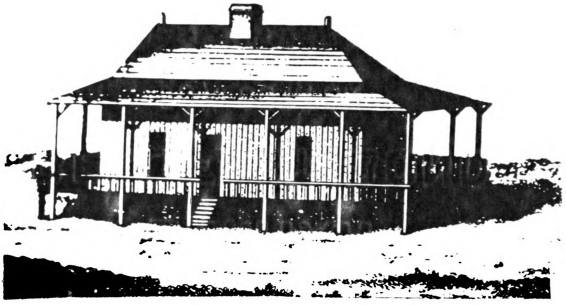

Figure 43.--Poteaux-en-terre House Type. Reproduced from Morrison, Early American Architecture.

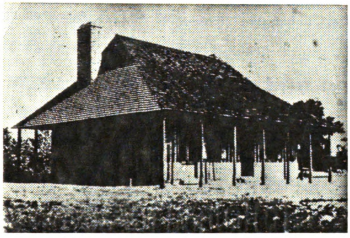

Figure 44.--Poteaux-en-terre House Type. Cahokia Courthouse, Cahokia Ill.; c. 1737 as re-erected in 1939 Habs. Reprinted from Early American Architecture by Hugh Morrison, Library of Congress (Oxford University Press, 1952).

There were so many variations among these styles from the original French Normandy that C. Johnson called them a blend of Norman-Canadian-French, Louisiana French and American trends in building.[29] Some of these structures were still the French poteaux-sur-sole but modified by the addition of the gallerie and by being set on a high basement in the same manner as buildings in New Orelans, Natchez or Mobile[30] (Figure 45).

The poteaux-en-terre house is much smaller in size compared to original Norman traditions.

Morrison found that origin of the poteaux-en-terre house obscure, but suggests that it might be a combination of Iroquois and Huron Indians, which the French Canadians knew well. Other authorities state that it seems to be unknown in Canada.[31] Morrison also states:

> The Cahokia Courthouse is of the superior poteaux-sur-sole construction, with fine chimneys at the ends. The surrounding galerie and double pitch hipped roof are typical of the style, but the house is of unusual size with its four rooms and spacious attic. Windows are glazed casements, with wood shutters (contrevents), and other refinements include beaded ceiling beams, handsome wrought-iron hardward, and interior walls plastered on splitlath. The building shares the qualities of unadorned simplicity and frank rugged structure of the typical New England Colonial house, yet belongs to a completely different architectural tradition.[32]

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[29] C. Johnson, "Missouri-French Houses: Some Relic Features of Early Settlements," Pioneer America, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1974), pp. 5-9.

[30] Ibid., p. 2.

[31] Morrison, op. cit., p. 257.

[32] Ibid., p. 258.

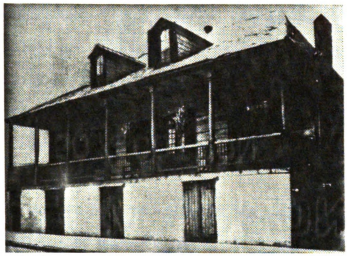

Figure 45.--Poteaux-sur-sole House Type. Madame John's Legacy, Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture. (Courtesy Louisiana State Museum).

In his survey of Old Quebec houses Roy Wilson found this type. He suggests that it is not the standard and was brought in from the St. Louis area of the colonial United States.[33]

Dutch Colonial

In the eighteenth century, the colony of New Amsterdam was formed by the Dutch West Indies Company. The merchants of this group established stately urban middle class houses following a traditional trend in house styles, which they brought to the New World as the English did with the Gothic. The farms produced a vernacular style, therefore the urban middle class style became a status symbol[34] (Figure 46).

Alan Gowans had this to say about the farmer's attempt to establish a middle class house following the urban style

> The origin of the New Netherlands urban house type and its association with upper class pretensions, are thus obvious. But where did the rural house type come from? This is quite another and still largely unresolvent matter. The basic problem is that it is hardly a "type" in the same sense at all. For, while the general and collective image seems plain enough, in detail it dissolves into a mass of contradictions.

Gowan goes on to describe the new features which become part of the rural house type. He speaks of flaring eaves, gambel roofs, some have continuous rooms on the same level, some have "French" galleries and others no porch at all. Gowan further argues:

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[33]Roy Wilson, The Beautiful Old Houses of Quebec (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 89.

[34]Alan Gowans, Looking at Architecture in Canada (Toronto Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 53-54.

Figure 46.--Preadapted Dutch Style. Dutch Colonial Architecture, courtesy of the Ulster Museum, Belfast, N. Ireland. Reprinted from Looking at Architecture in Canada by Alan Gowans (Oxford University Press, Toronto, 1958).

> Partly in consequences, it seems impossible to point to any one part of Europe as the source of the rural New Netherland house type. All its characteristic details can be found in one place or another but, despite the most vigorous ransacking of the Low Countries no generally satisfactory explanation has been forthcoming as to why "Dutch" farmhouses on Long Island or in New Jersey, say, appeared when and with the distinctive combinations of features they did.

Rosalie Fellows Baily, in her 1936 study of Revolutionary Dutch Houses, also concluded the eighteenth century Dutch Colonial was a native style and had no prototype in Europe.[35] An illustration of the new Dutch style shows common elements that came into the English, the French, and the Dutch settlements (Figure 47).

Free Black Folk Architecture

In the eighteenth century the free Blacks had the opportunity to give an expression of their own house designs. They are probably the result of acculturation, diffusion and innovations. Cedric Dover said:

> These free Negroes, of whom a third were mulattoes in 1859, were land owners (in 1840 some 4,000 were slave owners, too) as well as professional men, merchants, tradesmen, artisans, and semi-skilled labourers, only a freaction were unskilled labourers as the price of freedom was high.[36]

David C. Driskell maintains:

> There remain to this day a few fine examples of buildings closely related in structure and appearance to certain styles of West African architecture. Noteworthy are three houses on what is now called the Melrose Plantation, located on the Cane River near Natchitoches, Louisiana. Built in the late eighteenth century by Marie Theres Quan Quan, a former slave, two of the remaining structures, originally

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[35] Ibid., pp. 53-54.

[36] Dover, op. cit., p. 16.

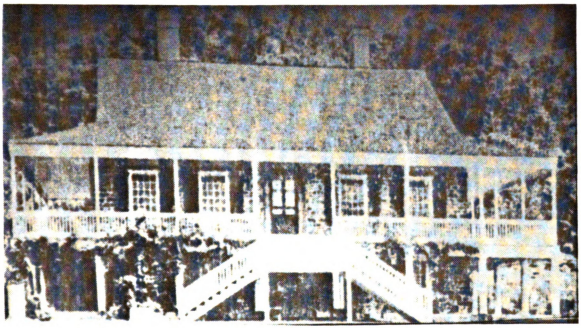

Figure 47.--American Dutch Style. Dutch Colonial Architectural, courtesy of the Ulster Folk Museum, Belfast, N. Ireland. Reprinted from Looking at Architecture in Canada, by Alan Gowans (Oxford University Press, Toronto, 1958).

> called the Yucca and African houses can be directly linked to certain rectangular houses with rammed earth walls and Bamileke type sloping roofs common to the regions of contemporary Zaire and Cameroons.[37]

The Malrose Plantation house in Natchitoches, Louisiana can be seen in Figure 48.

In 1784, John Baptiste Pointe DuSable built the first house on the present day site of the city of Chicago. The house has all the characteristics of the double-pen house type. The house also shows a side opening as well as the two front openings (Figure 49).

There are documents to support the claim that in 1787 a free mulatto named Charles was contracted to build a plantation house in Louisiana[38] (Figure 50).

Alan K. Craig found form changes (Figure 51) among the Seminole Indians dating from 1740 to 1840. The earliers change in house types came about probably because of contact with the Europeans. Craig pointed out that a later change developed in dwelling types after the link up of the Seminole Indians of Florida and the runaway slaves.[39]

Sibyl Moholy-Naggy found variations on the shotgun house and the double pen house type on the island of Haiti. The shotgun type had the gable front opening with a pole supported hip roof which

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[37]David C. Driskell, Two Centuries of Black American Art (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), p. 28.

[38]Richard Dozier, "The Black Architectural Experience in America," Geoscience and Man, Vol. V (June 10, 1974), pp. 90-92.

[39]Alan K. Craig, "Ethnoecologic Change Among the Seminoles, 1740-1840," Geoscience and Man, Vol. v (June 10, 1974), pp. 90-92.

African

American

American

Figure 48.--Free Black Architecture. Reproduced by permission from Fisk University; David C. Driskell, Two Centuries of Black American Art (1971), p. 28.

Figure 49.--Jean Baptiste Pointe DuSable House. The first house of present day Chicago, built in 1784, by Jean Baptiste Pointe DuSable. Sketched by author from Ebony Pictorial History of Black America, Vol. I, L. Bennett (Johnson Publishing Company, 1971), p. 102.

Figure 50.--House Built by Charles. House built by Charles, a Black architect. Reproduced from AIA Journal "The Black Architectural Experience in America," by Richard Dozier (July 1976), p. 162.

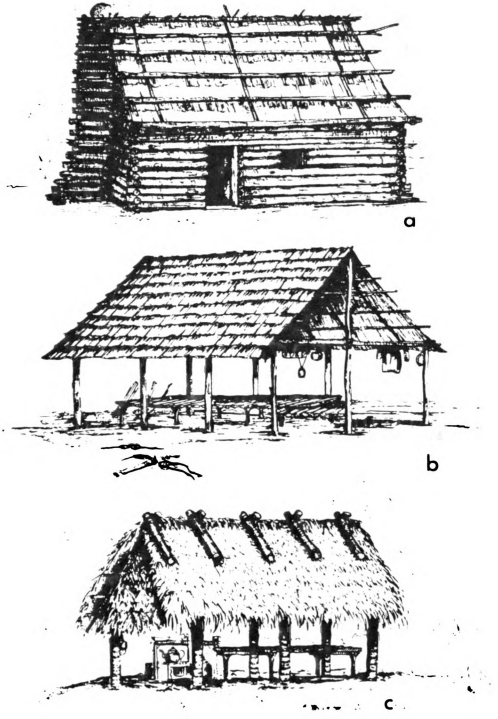

Figure 51.--Seminole Dwellings. Reproduced with permission of Publications Section, Louisiana State University, from Geoscience and Man, Vol. V.

formed an overhang of the front of the house to make a porch. The building material and the technology showed a close relation to the African culture.

The double pen house with its two front openings also had a side opening similar to the house of Jean Baptiste Pointe DuSable which was built on the site later to become Chicago. The wide opening of the roof was supported by poles to form a shaded outdoor integral part of the house. The dormer in the roof shows the French influence. Both house types show a preference for a certain spatial dimension (Figure 52).

There are also stilt constructions with two storeys and balconies as illustrated in the house type from Port-au-Prince found in the all Black section of town[40] (Figure 53).

It can be demonstrated that in the continent of Africa dwellings similar to those built by the slaves in the eighteenth century have been developed, as a result of acculturation between the Africans and Europeans (Figures 54 and 55).

Perhaps construction was, indeed, the criteria used to link the New Colonial folk house types to European origins. If form, floor plans, and size had been considered, then African characteristics would perhaps have been credited.

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[40]Sibyl Moholy-Naggy, Native Genius in Anonymous Architecture (New York: Horizon Press, Inc., 1957), pp. 96-97. The double-Pen house type found in Haiti from Native Genius in Anonymous Architecture, by Sibyl Moholy-Naggy is quite similar to the double-pen house type pictured by Henry Glassie in Patterns in the Material Folk Culture of Eastern United States (1968, Figure 23, p. 82).

Figure 52.--Haitian House Types. Reprinted from Native Genius in Anonymous Architecture by Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, c. 1957, by permission of the publisher, Horizon Press, New York.

Figure 53.--Haitian Stilt Structure. Reprinted from Native Genius in Anonymous Architecture by Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, c. 1957, by permission of the publisher, Horizon Press, New York.

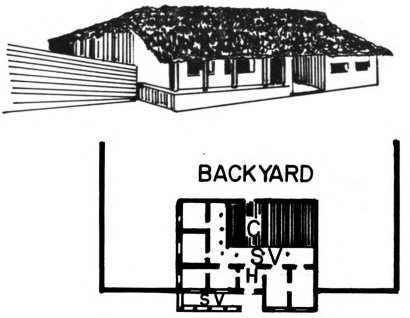

Figure 54.--Nigerian House Type. Reproduced from The Urbanized Nigerian, by Theophilus Adelodum Okin (Exposition Press, 1968), p. 49.

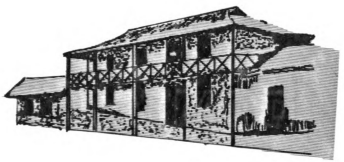

Figure 55.--Ashanti African House Type. Rectangular buildings of the "carpenter" society Ashanti in Africa. Reproduced from Shelter in Africa by Paul Oliver (1971), p. 21.

Today it may be possible to note that African culture shares more of its traits, its social organization with Europe than Asia, the North American Indians or Australian aborigines. Africa's and Europe's methods of food production, market organization, religious variations, family organization and values, all stem from a common cultural pool.[41]

Through acculturation the impact of the African on eighteenth century architecture resulted in innovations of reinterpretation and syncretization of European and African house types. A correlation can be found between:

- the population
- the main labour force
- the skilled craftsmen
- the geographic distribution
- the wide variety of house types

making eighteenth century folk architecure uniquely American showing Afro-European, and Afro-American house types.

Spindler explains:

> Acculturation is not understood so much now, however, as a process leading to assimilation. It is seen rather, in its various forms, as adaptive strategies used by people who have to cope with the economic, social and political disadvantages of their position as minorities. For these reasons we are less prone to see continua of acculturation leading to some state resembling assimilation, and more prone to recognize a variety of coping strategies including reaffirmation of seemingly traditional values and behaviour patterns, biculturalism, cultural syntheses of conflicting cultural elements, and managed identities. In the latter instance ethnic identity is symbolized and used as a means of obtaining social and political goals as well as to provide reference points for personal identities.[42]

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[41]Paul Bohannon, Africa and Africans (New York: Natural History Press, Garden City, 1964), pp. 4-6.

[42]Spindler, op. cit., p. 33.

Through syncretization, once a new idea is introduced it spreads into the larger cultures.

Had it not been for the Africans, folk architecture in America would have continued to follow the direction of the seventeenth century architecture, perhaps, becoming copies of the more pretentious styles of the wealthy patterned after European popular trends. In the nineteenth century house building was taken over by the housing industry. House forms became larger. Nevertheless, the influence of the forward facing gables, the porch, galleries, and the wide overhang of the eaves, spread into the larger European culture. The central hall passage evolved into the style of the Georgian.[43] The bungalow styles appealed widely to the middle income house builder.

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[43]Henry Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1975), p. 101.

CHAPTER V

AFRO-EUROPEAN AND AFRO-AMERICAN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ARCHITECTURE

The African impact on the eighteenth century, perhaps, helped to develop house types that were outside of the European vernacular or popular trends in building. As a part of each type, there seems to be maintained a particular preference for spatial arrangements and dimensions.[1] The new types and their variations spread throughout the colonies.

Afro-European

The dogtrot house type was made up of two small one-storey modules with an open central passage. The roof had a wide overhang which was supported from the ground by poles. This house may have been the beginning of an evolutionary development into the double pen and its variations, the I-house, and the Georgian styles. The one-story double pen had two front openings with the central passage closed. The I-house was two storeys high, only one room deep with a central hall passage as part of the interior. The Georgian house had the central hall passage, as did the I-house, but it was two rooms deep and two storeys or more high.

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[1]John Michael Vlack, "The Shotgun House: An African Architectural Legacy II," Pioneer America, VIII, No. 2 (July 1974), p. 69.

It was the I-house that became most widely spread through the folk architectural areas. It could be seen as the big house on the plantation, of the middle class farmers, who comprised the majority of the White population.[2] Sometimes the kitchens were built apart from the main house. There were other out buildings along with slave dwellings, all, perhaps, being the result of slave labour.

The tall I-house is probably the best example of the syncretization of the Afro- and Eruopean-American characteristics in a dwelling. The Georgian style Glassie believes, developed from the I-house to become the popular style of the period for the elite class. The exterior of the house was embellished with classical elements, giant pilasters, scroll pediments over the doors, dormers on the roofs, architrave and frieze, the French Rococco and Chinese motifs also occurred. The Georgian would not fit into the folk house category, becoming a part of the popular design influences of that period. Other folk varieties reported by Kniffen had, perhaps, Afro and European characteristics as well.

Glassie came close but he could not quite credit the African with folk architecture influences. In describing the technology of the timber framing found in the Tidewater Virginia area, Glassie spoke of that framing as being an innovation. He also refers to West Africa as a land of consummate wood workers, and that part of

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[2]Henry Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975), pp. 88-89.

the Yoruban aesthetics was the characteristic of relative delicacy.[3] Glassie further states:

> For centuries Afro-Americans have been sources of inspiration, as well as objects of scorn, for White Americans. Still, though it was mostly Black energy that ripped those trees into lumber, the delicacy of the African wood working tradition was, probably, at most a subordinate condition in the light framing technology.[4]

The combination of Afro-French influences in folk architectural style in the colonies revealed, perhaps, more African characteristics than French characteristics. This can be illustrated by the size of the dwellings, the house being buit upon piers, the wide overhang of the roof supported by posts in the ground to form galleries and porches, and in the delicate framing of the structures. Almost all of the Afro-European house types have symmetrical facades. The French, instead of forming settlements with large populations, maintained "trading posts" along the water ways. This might be attributable to the dominance of African influence with houses built up on piers.

In the Dutch settlements the Afro-European style revealed more European characteristics which was probably the result of fewer slaves within the population.

The characteristics which were combined from each can be seen in Table 8.

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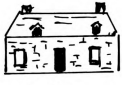
[3]Ibid., p. 129.

[4]Ibid., p. 130.

TABLE 8.--Comparative Results of House Characteristics Obtained from Illustrations Showing Eighteenth Century American Folk, Seventeenth Century European Traditions, African Vernaculars.

Eighteenth Century American Folk	European Seventeenth Century Traditions	African Vernaculars
 I-house	 Gothic house	 African house
 double pen	 salt box	 double module
 poteaux-en-terre	 French Pavilion house	 stilte house
 Dutch American	 Dutch vernacular	 stilte type
 shotgun		 Yoruba house

Afro-Americans

The shotgun house (researched by John Michael Vlach) was found to be African inspired, a type that was built by the Black slave and free persons was found to be unique to their own culture.

In his study Vlach completed some 135 structures with measured floor plans and photographs.

The history of how many different varieties of the shotgun house came into New Orleans can be explained by the fact that after the successful slave revolt in 1789-91, led by Toussaint l'Overture, many free Blacks migrated from Haiti into Louisiana, and in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries they were the majority of the population in New Orleans. In New Orleans a social stratum evolved among the Blacks. A strong middle class, as well as poor class developed.

The house type preferred by the poor Blacks was the shotgun, but it was also built by the more affluent middle class who modified the form to fit their needs. In doing so, many variations of the type developed. The variations had in common a preference for a particular dimension. The orientation of the house was with the gable end facing the road and one room behind the other with the kitchen in the back. They varied in the number of rooms, the one door to a two door front opening, the presence of absence of a front porch or both front and back porches, the opening in the side as well as the front end, the height, being built on piers or on the ground. Some even had classical designs on the exterior as decoration, while some had a cross with vertical parallel bars at the ends, and some

were built with a hip roof and a gallerie going around the sides.[5] John Michael Vlach gave the precise dimensions of the house as being:

> The precise size of the floor plans of some Louisiana and Haitian shotgun houses is in some cases almost identical. I found one Port-au-Prince house that measured 13' x 65' while two New Orleans shotguns were 13' x 64' and 12' x 64'. The room shapes of New Orleans shotguns are generally squarish, averaging 12' x 14'. The same rule or proportion holds for Haitian houses. Even though room units are usually smaller in Port-au-Prince, commonly about 12' x 12', there is often an exact agreement with measurements of rooms in New Orleans houses.
>
> The ceiling heights of shotguns are also comparable; Haitian houses are distinctively tall with steeply pitched roofs. They sometimes have the look of small two-storey houses. Floor to ceiling dimensions are consistently near 12 feet.[6]

The shotgun, as it developed in New Orleans, can be seen in Figures 56 and 57.

The exposure of Afro-European and Afro-American architecture might make it possible, moreover, to identify Afro-American characteristics in architecture in Southwestern Ontario and Raleigh Township.

It can be assumed that the Black people in the mid-nineteenth century migrating from the South of the United States, brought with them in their memories, the ways in which they built their houses.

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[5]John Michael Vlach, "The Shotgun House: An African Architectural Legacy I," Pioneer America, VIII, No. 1 (January 1976), pp. 47-55.

[6]Ibid., p. 51.

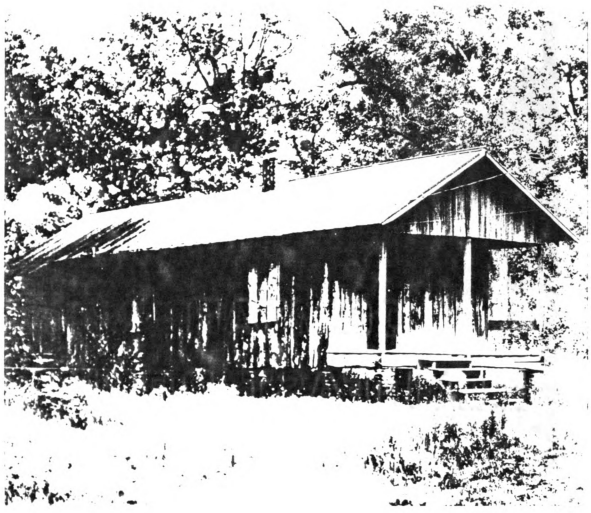

Figure 56.--Shotgun House Type. Courtesy of John Vlach, The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts (The Cleveland Museum of Arts, 1978).

Figure 57.--Row of Shotgun House Types. Courtesy of John Vlach, The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts (The Cleveland Museum of Arts, 1978).

PART II

THE HOUSE TYPES OF AFRO-EUROPEAN AND AFRO-AMERICAN ANTECEDENTS IN SOUTHWESTERN ONTARIO THROUGH MIGRATIONS

CHAPTER VI

CANADIAN HOUSE TYPES FROM AMERICAN ANTECEDENTS

History of Early Migrations

The cultural links between Ontario and the United States, or as a matter of fact all of Canada, may prove to be stronger than previously believed.

From 1540 to 1775 the French were the major land holders in the New World. They held forts and missions from the Island of Haiti to Louisiana, up to New France and on into Hudson Bay (Figure 58).

If the French had chosen to populate their territories with people as did the English, instead of setting up forts and trading posts with only a few settlements here and there, the chances are that the people in the New World would be speaking French today rather than English.[1] The circumstances were that the French made friends with the local Indians who allowed them to trap for furs throughout the country.

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[1]Alan Gowans, Looking at Architecture in Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 35-36.

Figure 58.--Map of French Land Holdings. This map shows French held land up to the eighteenth century. Morrison, Early American Architecture, courtesy of the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

In 1701 a fort was established in the city of Detroit, which prior to this date was inhabited by the Iroquois Indians.[2] Neal states:

> Chevalier de Calliers, then French Governor of Canada, commissioned Cadillac to establish a combined military and trading post in Detroit which he did in 1701. The fort built by Cadillac is said to have been upon the side of the old Iroquois fortifications, where Champlain and his allies, the Hurons and Algonquins, were defeated in 1615.
>
> Shortly after the arrival of Cadillac in 1701 with a large following of settlers both sides of the Detroit River became lined with small dwellings extending at various intervals for several miles.[3]

French Migrations

Every man in those days, because of the ongoing battles between the French, the English, and the Indians, was a militia man. What eventually became known as the settlement of Old Sandwich, on the Canadian side of the Detroit River was a refuge settled first by French discharged soldiers and their families. From Detroit later migrations came from the Southern territory of Louisiana, some stopped and settled in Sandwich while others went on to French held Quebec. These settlers from Louisiana, as they travelled through the wilderness, brought with them their favourite servants and slaves.[4] Neal points out that in the Sandwich settlement "there were

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[2]Frederick Veal, The Township of Sandwich, Past and Present (Windsor, Ontario: The Record Printing Co., 1909; reprinted by The Essex County Historical Society, 1979), p. 6.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Lerone Bennett, Before The Mayflower (Chicago: Johnson Publications Co., 1962), p. 35.

both Indian and Negro slaves, the former being known as Panis or captives from the Pawnee nation."[5]

English Migrations

The next group of people to come into Old Sandwich were the English. In September 1760, under General Amherst, Detroit was surrendered to Major Roberts of the Queen's Rangers, and on December 21, 1760 the whole of Canada was surrendered to Great Britain. At this time Great Britain became the largest land holder in the New World, having all of Canada except Quebec and the Thirteen Colonies under her reign. In 1783, after eight years of war, the Colonies won their independence from Great Britain, while Canada remained under the British rule.[6]

Fugitive Slave Migrations

One of the first acts of the legislature in establishing the province of Upper Canada was that of the abolishment of slavery. Neal states:

> The first country beneath the sun to abolish slavery was the Province of Upper Canada. At the very first meeting of its legislature, after the organization of the Province in 1792, the holding of the bodies of men as slaves was prohibited. This act was passed and became law May 31, 1793.[7]

This brought about, indeed, one of the most eventful migrations, one of the greatest periods of humanitarianism and cooperation

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[5]Neal, op. cit., p. 7

[6]Ibid., pp. 6-9.

[7]Ibid., p. 9.

between Whites and Blacks, perhaps, in all of the history of the Americans, yet so little has been written about it in history.

The abolition of slavery began the Underground Railroad which was a vast network of relay stations from the South through the northern states into Canada and freedom. Along the way there were many station keepers who knew only those portions of the way from which the slaves were brought, and where they were to be sent. Even under the threat of arrest or payment of a fine imposed by the fugitive slave law was the operation impaired.[8] Woodson notes:

> At Rochester all but two of the 114 members of the Negro Baptist Church fled, headed by their pastor, while at Detroit the Negro Baptist Church lost 84 members, some of whom abandoned their property in haste to get away. A letter from William Still, agent of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee, to Henry Bibs at Sandwich says there is much talk of immigration to Canada as the best course for the fugitive. The Corning Journal illustrates the aid that was given to the fugitives by northern friends. Fifteen fugitives, men, women and children, came in by train and stopped over night. In the morning a number of Corning people assisted them to Dunkirk and sent a committee to arrange for passage to Canada. The captain of the steamer upon which they embarked, very obligingly stopped at Fort Malden, on the Canadian side, for wood and water and the runaways walked ashore to freedom. "The Underground Railroad is in fine working order," is the comment of the journal, "rarely does a collision occur, and once on the track passengers are sent through between sunrise and sunset." That time did not dull the terrors of the fugitive Slave Act is shown by the fact that every fresh arrest would cause a panic in its neighbourhood. At Chicago in 1861, almost on the eve of the Civil War, more than 100 Negroes left on a single train following the arrest of a fugitive taking nothing with them but the clothes on their backs and most of them leaving good situations behind.[9]

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[8]Carter G. Woodson, The Journal of Negro History, Vol. V (Lancaster, Penn.; Washington, D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1920), p. 195.

[9]Ibid., p. 26.

Henry Bibs, who lived in Old Sandwich and was a fomer escaped slave, established the first Black newspaper in Canada. The newspaper informed the slaves and fugitives of grants of land which the government of Canada was willing to provide for them to settle, of which the first grant was made somewhere around 1820. In his newspaper, called The Voice of the Fugitive, Bibs kept Black people informed of where the settlements were being made. Bibs reports:

> There are a large number settled in and about Chatham Village, also in the Town of Dawn. In these places, land can be bought by individuals for three and four dollars per acre. At Sandwich, Malden and Colchester, on the Detroit River and Lake Erie, there are large settlements. Besides these there are scattered over various parts of Upper Canada. It is about sixty years since they first began to emigrate to Canada.[10]

On the other hand, such newspapers as the Virginia Unionist 1851; the Liberator of Buffalo; The Detroit Free Press; The New Orleans Commercial Bulletin gave a running account of the number of slaves they were loosing. It was claimed that the slaves leaving the South annually for the last fifty years had caused a loss of at least $40 million.[11]

Not all those who fled to Canada left their property behind. The Voice of the Fugitive makes frequent references to Black people arriving with plenty of means to take care of themselves. Words contained in the issue of October 22, 1851, said:

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[10]Henry Bibs, The Voice of the Fugitive, March 12, 1851, No. 2163, p. 4.

[11]Woodson, op. cit., p. 29.

> Men of capital with good property , some of whom are worth thousands, are settling among us from the northern states.

In the issue of July 1, 1852, it was noted that:

> Twenty-two from Indiana passed through to Amherstburg, with four fine covered wagons and eight horses. A few weeks ago six or eight such teams came from the same state into Canada.[12]

Cultural House Types Developed Through Migrations

Evidence of the different house types, of the different cultures that settled in Southwestern Ontario, should have manifested itself in Canadian vernacular architectural types.

The settlement of Old Sandwich had been settled by the Indians, the French, the English and the Afro-Canadians. Evidence of the early Indian dwellings no longer existed but there were found house types built around 1886 by the French, the English and the Black Canadians.

Afro-European House Types

Two house types were found in Old Sandwich (Figures 59 and 60), of the French variety which were similar to the poteaux-en-terre (see page 113) and the poteaux-sur-sole type (see page 116).

A house type was found which, perhaps, is a modification of the English I-house (Figure 61) (see also page 106). The structure was built of brick, with ten inch thick walls but was not raised up

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[12] Ibid., pp. 27-28.

Figure 59.--Canadian French Style House (Poteaux-en-terre).

Figure 60.--Canadian French Style House (Poteaux-sur-sole).

Figure 61.--Canadian House Type.

Figure 62.--Canadian Combined Folk Type House.

from the ground. It was, however, a house one room deep, two storeys high, with a control hall passage way.

Afro-American House Type

A Canadian modification of what, perhaps, might be an Afro-American variety in house types was found (Figure 62). The house was small in form compared to its surrounding structures. It was raised on a foundation off the ground. The orientation was with gable end facing the street, followed by a chain of three rooms. Each room leading toward the back of the house produced a projection on the right side of the structure. The house had two porches, one in the front to the side and one at the back in the gable end. The height of the dwelling was one and one-half storeys with walking space only around the center of the rooms in the second storey.

The floor plan showed the house was entered from the porch of the side of the gable end into the first projected portion to the right of the house. This projected portion contained the stairs leading to the second storey, and a small hall with a door into the dining room; the living room being at the front. Behind the dining room, to the back, was the kitchen with a small bedroom at the side with a window facing the street which produced the second projection to the right of the house. The back porch was off the kitchen.

This house also has what might be called Victorian elements. The earliest Victorian Gothic appeared in Canada after the American Revolution in the 1850s and was similar to the Georgian style with a

pointed gable in the middle of the side gable which faced the street. A pointed type window could also be found in the gable.[13]

The Victorian Gothic also made use of the cross plan which, implied by the roof line, may have been attempted in this structure. It is believed that the cross floor plan evolved in Virginia during the seventeenth century and according to Morrison, a satisfactory explanation was not given of its origin.[14] The change occurred in the Southern Colonies of America, moreover, when the houses were built by African slaves. This change, however, did not occur in the North, perhaps, during the seventeenth century. The Canadian Victorian, according to Gowans, was patterned after an early nineteenth century American style by a named architect in New York.[15]

No particular mode of popular trend of that period seems to fit the house types of the Afro-European and the Afro-American houses, therefore, the houses might better fit the definitions of folk type dwellings (see par. 4, p. 114)

Through migrations, by and large, the vernacular house types of the various cultures that came into the Old Sandwich area during the mid-nineteenth century did manifest themselves as part of the architecture in the area.

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[13]Alan Gowans, Building Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 103-104.

[14]Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 141.

[15]Gowans, op. cit.

Laden with this revelation of the possible influences of the Afro-European and the Afro-American characteristics in vernacular house types, and the evidence of this type in Canada, the two settlements in Raleigh Township of Ontario were again studied. Up to this point the Black settlement and the White settlement had been compared with respect to their house types, and it was found that there was a difference in the way in which the builders in each settlement built their homes.

CHAPTER VII

IDENTIFYING FORM AND CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSE TYPES

Afro-American and Afro-European Characteristics

A trade-off in house designs was looked at during the eighteenth century by process of acculturation. Elements of the trade-off went into the majority European cultures as well as the minority cultures.

When the slides of the house types found in the illustrations were compared with the slides from the Buxton settlement the two forms which comprised the structures fit the descriptions of the I-house and the shotgun house.

The I-house portion fell into type (1) and (3a) of Kniffen's I-house floor plans (Figure 63).

The shotgun portion showed similarities to Vlach's Haitian Shotgun House (Figure 64) in height and floor plan.

This portion of the dwelling had two rooms--one behind the other--with the gable end facing the road. The dimensions of the gable end portion of the house were 15'6" x 11'5" or 12", also 12'6" wide and 28' long, including two rooms, or 16'5" by 12'. The latter was the widest to accommodate two front windows in the second storey. These dimensions are comparable to Vlach's Haitian and Louisiana

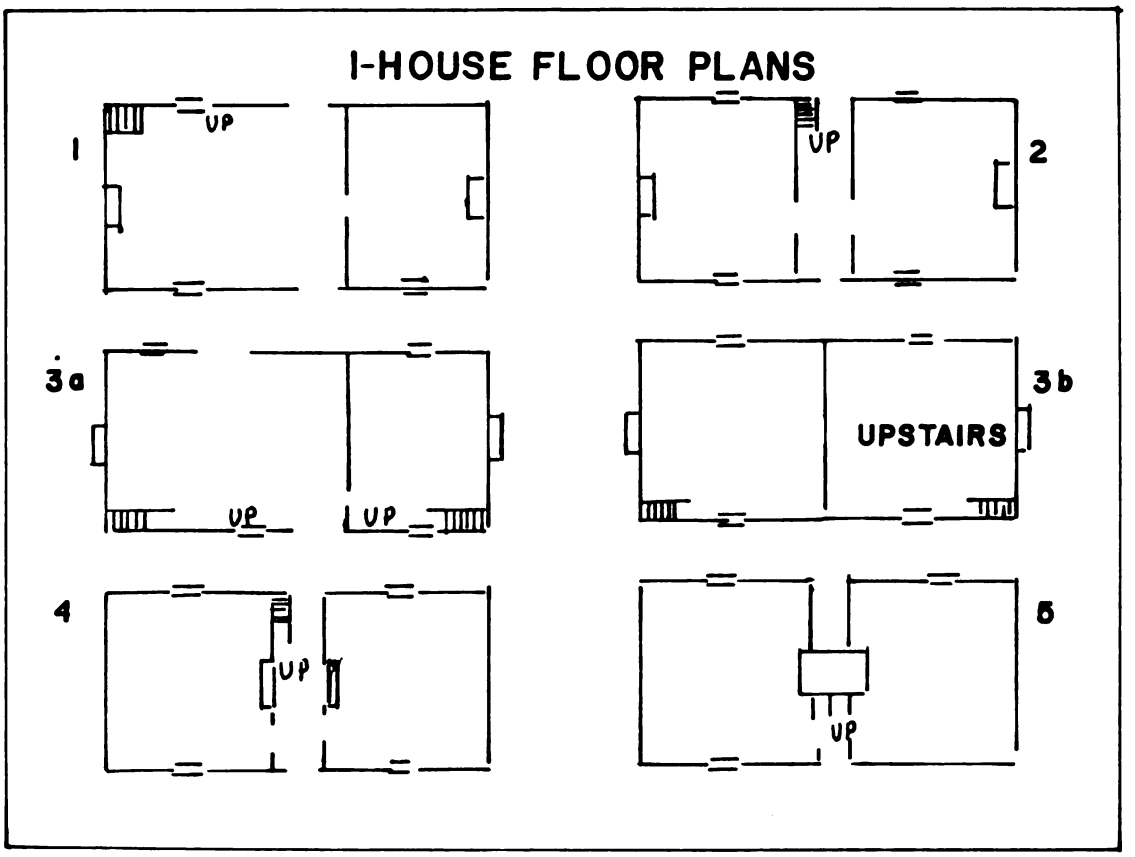

Figure 63.--I-House Floor Plans. Reproduced by permission from the Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. LV (1965), p. 556, F. Kniffen.

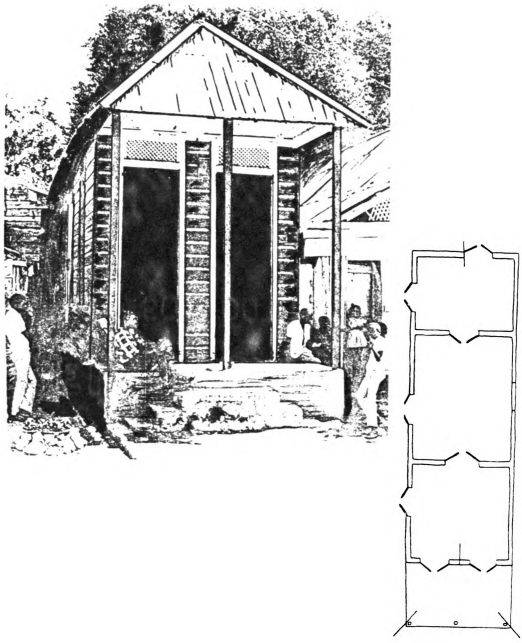

Figure 64.--Haitian Shotgun House and Floor Plan. Courtesy of John Vlach, The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts (The Cleveland Museum of Arts, 1978).

floor plan sizes. Port-au-Prince houses measured 13 feet by 65 feet, while New Orleans shotguns measured 13 feet by 14 feet by 64 feet. The room shape of the New Orleans house was generally squarish, averaging 12 feet by 14 feet.[1]

The height of the forms are comparable to the Haitian slave cabins, which were reported to be 15 feet high. The Canadian shotgun had a second storey added. The space provided head room only down the centre and the bed and furnishings were against the sloped wall created by the gable roof. The ceiling height of the first floor was seven feet; therefore the second storey provided no more than the needed sleeping area and storage space. The pitch of the roof conformed to the Vlach shotgun types. The variations in the size of the forms might be linked to the fact that the African built differences because of the climate, environment and available materials. (In the colder climate more of the daily activities were carried on inside the dwelling requiring more space.)

Building with low ceilings would also conserve heat, because more heat for comfort was required by Black people, since they were not adapted by nature for cold climates. The people of the Buxton settlement did not build fireplaces. The iron stove was used to produce heat.

The iron stove gave more heat than the fireplace and the fireplace, moreover, was not a part of the African tradition.

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[1]John Michael Vlach, "The Shotgun House: An African Architectural Legacy II," Pioneer America, VIII, No. 2 (July 1976), p. 57.

This would account for the appearance of the chimney perch in each house to accommodate the stove pipe from the iron stove.

A Combined Folk House Type

The mid-nineteenth century house types found in the Buxton settlement did not fit into one specific category of folk house types in the United States. Through modifications the Afro-Canadian, using the known house types, perhaps, of the I-house and the shotgun produced a combined folk house type. The two forms were connected through the roofs (Figures 65 and 66). This type of combined house was referred to by Glenn T. Trewartha, as being a noteworthy feature of the American farmsteads[2] (Figure 67). The two portions may have been a carry over of separate dwellings built in the African compounds (see Par. three, page 68), which produced little interconnections between rooms. In Kniffen's I-house plans (see Figure 63, Plan 3b, Upstairs) two separate upstairs were illustrated. In Figure 5, House 3A, page 31, the floor plan of the second storey also reveals two separate upstairs of the house with no interconnections. In the houses where interconnections were found, one portion was built a step below or a step above the other.

All of the structures in the Buxton settlement were built on foundations which provided a crawl space beneath the house. Some of the porches were raised on piers. This mode of building was demonstrated in eighteenth century folk architecture and, indeed, had

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[2]Glenn T. Trewartha, "Some Regional Characteristics of American Farmstead," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, XXX (March 1958), p. 180.

Figure 65.--Buxton Houses Showing Massing

Number 3A

Number 4A

Figure 66.--Buxton Houses Showing Massing.

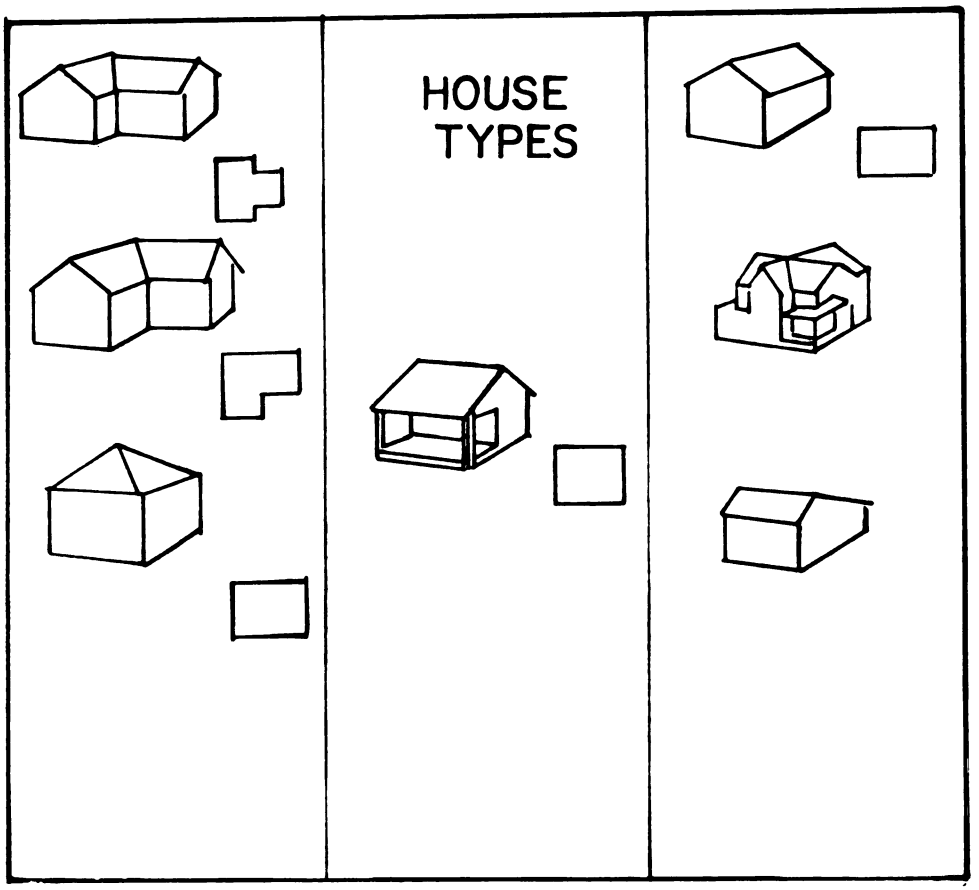

Figure 67.--G.T. Trewartha American Farm House Types. Reproduced by permission from the Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. XXXVIII (3) (1948), p. 181, G.T. Trewartha.

its origins in Africa (Figure 68). A tradition of building the roof with an overhang was apparent. English and French dormers were found on the roofs and in some cases both types of dormers were found awkwardly used together on the same roof (Figure 68). Dormers demonstrate the use of borrowed features, which were not native to African construction. Eighteenth century folk architecture did not have dormers. The porch was a vital part of the house in Buxton whether at front, side, or back. The porches found demonstrated the attached porch variety illustrated by Kniffen (see Figure 36). Porches were probably an American innovation developed from the African verandah produced by the wide overhang of the roof supported by poles in the ground.

The evidence exhibited, indeed, a continuum of African influences in house types and showed modified forms of folk architecture which had their antecedents in the Southern parts of the United States. Perhaps it was this familiarity in house styles which produced the communal consciousness that existed in the Black settlement of Buxton in Raleigh Township in the mid-nineteenth century.

Popular Trend House Types

More conformity to one style was found in the White settlement. The floor plans of the Talbot Road settlement were those of the eighteenth century Georgian style of the central hall two room deep variety. One had the central hall but was only one room deep. The Georgian style with its traditional floor plan, its folk essence,

Figure 68.--Buxton House Study Number 3A.

had been left largely intact, and it was this folk essence that was argued to be Afro-European (see Figure 63, Floor Plan 2).

The facades of the houses were symmetrical and the houses were built in the ground with no foundations (Figure 69). The structures were rectangular, one and one-half to two storeys high. This fits the description of the preadapted colonial structures (see par. 1, page 80). The European Canadian, however, made modifications and put together the Georgian style decorated at the eaves with the Greek Temple characteristics, the eaves of the house followed the European mode and were close to the sides of the dwellings (Figure 70).

All the houses were built with low sideward facing gable roofs except one which had the gambrel shaped roof of the Dutch Colonial style.

Additions were added to the dwellings either at the side or at the back, always one storey beneath the original structure. This too seemed to follow the method of adding to the seventeenth century European house (Figure 71).

The original structures were all built with fireplaces. For the European the fireplace was an essential part of the building. Later the fireplace in some had been removed and replaced by the iron stove and still later with gas.

The original structures of the Talbot Road settlement were all built without a porch (see Figures 70 and 71). The porch came as a later addition to the houses and porches were not a part of European traditions in building houses.

Figure 69.--House Study Talbot Road No. 4B.

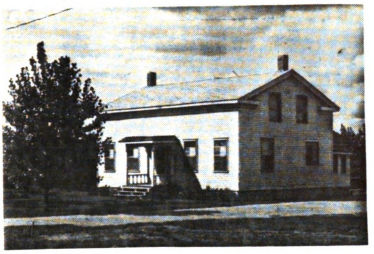

Figure 70.--Classical Greek Types.

Figure 71.--Structural Comparisons Showing Additions to House.

The Georgian house type was accepted as non-folk and was popular during the eighteenth century colonial period.[3] The Greek Temple style was part of the popular trend during the Neo-classic period of the nineteenth century. Therefore, the European-Canadian produced a modified Georgian with Greek influence which would fit the popular trend of building during that time.

This evidence tends to show when two social cultural systems are no longer in direct contact they still use what they borrowed through acculturation, but also move closer to their preadapted original mode of building.

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[3]Henry Glassie, Patterns in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), pp. 6-9.

CONCLUSIONS

The combination of Afro-American influence on vernacular architecture with the migrations of people from different cultural traditions can be historically illustrated to show evidence of borrowing and diffusion in housing architecture.

In the mid-nineteenth century, just after slavery, the Afro-Canadians who settled in Buxton built their houses structurally different from the houses built by the White settlers of Talbot Road. The Buxton and Talbot Road settlements co-existed in Raleigh township in southwestern Ontario.

This researcher attempted to find an answer for the differences. Scholars have maintained that house forms and floor plans are determined by cultural borrowing, diffusion, and migrations.[1] The investigation has an historical and anthropological focus. African forms and characteristics in housing were traced historically to the events and circumstances of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in conjunction with preadaptation and acculturation in the literature of European house types.

Europeans, as well as Africans, who lived in traditional farming villages in Europe up to the eighteenth century built vestige

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[1]Michael C. Robbins, "House Types and Settlement Patterns," Minnesota Archaeologist, XXVIII (January 1966), p. 15.

houses from materials available in nature. The forms of the European dwellings were rectangular and round. The Africans built a variety of these same forms. They did so because of the climate, ethnic groups, regional differences and available materials. Africans traditionally lived in compounds comprised of separate dwellings which enclosed an open courtyard. The dwellings were sometimes joined at the roof. The houses were small because most of the daily activities in hot climates took place outside the house. The roofs had a wide overhang supported by free-standing poles in the ground. The overhang served to protect the houses and people from the heat. Some dwellings were built on piers and others were built on stilts over water with galleries allowing access to the outside. Some dwellings were built with the gable end facing the road.

In the seventeenth century the preadapted architecture of the Europeans was apparent in the Americas. A vernacular medieval Gothic type was built by the English on the ground with no foundations. The French built the Normandy and colombage pierotte structures. The African slaves were forced to build after European models, however, some African influences were evident. Examples are the building of houses up on piers, and gable ends facing the road.

The American medieval Gothic house types were no longer built in the eighteenth century; instead a variety of house types known as folk architecture were occupied by middle class Europeans. The wealthy class occupied the Georgian house type which was reported to be an evolutionary modification of a folk type. They also built houses following the popular trends on the European continent. The

African impact became evident in folk architecture because of the contact and daily intermingling of the two sociocultural systems. Through acculturation, syncretization and reinterpretation, innovations in house types occurred. A correlation was found between:

- the population
- the main labor force
- the skilled craftsmen
- the geographic distribution, and
- the wide variety of house types making eighteenth century folk architecture uniquely American, showing Afro-European and Afro-American house types.

The house types found to be Afro-European were the dogtrot, Kniffens built-in porch and attached porch varieties, the I-house, the French poteaux-en-terre and poteaux-sur-sole types and the Dutch Colonial style with characteristics peculiar to the French houses.

All of the Afro-European house types share the following characteristics: they were built on piers and were small in size compred to the European seventeenth century styles which preceded them. All except the I-house were one storey high. Porches or galleries were integral parts of the exterior. The facades were symmetrical, some had two front openings. The majority had roofs with wide overhangs. Some of these roofs were supported by poles in the ground.

The shotgun house types, reported by Vlach to be Afro-American, had an African legacy. These types were built with their gable ends to the road. The dwellings were small, sometimes on piers and one storey high. They were oriented with one room behind the other. Some had two front openings in the facade. The porch was an essential part of the structure.

Alan Gowans maintained that the architecture of Ontario had its antecedents in the United States.[2] It was assumed that people of any given culture, moving from one place to another brought with them in their minds the memories of the cultural traditions of the way they built their houses.

Three main waves of migrations replaced the native peoples in Ontario Canada. The French dominated from 1540 to 1779, the English arrived in 1760 and the fugitive slave and free persons arrived in large numbers in 1793. The architectrue of Old Sandwich, Ontario, showed evidences of house forms from each of these cultural migrations. The French Canadian built a modified poteaux-en-terre and the poteaux-sur-sole structures. A modified I-house type was found built by an Anglo-Canadian and a combined folk type house was found built by an Afro-Canadian.

The settlement of Buxton also showed preadapted architectural concepts from the United States. The mid-nineteenth century houses found in the Black settlement in Raleigh township of southwestern Ontario were found to be the I-house forms joined through the roofs into the shotgun form. This produced a combined folk house type. The Black builders brought a combined folk architecture with a variety of floor plans which was evidenced by the housing architecture of the area.

During the same time period the White settlers along Talbot Road built larger structures than those in the Black settlement, all

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[2]Alan Gowans, Building Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 34-42.

using some modification of the central hall floor plan. The house types were Georgian styles enhanced by the Greek neo-classic influences. They fit the popular building trend of that time.

In the mid-nineteenth century, when direct contact and intermingling of two socio-cultural systems was no longer a factor, the Black builders continued to build their houses off the ground with porches and the wide overhang of the roofs. The White builder reverted back to styles of building dictated by popular trends. They no longer built folk architecture. Their structures were built on the ground. The porch was not an original part of the house. The eaves were once again close to the sides of the dwellings. The Afro-Canadians alone built a continuum of cultural forms and characteristics which remained unique to the cultures of Black peoples.

The Europe ns settling the Americas brought with them their preadapted architecture from their country of origin. Some specific architectural contributions determined through the study which did not fit the European mode of building, but did fit into the variety of forms and characteristics that were African in origin were dewllings with gable ends oriented toward the road, houses built up on piers, the wide overhand of the roof, the connections of different portions of a house at roof height and the central hall plans. These features were brought to Buxton, Canada, in the mid-nineteenth century establishing a tradition in the way of building by Black people. These characteristics were borrowed and diffused into North American architecture and have greatly influenced the United States and the Canadian mode of house building.

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