

# THEMATIC SURVEY OF DUTCH HERITAGE RESOURCES IN THE GREATER HUDSON VALLEY



Parks, Recreation  
and Historic Preservation



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and Historic Preservation**



# **NEW YORK STATE OFFICE OF PARKS, RECREATION AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION**

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Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area

Society of Daughters of Holland Dames  
Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Families of New Netherland

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Purpose

The request for proposals for this survey project clearly states its purpose:

*The scope of this project is intended to lay the foundation for the ultimate goal: the identification of existing Dutch architecture, settlements, and cemeteries in the specified regions; the preparation of a narrative context statement that explores the historic themes representing Dutch culture; and the development of evaluation criteria to be applied for eligibility determinations and possible future designation on the State and National Registers of Historic Places.*

A survey of this scope has only become possible within the past 30 years, as scholarship has matured, and as a significant body of field-collected data, chiefly in the hands of individual scholars, has been formed.

The evaluation criteria identified by this project are presented here as an appendix (Appendix 1: Registration Requirements).

## 1.2 Staff

The Dutch Resources Survey was overseen by Project Director Walter Richard Wheeler, who is Senior Architectural Historian at Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc. Mr. Wheeler organized the survey and edited its written components. Mr. Wheeler and Neil Larson were the authors of the survey report, which also features contributions from Ruth Piwonka. Staff at Hartgen who worked on this project included Jennifer Geraghty, Tom Boyd, and Matt Kirk, who each undertook data entry and project support. Jody Johnson drafted project-specific mapping. Justin DiVirgilio created the survey spreadsheet, and formatted this report.

## 1.3 Scope

The scope of work set out in the Request for Proposals mandated the preparation of a reconnaissance-level historic resource survey report with a narrative context statement and an annotated master list of identified properties built before 1850, together with their historic themes, across a 16-county area in New York State. These counties included Schenectady, Montgomery, Putnam, Rockland, Westchester, Dutchess, Orange, Ulster, Albany, Columbia, Greene, Rensselaer, Kings, New York, Bronx, and Queens counties, and encompassed the region commonly associated with Dutch settlement. The survey area was expanded to an additional 16 counties (Cayuga, Clinton, Delaware, Fulton, Herkimer, Jefferson, Nassau, Niagara, Oneida, Otsego, Richmond, Saratoga, Schoharie, Suffolk, Sullivan, and Washington counties) to take in previously-identified Dutch resources in those areas, and counties subsequently identified by the survey methodology as likely locations of previously unidentified resources. In particular, the western and northern Hudson Valley resources were important to record, as they are little-known and document the expansion of Dutch cultural influence in the period after the Revolution in areas of the state which were contemporaneously settled by people of various ethnicities. Further work with local historians identified additional examples in these areas. This approach has resulted in a more comprehensive survey, which provides a better context for Hudson Valley Dutch cultural resources. The survey identified a period of significance extending into the twentieth century. In order to address the full range of property types covered under the rubric "Dutch Heritage," examples of Dutch Revival

## 1.4 Previous Efforts

The earliest surveys that attempted to catalog examples and to map out the extent of the built culture of the Dutch in New York State were published in two volumes sponsored by the Holland Society of New York, authored by Helen Wilkinson Reynolds (*Dutch Houses in the Hudson Valley Before 1776*, 1929) and Rosalie Fellows Bailey (*Pre-Revolutionary Dutch Houses and Families in Northern New Jersey and Southern New York*, 1936). These were, essentially, driving surveys,

and were not critical, inasmuch as they were largely based upon aesthetic and historical presumptions that eliminated a large number of resources from consideration. The construction histories of these buildings were not documented, and dating was arbitrary and unsubstantiated. In addition, these surveys offered no coverage of the Mohawk Valley, extending their purview only as far west as Schenectady. In short, these two surveys collected the most obvious examples that were extant at their time or examples that had a history of ownership with a core group of Dutch-American families.

A small group of regional studies had preceded these two volumes, including Charles A. Ditmas' *Historic Homesteads of Kings County* (Brooklyn, 1909), which focused on Dutch-American farmsteads. Additional surveys of this type were conducted in middle decades of the twentieth century, covering specific regions or building types. Examples include *Old Dutch Houses of Brooklyn* by Maud Esther Dilliard (Richard R. Smith, NY, NY, 1945), and John Fitchen's *The New World Dutch Barn* (Syracuse University Press, 1968; second edition 2001).

Several publications have appeared in the past twenty-five years, which essentially presented surveys based upon the personal research and fieldwork of their authors and associated scholars, rather than attempting a comprehensive survey of a particular area or era. Included in this group are Harrison Meeske's *The Hudson Valley Dutch and Their Houses* (Purple Mountain Press, Fleischmanns, NY, 1998), which incorporated much information from the late Don Carpentier and Rod Blackburn; Roderic H. Blackburn's own *Dutch Colonial Homes in America* (Rizzoli, New York, NY, 2002); and John R. Stevens' *Dutch Vernacular Architecture in North America, 1640-1830* (Society for the Preservation of Hudson Valley Vernacular Architecture, West Hurley, NY, 2005).

Most recently, Walter Richard Wheeler oversaw the Survey of New World Dutch Cultural Resources, a joint project of the Dutch Barn Preservation Society and the Society for the Preservation of Hudson Valley Vernacular Architecture that began in 2005. The purpose of that survey was much like that of the present project: to collect information on all known examples of architectural resources related to the settlement of the Dutch. Its geographical scope, however, extended to all areas occupied in North America by people of Dutch descent previous to 1850, taking in examples from New England, the Mid-Atlantic, Canada, and other regions. That survey, ambitious as it was, remains incomplete.

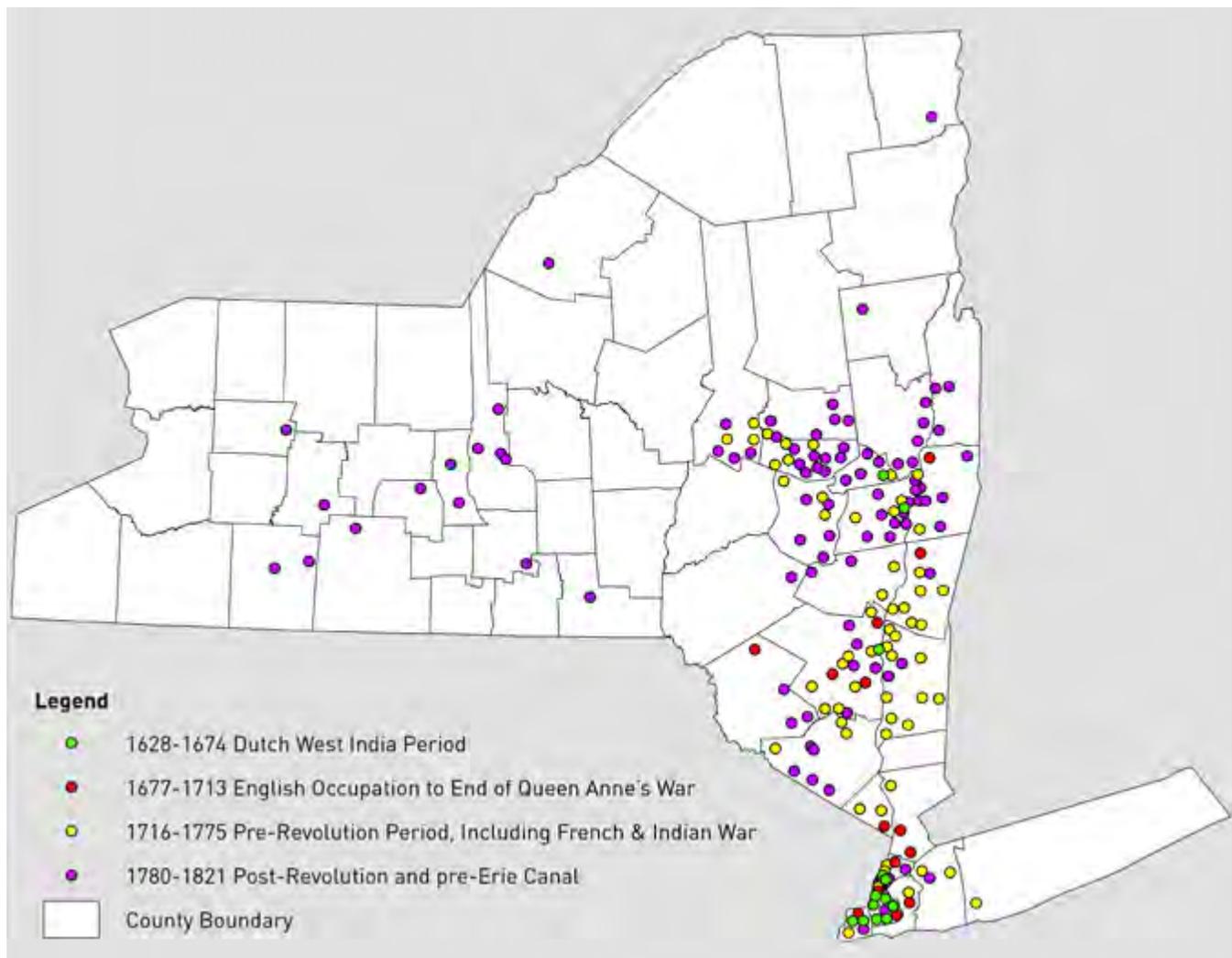
## 2. Methodology of Current Survey

### 2.1 Research Techniques and Methods

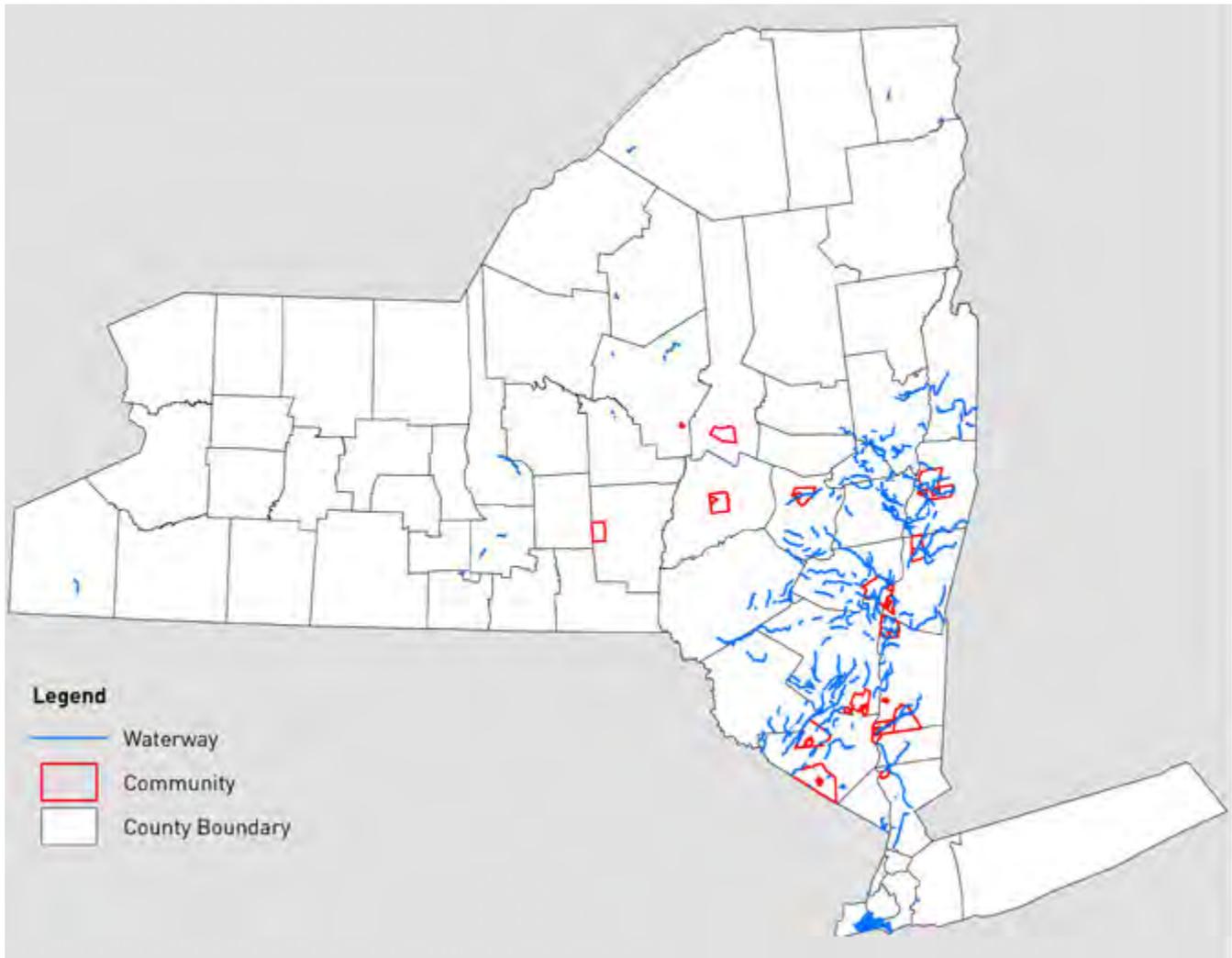
Access to archival sources was severely curtailed during this project because of the COVID-19 epidemic. Consequently, no on-site research was able to be conducted. However, a significant body of information was found in grey literature, generated for architectural surveys. The project team has been responsible for a number of such surveys conducted during the past forty years, and had extensive knowledge of that literature. The personal files of Walter Richard Wheeler formed the core of the survey, and were supplemented with materials collected by Neil Larson, Ruth Piwonka, and numerous other scholars and volunteers. The quality and detail of information collected on each resource were found to vary greatly. Examples that had an unverifiable connection to Dutch heritage were not included in the survey data set.

Additional pertinent survey areas were identified by mapping the locations of early Dutch Reformed Churches and Dutch-derived place names (Figures 1 and 2). This line of inquiry proved fruitful, generating several outlying examples that were previously unknown to scholarship. Examples in these areas were identified through internet searches as well as through contact with local scholars.

**Figure 1.** Locations of Dutch Reformed Churches in New York State, 1628-1821 (Hartgen Archeological Associates, 2020). Date ranges indicate year of founding of each congregation.



**Figure 2.** Location of waterways and places which include the words “kill,” “hook,” “Dutch,” “German,” “wyck/wick” in their names (Hartgen Archeological Associates, 2020).



Excluded from this map are numerous other place names that are known to have Dutch language origins or to have been derived from Dutch patronyms; an exhaustive mapping of these features would be useful, but is outside of the scope of the present survey.

Online real estate advertisements, frequently containing photographs of interiors, have become, within the past 10 years, a powerful tool for field research. These were used, when available, to verify suspected examples otherwise only identified by exterior assessments.

### 3. Summary of Experts and Dutch Heritage Community Involvement

It was initially anticipated that local historical societies and municipal historians would provide a large body of material that could be incorporated into the survey. This proved not to be the case, for two reasons. First, most of the local historical societies were closed during the period the survey was conducted, and communication with these groups thus proved difficult. However, from those groups and individuals who were successfully contacted, it became clear that few among them had specialized knowledge of Dutch cultural resources, and recommended only a small number of examples, which were typically already known by the survey team. Exceptions occurred in those communities which had sponsored reconnaissance surveys; either general surveys, intended to identify the earliest structures built within a specified area, or (more rarely) surveys intended to specifically identify Dutch cultural resources.

A more fruitful line of inquiry resulted from contacting architectural historians and scholars. These conversations and subsequent sharing of information resulted in the identification of several remote examples and provided supplemental information for previously-identified resources.

## 4. Historic Context

### 4.1 New Netherland 1609-1664

In the same year the United Provinces of The Netherlands signed a truce with Spain in 1609 ending years of religious persecution and political domination, Henry Hudson was sent across the Atlantic Ocean to find a western passage to Asia. During their defiant revolt against Spain, the Dutch became a powerful maritime force raiding Spanish treasure ships and establishing trade footholds in India and the Far East. Hudson's voyage failed in its goal but instead discovered a region full of commercial promise, which the Dutch immediately claimed for a trading colony. The maritime origins of the colony had a significant role in the development of its economy, the character of early settlers, and its governance.<sup>1</sup>

Explorer-trader Cornelis Hendrickszen's 1616 map (Figure 3) reveals the north-south extent of Dutch exploration—from the northerly source of the North (Hudson) River to its southerly point at the mouth of Delaware Bay. It was compiled in 1614 by navigator Adriaen Block and fully realized in the Netherlands by cartographers Hessel Gerritsz & Cornelis Doetz (Figure 4).<sup>2</sup> It was the first instance of the use of the name New Netherland for the colony.

Although these maps barely hint at the nature of settlements and architecture to come, they reveal the perceived commercial potential of New Netherland and how it began with a deep understanding of its geography—rivers, islands, lands' relationship to the sea, and the habitations of local indigenous people. Text on the Hendrickszen map narrates a tale of kidnap and survival and, above all, gives a brief description of the dimensions of Fort Nassau (at modern Albany). The environment revealed itself to be the ideal habitat for valuable animal peltry, and maps began to show that detail as well as improvement cartographically.

**Figure 4.** Detail of Map of New Netherland by Hessel Gerritsz and Cornelis Doetz, 1614 ([www.NYC99.org](http://www.NYC99.org)).



**Figure 3.** Map of New Netherland by Cornelis Hendrickszen, 1616 ([www.NYC99.org](http://www.NYC99.org)).



- 1 David Ellis et al, *A History of New York State* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press for the New York State Historical Association, 1967), 19.
- 2 Elizabeth Sutton, "Mapping Dutch Nationalism across the Atlantic" in *Artl@s Bulletin* 2:1 (2013), available online at <https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/artlas/vol2/iss1/2/>; Kees Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money: Maps, Plans and Topographic Paintings and Their role in Dutch Overseas Expansion During the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Uitgeverij De Bataafsche Leeuw, 2002), 225-227; and Deborah L. Krohn and Peter N. Miller, eds., *Dutch New York Between East and West: The World of Margrieta van Varick* (New York: Bard Graduate Center and The New-York Historical Society/ New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 184-187.

However, with printed, published maps there ran a risk of revealing too much information to competitors. Thus, curious errors and skewed details become part of the cartological culture.

**Figure 5.** *Nicholas Visscher, Map of Nova Belgica/Nova Angletterre, Amsterdam, ca. 1651. In Roderic H. Blackburn & Ruth Piwonka. Remembrance of Patria, Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America, 1609-1776 (Albany NY: Albany Institute of History & Art, 1988, 42).*



The Nova Belgica/Nova Angletterre map first published in the early 1650s shows the extent of New Netherland's breadth. It included the watersheds of three great rivers of the modern northeastern United States: the South (Delaware), the North (Hudson), and the Fresh (Connecticut) Rivers. Dutch settlement along the North River was the greatest and most long-lasting. The inland settlement at now modern Albany held particular importance for the Dutch and for subsequent settlers. It was near where the Mohawk River flowed into the Hudson; this was the route that opened the west to the Dutch long before most colonists even knew there was a west.<sup>3</sup> Further north along the North River were unexpected

3 In 1634, the commander of Fort Orange ordered Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert west into the Mohawk Valley and Indian country, for the purpose of understanding why the fur trade had declined. The trip lasted six weeks and took Bogaert and his men through a number of Mohawk villages and into Oneida villages, at least 100 miles from the fort. This journey was recorded in van den Bogaert's daily journal, which has been published as *A Journey Into Mohawk and Oneida Country*, Charles T. Gehring & William A. Starna, trans. & eds. (Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press, 2013).

opportunities. Between Albany and Quebec, there was a hinterland where hostilities between French and Dutch could be acted out, and sometimes the space was useful for more peaceful social exchanges between these Europeans. Both the Dutch and French had managed to establish agreeable relationships with each other in this region. With a shared goal, such relationships allowed them to trade successfully with indigenous people.

Between 1616 and 1619, an alarming plague killed a significant portion of Native Americans along New England's Atlantic coast. Today it is not clear where else this plague struck, and information about its impact on populations within what is today New York has not yet been found. However, given the known extent of the social interactions among Algonquian people, it would not be surprising if the disease spread inland.

This depopulation seems to be at least partially responsible for the dampening of the initial Dutch enthusiasm for the place. At what later became Albany (then Fort Nassau, located on Castle Island), all progress was abandoned and the first settlers (primarily Huguenot) moved to New Amsterdam. Passenger lists for ships leaving for the New World and returning from it suggest a decline in the region's population. Between 1614 and 1618 no ships sailed, perhaps indicating the impact of the plague that affected New England native peoples between 1616 and 1619. In 1618, two ships sailed to the Hudson. Four sailed in 1619 and two in 1620, and one each in 1621, 1622, and 1623. In 1621, the Dutch Republic's States General chartered the Dutch West India Company [WIC], thereby creating an organizing entity that became operational in 1623 and would deal with issues pertaining to trade and colonization in the Western Hemisphere. Soon after, interest in trade grew: in 1625, seven ships arrived in New Netherland; one the next year; four in 1627; four in 1628. From there on, ship traffic continued, bringing people as well as goods.<sup>4</sup>

#### 4.1.I. Introduction of the system of Slavery to the Colony

Despite the steady increase of immigrants, the settlements required more laborers. Serious labor would fall to enslaved African people in the colony. The introduction of enslaved African people to the New Netherland region was made by the Dutch when the WIC purchased eleven Africans in 1626 from pirates; Manuel de Gerrit de Reus, Sijmon Congo, and Paulo Angola were among them. Their names were recorded in documents of the period.<sup>5</sup> They were put to work by the company to build the fort and other infrastructure for the Manhattan settlement. The WIC permitted New Netherlanders to trade untrained enslaved people from Angola for "seasoned" ones from the Dutch West Indies, particularly Curaçao, who had greater value. They also purchased Africans who had been captured from Spanish slave ships by Dutch and French privateers.<sup>6</sup>

In February 1644, the original eleven enslaved men petitioned WIC Director-General Willem Kieft for their freedom. Believing they would help defend settlements from assaults by Native Americans (whom Kieft had aggravated by wars waged on them), he granted them and their wives partial freedom, in which they could own land and a home and earn wages from their masters with the promise of eventual full freedom. However, their children would remain enslaved. By 1664, the original eleven had been joined by more than thirty other African landholders who also had attained half-freedom in a community near the Fresh Water Pond.<sup>7</sup> Information about their dwellings is incomplete; since they were skilled in construction, their dwellings are certain to have been well-made, but details about their appearance is lacking.

Free Black persons were allowed to work and earn income on their own, buy property, and maintain their own customs. They and their children were commonly baptized in the Reformed church. Beginning in 1643, enslaved people received building lots at the Slijcksteeg in lower Manhattan, where they lived until about 1657. In the neighborhood around Bayard and 14th streets was a long-term African burial ground that upon its recent rediscovery has proved to

4 See Ships Passenger Lists to New Netherland, New York 1624 to 1664. <http://www.olivetreegenealogy.com/nn/ships/index.shtml#index> accessed 11 November 2020. The New Netherland Institute is soon inaugurating an updated online database of Dutch ships.

5 New Netherland Institute, "Slavery in New Netherland", <https://www.newnetherlandinstitute.org/history-and-heritage/digital-exhibitions/slavery-exhibit> accessed 11 November 2020.

6 Douglas Harper, "Slavery in New York," Slavery in the North, <http://slavenorth.com/newyork.htm> (2003) accessed 11 November 2020 the Fresh Water Pond.

7 Leslie M. Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 23-24.

be of great historic importance.<sup>8</sup> In this early period, the enslaved were accommodated, if not in their own dwellings, in their masters' houses in the kitchens, either in the house or in a separate building, outlets (side aisles), or attics. Little evidence of their presence survives as the few extant buildings have been altered over time. On larger farms, they were quartered in much the same way, although there may have been outbuildings for this purpose. There are few reliable accounts to better document the enslaved Africans living conditions.

#### 4.1.II. Fort Orange, Rensselaerwyck, Beverwyck [Albany]

Upon reaching the northern region of the river, Henry Hudson encountered an island at the center of a network of Native American trading routes. There Hendrick Christiaensen built a fortified trading post called Fort Nassau in 1614. The island became known as Castle Island because of the presence of the fort. In 1617, a freshet damaged the fort, and it was abandoned in favor of a new one closer to the south end of the island. It was at this fort the Dutch made their first treaty with the area's Native Americans. In 1618, a freshet destroyed the new fort; this time it was not rebuilt.

In 1624, a ship chartered by the WIC transported thirty Huguenot families to New Netherland and immediately sent eighteen of the men up the North River to build a fort a short distance north of the site of the abandoned Fort Nassau. It was named Fort Orange. The Huguenots were returned to the south end of the river where they helped build another fort, on the southern tip of Manhattan Island. Within a few years, Fort Orange was home to two dozen or so traders and company men but no families. A list of buildings constructed by the WIC during Wouter Van Twiller's term as General Director of the colony (1633-38) was compiled by master carpenter Gillis Pieterse van der Gouw. In Fort Orange, it listed "a handsome large house with a flat roof and lattice work," probably for the fort commander, and eight small houses "for the people."<sup>9</sup> In the 1640s, a French Jesuit priest and missionary, Isaac Jogues, described Fort Orange as "a wretched little fort ... built of stakes, with four or five pieces of cannon."<sup>10</sup>

The States General passed a Charter of Privileges and Exemptions in 1629, which permitted the granting of patroonships to foster settlement in the colony. Amsterdam diamond merchant and a WIC director, Killian Van Rensselaer was a leader of this action, which required the settlement of fifty families within four years, and he was granted a vast tract covering both sides of the river for twenty-four miles and running another twenty-four miles east and west of it and encompassing Fort Orange. He then was required to acquire title to the lands from the Mahicans. In 1630, the first group of farmers to arrive in Rensselaerwyck were settled outside the walls of Fort Orange.

Rensselaerwyck was the only patroonship granted by that charter to survive any amount of time. It succeeded partly by its proximity to Fort Orange where settlers could sell produce to the traders and avail themselves of the fort's protection. Van Rensselaer invested heavily in the development of the estate and supervised it closely, first using hired scouts and later using his sons. He shipped cattle, horses, tools, building supplies, and equipment, such as brewing vats, and sent indentured servants to build houses, barns, and mills. Liberal terms were extended to settlers, who joined the ranks of a growing number of tenant farmers.<sup>11</sup> The independent and protective measures he took to expand his patroonship often ran afoul of the WIC and its Directors-General, who were ambivalent over expanding settlement in their single-minded commitment to the fur trade. Under the administration of William Kieft (1638-46), relations with Native American tribes deteriorated with hostile actions and attacks costing both sides over 1,000 lives.<sup>12</sup> Peace was never fully regained.

Director-General Petrus Stuyvesant, who served from 1647 to 1664, saw Van Rensselaer's power as a threat to Fort Orange's fur trade and created a number of confrontations over the relationship of the fort and the traders who settled the Fuyck, or village, that grew around it. The Director-General tried to prevent settlement close to the fort. Van Rensselaer responded by claiming the fort to be on his property. Stuyvesant retaliated by extending the jurisdiction of the fort to sixty paces beyond its walls and severing it from Rensselaerwyck. In 1652, he went further and declared Beverwyck (also

8 Andrea Mosterman, Slavery in New Netherland, <https://www.newnetherlandinstitute.org/history-and-heritage/digital-exhibitions/slavery-exhibit/> accessed 11 November 2020.

9 Berthold Fernow, ed., Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York 14 (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1883), 16-17. The document is dated 22 March 1639.

10 George Howell and Jonathan Tenney, Bi-Centennial History of Albany (New York: W. W. Munsell & Co., 1886), 66.

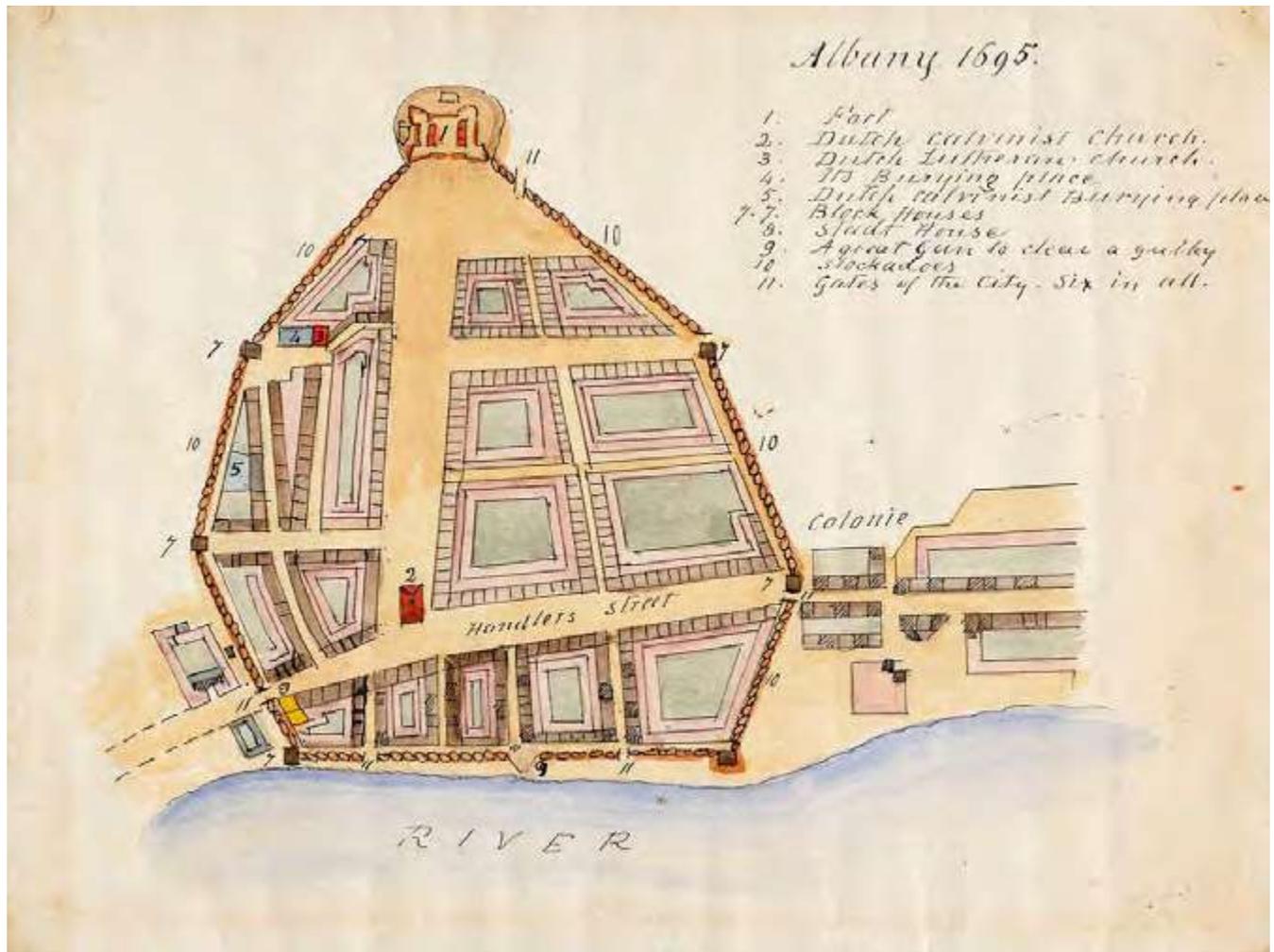
11 Ellis 1967, 22.

12 Ellis 1967, 23.

Beverwijk) an independent village with its own court of justice, which made it the first municipal government created in the colony.<sup>13</sup>

At the time, Beverwyck consisted of roughly 100 buildings located both inside and outside the fort. The WIC laid out a plan of streets for Beverwyck at a safe distance from the fort's cannons, and in doing so created some of Albany's oldest streets, such as State Street and Broadway.<sup>14</sup> By 1660, the fort was in disrepair again, and both Fort Orange and Beverwyck were enclosed by a wood stockade (Figure 6).

**Figure 6.** Reprint of 1695 Miller Map of Albany (<https://www.battlemaps.us/products/new-york-1695-albany-fort-john-miller-james-eights-manuscript-plan>).



#### 4.1.III. Architecture

Few structures to which construction dates previous to 1675 have been attributed are extant within New York State, and only one of these – the Bowne House in Flushing, Queens (1661) – has had its construction date verified through dendrochronology. A number of other structures that were thought to have been associated with early settlers and assigned seventeenth-century construction dates have had their structural components analyzed in this manner, and in

13 A. J. F. [Arnold Johan Ferdinand] Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Minutes of the Court of Fort Orange and Beverwyck Volume 1: 1652-1656* (Albany, NY: University of the State of New York, 1920), 8.

14 Paul R. Huey, "The Archeology of Fort Orange and Beverwyck," in Nancy Anne McClure Zeller, ed., *A Beautiful and Fruitful place: Selected Rensselaerswijck Seminar Papers* (Albany: New Netherland Publishing, 1991).

all cases, their construction dates have been moved forward by at least one generation.<sup>15</sup> Thus, the dates of many or all of the supposed earliest houses— which include the Staats House in Columbiaville, Columbia County (ca. 1644-54); the Pieter Claesen Wyckoff House, in Brooklyn (1652); the Lent-Riker House, in Queens (1654); the Billiou-Stillwell-Perine House on Staten Island (1662); the Pieter Bronck House in Coxsackie, Greene County, (1663) and the Cubberly-Britton Cottage and Abraham Manee Houses, both on Staten Island and both having supposed construction dates of 1670— must be questioned until verified scientifically and are likely to have been constructed at a later date. Given this, the historical record and archeological investigations must be resorted to in order to understand the types of buildings constructed during the period when the Dutch controlled New York.

#### 4.1.III.i Earliest forms of Dutch Houses

Houses of the earliest period of Dutch occupation were described as “for the most part built of wood and thatched with reed, besides which the chimneys of some of the houses are of wood ...or lath and plaster.” An ordinance passed in 1661 prohibited the continued use of wooden chimneys and the “kindling of any fire in houses with walls or gables made of straw” and required their immediate replacement. In addition, the lighting of fires in the center on the floors of houses covered with thatch was prohibited, “unless there be a good, solid plank ceiling.” This latter prohibition indicates that some basic hall, or smoke, houses existed in New Netherlands; these were one-room plan dwellings with a firepit centered in the floor with its smoke finding its way out through a hole in the roof. This house type was not unknown in Europe, indeed it was to be found in the north and west parts of Germany, where they were called “Rauchhäuser” or smoke houses.<sup>16,17</sup>

This early building code, first applied in Wiltwyck (Kingston), was adopted throughout the colony by the end of the seventeenth century. Houses without chimneys in the Schenectady Patent were required to have them built during the summer of 1671, and the houses of Albany were required to have “proper chimneys” built that same year.

By the 1640s, clapboards were used to sheath the exteriors of these houses. They are said to have been introduced to Albany by Thomas Chambers, an Englishman contracted as a carpenter to the Rensselaer Manor. Certainly, his nickname, Clabbordt, suggests that his use of board sheathing was thought to be remarkable in his lifetime. Clapboards were not unknown in the Netherlands, however.

That the construction methods of the day – whether for dwellings, barns, mills, or public buildings – utilized the bent system of framing is known from contemporary documents. The same system had been used in the Netherlands since at least the Middle Ages; it was sustained in the colony for as long as it lasted, and was utilized by builders trained in that tradition well into the nineteenth century.<sup>18</sup>

Unlike the English form of framing, which consists of corner posts into which girts which support upper floor beams or joists are framed, the bent system of framing consists of parallel structural units comprised of pairs of posts joined by a massive beam (in Dutch, ankerbalk or tussenbalk; both known to United State scholars as an anchorbeam), in an “H” configuration. Alternate framing systems contemporaneously used in the Netherlands, dekbalkgebint, and kopbalkgebint, are rarely encountered in New York examples (Figure 7). While the box framing system tended to generate buildings of squarish plan, the H-bent system made linear plan types easier to construct. The H-bent system was not unknown in other parts of Europe; indeed variations on it were used to construct the great tithe barns and gothic cathedrals in the medieval period.

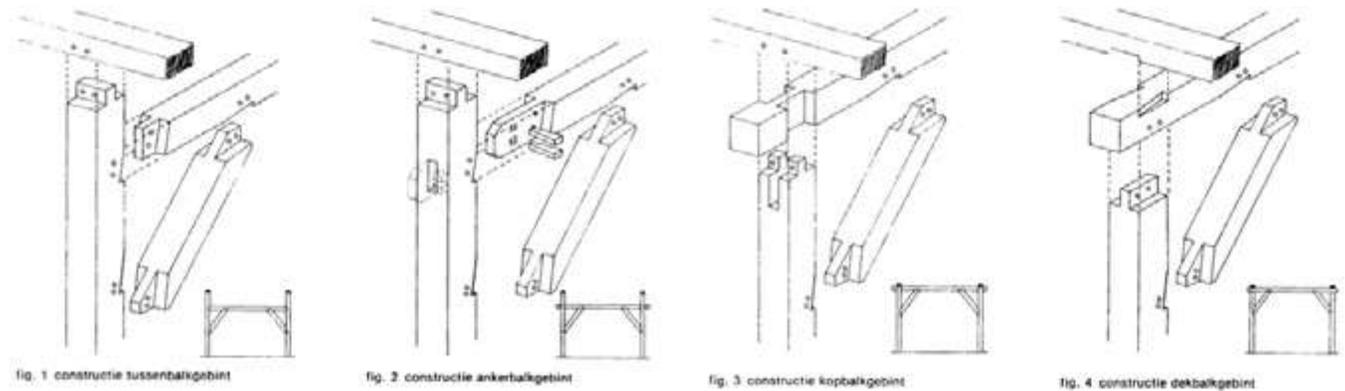
15 For example, the Voorlezer House, in Old Richmondtown, Staten Island, was traditionally assigned a construction date of ca. 1695, based upon historical records alone. Dendrochronological analysis of its structure has recently more accurately given it a construction date in the 1760s. Similarly, the Stone Houses on Huguenot Street in New Paltz were formerly given seventeenth century construction dates; all are now known to date to the early eighteenth century.

16 Far from being a mere curiosity, the accurate dating of the State’s oldest homes—many of which are historic sites--is key to their proper interpretation and presentation to the public.

17 Karen Gross “Rauchhäuser,” *Living in a Smokehouse.* Typescript (1999), copy in possession of the authors.

18 Probably the best source for construction techniques and details of seventeenth century buildings as constructed in the Netherlands is G. Berends’ *Historische houtconstructies in Nederland* (Third printing, Arnhem: Stichting Historisch Boerderij-Onderzoek, 2003).

**Figure 7.** Four principal types of framing systems used in the Netherlands, as illustrated by G. Berends, and reproduced in Clifford W. Zink's "Dutch Framed Houses in New York and New Jersey" (1987). Those identified here as *tussenbalkgebint* and *ankerbalkgebint* are by far the most commonly encountered in New Netherland and are commonly conflated by American scholars. The difference between *tussenbalkgebint* and *ankerbalkgebint* is, in the latter, the extension beyond the posts of the beam in the form of "tongues". *Tussenbalkgebint* construction was typically used for houses and some outbuildings; *ankerbalkgebint* construction was most often used for barns, granaries, and corn cribs.



Some settlers – either because of lack of funds or foresight – occupied excavated cellars for their first winter. The below quote makes clear that this practice was more commonly encountered in New England, however examples in New Netherland are documented in the historical record:

*Those in New Netherland and especially New England, who have no means to build farm houses at first according to their wishes, dig a square pit in the ground, cellar fashion, 6 or 7 feet deep, as long and as broad as they think proper, case the earth inside with wood all round the wall, and line the wood with the bark of trees or something else to prevent the caving in of the earth; floor this cellar with plank and wainscot it overhead for a ceiling, raise a roof of spars clear up and cover the spars with bark or green sods, so that they can live dry and warm in these houses with their entire families for two, three and four years, it being understood that partitions are run through those cellars which are adapted to the size of the family.<sup>19</sup>*

A few examples of what have been interpreted as dwellings of this type have been encountered archeologically – but whether or not these are in fact the remnants of pit houses or were merely cellars under dwellings of larger footprint, or storage areas, is not altogether clear.<sup>20</sup>

#### 4.1.III.ii Some Documented Examples of Early Houses

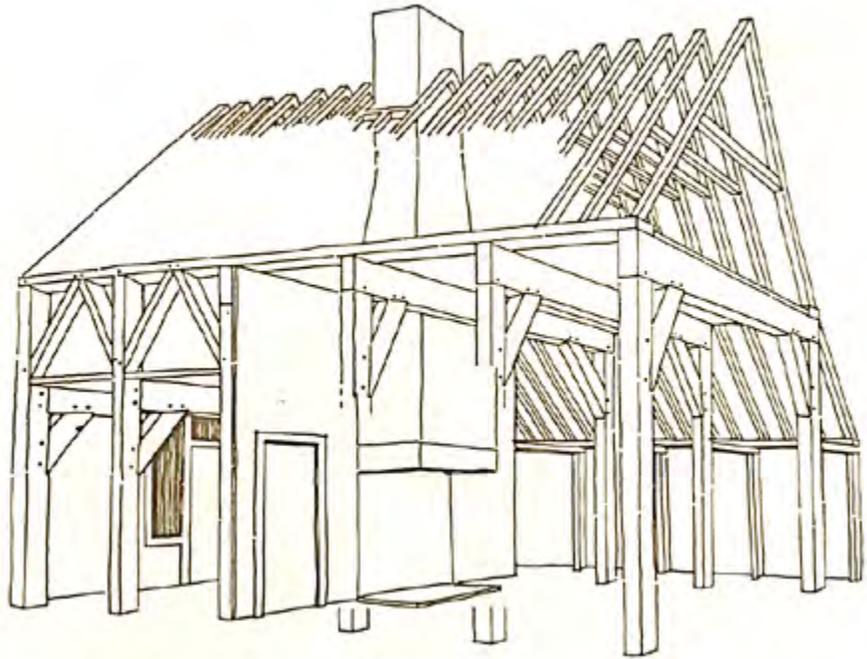
The patroon's house, built in 1648, was located north of Beverwyck. The house stood until the late 1830s, and two images of it survive, as well as several architectural fragments. From these and specifications for its construction, something of its level of finish and internal arrangement can be deduced. The house had a linear plan, one room deep, and was framed with parallel H-bents. The house included a warehouse space that was occasionally utilized for public worship. This part of the house was later expanded by the addition of a fifteen-foot-wide side aisle, evidently to increase storage capacity. The other end contained two adjoining rooms with fireplaces in the partition between them. A front room, or *voorhuis*, could be used for meetings; on the other side of the chimney was a smaller room, a private space for the patroon that apparently also functioned as a kitchen. A third, rear, room linked the house to the warehouse and was where the entrance to the house was located, as well as stairs to the loft.<sup>21</sup>

19 Cornelis van Tienhoven, "Information Relative to Taking up Land in New Netherland," (1650), translated in Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *The Documentary History of the State of New-York* 4 (Albany, NY: Charles van Benthuyzen, 1851), 31-32.

20 Michael J. Gall, Richard F. Veit, and Robert W. Craig, "Rich Man, Poor Man, Pioneer, Thief: Rethinking Earthfast Architecture in New Jersey," *Historical Archaeology* 45: 4 (2011), 39-61.

21 See reconstruction drawings by Henk J. Zantkuijl in Janny Venema, *Beverwijck, A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664* (Albany NY: SUNY Press, 2003), 83.

**Figure 8.** Henk J. Zantkuijl, *Conjectural reconstruction of a house built by Reynier Dominicus for Cornelis van Tienhoven, based on specifications contained in a 1646 contract.* See Zantkuijl, "The Netherlands Town House, How and Why it Works," *New World Dutch Studies: Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America, 1609-1776* (Albany New York: Albany Institute of History and Art, 1987, 153). Some of the details of construction shown here are more typical of continental Dutch construction, and are either not documented or rarely encountered in New World examples. These include the form of the braces, the use of board bracing, and the use of *dekbalkgebint* construction, in which there is no vertical extension above the beams.

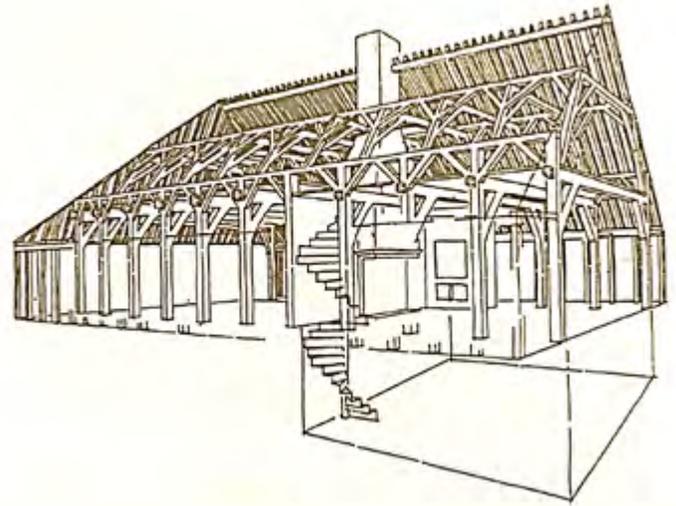


The patroon's house was large because of all the community functions it served, but its size also served to convey his status. The typical tenant dwelling was a story-and-a-half building framed with H-bents and rafters for a gable roof, containing one or two rooms, with or without fireplaces, and sometimes a cellar. Entrances were, within urban and village settings, located in gable ends, and in rural areas more frequently on the eaves walls. In urban and village settings, the entrance opened into a *voorhuis*. This façade also contained casement windows on both the lower and upper stories and usually a loft door reminiscent of houses in Amsterdam. The patroon would have provided specifications for building this type of house to his carpenters or tenants. The WIC is known to have provided house models with the instructions it provided for the construction of forts and houses in New Amsterdam in 1625. Houses like the one Reynier Dominicus built for Cornelis van Tienhoven in 1646 were the prevailing norm; some were enlarged with the addition of a side aisle. Houses of this type would be built continuously in New York for the next 160 years (Figure 8).

Farmhouses were typically accompanied by barns, which made use of the same framing strategies as those used for domestic buildings, but on a larger scale, and making use of proportionately larger structural components. Modeled after aisle or tithe barns in Europe, designed for the curing, threshing, and storage of wheat (corn in European parlance) and other grains, these buildings were a New World conception unlike the dwellings, which followed specifications originating in The Netherlands. Unlike their exemplars there, the New World Dutch Barn was framed using primary forest materials of a quality and consistency unknown in contemporary Europe. Massive posts and beams were hewn and finished with a precision only possible with such materials. As the settlement matured, so too did the houses and barns helping to distinguish them in their New World context.

On what seems to have been rare occasions in the earliest years of settlement, houses and barns were combined in a single building as had been done in Europe (Figure 9). However, the luxury of unlimited space and building materials, as well as growing prosperity, rendered the constrained living conditions in these buildings obsolete. Nonetheless, examples are illustrated in early maps of the Albany area and are documented as having been constructed at the Schuyler Flatts site in Colonie, Albany County, and in New Jersey.

**Figure 9.** Henk J. Zantkuijl, *Reconstructed perspective of a housebarn built by Jeuriaen Hendrickz for Jan Damen, based on specifications contained in a 1648 contract.* See Zantkuijl, "The Netherlands Town House, How and Why it Works," in Roderic H. Blackburn and Nancy A. Kelley, eds., *New World Dutch Studies: Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America, 1609-1776* (Albany NY: Albany Institute of Historic and Art, 1987), 154.



The WIC provided a pastor to Fort Orange in 1624 to attend to the spiritual needs of the small population. A church was formally organized in 1642, and a minister was sent from the state church in Amsterdam. Services were first held in the warehouse in the patroon's house, the largest enclosed space available in the settlement. The first dedicated church building was built in 1656 on the property of Jan Coster Van Auken adjoining his shop. It was built of stone and had a square plan. Because of this, the church was referred to as "the blockhouse," and it would double as a defensive structure in case of attack.

#### 4.1.IV. New Amsterdam [Manhattan]

In 1625, instructions were sent from the WIC in Amsterdam to surveyor Cryn Frederickz with detailed specifications for laying out and building the first fort to be built in New Amsterdam, as well as for farms and a village outside of it.<sup>22</sup>

An outer ditch twenty-four feet wide and four feet deep was to be dug on three sides around the fort site, with the fourth side open to the river. The ditch was planned to be between 1,600 feet and 2,000 feet on a side. Outside the ditch, on one side, ten lots two-hundred-foot square were to be staked out for the dwellings of farmers and their gardens, and additional roads and lots were laid out beyond that would remain vacant and available for more farms in the future. Farmland was located on the periphery of the plan, although lots for vineyards and gardens and for pasture were to be laid out along the river close to the farmhouses.

As soon as the outer ditch was almost completed, the construction of the fort, which was to be called Amsterdam, would begin. It was planned to enclose an area roughly 1,050 feet in diameter, with a moat fifty-four feet wide and at least eight feet deep. Ramparts twenty feet high were to be forty feet wide at the base and twenty feet wide at the crest allowing for a sloping exterior face, and on the top would be placed a parapet six feet high. The WIC directed the fort to be built in the following manner.

*And in order that the work may progress more speedily, the Council shall summon from all other places as many people in the employ of the Company as they can muster, making the sailors, too, do such work as they are fitted for, be it digging, felling trees, sawing lumber, or other things... When the "Orangen Boom" returns hither, care shall be taken by the Council to keep there as many men as possible out of those who are best able and most willing to work, provided always that the vessel remain fit for the homeward voyage and can be properly defended.*

Furthermore, the Commissary and Council shall summon free persons, such as colonists and others who are not in the service of the Company, only if they are willing to come to work as aforementioned, when they shall be given proper wages, to wit, a strong, healthy man, 8 stivers a day and his board, and women and children in proportion.

<sup>22</sup> Document E / Special Instructions for Cryn Fredericksz Regarding the laying out of the fort, April 22, 1625, in A. J. F. Van Laer, trans. and ed., "Documents Relating to New Netherland, 1624-1626 in The Henry E. Huntington Library," in *Publications. Americana: Folio Series, issue 1* (San Marino, CA: Henry E. Huntington Library, 1924), 131- 168 and 269-270.

And should the Indians also be willing to work, they shall be paid half as much, in the same manner as the colonists or others, being given for their work some trading-goods, reckoned at about what they cost here in this country, and then at the rate of 2 stivers a day; for example, for a hatchet that costs 14 stivers here, a man will have to work 7 days...

In the event of the sailors of the chartered ships being willing to work at the fortification, at building, or anything else, during their stay there, the Council shall allow them 8 or 10 stivers a day, but their rations they will have to get from their own ships.

Within the ramparts, on a road running between gates on the water and land sides, twenty-five house lots, each twenty-five feet wide and fifty feet deep, were to be staked out with a market square planned in the center. The first buildings to be erected were to be large enough to lodge all the people and store therein all the necessary supplies and the goods to be unloaded from the chartered ships, "the "Macreeltgen" keeping its cargo on board until things have been put in some kind of order." The buildings on these lots, when completed, were joined together with spaces left on the sides reserved for future enlargement for a hospital, school, and church. One of the houses was built to be adapted for use as a church with the fifteen-foot height of the first story increased to twenty-four feet by removing the second-story floor, leaving the loft intact. These buildings likely are those with front-gables depicted on the lower side of the fort in the Costello Plan in 1660 (Figure 10). Houses with gable-ends facing the street were common in the Netherlands, and that orientation is probably a reflection of lot configuration in the urban areas of that country, with narrow and deep lots predominating. This land-use pattern was replicated in New Netherland.

On that map, on the opposite side of the market square, are four attached two-story houses, which the 1625 instructions describe as follows:

*[H]ouses adjoining one another, each 25 feet square, ... so that the water from the roof shall fall into the street and into the back-yard, but wooden gutters may be hung under it to prevent the drip. As to the roof-covering, care shall be taken to find out what is the most serviceable material. If no thatch, straw, or anything else can be found, wooden shingles will have to be taken at first. The second story of all the adjoining houses, 9 feet high and 25 feet square, shall throughout be reserved for the use of the Company, to store therein at first, all the provisions belonging to the Company, as well as all the trading-goods and furs and whatever else belongs to the Company, and after other suitable places therefor shall have been found, they shall be used as grain-lofts, which applies to all the houses in the entire fort, but the garrets above the second story shall be for the use of the respective houses. The house of the Commissary shall occupy a double lot...but all other houses shall occupy but single lots. N. B. From his own house the Commissary must be able to go into all the lofts on the right-hand side, as well as in all the lofts on the left-hand side, along the entire street, doors to be made from one into the other.*

Dwellings in the fort were to be provided for under-commissaries, the pastor, "the comforters of the sick," members of the Council, and "the most prominent persons." Kitchens were to be provided on lots of thirty-five feet depth or greater. Buildings backing up on the ramparts were planned for lodging single persons, such as sailors; these were divided into ten-foot-square "compartments" accommodating two persons each for a total occupancy of eighty. Storage buildings were to be built for tools "of the smiths, carpenters, coopers, wheelwrights, farmers, and others" belonging to the company. It was intended that arms and munitions also would be stored there.

The WIC instructions stated that "all farmhouses outside the fort shall likewise be made of one size, according to model E and the description thereof;" however, that description has been lost. Period depictions, such as the Costello Plan, illustrate these farmhouses as essentially the same as the front-gable, two-room-plan dwellings, some with side aisles, built in Beverwyck and described in surviving building contracts from all three Hudson River trading centers.

**Figure 10.** Detail of Costello Plan, 1660, showing interior of fort (<https://www.battlemaps.us/products/new-york-1660-castello-plan-new-amsterdam>).



A list of buildings constructed by the WIC during Director General Wouter van Twiller's administration (1633/38) gives a good picture of building activities in New Amsterdam during that period.

On Manhattan, inside the fort:

- the guardhouse with lattice work and a roof were built; a small house for the soldiers to lodge in;
- a large cellar was dug and built up with stone to the level of the ground and beams laid across to put boards on for the floor;

On Manhattan, outside the fort:

- a new bakehouse;
- a small house for the midwife;
- a boathouse situated behind the Five Houses; the church with a house and stable in the rear;

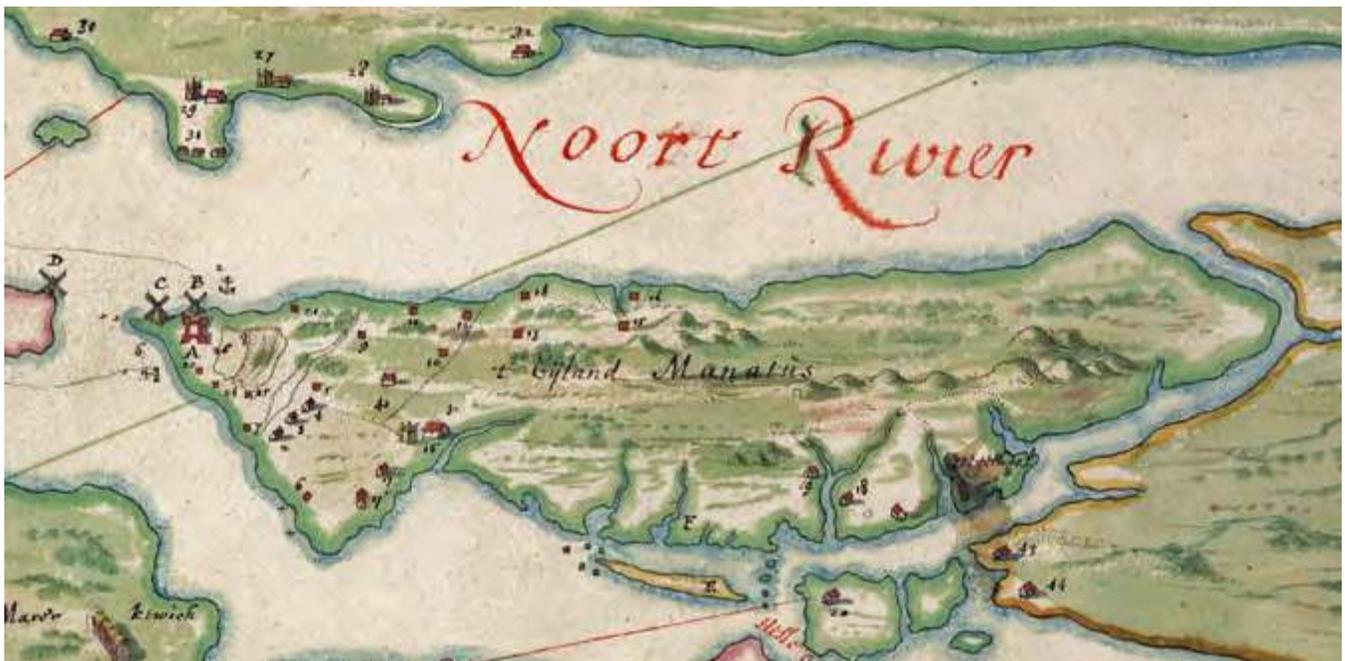
The smith's, corporal's, and cooper's house... raised, finished and covered with tiles; a large shed in which the boats and yachts are built, and the sailmaker's loft above it

- an excellent barn, dwelling house, boat house, and a brewery covered in tiles, on farm No. 3<sup>23</sup>
- the house on Mr. Twiller's plantation;
- the sawmills and gristmills where at divers times, when necessary, provided with new shafts, arms, and other appurtenances.

On Corlaer's farm a much work was also done; on that of LaMontagne, the same;

- the house of Cornelis van Vorst in Pavonia [Staten Island] was built;
- the house belonging to the former director, situated on the island at Hellgate; Fort Amsterdam was built up, with platforms to be used for the guns of the fort; the houses of Tymen Jansen and Domine Bogardus;
- the house of Wolphert Gerritsen, standing at the Bay, was erected by the Company's carpenters

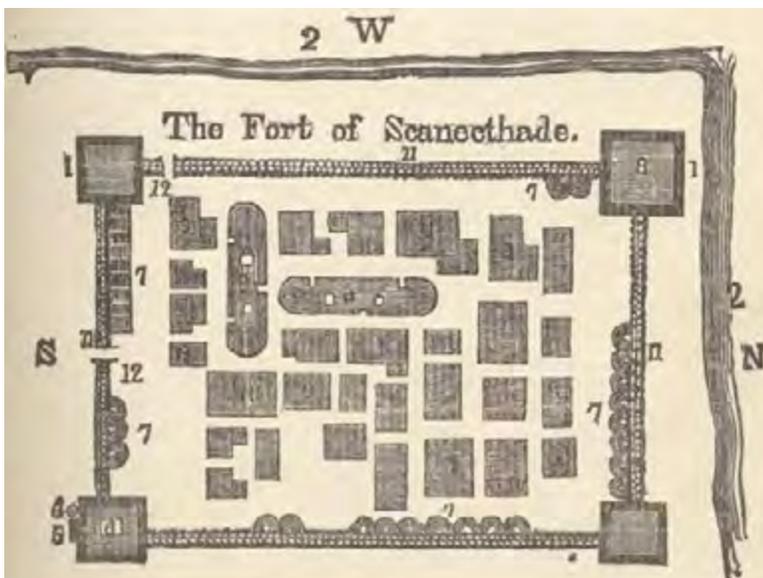
**Figure 11.** Detail of Manatus Map, ca. 1639 ([www.nyc99.org](http://www.nyc99.org)). The Manatus map is housed at the Library of Congress and is attributed to Vingboom. It dates to about 1639, although some of the plantations and/or bouweries indicated on it were built or came into the possession of the person named within a few years after 1639. It also corresponds neatly with Wouter van Twiller's list, transcribed above. The area marked F in the lower center of the pictured detail was occupied by the enslaved Africans held in bondage by the WIC. No habitation is indicated, suggesting it wasn't yet constructed or was exceedingly modest or that the nearby island marked "E" and/or "20" van Twiller's bouwerie in the Hellegat was the domain where they resided.



23 This house was sold in 1651 to Director Stuyvesant; it stood on the grounds adjoining Saint Mark's Church and is the place the Dutch surrendered to the English in 1664.

Another detail of the Manatus map affords a glimpse of Native dwellings, located at the west end of Long Island, in fairly close proximity to the coast (Figure 12). At the site labeled "36," Dutchman Wolfert Gerritsz ran two farms and two bouweries. Nearby was Hendrick Snyder's plantation at "24." The form of the longhouses appears consistent with that found in Van den Bogaert's description and the images suggested in the ca. 1650 map. Dutch and Native Americans would continue to live in close proximity to one another, closely connected by trade, after the English takeover of the colony. The Miller map of Schenectady (ca. 1693) shows Dutch and Native American-style houses crowded together within the stockaded community (Figure 13).

**Figure 13.** (Below) John Miller, The Fort of Scanethade, ca. 1693 (Original in the British Museum. Reproduced in Jonathan Pearson, *History of the Schenectady Patent*, 1883).



**Figure 12.** Detail of Manatus Map.



The hay barracks or "hayricks" indicated on the Manatus map, and described in sundry contemporary contracts of conveyance and construction, are noteworthy and were found throughout areas settled by the Dutch. They would be built on farms in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys into the nineteenth century, with scattered examples built in the twentieth century, as well.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Wim Lanphen, *Een Oost-Nederlandse hooiberg bouwen* (Stichting Kennisbehoud Hooibergen Nederland, 2007). This book details the techniques used in the historical reconstruction of a hay barrack or *hooiberg*.

The first church services were in 1628 in the building provided for it in the fort. Jonas Michaëlius was the leader of this first congregation. Wouter van Twiller's list indicates a church existed outside the fort by 1638. It must have occupied temporary quarters because records indicate that in 1642 a new church building was erected. In that year, colony secretary Cornelis van Tienhoeven (1638-1656) recorded a contract between Willem Kieft, on behalf of the church, and John and Richard Ogden, masons of Stamford, Connecticut, to build a new church of stone for New Amsterdam, seventy-two feet long, fifty-four feet wide, and sixteen feet above the ground.<sup>25</sup> The contract appears to date from May 1642. A church also existed in Harlem in 1660, at the north end of Manhattan.

#### 4.1.IV Esopus, Wiltwyck [Kingston]

By 1652, more than sixty pioneers, most of them coming from the Fort Orange area, had established homesteads along the fertile Esopus Creek, about a mile inland from where the Rondout Creek met the North (Hudson) River. Both locations had long been inhabited by the local Native Americans, who harvested crops on the broad flood plain where the Esopus Creek bent northwards and fish from the North River. This latter place also was an established trading center for the fur trade.

The settlers had a tenuous hold on the land as they had not obtained any deeds from the indigenous people. This affront fueled lingering animosity over bloody wars in the region perpetuated by the WIC in the 1640s. The settlers and the Esopus tribe continued to harass each other with vandalism, raids, and kidnappings. In May and June 1658, WIC Director-General Pieter Stuyvesant was summoned when hostilities there threatened to escalate following the murder of a settler. With some diplomatic skill, Stuyvesant negotiated with both sides, calming tensions, and proposing a plan for the better protection of the settlers' homes.

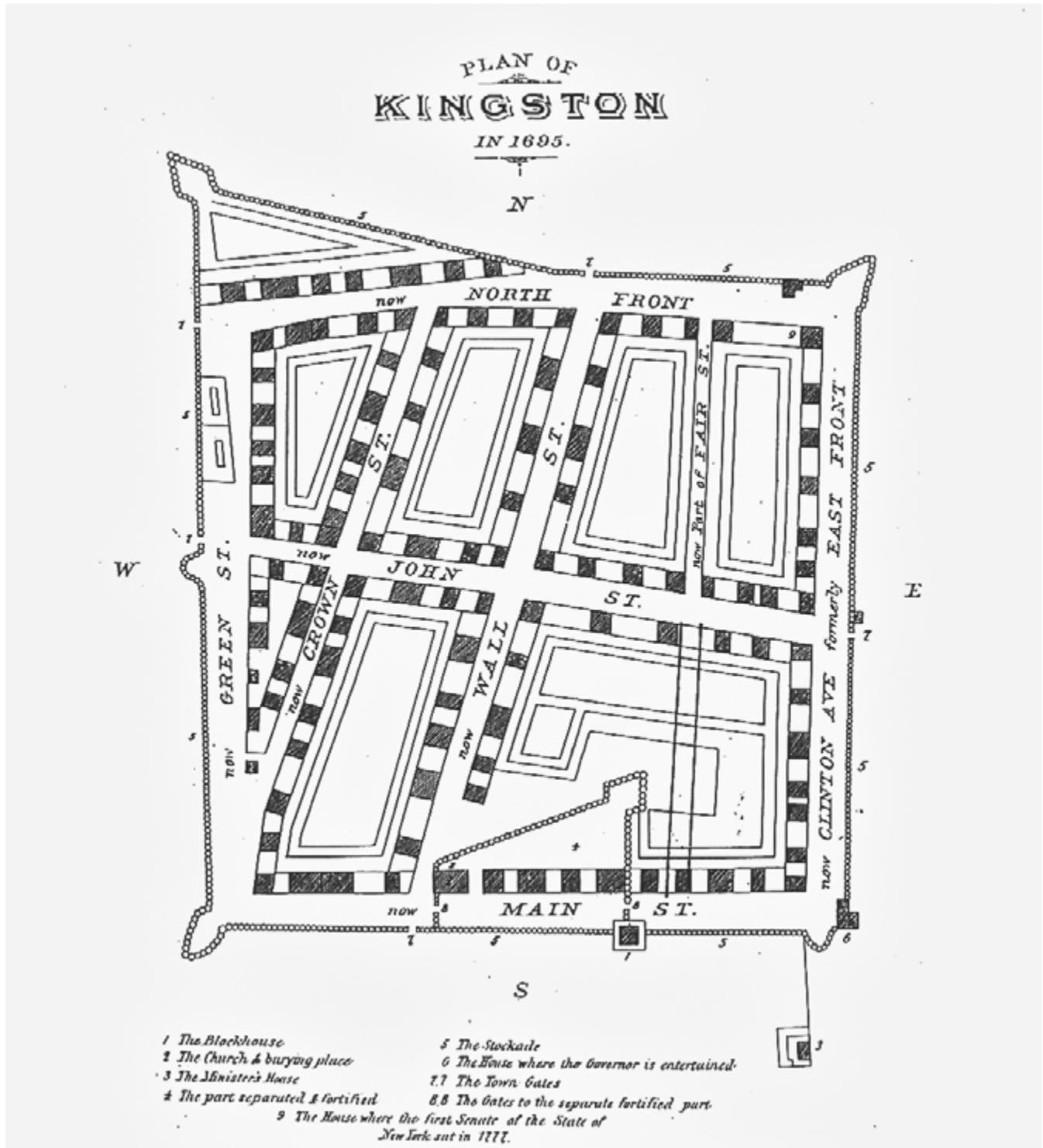
Stuyvesant conferred with the Esopus leaders and promised that the WIC would compensate them for the land appropriated by the settlers. He assured them that he would not do them harm by commanding his soldiers to attack them, "capturing their wives and children and destroying their corn and beans." But he expected them "to indemnify the owner for the burning of his houses, arrest and surrender the murderer if he came again among them, and do no more evil in future." He concluded the conference by informing them of his decision to move all his people to "one place and live close by each other."

A plan to build a stockade to contain forty houses was implemented immediately, with soldiers and carpenters and other workmen brought down from Fort Orange to help the settlers. Story has it that board by board, the settlers took their houses and barns down, and carted them uphill to the stockade, sited on a promontory overlooking their fields on the Esopus Creek flood plain. The plan for this fortified village survives today in uptown Kingston (Figure 14). They reconstructed their homes behind a fourteen-foot high wall made of tree trunks embedded in the ground that created a perimeter of about 1,000 by 1,300 feet. Stuyvesant named the village "Wiltwyck." The stockade was enlarged in 1661 and again in 1669.

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25 Charles T. Gehring, ed. and trans., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch, Volumes GG, HH & II, Land Papers*. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1980), 35. The entire contract is an informative piece: Before [me Cornelis van Tienhoven] ... appeared the [Hon. Mr. Willem Kieft], church master, [being requested by his] brethren to the church masters [of the church in] New Netherland, [to contract] in the name of all of them [for the building of a church.] Therefore, the appearer, as [representative of the church masters] has agreed and contracted with Jan Jogden and Ritsert Jogden, residents of Stantfoort, about [the building] of a church conditions hereinafter written, to wit: The aforesaid Jan and Ritsert Jogden engage to build for the above named church masters a church of stone [*clipsteen*], seventy two feet long, fifty four feet wide, sixteen feet high above the ground, all properly finished, durable and strong, so that no fault can be found with it. They shall themselves be obliged to haul the stone necessary thereto and to bring it to the shore at the fort, from which place the church masters shall furnish as much lime as shall be required for the contraction of the aforesaid church, [but] the laying, hod-carrying and hauling of the stone for the church they, Jan and Ritsert Jogden, shall do at their own expense, provided that when the work shall be properly completed and finished, they shall be paid by the church masters aforesaid the sum of twenty five hundred guilders, once, which shall be paid to them in money, beavers or merchandise; at which time, when the work shall be finished and properly and satisfactorily done and the church masters find that the said twenty five hundred guilders have been well earned, the said church masters shall make them a present of one hundred guilders. They hereby also promise to lend the above named Jan and Ritsert Jogden a helping hand in whatever they may need, provided it can be done without detriment [to the interests of the Company], and in order that they may be able to haul the stone and deliver it at the strand in the quickest manner, the woodcutters' boat shall be loaned to the said Jan and Ritsert Jogden for a month or six weeks. They, Jan and Ritsert Jogden bind themselves and promise to complete the aforesaid contracted work, all without fraud or deceit. Done in Fort Amsterdam, in New Netherland.

Figure 14. Plan of Kingston Stockade, 1695 (<http://jwwerner.com/ODC/Kingston1695full.jpg>).



The Director-General's own account, in the form of a report to the WIC, is particularly descriptive as the following excerpt indicates.

*On Monday the 3d of June in the morning I began with all the inhabitants and the soldiers of my command to dig out the moat, cut palisades, and haul them up in waggons. The spot marked out for the settlement has*

*a circumference of about 210 rods and is naturally well adapted for defensive purposes. At the proper time when necessity requires it can be surrounded by water on three sides and it may be enlarged agreeable to the convenience and the requirements of the present and of future inhabitants as the inclosed draft will show I went again to work with all hands inhabitants and soldiers on the 4th of June. For the sake of carrying on the work with better order and greater speed I directed a party of soldiers under Sergeant Christian Nyssen and some experienced wood cutters to go into the woods and to help in loading the palisades on the waggons of which there were 6 or 7....*

*the 6th and the Company's yacht arrived I found myself wanting several necessaries especially gunpowder... and as we required also a few five and six inch nails for the guardhouse and some carpenters first to help us at our work and then to assist the inhabitants in erecting their dwelling houses after the enclosure had been made.*

*I concluded to go as quickly as possible in the Company's yacht to Fort Orange in order to promote the one and the other and was still more forced and encouraged to go by a favorable southeast wind which blew....I arrived at Fort Orange to the surprise of everybody on the morning of the 7th. The yacht did not arrive until the 8th as the tide was running out very fast and I shipped on it for account of the Company 160 hemlock boards 100 five and six inch iron pins and an anker of brandy for the work people at the Esopus as none had been put aboard nor sent to me nor had I any for my own private use.*

*On the 8th was Pentecost I left again after divine service on the afternoon of the 10th .... I arrived again at the Esopus on the afternoon of the 12th and found everybody at his work and two sides completed. The wet and changeable weather had interfered with the work as they unanimously declared.*

*We were busy making the east side on the 13th 14th and 15th ... and Fredrick Phillipsen erected with the help of Claes de Ruyter and Thomas Chambers a barrack for the soldiers in the northeast corner of the enclosure 21 feet long and 16 feet wide made of boards which had been cut during my absence. The 16th was Sunday*

*I resolved to let them score some timber for a small house or barn at my own expense the ridge of it was to lie on two beams and the people who could not move their houses so quickly were at first to be lodged there and afterwards I thought to use it according to circumstances as waggonshed or stable for horses and cows for I have had long intended to begin the cultivation of my bouweries on the Esopus induced thereto by the fertility of the soil but prevented so far by the audacity of the savages and because the people were so scattered.*

*The last objection having now been removed and thereby as I hoped also the first one I took the aforesaid resolution principally to encourage the good inhabitants by hazarding my own property with theirs to make the settlement and cultivate the ground and to fulfill my former promise, although I was not obliged to do it at present nor would be until one or two years; therefore, the building is made as small and plain as possible for I thought more of employing the carpenters who had come there at my request and of the convenience of the people than of my own advantage.*

*When the timber had been scored and brought to the spot my carpenter and others told me it would make very little difference in the costs if I had a small barn of 5 or 6 crossbeams made in case the ridge was laid on two beams; as I said before I referred the carpenter's work to the opinion of my carpenter Frederick Phillipsen. The sides of the stockade were completed about noon of the 20th and it was only necessary to stop up a few apertures where roots of trees had been in the ground. This was accomplished in good time on that day. We might have marched on the 21st or 22nd but the wind was unfavorable and I let the men rest. Some helped in breaking down and removing the houses of Thomas Chambers and Jacob Jansen Stoll and put up six crossbeams for their barns. Towards evening of the 24th it began to clear up.<sup>26</sup>*

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26 Governor Stuyvesant's journey to Esopus 1658 was compiled and translated by Berthold Fernow in *The Magazine of American History* with notes and queries 2 (New York and Chicago: A.S. Barnes & Company, 1878), 540-547.

The Englishman, Thomas Chambers (ca. 1620-1694), has been credited as the one who taught the Dutch to make use of clapboards. Whether this is true or not, it is given some credence in the 1642 contract with Jan Jansz Scheppmoes, which specifies that Chambers would build a house at New Amsterdam sheathed all around in clapboards. As previously noted, he was known in some quarters as Thomas Clabbordt.

In September 1646, Chambers leased a farm in Rensselaerwyck on the east side of the river, within the limits of the present city of Troy. It appears that Director-General Stuyvesant requested he go to Esopus to manage construction there. He obtained a patent for about 76 acres of land in Esopus in 1653, which may be for the land he purchased from the Esopus tribe the previous year. He was the first of several colonists who purchased land in Esopus in the 1650s. Chambers was also one of the first people to move outside the stockade. In 1672, he received a grant from Governor Francis Lovelace elevating the title of his land to manor status, which referred to his "Mansion house called Fox Hall" lying not far from the Town of Kingston.<sup>27</sup>

Chambers had been or had become a man of wealth and status. He went on to hold a number of appointed positions in Wiltwyck and Kingston as settlement expanded up the Esopus Creek first to Nieuw Dorp (Hurley) and Marbletown. According to historian Marc Fried, "Chambers's life in the Esopus spanned over forty years. Having come here to build his home and farm when the Groote Esopus was still the domain of the Indian, Chambers helped the settlement survive the perils of Indian attack, and both as a private citizen and as a holder of local public office helped it to grow into the major agricultural community of the province. His services and industry were rewarded by wealth and prominence."<sup>28</sup>

Despite the English takeover that ended this era, established Dutch traditions and cultural expressions would continue for some time. With the ascent of Mary and William of Orange in 1689, Dutch fashion and design found favor in both England and North America.<sup>29</sup>

## 4.2 Preserving Dutch Cultural Identity after English Conquest 1664-1750

The Dutch West India Company had paid little attention to developing its American colony, which was an "incidental outpost" compared to their interests in Brazil and the Caribbean. When Peter Stuyvesant surrendered 8,000 subjects to the British in 1664, the Company had been barely able to resist Native raids and territorial claims by New England within its borders, much less confront a British fleet.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, it had been unsuccessful in attracting settlers away from the security and comforts enjoyed in the Fatherland. New Netherland had become a pawn in the long-standing Anglo-Dutch commercial rivalry. This competition led to a series of wars during the third quarter of the seventeenth century. It was during the third war that King Charles II of England reputedly decided to take over New Netherland because its traders made enforcement of the British Acts of Trade and Navigation difficult.<sup>31</sup> New Netherland was governed by a burger (merchant) aristocracy modeled on the Fatherland, and neither this leadership nor the populace was inclined to take up arms to defend New Amsterdam.

As part of the change of government, Articles of Capitulation on the Reduction of New Netherland were formalized, which granted Dutch residents the ability to follow their customs and worship in their own language.<sup>32</sup> Of the twenty-three articles, three are important to include here.

27 Mark Fried, *The Early History of Kingston & Ulster County, N.Y.* (Marbletown, NY: Ulster County Historical Society, 1974), 138.

28 Fried 1974, 143.

29 Lisa Jardine, *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory* (New York and London: Harper reprint, 2009). This is a seminal work, important for all students of colonial American culture.

30 Ellis 1967, 18.

31 Ellis 1967, 28.

32 Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York 2* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1858). 250-253.

3. All people shall still continue free denizens and enjoy their lands, houses, goods, ships wheresoever they are within the country, and dispose of them as they please.
6. It is consented to, that any people may freely come from the Netherlands and plant in this country, and that Dutch vessels may freely come hither, and any of the Dutch may freely return home, or send any sort of merchandise home in vessels of their own country.
19. If any soldiers will plant they will have 50 acres of land set out for them, if any of them will serve as servants, they shall continue with all safety, and become free denizens afterwards.

Some historians have pointed to this document as the basis for a prosperous Dutch community in harmony with the English. However, the Articles of Capitulation is a document stating the terms of the colonization of New Netherland by the English, no matter how polite and permissive it seems to be. Long standing Dutch-Anglo animosity along with resentments regarding Anglo colonization did as much (or more) to motivate the preservation of Dutch cultural identity than the rights granted by the Articles.

As an indication of how marginal the English conquest of New Netherland was in the greater scheme of things, the twentieth article of capitulation stated "If at any time hereafter the King of Great Britain and the States of the Netherland, do agree that this place and country be re-delivered into the hands of the said States whensoever his Majesty will send his commands to re-deliver it, it shall be immediately done." And when the States did repossess the colony a few years later, it was quickly returned to the English in a treaty.

The English continued the pattern of arbitrary government established by the Dutch West India Company, and the provincial governors following the conquest were not much more successful in quelling territorial threats or fostering settlement.<sup>33</sup> Dutch immigration virtually came to a halt, and most of their attention was focused on the fur trade and revenue from it, which was perennially less than hoped for when balanced against the expenses of defense. Merchants of the existing burger aristocracy were the principal Dutch characters involved in this drama, the country between New York and Albany, both immediately renamed by the English, being only sparsely settled with farms. Merchants who prospered most erected large brick houses modeled on those in Amsterdam built by artisans imported for the purpose; the wealthiest homes had orchards and tulip gardens in their back yards and fine furnishings and decorative arts inside.<sup>34</sup>

The Dutch merchants were perpetually at odds with the English governors over the various duties and imposts assessed to their trade and the lack of representation in local government. They protested and lobbied for a more democratic form of government and home rule until a general assembly was created under Governor Thomas Dongan in 1683. A Charter of Liberties and Privileges introduced that year allowed for an assembly of delegates elected by freeholders and freemen, although all laws passed were subject to the approval of the governor and the Duke of York. The charter also granted freedom of religion, the right to trial by jury, and a system of local and county courts. When the Duke became King James II in 1685, he disallowed the charter, asserting it provided too much power to the assembly. After James was dethroned in the Glorious Revolution, a populist rebellion led by Jacob Leisler in 1688 opposed the abolition of the assembly. The rebellion also opposed the monopoly on flour and milling held by New York merchants, New York's control of all trade, high taxes, the deteriorating economic situation, and James's plan to annex New York into greater New England. (For his part, Leisler was charged with treason and executed.)

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33 Ellis 1967, 29.

34 Ellis 1967, 20.

These events provide the first inkling of the growing conflict between the powerful merchants and the middling farmers in the countryside, most of them leaseholders on lands owned by the very same merchants. In addition to currying favor with the merchants by granting them greater status in governing the province, Gov. Thomas Dongan further strengthened this aristocracy by providing them with large land grants upriver. These land grants came with the caveat that the recipients populate them with new settlers. The economy of the colony could not improve without the production of more export products, and this growth depended on more people. It was at this point that wheat and its associated trade products, flour and bread, became a highly valuable commodity rivaling furs.

#### 4.2.I. Continuation of Slavery under the English

The first slave auction was held in New Amsterdam in 1655 shortly before the WIC established its first trading post in Guinea, on what became known as the Dutch Gold Coast, in 1660. Those enslaved by the Dutch before this were likely captured from rival colonial powers in other places. The nations trafficking in enslaved Africans, by order of magnitude, were the Portuguese, British, Spanish, French, Dutch and Danish.<sup>35</sup> From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, the Atlantic slave trade transported over twelve million Africans to the Americas, with approximately two million of those dying en route.<sup>36</sup>

The English perpetuated slavery after the 1664 conquest, which expanded rapidly in the New York colony as a trade-based agricultural economy developed and the labor provided by the enslaved lessened the costs of production. By this time, most farmers participating in the wheat economy would have owned at least one African laborer, with the merchant plantations spreading north up the Hudson Valley operating with a dozen or more. There were many more in the city. By 1703, over forty-two percent of Manhattan households contained enslaved persons working as domestic servants or as laborers, and skilled tradespeople. This percentage was higher than Boston or Philadelphia and second only to that in Charleston, South Carolina.<sup>37</sup> In 1711, a formal slave market was established at the end of Wall Street on the East River, and it operated until 1762.

Despite having been allowed certain rights and privileges in the early years of the Dutch Colony, by the middle of the seventeenth-century, slavery had hardened into a racial caste, with Africans and their future offspring determined the legal property of their owners. As property, enslaved people were considered merchandise or units of labor, and they were sold at markets with other goods and services.<sup>38</sup> The fear of enslaved Africans increased with their numbers, as well as dehumanizing prejudice against them as a race. In 1708, the New York Colonial Assembly passed an "Act for Preventing the Conspiracy of Slaves," which prescribed a death sentence for any slave who murdered or attempted to murder his or her master. This law, one of the first of its kind in Colonial America, was in part a reaction to the murder of William Hallet III and his family in Newtown, Queens. Another act, passed by the assembly in 1730, forbade more than three slaves to meet together at any time unless with the knowledge and for the benefit of their owners, under the penalty of forty lashes.

#### 4.2.II. City Architecture

Views of Manhattan and Albany published in the early 1700s provide a sense of the extent of development that occurred during the second half of the seventeenth century. None of the buildings pictured in these views are extant. However, several examples dating to the early eighteenth century remain in Albany and Schenectady, and a small number of late-seventeenth century structures survived long enough to have their exteriors recorded by artists and photographers. Because of the small number of examples available for study, less can be known with certainty about dwellings in the cities and their evolution during this period. Travelers' accounts and a small number of contracts for their construction, and early-twentieth-century documentation of a handful of additional examples provide descriptions to fill in some gaps.

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35 Herbert S. Klein & Jacob Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 139.

36 Ronald Segal, *The Black Diaspora: Five Centuries of the Black Experience Outside Africa* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1995), 4.

37 Adele Oltman, "The Hidden History of Slavery in New York," *The Nation* (7 November 2005).

38 Atlantic Slave Trade," [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Atlantic\\_slave\\_trade#cite\\_note-6](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Atlantic_slave_trade#cite_note-6) accessed online on 11 November 2020.

**Figure 15.** William Burgis, *The South Prospect of the City of New York in America*, 1716 (<https://www.princeton.edu/~graphicarts/index.html>).



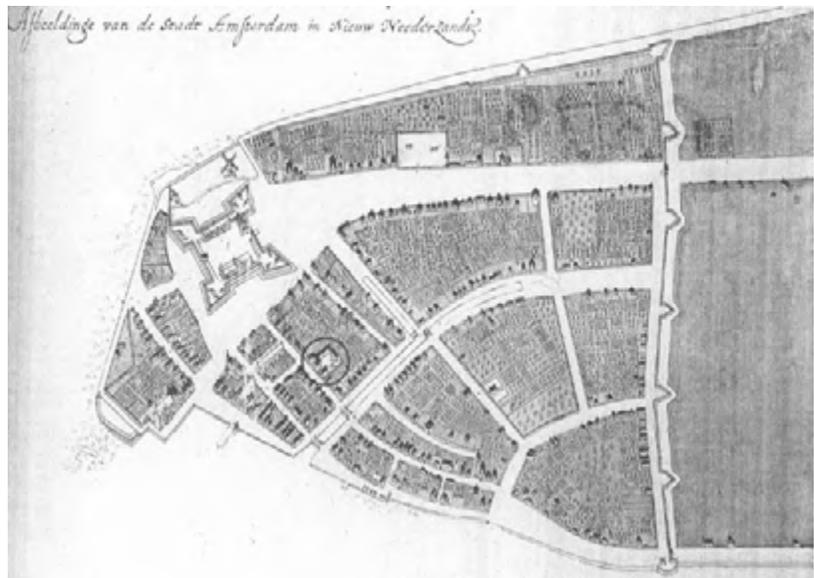
One of the earliest accounts of architecture in New York is that of Benjamin Bullivant, a Boston physician who visited there in 1697. He was entertained

by Benjamin Fletcher, the colonial governor, who took him to see the first Trinity Church, which was under construction at the time. The governor also introduced him to Abraham de Peyster, who had been mayor of New York from 1691 to 1695 and had a new residence that Bullivant termed “a noble building of the newest English fashion.” According to the doctor, the city’s “auncient buildings were very meane,” but “most of theyr new buildings are magnificent enough.”

*...ye fronts of red and yellow (or flanders) brick Lookeing very prettily, some of them are 6 stories high & built with a Gable end to ye front & so by Consequence make Very narrow garratts. the 3d story is usually a warehouse, and over it a Crane for hawleing up goods. The Lower part is comonly Very substantiall & neate. The Sealeing usually of well smoothed boards, betwixt Joyces as large as our Brest sumers & kept so cleane by frequent washing with soape & sand, that indeed makes the Roome very pleasant. The windows are high & large, as are the stories, ten or 12 foot ye first the casements of wood at bottom windows, and without, strong and thick shutters. The chimneys without Jawmes, hanging like the Topp of a pulpit, but usually a good rich fringed callico, or other stuffe halfe a yard deep at ye edges, with Dutch tyles on each side of the fire place, carried very High They also tyle theyr sides of ye staircase, and bottom of windows ... most bricked houses have ye date of the yeare on them, contrived of Iron cramps to hold in ye timber to the walls.<sup>39</sup>*

Through this man’s eyes, the transformation of New Amsterdam – with its small-scale, semi-permanent architecture modeled by the simple specifications of the WIC into English-governed New York, with a prospering merchant class ready to live up to their elite status – is documented. From Bullivant’s account, the first wave of rebuilding was in the traditional Dutch mode of architecture, characterized by multi-story front-gable brick houses with stores at street level and attic warehouses, was preserved, but at a new enlarged and aggrandized scale that he associated with the English.

**Figure 16.** Detail of Costello Plan of New Amsterdam, 1660. The site of Oloff Van Cortlandt’s home and brewery is circled (as published in Eric Homberger, *The Historical Atlas of New York City* (NY: Holt, 1994, 33).



The Costello Plan of New Amsterdam, first drawn in 1660, depicts the layout of houses and gardens at the time. The house and brewery of Oloff Stephensen Van Cortlandt was located on Brower, later Stone, Street just east of the fort and west of the Heere Gracht, or canal (Figure 16). A few descriptions of this property have been published, and while their veracity is questionable, they sustain the image of the Dutch architectural style, which is entirely plausible since Oloff

<sup>39</sup> Wayne Andrews, ed. “A Glance at New York in 1697: The Travel Diary of Dr. Benjamin Bullivant,” *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 40 (January 1956), 55-73.

Stevenson was among the first generation of Dutch colonists in New Amsterdam. In his *Reminiscences of the City of New York and Its Vicinity*, Henry Dawson wrote that the Van Cortlandts lived in “a good old double stone house, with little windows, immense fire places, and a steeple roof.”<sup>40</sup> In another account, Mrs. John King Van Rensselaer referred to having seen a contract for building the house. She did not reveal what was in the contract and described the edifice only as a “quaint-looking house... built after the custom of Patria, with glazed bricks imported from Amsterdam... [and the] roof sloping with the gable end to the street, a fashion that struck all foreigners with astonishment...”<sup>41</sup> Van Rensselaer also wrote, “Not satisfied with her pleasant town-house, Madame Van Cortlandt... influenced her husband to purchase thirty morgens of land on the Hudson River, overlooking the Kloch, at Canoe Place... and when purchased, March 12, 1646, was a beautiful rural retreat, with a magnificent view of the harbor and Hudson River.”<sup>42</sup>

Oloff Stephensen Van Cortlandt died in 1684. During the lifetimes of his two sons, Stephanus and Jacobus Van Cortlandt, New York expanded greatly, and many of its new buildings reflected the maturing of the city’s social establishment and the spread of the Classical architectural taste in Europe and its colonies. One traveler remarked in 1744 on how the city was taking form, but the enduring presence of the old Dutch style still “astonished” him.

The city makes a very fine appearance for above a mile all along the [East] river, and here lies a great deal of shipping... I found the city less in extent, but by the stir and frequency upon the streets, more populous than Philadelphia. I saw more shipping in the harbour. The houses are more compact and regular, and in general higher built, most of them after the Dutch model, with their gavell [sic] ends fronting the street. There are a few built of stone; more of wood, but the greatest number of brick, and a great many covered with pantile and glazed tile with the year of God when built figured out with plates of iron, upon the fronts of several of them. The streets in general are but narrow and not regularly disposed. The best of them run parallel to the river, for the city is built all along the water, in general.<sup>43</sup>

A few years later, Peter Kalm visited the city and astutely described the changing scene. He saw that some dwellings “had, in the old style, turned the gable end toward the street; but the new houses were altered in this respect. Many of the houses had a balcony on the roof, on which the people used to sit evenings in the summer season; and from thence they had a pleasant view of a great part of the town, and likewise a part of the adjacent water and the opposite shore.”<sup>44</sup>

Historian J. Ritchie Garrison has provided a good explanation of the Anglo-Dutch sources of Baroque Classicism in New York architecture at the end of the seventeenth century in his stylistic analysis of the Philipse manor house in Yonkers.<sup>45</sup> In the report, he illustrated the architectural shift occurring in the city with a comparison of details from city views dated 1678 and 1717. The former depicts buildings in the Dutch urban style with their characteristic gable fronts. The latter shows many more houses in a “new” style with their gables turned away from the street and wide symmetrical front facades (Figure 17).

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40 Henry B. Dawson, ed., *Reminiscences of the City of New York and Its Vicinity* (New York, 1855), 96.

41 Mrs. John King van Rensselaer, *The Goede Vrouw of Mana-ha-ta: At Home and in Society, 1609-1760* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1898), 30-31. A contract for the construction of the house where “each detail of the house is mentioned,” has not been located.

42 *Ibid.*, 33. This perhaps refers to the property between Broadway and the river in the city’s West Ward where the Van Cortlandts are said to have resided prior to the Revolutionary War.

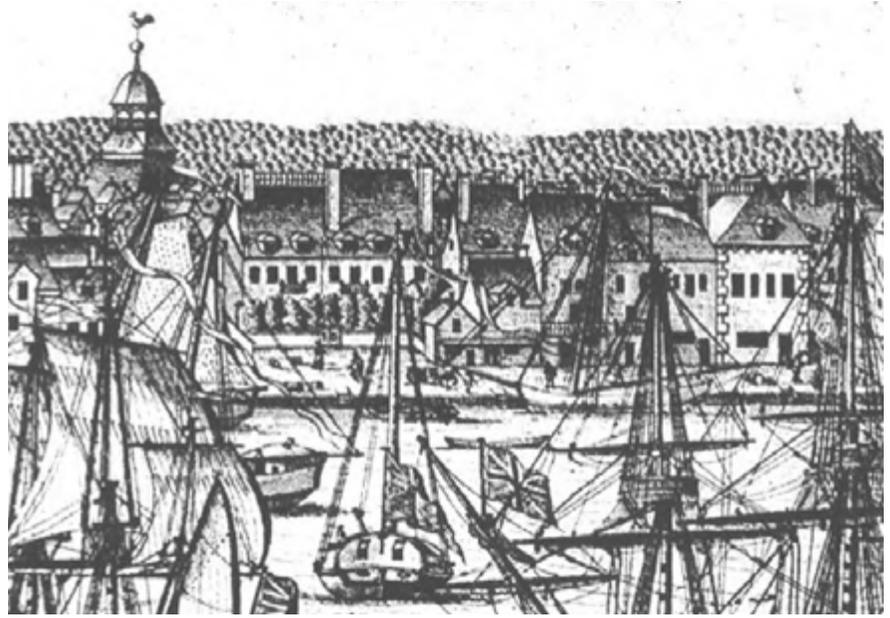
43 Alexander Hamilton, *Hamilton’s Itinerarium* [1744] (reprint edition, New York: Arno Press, 1971), 48 and 51.

44 Adolf B. Benson, ed., *Peter Kalm’s Travels in North America 2* (New York: Dover Publications, 1966), 32.

45 This as yet unpublished report was prepared for New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Taconic Regional Office, June 2005.

**Figure 17.** Detail of William Burgis's view of the city, 1717 (as published in J. Ritchie Garrison, "Philipse Manor Hall" (Philipse Manor Hall State Historic Site).

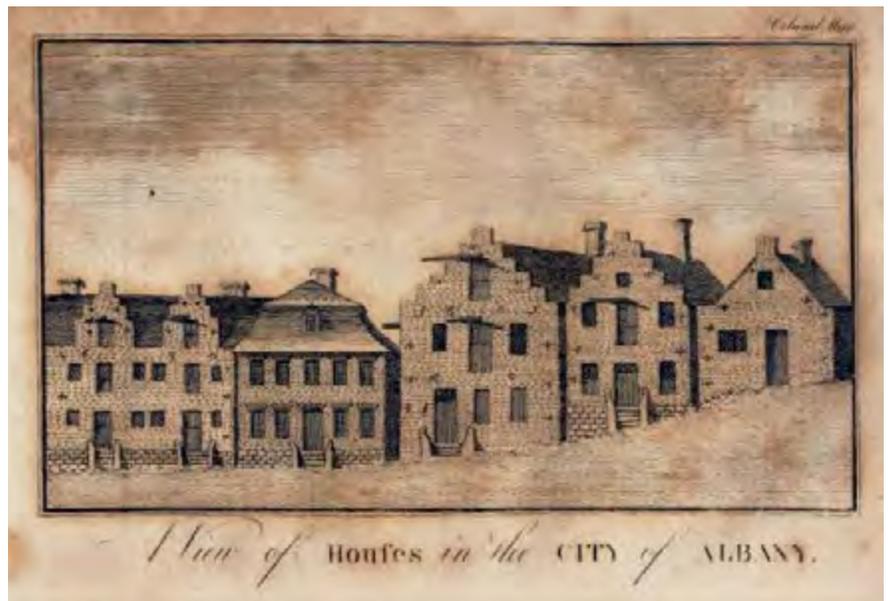
While many historians in the past have considered this change in architecture and material culture as evidence of the assimilation of the Dutch in New York, their conclusions are simplistic and overtly Anglocentric. Recent scholars, like Garrison, have recognized that there were competing cultural identities in New York – even within families and individuals – and that Classicism was not the sole domain of the English. New York society retained a vibrant and dominating Dutch character in the eighteenth century that



was driven by conflicting preservation and modernizing instincts. The genteel Classical taste was adopted conditionally and pragmatically by the elite merchant class in both their city and country houses.

Urban house forms became increasingly varied during this period, with models based upon English and continental sources being constructed in New York and Albany (Figure 18 thru Figure 20). Beginning in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the house with the gabled end to the street was expanded with a side wing, occupying what was formerly garden space. This type of addition became common in Albany and Schenectady, with several examples remaining in the Schenectady stockade (Figure 21).

**Figure 18.** A view published in 1789, showing the south side of State Street in Albany (Collection of W. R. Wheeler). The house at the left, the double Schuyler-Staats House, bears anchor irons with the date "1690"; the Stevens House, constructed during the Revolution with a gambrel roof, is shown next right, and the Harmanus Wendell House, bearing irons that give a date of 1703 (the building actually bore the date 1716), is adjacent, to the right.



**Figure 19.** House formerly at 178 William Street, New York (Valentine's Manual).



**Figure 20.** The J. V. N. Yates House, 106 State Street, Albany. A dwelling whose form bears close resemblance to rowhouses of the period that survive in smaller English cities, with its hipped gambrel roof and side passage entrance, it was torn down in 1855 (Joel Munsell, *Annals of Albany* 7. Albany: J. Munsell, 1856).



**Figure 21.** (Right) The Abraham Yates House, Union Street, Schenectady, 1725 (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2008).

Engravings and drawings document the apparent prevalence of the stepped gable brick-fronted house in the late seventeenth century, with a gradual transition of preference to "spout" gables with vlechtingen, beginning in the early eighteenth century (Figure 23). Vlechtingen (alternatively called tumbling, mouse-toothing or braiding), is a method by which the brick at a parapet wall's edge are angled so that they do not have their cut edges exposed to the weather; the result is a decorative pattern that is woven into the edge of gable end walls (Figure 22).



**Figure 22.** Gable end wall of the Luykas van Alen House, Kinderhook, 1737 (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2006). The vlechtingen finishing the top edges of the roof can be seen here, together with anchor irons bearing the date of construction of the house, and paired and single casement sash with board shutters supported with pad hinges.



Surviving building contracts from this period record a surprising variety of house forms, with variation in the number of rooms and hearths, chimney locations, the presence or absence of an "outlet," or lean-to, the forms of fireplaces, and beams with and without corbels. The short-hand nature of specifications means that generally understood or agreed upon aspects of construction were either not recorded or if so, only in general detail, and so reconstructions based upon these documents are highly conjectural.

With the advent of English control of the colony and the subsequent

**Figure 23.** (Right) "Dutch Architecture—The Old House in Broad-Street," by A. J. Davis, engraved by Mason (*The New-York Mirror* 8: 1 (10 July 1830)). A mixed-use building constructed, according to date irons, in 1698. The relieving arches used on the upper floor windows are a feature that fell out of use by the early eighteenth century. Other details, such as central loading doors, anchor irons, sometimes incorporating dates or initials, and steeply pitched roofs with gable wall entries remained common in new urban construction through the second quarter of the eighteenth century.



chartering of several towns and cities in the later seventeenth century, the beginnings of a system of local governing bodies were established.

Although some ordinances had been in place during the period of Dutch rule, in urbanized areas local governments enacted an increasing number of laws that resulted in the standardization of aspects of the design of urban buildings, such as chimneys and their material, siting, and fireproofing through use of brick and of tile or slate roofs. Chimney viewers and other appointees ensured compliance with these new regulations. What follows is a partial text of ordinances respecting Albany passed in 1676, as well as two building contracts.

2. *It is also expressly ordered that no new streets shall be laid out or new houses shall be erected until such time as all empty and vacant spaces in the old streets have been completely occupied and built upon. Also, that no houses shall be erected before the corner houses [have been built]; and in the case the owners of some lots do not wish to build, nor will allow others to do so at a reasonable price, especially when needed, all such vacant or empty places in the aforesaid old streets shall by order of the magistrates be appraised by impartial men and be allotted to such suitable persons as apply therefor, provided they pay the amount of the appraisal to the owners, in which case they shall be held to build upon them at once, without delay.*
3. *All new buildings fronting on the street shall be substantial dwelling houses, not less than 2 rooms deep [niet minder als 2 kamers in't vierkant; literally, not less than 2 rooms square] and not less than 18 feet wide, being built in front on the street of brick or quarry stone and covered with tiles, the commissaries intending and desiring that this provision be strictly observed and ordering the sheriff to keep an eye thereon and to fine those who violate the same according to the exigency of the case.<sup>46</sup>*

- *Contract of Tierck Harmensen [Visscher] to build a house for Hendrick Rooseboom, probably Albany, 27 November 1683*

*a small house about eighteen feet in length and ten feet in width, next to and on the south of said Rooseboom's house, the timbers to be let into the large house. [The small house] is to have a standing gable and Tierck is to lay therein a garret floor and [main ] floor of his own boards; Tierck must also furnish all the lumber for the floor timbers and all the woodwork of the whole house, including the boards and strips for a tile roof; furthermore he is to make a back door with a light over the door, a chimney mantel and a window with transom and mullion and a doorframe in the front gable, which is to be made of match boards; but if said house can be made longer or wider according to the dimensions of the ground, then the contract price shall raised pro rata; for which said contractor shall receive after the work is done, all at the expense of the said contractor, nine good whole merchantable beavers ... but if said house be completed by the first of May 1684 the contractor shall be therefore ten whole beavers, and if by the first of May it shall not be completed then he shall not have more than eight whole beavers; provided that the garret floor and [main] floor shall not be laid before the boards are seasoned."<sup>47</sup>*

- *Contract written by William Bogardus for work by Adolph Pietersen, location unknown, 28 February 1692/3 Memorandum.*

46 A. J. F. Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Minutes of the Court of Albany, Rensselaerswyck and Schenectady, 1675-1680, Volume 2* (Albany, NY: The University of the State of New York, 1928), 136.

47 A. J. F. Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Early Records of the City and County of Albany and Colony of Rensselaerswyck, Volume 3* (Albany, NY: The University of the State of New York, 1918), 565-566.

*For contracting with the carpenter about making a small house [probably an out kitchen], next to my house. Is to be about 14 feet wide and 28 feet long.*

*First to prepare the beams and properly trim them, and to lay them for making a double chimney; the beams with one end in my wall, with two mantels to each chimney, as said little house must be erected two squares above the cellar. And to make gables as well in front as in rear, as per the model, all with doorposts, doors, windows and frames belonging to the same.*

*Inside work. Lay 3 floors tight with props, planing the boards; to make a small winding staircase to go from the first square to the room, and also one to the loft, and to wainscot the winding staircase tightly below, so that the same can be used for a little closet as far as possible; a door and a small stairs to get into the cellar [in the margin: to wainscot the innermost square with boards, and a door and door frame belonging thereto.] To wainscot the hallway in the cellar by overlapping boards.*

*To make the roof strong enough to be covered with tiles, and also a double gutter between my dwelling and said little house, with a dormer window in the same, in order to be able to look into said gutter or to go to the same.*

*To make on Jacobus de Haert's side a gutter, which must rest on my wall because I am building to the outer most limit of my property; to set off the small space of ground behind the little house with overlapping boards and to build a small toilet room on said small piece of ground.*

*And in case any trifles should have been forgotten, which notwithstanding being carpenter's work, and appertaining to said little house, and now had been forgotten to be mentioned, the carpenters shall be obliged to make the same for the amount they have contracted for. But for doing extraordinary work, not included in this contract, or whereof no mention has been made, they shall receive payment for the same. And also if anything should be omitted, the same shall be valued by us. Not being able to agree we shall jointly name arbitrators who shall do the same, and we shall mutually be satisfied therewith.*

[The following Nota had been crossed out: Nota. The wood for the door frames has already been prepared and fitted as can be seen, which greatly helps the carpenters or contractors.]

*In regard to the above mentioned work we have agreed that the contractor Adolf Pietersen, shall receive for the same the amount of £15 or 600 guilders. But in case the principal finds, after the job has been finished, that he has earned more on the same, still 50 guilders, or 25 shillings more, shall be paid to the carpenter.<sup>48</sup>*

#### 4.2.III. Manors and Patents

More than thirty patents or manors were granted by the English by the end of the seventeenth century, most of them under the governorship of Thomas Dongan. A few were modeled after Rensselaerwyck, an expansive patroonship centered on Beverwyck (Albany) and spanning the Hudson River for miles, which was granted to Amsterdam merchant Killian Van Rensselaer by the Dutch West India Company in 1629. Like the English later, the desired outcome of the land grant was to stimulate settlement. A patroonship, or manor in English parlance, was an independent civil entity governed by a patroon or lord. It was based on medieval European practice. The land and its population of leaseholders were under the lord's economic and social control, and their labor and production devoted to the benefit of the manor and its lord. Powerful and well-connected merchant families, many of them Dutch, such as the Van Rensselaers, Philipses, Van Cortlandts, and Livingstons—the latter "Dutch" by association and marriage—established manors on their lands.

48 A. J. Van Laer (attrib.), "Translation of Insert in Dutch in A. Cortlandt Van Rensselaer Family Bible." Typescript copy in possession of the authors.

The land provided natural resources, such as forestry products, minerals, and other trade goods, but its principal value was the potential for agricultural production to increase the colony's international wheat trade. Settlers were crucial to expanding this economy, which progressed slowly through the end of the seventeenth century.

In the manor model, the lord or patroon, whose principal residence was in either New York or Albany, would establish a country estate centered on a manor house in a cultivated setting of gardens, orchards, and farm, usually with a prospect of the Hudson River where a landing provided a vital link between the country and the city. Parts of the manor farther inland were surveyed to identify areas for extractive and industrial development and for productive farmland. Road systems were laid out to link these inland areas with the manor house and the river. Farm sites were created and sometimes dwellings and barns were built to attract tenants. In most other cases, a section of land containing about 100 acres was conveyed in a leasehold to a settler, with specifications for dwellings and barns to be built by the tenant with expenses credited to lease payments. Lease payments to the lord took the form of wheat grain, chickens, and other farm produce. The manor had its own mill, at least after the city's monopoly on milling and bolting was broken in 1695, where it ground tenants' wheat for a fee, as well as the lord's own. Some manors had bakehouses to make bread for market and provisioning trading ships.

Part of the manor, typically the best farmland, was reserved for the lord's plantation, which could amount to as many as 1,000 acres. There he grew his own wheat with the labor of enslaved Africans, and a few, if any, indentured servants. African women and children had roles in maintaining the manor house and its grounds, dairy, orchards, gardens, and livestock, as well as providing meals and services to other enslaved. The lord was on the manor only occasionally, leaving much of the responsibility of running the plantation to his enslaved people under the supervision of his wife, who resided on the manor more permanently.

At the turn of the eighteenth century, as the wheat trade increased and became the basis of the colonial economy, many New York merchants, both Dutch and English, obtained patents to smaller amounts of land where they created plantations as well. All of them relied on enslaved labor, and it was this increasing demand for labor that ushered in New York's significant role in the slave trade. The practice of English governors making huge manor grants to their cronies, which never resulted in a commensurate increase in settlement, was abolished in favor of smaller patents, which were given to the same circle of merchants. However, the surveying of wilderness areas, and the partitioning of lots for partners, creating farm parcels for lease or sale with an infrastructure of roads linking them, took decades to accomplish before the first settlers arrived. In some cases, the original patentees had died before their lands were developed.

These lands were gradually populated by the natural increase of existing families, most of them Dutch, coming south from Albany, east from Kingston, and north from Long Island and New Jersey. New Englanders made their way west across the disputed boundaries between Massachusetts and Connecticut (both colonies asserted their western boundaries were limitless). An event that changed the demographics of the region, particularly on the east side of the river, was the arrival of Palatine refugees in 1710, first to a settlement in Newburgh and then to camps on Robert Livingston's manor. Queen Anne paid for the resettlement of the Palatines with the expectation of them justifying the cost by producing naval stores in New York. That endeavor failed in a little more than a year, and the Palatines and their offspring spread out from the camps and obtained leaseholds on the Livingston Manor and surrounding patents. Their labors contributed mightily to the colony's wheat trade.

#### **4.2.IV. Manor Houses**

The first manor houses, at least those that are known, differed little from other houses in the colony, except that they were larger because of the higher status of their occupants and their need to serve civic and other commercial functions, such as warehouses or stores, as the center of the manor community. The patroon's house at Rensselaerwyck, first built in the 1640s, was bent-framed in the traditional Dutch manner with, according to the reading of historic documents by Henk Zantkuijl, a dwelling room and a kitchen divided by a chimney with fireplaces. The plan was elongated to also contain a store, jail cell, and a large warehouse in which church services were held.<sup>49</sup> Although superseded in 1765 by a seven-bay wide gambrel-roofed dwelling, this structure remained as a local landmark until its removal in 1837.

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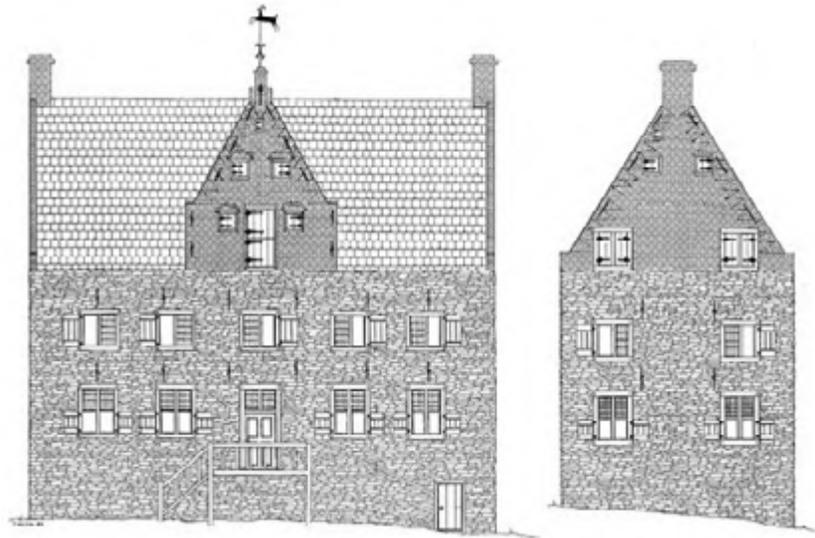
49 Venema 2003, 208-212.

In Yonkers in the 1670s, Frederick Philipse built or adapted a one-room-plan stone house for his manor house. When Barent Coeymans obtained his patent south of Albany in 1673, he erected a brick house, not unlike houses being built for merchants in Albany at that time. Houses of like design were built by the Van Rensselaer family in Claverack on land they were granted in 1648, or by their neighbor Jan Franz Van Hoesen on his patent in 1664.

As the seventeenth century came to a close and the English colony became more entrenched and its merchants wealthier, the standard for domestic architecture was raised. Design became less provincial and identified with the more sophisticated “new” architecture of the New York merchants’ European peers. Yet, like city houses, the design of manor houses reflected the identity dilemma faced by Dutch merchants closely associated with the English. Some manor and plantation houses built in the country at the turn of the eighteenth century were “new” in design, with symmetrical exteriors and plans and ornamented interiors, such as the Philipse Manor House in Yonkers, although Dutch construction methods often prevailed. Completed ca. 1740 by Frederick Philipse II, the house is a rare survivor but one that clearly epitomizes the elite design and decoration favored by some Dutch merchants. The house was constructed of stone and has a two-story, single-pile L-shaped plan with two principal rooms divided by a center passage in the front and a dining room and kitchen in the wing. The five-bay front façade is somewhat out of symmetry, having been assembled in two stages. Philipse’s cousin and neighbor Frederick Van Cortlandt built a stone mansion in the Bronx in 1749, very similar in design, with sash windows trimmed with rubbed brick, a treatment popular in England.

Yet, the old style remained very much alive. After his death, Barent Coeymans’ daughter erected a massive, stone mansion adjacent to his modest manor house around 1701 (Figure 24). The two-story house is elevated on a tall basement and has a single-pile plan with two rooms divided by a center passage on both floors and a kitchen in the basement. The house was emphatically Dutch in appearance, perhaps because of its proximity to Albany rather than to New York, with a steep gable roof and prominent dormer, parapet gables with tumbled brick edging, jambless fireplaces, and casement windows. Its two-story, five-bay front façade is its principal concession to the new taste.<sup>50</sup> Robert Livingston’s manor house across the river, built in 1686, is believed to have been similar in design.

**Figure 24.** *Reconstruction elevations of the Samuel & Ariantje Coeymans House, ca. 1701, Coeymans, Albany County. Drawing by Thomas Nelson, 1986 (reproduced in Roderic H. Blackburn & Ruth Piwonka. Remembrance of Patria, Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America, 1609-1776 [Albany NY: Albany Institute of History & Art, 1988, 132].*



Other manor and plantation houses took their cue from the farmhouse architecture spreading out throughout the New York region. One of their defining features, readily distinguishable from the English, is their story-and-a-half scale, which was characteristically Dutch and anti-elite.

However, they were larger than the common farmhouse, indicating their higher status, with double-pile, center-hall plans, kitchens in basements or wings (to isolate domestic enslaved people), and broad galleries, such as Van Cortlandt Manor House in Croton, built in 1732 (Figure 25). The main distinction between elite and middling houses in the period was scale (two stories versus one-and-a-half) and more than two or three rooms, permitting differentiation of uses including entertainment spaces like dining rooms and bed chambers for guests.

<sup>50</sup> Roderic H. Blackburn & Ruth Piwonka, *Remembrance of Patria, Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America, 1609- 1776* (Albany NY: Albany Institute of History & Art, 1988), 132.

**Figure 25.** *Stephanus Van Cortlandt Manor House, ca. 1730, Croton, Westchester County* (<https://www.crotononhudson-ny.gov/historical-society/pages/van-cortlandt-manor>).

A description of Henry Ludlow's plantation house near Tappan was published in a sale advertisement in 1741, and it read as follows:

*New Stone-House of 50 foot long, 32 wide, a Store[y] and half high, with Sash Lights, 4 Rooms on a Floore, an Entry 10 foot wide, with a New Stone Kitchen adjoining to the said Dwelling House of 20 foot Square, and a Cellar from one end to the other...<sup>51</sup>*



This description does not reflect the new designs that were sweeping through the city; rather, it is consistent with the best "Dutch" farm dwellings, either with a gable or gambrel roof, found throughout the New York vicinity in the lower Hudson Valley, western Long Island, and northern New Jersey (Figure 26).

**Figure 26.** *Big House (Henry Ludlow House), ca. 1740, Palisades, Rockland County. View of South façade, 1937 (HABS NY 44PL, 1- 1).*

When the English granted patents on the east side of the river, and the enormous Evans Patent on the west side was voided in 1694 and re-granted in smaller lots of 1,000 acres or so, plantations multiplied and spread northward. A significant example is Lithgow in Dutchess County, built ca. 1760 for David Johnstone, a New York merchant and heir to the lands of David Jamison, one of the original proprietors of the Nine Partners Patent, granted in 1697. Jamison was an immigrant from Linlithgow in Scotland, homeland of Robert Livingston, and was a Chief Justice of New Jersey and Attorney General of the Province of New York, as well as a warden of Trinity Church; Johnstone was his grandson. Johnstone's 1,000-acre plantation remained essentially intact until recently, with a story-and-a-half, wood-frame house with a gambrel roof and a front gallery (Figure 27). Its plan is nearly identical to the Ludlow House including a kitchen ell (since replaced with a larger addition in the twentieth century).



**Figure 27.** *Lithgow, David Johnstone House, ca. 1760, Millbrook, Dutchess County* (Photo by Neil Larson, 2018).

Plantation houses are an important category of eighteenth-century domestic architecture in the Hudson Valley, and they warrant further inventory and study as both physical and cultural landmarks to the region's wheat plantation system. These large merchant farms associated with New York's landed aristocracy also extended north and west.



51 New-York Weekly Journal, 31 May 1741, 391:4.

Albany merchant Philip Schuyler controlled 24,000 acres of land his father Johannes Schuyler had acquired as a partner in the Saratoga Patent in 1684. Farm buildings from that period were destroyed during the Revolution; Philip built a new manor house in 1777. Sir William Johnson controlled thousands of acres in the Mohawk Valley, and his first and second manor houses survive as landmarks to his role in the early history of that region.

#### 4.2.V. Dutch Farmhouses

Governor Benjamin Fletcher, whose term of office ran from 1692 to 1698, made many land grants in the Hudson Valley, some of them quite extravagant and favoring members of the provincial congress and prominent merchants in his circle. By one account, three-quarters of the province had been placed in the hands of about 30 persons. While a number of the largest patents were later voided, like the 500,000-acre grant on the west side of the Hudson that Fletcher made to his associate Captain John Evans in 1694, the opening of land between New York and Albany provided a significant boost to settlement. However, this growth was the result of the natural increase of Dutch moving out of Albany, Kingston, and New York, including western Long Island and northern New Jersey. The only immigrants would be the Palatine German refugees arriving in Newburgh and on Livingston Manor in 1710, who affiliated themselves with the Dutch culturally and politically, and refugees from Northern Ireland, who settled in the Hudson Highlands in 1729. The Huguenots, many of them also refugees from the Palatinate, were an earlier immigrant group who settled in Wiltwyck (Kingston) and the new towns of Hurley and New Paltz in the 1660s.

Three distinct Dutch cultural areas developed as new generations of Dutch moved out into the countryside beyond the three city centers. By 1720, as these communities grew and matured, each had developed a distinctive type of farmhouse architecture. Each preserved the traditional form and plan of the small Dutch house that existed in the cities as well as distinguishing characteristics of bent framing, jambless fireplaces, casement windows, divided doors, stoops, and warehouses in the garret. Initially, the urban front-gable house was replicated, but once free of the restrictions of narrow lot frontages, farmhouses presented their long sides to the road creating the appearance of a more substantial mass and allowing access to interior spaces directly from the exterior. Houses with one-, two- and three-room plans were built, often in two or three-generational stages, to achieve the full extent of a hall-parlor-kitchen plan. Plans could have rooms on different levels with kitchens partially submerged in basements, often with access at grade, with a private room (*opkamer*) above it. Country merchants had their stores in the fronts of their houses in the Dutch manner. Some of the best houses had still larger plans and more rooms in wings. Eventually, the common linear plan was expanded in the rear by the addition of shed extensions akin to the side aisles of early urban houses or by adding rear rooms under an enlarged roof. These traditional Dutch houses were the principal mode of fashion in their communities until the generation after the Revolutionary War.

The three regions had their defining characteristics. Farmhouses in the Albany region, including Schenectady, were the most fastidious in maintaining the appearance of the Dutch houses imported from the Netherlands based on the two-room plan dwelling, with wood bent framing sheathed with weatherboards or, after about 1720, encased with brick, steep gable roofs with decorative brickwork on the ends, and fireplaces in a chimney between the rooms (Figure 28). With facades reoriented from a gable end to the longer eave's wall, each room had an entrance. Kitchens were in wings, in basements, or in outbuildings physically and symbolically isolating the enslaved from the family. Others maintained the front-gable orientation and the urban plan (Figure 29). By the 1750s new farmhouses began to get larger, some elevated to two-stories, some with deeper plans under a gambrel roof. They reflected the growing prosperity of the farm as well as a determination to preserve a Dutch identity. The lesser dwellings of laborers and tradesmen, built of wood frame or logs, seldom contained more than a single room, and they have proven to be impermanent. The Mabee House in Rotterdam is a significant geographical and architectural landmark of early eighteenth-century rural development moving west from Schenectady (Figure 30).

**Figure 28.** *The Luykas van Alen House, Kinderhook, Columbia County, 1737 (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2019).*



**Figure 29.** *Pieter Winne House, Bethlehem, Albany County (ca. 1723), as restored (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2006).*



**Figure 30.** *Mabee House, Rotterdam, Schenectady County. The stone house was built in two stages (ca. 1705 and 1761), and the adjacent brick kitchen was constructed ca. 1767 (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2014).*



Outside of Kingston, in Ulster and western Dutchess counties, the incremental three-room plan Dutch farmhouse was either built in a wood frame with bent construction or in stone with massive ceiling beams.<sup>52</sup> The seventeenth-century front-gable house was reproduced

in new towns such as Hurley, New Paltz, and Rhinebeck. Stone was the material used in the best (and most enduring) farmhouses and is the defining material of Dutch farmhouses in the mid-Hudson Valley region (Figure 31 thru Figure 33). Types of stone utilized in the construction of these houses varied with the locations of deposits of bluestone, limestone, and the ever-present fieldstone left by the retreating glacier.

<sup>52</sup> Initially, Dutchess County was under the jurisdiction of Ulster County.

Among the ethnic Dutch there was a large Huguenot cohort. Driven from France due to religious hostilities, the Huguenots by the thousands spread out across the world with groups settling in New York, as well as every other American colony. Many of the families who settled in Ulster County had come from the Palatinate region along the Rhine. They do not appear to have expressed a cultural preference in domestic architecture, although they introduced building features that have been associated with the Palatines, notably bank houses with basement kitchens and stove heating. After the failure of Queen Anne's bargain, by which Palatine refugees were transported from England to Livingston Manor to work producing naval stores for the crown, scores of Palatine families spread out into Rhinebeck and to lands north of Kingston where they established farms and affiliated with the extended Dutch community. They favored embanked two-room- plan dwellings with basement kitchens. Later they migrated west into the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys in search of freeholds; from there some continued down the Susquehanna River into Pennsylvania.<sup>53</sup>

**Figure 31.** *Bevier-Elting House, early 1700s, New Paltz, Ulster County. A rare surviving example of a front-gable and unusual for its stone construction* (<https://www.huguenotstreet.org/bevier-elting>).



**Figure 32.** *Stone houses in Hurley with side wall facades oriented to street in the manner generally adopted by rural houses in the eighteenth century. Image shows a variety of wood siding in gables, typical in Ulster County* (<https://activerain.com/blog/view/2390241/town-of-hurley-ny-annual-stone-house-tour-saturday-july-10th>).



53 "The enterprise which they were brought over in 1710 to prosecute was designed to furnish a screen of protective settlements on the frontier as well as to produce naval stores for the empire. Its failure, due, by the way, to the twists and turns of "politics" in England, gave New York such a bad name among the compatriots of "poor, distressed Palatines" in Europe, that the benefit of this very large and important migration in early and middle eighteenth century fell to Pennsylvania, rather than to New York. A few "Palatines" did, it is true, move into the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys and did yeoman service at Oriskany in the Revolution. But with due appreciation of this achievement, it cannot be said that these "Mohawk Dutch" have figured in the history of New York State in anything like the important way that the "Pennsylvania Dutch" have figured in the annals of our neighbor state." Charles Worthen Spencer, "The Land System of Colonial, New York," Proceedings of the New York Historical Association 16 (1917), 162.

**Figure 33.** *Steenberg's Tavern, ca. 1750, Rhinebeck, Dutchess County. House built in the Palatine tenant manner with two-room plan and a basement kitchen at grade in a rear corner (<http://docs.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/frdcsb1.html>).*



**Figure 34.** *Madam Brett Homestead, ca. 1709, Beacon, Dutchess County. In 1708 Catheryna Brett inherited 28,000 acres in the Rombout Patent granted to her grandfather William Teller. The house reflects the design and exterior materials (wood shingles) developed on Long Island ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madam\\_Brett\\_Homestead](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madam_Brett_Homestead)).*



**Figure 35.** *Van Wyck Homestead, 1757, Fishkill, Dutchess County. The wing is reputed to be an earlier house built in 1732. Wood frame houses such as this were prevalent in southern Dutchess County where the majority of settlers came from eastern Long Island and New Jersey (<http://www.fishkillhistoricalalso-ciety.org/>).*



Dutch farmhouses at the southern end of the valley show design traditions associated with New York and western Long Island on the east side (Westchester County) and northern New Jersey on the west side (Rockland County). In both cases, houses surviving from the early eighteenth century are organized around the traditional two-room urban plan with fireplaces in the center with a third room (kitchen) set apart in a smaller end wing. Wood-frame buildings with shingled exteriors were the norm in New York, western Long Island, and Westchester County; clapboards being more common in Rockland County. Wood shingle was a material the Dutch shared with the New Englanders occupying eastern Long Island. Stone was used in walls where local deposits were quarried in Brooklyn and on Staten Island. Brick exteriors were rare, although brick fireplace backs expressed on the exterior of gable ends were common on frame houses. Clay for brick manufacture and brownstone were plentiful on the west side of the river, and premium farmhouses were constructed with both. In that early period, the stone was usually left undressed; after 1750, quarried and dressed stone and brick were used to great effect. It was not until after 1750 that plans were enlarged with rooms in the rear covered by a gable or gambrel roof. On both sides of the river, eaves sweeping across front and rear galleries became a popular feature, which distinguished houses in the southern part of the valley from the others, although not until later in the eighteenth century. Likewise, houses with side-passage plans came into fashion, a feature shared with English communities on eastern Long Island, in the Hudson Highlands, and New Jersey.

**Figure 36.** *DeWint House, ca. 1700, Tappan, Rockland County. The stone house with brick front and gable ends exhibits the preference for brick and sweeping eaves in the county ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/DeWint\\_House#/media/File:DeWint\\_House\\_Tappan.JPG](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/DeWint_House#/media/File:DeWint_House_Tappan.JPG)).*



Throughout the Hudson Valley, the Dutch farmhouse was a landmark of the Dutch presence wherever it appeared. Spanning more than a century beginning with the English conquest in 1664 and still being constructed after the end of the Revolutionary War, by the end of this period there were thousands of them, together defining the territory of New York's Dutch heritage. While the cities and their Dutch merchants appropriated features of

elite architecture and lifestyles from the English government establishment, Dutch farmers were driven to create and sustain Dutch communities in defiance of English colonization. (The Dutch in New York may have been the only European settlement to be colonized by another.) There is little political rhetoric on the record, but the Dutch were known to have "kept politics lively and contentious" in the provincial assembly.<sup>54</sup> The image of the Dutch has been colored by the accounts of outsiders traveling through the region, which generally disparage their homes and customs and express a certain English snobbery. Many historians, beginning with Washington Irving, have used these tainted characterizations to create humble personas, quaint customs, and in Irving's case, humorous behaviors, that does little to recognize the significance of New York's Dutch heritage.

<sup>54</sup> Blackburn & Piwonka 1988, 36.

#### 4.2.VI. Cultural Preservation

For the Dutch to preserve their cultural stake in New York and express their presence so overtly in their architecture, material culture, religion, customs, domestic life, and language was a significant act of preservation. The fact that it continued long after any of the participants had any direct connection with the Netherlands (except for some dominions) suggests that it was driven by the steady resentment of the English, and the defiance to become part of their world. The Dutch intermarried and, the merchant class aside, avoided alliances with the English. Their numbers multiplied by natural increase as immigration from the Netherlands virtually ceased after the English Conquest. With their inside knowledge of the countryside and with little competition for settlements, the Dutch claimed the most productive agricultural lands in the Hudson Valley. They created towns as well as family, social and commercial networks, and maintained communication with city merchants to market their farm products. They garnered considerable wealth from the wheat trade. Initially, they settled in rural villages on the edge of fertile floodplains, both for protection and social interaction. There they built churches and opened stores and taverns in their homes as was done in the Old World. Each village was linked to one of the three trade centers, where a broader range of services were available. Those centers also had growing Dutch populations. By the next generation, the farm villages could not contain all the offspring and land was acquired in peripheral patents for new farmsteads. And so it went until just about every fertile acre in the region was cultivated by the heirs to the Dutch heritage.

The first houses to appear in villages and on farmsteads were replicas of the small, wood-frame, front-gable dwelling introduced by the Dutch West India Company that dominated the urban streetscapes of New York, Albany, and Kingston. It was a familiar form and there were artisans to build them. No thought was given to using another house type more responsive to its rural surroundings and farmhouse function. It is certain that no one looked to the English for newer or better alternatives. By the time the second generation of these settlements came of age, the eighteenth century had dawned, and a watershed moment had been reached. The extenuated land-grant controversies had been largely resolved and the land-grabbing frenzy calmed. Governmental authority had been permanently transferred to the assembly, thereby diminishing the power of the merchant aristocracy. The colony was enjoying general prosperity; the wheat trade had made New York one of the most important outposts in the British Empire.<sup>55</sup> Governor Robert Hunter signed a naturalization bill for the Dutch in 1715, removing what anxiety remained regarding farmers' titles to their land. Yet, while the Dutch farmers could have chosen to engage more with the English at this point, they chose the opposite path and doubled down on their expression of Dutch heritage. They built substantial, permanent houses in brick and stone with now-iconic gabled façades. The design of these edifices, especially those built for the elite Dutch farmers, the leaders of their communities, as well as Reformed Dutch churches and the hulking, Gothic, Dutch barns were so expressive as to be mannerist in style.

By emphasizing the defining features of Dutch culture in their communities, Dutch farmers were clearly distinguishing themselves from the English. However, these eighteenth-century farmers were of a generation born in New York. The Dutch iconography they knew was more of the New World than of the Old. When they elevated these objects to a symbolic level, it was a truly American phenomenon. In effect, they were revitalizing the Dutch colonial society created nearly a century earlier. Rejecting the opportunity to live in more comfortable homes with modern conveniences and New World sensibilities, equating it with assimilating into English culture, the Dutch invested renewed energy in the symbols of their own history, which was then imbued in every new farmstead that came later.

Anthropologist Anthony F. C. Wallace (1923-2017) would have considered these actions evidence of a revitalization movement, which he defined as a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture. The persons involved in the process of revitalization must perceive their cultural system (whether accurately or not) to be unsatisfactory. The existential stress this causes is relieved by taking measures to create altered or new conditions, which is revitalization. Revitalization movements happen quickly to remove the strain of unsatisfactory conditions. Margaret Mead found in her studies that such cultural change often occurred within a single generation.<sup>56</sup>

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55 Ellis 1967, 36-41.

56 Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," in *American Anthropologist New Series*, 58:2 (April 1956), 264-281. Margaret Mead, "How Fast Can a Man Change?" Address presented to Frankford Friends Forum, Philadelphia, 4 December 1955. As cited in Wallace 1956, 265.

This revitalized Dutch culture thrived until the end of the eighteenth century when, after the Revolutionary War, the Dutch and English conflict became irrelevant.

As revitalization progressed in the next generations, the entire region transformed from a series of outposts to an extended and integrated rural cultural landscape oriented to agriculture. In all three settlement areas of the valley, traditional front-gable houses were gradually adapted in orientation and expanded in plan to accommodate the functions of a farmhouse. Story-and-a-half houses with one, two, or three rooms opening on long front facades became the norm in all parts of the region. These also had precedents in Europe, but it was also a practical environmental adaptation. Each region developed variants of the Dutch house type based on local construction practice, the availability of certain building materials, wealth, and class hierarchy existing within the Dutch cohort. Most of it evidently unspoken and intuitive, the Dutch established a wide-reaching cultural landscape with thriving Dutch communities and landmark buildings – houses, churches, barns – to which the English-speaking minority continued to call old-fashioned and parochial. Peter Kalm made the following observation in 1749.

*The hatred which the English bear against the people of Albany is very great, but that of the Albanians against the English is carried to a ten times higher degree. This hatred has subsisted ever since the time the English conquered this section, and is not yet extinguished, although they could not have gotten larger advantages under the Dutch government than they have obtained under that of the English.<sup>57</sup>*

It was in this continuing hostile environment that the Dutch culture entered the last half of the eighteenth century.

#### 4.2.VII. Palatines to the Mohawk Valley

Following the collapse of the Queen's Palatine enterprise on Livingston Manor, about 100 Palatine families ventured west from East Camp on the Hudson River into the Schoharie Valley in 1713. Within a year they had created three settlements along the Schoharie Creek at Weiser's Dorf (Middleburgh), Hartman's Dorf, and Brunner's Dorf (Schoharie). They were led by Conrad Weiser, whose earlier expedition found the verdant area and laid claim to it, although without official sanction. Governor Benjamin Fletcher had granted the entire Schoharie Valley to Colonel Nicholas Bayard, but this patent was voided by the New York Assembly in 1698. Apparently, Weiser's party was aware of this situation and had intended to stake a claim to the tract. However, Bayard attempted to renew his claim to ownership by securing deeds to settlers' homesteads. His visit to the region ended in violence, and afterwards, he sold his interests in the patent to five partners: Myndert Schuyler, Peter Van Brugh, Robert Livingston Jr., John Schuyler, and Henry Wileman, who was granted a new patent by Governor Robert Hunter in 1714. The next year, Schenectady merchant Adam Vrooman also secured a 1,500-acre patent to valuable land in Schoharie, distinguished by rocky promontory known as Vrooman's Nose, where his son, Peter, established a farm, much to the consternation of the Palatines. According to one source, "He commenced a stone house 23 ft. square by help of his sons and had proceeded as far as the second story floor beams, when one night his unruly neighbors, led on by one Conrad Weiser, entirely demolished it."<sup>58</sup>

The Palatines' attempts to establish ownership through the purchase of the land from the local native tribe failed to receive the sanction of the colonial authorities. Litigation went on for a number of years. Eventually, the owners of the Schoharie Valley land, now seven partners, secured their title and demanded the Palatine settlers sign either a deed of sale or lease or quit the land. As it was with Bayard, the settlers defied the order, and when the sheriff came to enforce the law, he was brutally attacked. A stalemate ensued, with the governor forbidding the Palatines from working the land unless they agreed to buy or lease their homesteads. Families became destitute. Conrad Weiser sailed to England to appeal to the Board of Trade, but the Palatines' case was rejected there as well. The next governor, William Burnett, was directed in 1720 to settle the matter, and through his effort patents in Stone Arabia and German Flatts and land grants were made along the Mohawk River, permitting Palatines to obtain title to land. The Stone Arabia patent, amounting to 12,700 acres, was granted in 1723 to twenty-seven Palatine partners; Burnetsfield, or German Flatts, was conveyed to ninety-two individuals in a similar manner in 1725.

57 Blackburn & Piwonka 1988, 79.

58 Jonathan Pearson, ed., *Contributions for the Genealogies of the First Settlers of the Patent and City of Schenectady from 1662 to 1800* (Albany, NY: J. Munsell, 1873), 277.

About a third of the Schoharie Palatines relocated to places along the Mohawk. Another third followed Conrad Weiser down the Susquehanna River into Pennsylvania, where the governor there offered them refuge. The rest stayed behind in the Schoharie Valley, relenting in their contrary claims and securing legal title to their land. They were joined by other Palatine immigrants, as well as Dutch and English settlers moving out of Albany and Schenectady, creating an enduring farming community. The population of the Mohawk Valley also diversified as settlers inevitably moved west to find new lands to cultivate. It is estimated that 2,000 people were living in the Mohawk Valley by 1725; that number increased tenfold by the time of the Revolution.

A third expedition of Palatines arrived in New York in 1722. It was the last shipload of refugees to land in the colony; all others coming after were destined for Philadelphia. (At least one account suggests that this ship was also headed to Pennsylvania but had been driven off-course.) It is assumed that these people added to the population of the new settlements in Stone Arabia and German Flatts. Among them was Johan Jost Hershheimer, the father of General Nicholas Herkimer, a hero of the Battle of Oriskany in 1777.

Peter Kalm traveled through the Mohawk Valley in 1746 and made the following observations:

*The inhabitants around Albany are Dutch and Germans. The Germans live in several great villages and sow great quantities of wheat which is brought to Albany, and from whence they send many yachts laden with flour to New York. The wheat flour from Albany is reckoned the best in all North America, except from Sopus or King's Town, a place between Albany and New York... Rye is likewise sown here but not so generally as wheat. They do not sow much barley, because they do not reckon the profits very great. Wheat is so plentiful that they make malt of that... They do not sow more oats than are necessary for their horses... The Dutch and Germans who live hereabouts sow peas in great abundance; they succeed very well and are annually carried to New York in great quantities.<sup>59</sup>*

William Smith's 1756 history of New York described the Mohawk River with "settlements on the north side [that] extend to Burnet's field, a flat inhabited by Germans, which produces wheat and peas in surprising plenty. On the south side except for a few Scotch-Irish in Cherry Valley at the head of the Susquehanna, we have but few farms west of the three German towns on Schoharie."<sup>60</sup>

The most significant figure in the history of the Mohawk Valley was Sir William Johnson (1715-1774), born in Ireland, who as a young man came to New York to manage the estate owned by his uncle, Admiral Peter Warren, in the Mohawk Valley. He became active in the fur trade and intimate with the Mohawk tribe and others of the Six Nations of the Iroquois League. He became quite wealthy and erected a manor house, trading house, store, and farm while acquiring tens of thousands of acres of native lands. Johnson developed his land with leaseholds granted to immigrants recruited in Ireland. He also owned as many as sixty enslaved Africans who worked as laborers on the estate and in his saw and grist mills. Johnson's flour mill was one of the most important in the Mohawk Valley, which was becoming an important wheat center in the colonies. His success with the native tribes was rewarded with the appointment in 1756 as the British Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the northern colonies. In this position, he was vital in keeping the Six Nations loyal to the British. During the French and Indian War, Johnson commanded Iroquois and colonial militia forces in the region, which had a role in the victory of the Battle of Lake George (1755) and the capture of Fort Niagara (1759). Following his death, his nephew Guy Johnson inherited his lands and position as Superintendent of Indian Affairs. During the War for Independence, Guy Johnson remained loyal to the Crown and led a militia of Tories and Iroquois against colonists in the region. (The Palatines were generally in support of the rebellion, due in part to their enduring animosity to the Tory land speculators who they believed victimized them.) They perpetuated massacres at Wyoming and Cherry Valley in a campaign known as the "Burning of the Valleys." The Johnson lands were confiscated by the New York legislature and Johnson and members of his militia fled to Canada to support the British war effort there. He returned to Fort Niagara in 1779, where he gave aid to Iroquois rendered homeless by the Sullivan Expedition, which destroyed their villages

59 Adolf B. Benson, ed., *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America 1* (New York: Dover Publications, 1964), 335

60 William Smith, *The History of the Province of New-York* (London: Thomas Wilcox, 1757), 198.

and food stores. From there, Johnson made counter-raids on patriot settlements. Fort Johnson (built 1749), Johnson Hall (1763) and Guy Park (1774) are historic landmarks associated with the Johnson family and the history of the region (Figure 37 and Figure 38).

**Figure 37.** *Fort Johnson, Amsterdam, Montgomery County, ca. 1749 (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2013).*



**Figure 38.** *Johnson Hall, Johnstown, Fulton County, 1763 (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2013).*



Very few settlement-era Palatine dwellings have survived. Among the oldest is the dwelling built in 1743 in Schoharie known as the Old Lutheran Parsonage (Figure 39). The story-and-a-half building has a bent frame and a two-room plan with a center chimney typical of early houses in Albany and Schenectady; it also matches Palatine houses in Columbia and Dutchess counties from whence the Schoharie settlers came. Like those more rural examples, the Schoharie house has its front façade on a long side and a kitchen in the embanked basement.

**Figure 39.** *Old Lutheran Parsonage, Schoharie, Schoharie County, 1743 (New York State Archives, A3045-78).*

The Old Lutheran Parsonage (NRL 1972) differs from other Palatine dwellings, both in this region and in the Hudson Valley, in that it has been discovered to have a half-timbered exterior. These exposed structural components with stuccoed panels are known in German as *fachwerk*. Few examples of this treatment are known in the state: other documented examples include two houses outside New Paltz and a now-razed house in Godeffroy, Orange County, all built by Huguenots, many of whom had settled in the Palatinate before immigrating to New York. A



variant, with whitewashed stone nogging set between exposed wood structural elements, survives in "Fort Westbrook" (ca. 1750), located near Godeffroy in Westbrookville, Mamakating, Sullivan County.

A structural detail associated with *fachwerk*, which continued to be utilized in areas settled by second-generation Palatines, was sticking (alternatively known as "filled wall construction," "bousillage" or "wood nogging"). The style is characterized by plaster support consisting of small branches or saplings either set into grooves cut into or between cleats attached to the sides of bent frame posts; its use permitted the plastering of both interior and exterior surfaces of the walls. Sticking remained common in Palatine-settled areas of the mid-Hudson Valley and Mohawk Valley long after the abandonment of *fachwerk* and is found on Long Island as well. It was used as an alternative to brick (or, rarely, stone) nogging. Early-nineteenth-century examples made use of boards or squared lumber.

The use of the five-plate cast-iron stove is much more common in portions of the state settled by Palatines, and evidence for its use can be found in both the mid-Hudson and Mohawk Valleys, where several examples yet exist. While none of these architectural details, features, and plan types are unique to architecture associated with the Palatines, they clearly were favored by this Dutch cultural heritage group.

**Figure 40.** *The Old Lutheran Parsonage, Schoharie, during restoration undertaken in 1974 (Collection of the Old Lutheran Parsonage). With the removal of the clapboards on the north face of the building, the original fachwerk panels were revealed; those above the anchorbeam (more properly, tussenbalk) retain much of their original whitewashed finish.*

A number of stone houses survive in the region, most of which are memorialized as forts because of their various roles in the defense of the Mohawk Valley during the Revolution. Fort Klock, a stone house built by Johannes Klock ca. 1750 near Johnsville in the Mohawk Valley, also has a two-room plan with basement kitchen (Figure 41). Its gable end is decorated with stone *vlechtingen*, a practice for finishing brick parapets evidently remembered from Schenectady or Albany (Figure 42). Built by Johan Peter Wagner around 1750, Fort Wagner, near Nelliston, is a story-and-a-half stone house with a linear plan characteristic of Ulster County, where Wagner first settled in West Camp (Figure 43).



Fort Frey, built ca. 1739 in Palatine Bridge by Hendrik Frey, and the now-raised Fort Ehle are other examples of this type; both of those examples feature brick vlechtingen in their gable end walls.

**Figure 41.** Fort Klock, St. Johnsville, Montgomery County, ca. 1750 (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2005).



**Figure 42.** Detail of the east gable end of Fort Klock, showing stone vlechtingen or tumbling (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2013).

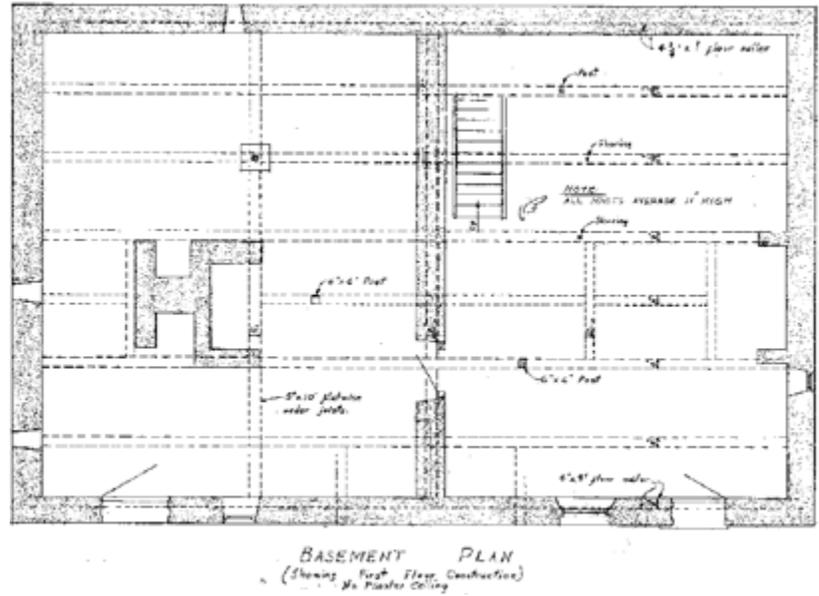


**Figure 43.** Fort Wagner, near Nelliston, Montgomery County, ca. 1750 ([http://www.fortwiki.com/Fort\\_Wagner\\_\(3\)](http://www.fortwiki.com/Fort_Wagner_(3))).



Fort Rensselaer in Canajoharie is a story-and-a-half stone house with a gambrel-roof initially built ca. 1730 for Martin Janse Van Alstyne, a Dutch landholder. By 1775, it was owned by Goshen (Goose) Van Alstyne and was the meeting place for the Tryon County Committee of Safety and where the Tryon Militia was formed. Nicholas Herkimer was commissioned there first as Chief Colonel and later General of the frontier militia. Herkimer's two-story brick house, built ca. 1764 in Ilion Center, Herkimer County retains components of the three-room plan in its basement, indicating the presence of an earlier house built by his father (Figure 44).

**Figure 44.** Basement plan of the Herkimer House as it was before twentieth century restorations, by G. Edwin Brumbaugh, 1959 (Collection NYSOPRHP). The older, eastern half of the basement is at left.

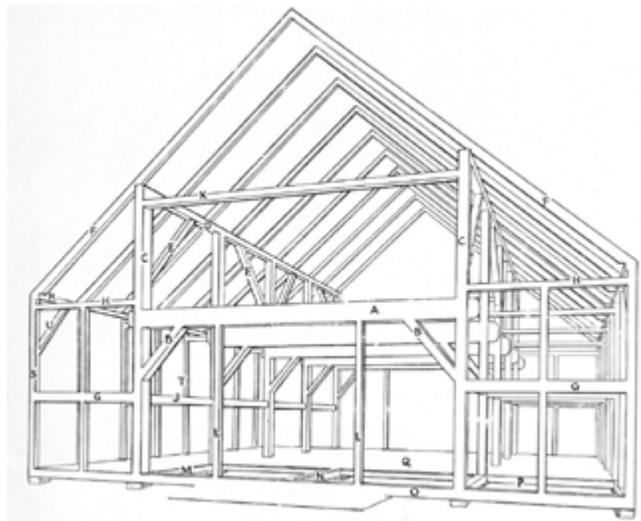


Both the Old Stone Fort museum and Fort Klock are the sites of relocated New World Dutch barns; these were common agricultural buildings on the Schoharie and Mohawk valley landscapes (Figure 45 and Figure 46). Earlier examples of these barns fell victim to fires set by marauding Tory forces, bent on destroying the subsistence and livelihoods of patriot farmers.

**Figure 45.** New World Dutch barn now at the Fort Klock site (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2005).



**Figure 46.** Typical framing of a New World Dutch barn (from John Fitchen, *The New World Dutch Barn*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1968).



## 4.3 Two Wars and Prosperity 1750-1785

During the 1730s, colony officials and land speculators worked at controlling unclaimed territory in the Mohawk Valley. Governor Crosby (1732-1743) used his office to secure valuable tracts for himself. Lieutenant Governor George Clarke acquired over 100,000 acres, shielded by dummy partners. Governor George Clinton (1743-1753) and Sir William Johnson also assembled large estates through their contacts with the Mohawk tribe, with Johnson owning nearly 500,000 acres.

Between 1763 and 1775, speculators focused on the upper Susquehanna Valley and the region between Lake Champlain and the Connecticut River in what later became the state of Vermont. In the decade before the Revolutionary War, New York's governors handed out over 2,000,000 acres to themselves and their cronies, enriching themselves in the process. Laws limiting the acreage granted to any one individual, the requirement for planting settlers on the land, and the payment of quitrents were circumvented. All this was accepted as politics as usual.<sup>61</sup>

It was on these lands, as well as patents and manors in the Hudson Valley, that settlement occurred in the mid-eighteenth century. In most cases, landowners preferred to lease farms to settlers rather than sell them. Manor leases required services and fealty to the manor lord in addition to rents. Patent leases, in contrast, held no such expectations and rents were paid in cash rather than in obligations. At first, tenants were given short-term leases, but later they were given "durable" leases, which ran in perpetuity. It is the consensus of most historians that New York's land policy as it pertained to lease-holding was a deterrent to settlement, suppressing population growth throughout the eighteenth century. The system also created hard feelings between landlords and tenants resulting in confrontations, some of them violent.

In 1750, many Palatines continued to occupy leaseholds and their second-class status was reinforced by their tenuous hold on their land. Their population had expanded and spread out on Livingston Manor and overflowed into neighboring patents in Columbia and Dutchess counties, as well as into the Van Rensselaer Manor and the Mohawk Valley. In some Dutchess County patents, the Palatines were able to purchase farms, particularly along the contested New England border where they intermingled with Yankee settlers moving into western Massachusetts and the Oblong Patent bordering on Connecticut. They also established freeholds in unclaimed sections of Ulster, Greene, and Albany counties, much of it in rugged terrain rejected earlier by freeholders. They gradually moved into and beyond the Catskills, with the mass migration from New England after the Revolution.

The colonial economy grew rapidly in the 1750s and 1760s. Farm values increased with expanded exports of foodstuffs to the West Indies. The French and Indian War (1754-1763) did not interfere with the West Indian trade and privateering was profitable. New York's commerce centered on the exchange of commodities, mainly foodstuffs, for manufactured goods from Europe, and sugar and other farm products natural to the Caribbean. Furs continued to be an important export item, although in this period it was surpassed in value by wheat. The export of flour became significant in the New York trade economy in the late 1600s. By 1750, the province ranked second only to Pennsylvania in exports. Other exports included packed beef and pork, flax, hemp, forest products, and building materials. Most of this was shipped to the West Indies. Few products – furs, flaxseed, potash, and iron – were sent directly to England. New York ships delivered goods from the West Indies to England and some participated in the triangle trade. New York traders also collected fish in New England and rice in South Carolina, and transport it to Caribbean ports.<sup>62</sup>

### 4.3.I. Prosperity and the Vernacular

The demand for wheat, meat, and peas was met by Dutch farms and plantations in the Hudson Valley which created new prosperity in the region. Existing farmhouses were enlarged and updated in new fashions, such as sash windows, jambed fireplaces, paneled walls, and household furnishings. New houses were built in an organized fashion. Symmetrical facades became the norm, with two-room-plan dwellings pairing separate entrances in their center bays or three-room-plan dwellings with central entrances eventually giving way to center-passage plans during this period. Rooms were increasingly differentiated in terms of use and levels of privacy, resulting in the further partitioning of plans.

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61 Ellis 1967, 73-74.

62 Ellis 1967, 81-82.

Typically, this was accommodated through increasing the depth of the house and with the insertion of a cross-partition to generate a room-and-a-half, or two-room deep (aka “double pile”) plan. Increases in depth of these plans were typically either incorporated into lean-tos extending across the back of the house (reminiscent of the outlets or side aisles of earlier periods), or under gambrel roofs.

Either because of a distrust of the former Dutch colonists or in obedience of one of the articles of capitulation from 1664, which stipulated that “no Dutchman...shall...upon any occasion, be prest to serve in war, against any nation whatever,” the English typically brought in builders from either the Boston or Philadelphia areas when constructing fortifications, barracks, and other structures built in support of war efforts in the period before the Revolution.<sup>63</sup> Forts at Albany and in the lower Mohawk Valley, and St. George’s church in Schenectady, were all built by Boston carpenters and masons, chief among them being Samuel Fuller and Thomas S. Diamond. This workforce also constructed the dwellings of those who made financial gain by their association with the war, including the Schuyler, Johnson, Campbell, Van Rensselaer, and Bradstreet families.<sup>64</sup> The dwellings constructed for this cohort were typically two stories in height and with center passage plans, and were surmounted by either hipped gambrel or gambrel roofs (Figure 47 and Figure 48).

**Figure 47.** *Johnson Hall, Johnstown, Fulton County, 1763 (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2005). The house was constructed by Samuel Fuller, from Boston.*



**Figure 48.** *The Pastures, aka Schuyler Mansion, Albany, 1763 (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2019). Not visible in this image is the hipped gambrel roof similar to that on Johnson Hall. The two buildings share a number of other details. The Pastures was constructed by a group of the “king’s artificers” from Boston, under the direction of General John Bradstreet.*



63 Document: Articles of Capitulation, 1664, <https://www.thirteen.org/dutchny/interactives/document-dutch-articles-of-surrender/#articles> accessed 13 November 2020.

64 Walter Richard Wheeler, “Getting the Job Done: Construction, Builders, and Materials in the Upper Hudson and Mohawk Valleys, 1755-1765.” In *Proceedings of the Western Frontier Symposium* (Waterford, NY: New York State Bureau of Historic Sites, 2005).

### 4.3.II. Gambrel Roofs

Gambrel roofs had been constructed in the American colonies during the seventeenth century, but were at that time typically associated with the English, and were mostly found in their colonies. The majority of the earliest gambrel roofs in New York are public buildings and churches associated with the English, including Trinity Church in New York (1698) and Saint Peter's Church in Albany (1714- 16), the latter constructed by Boston builder John Dunbar. Although there are scattered early-eighteenth century examples, the use of the gambrel roof on houses, and the widespread adoption of this roof form, did not occur until the 1750s.<sup>65</sup>

The gambrel roof was adopted by builders active in the New York colony in one of two forms, reflecting not only the traditions of those who built them, but also the aspirations of those who commissioned them. In what was then Albany County (and particularly in the construction of brick-veneered rural dwellings in today's Albany, Rensselaer, Schenectady, and Columbia counties), gambrels were given steeply-pitched lower slopes, with narrow and shallow upper slopes (Figure 49). This roof form reflected the framing techniques utilized in their creation; they were framed like their steeply-roofed Dutch predecessors, but with a break in the rafter pairs above the collar ties.

**Figure 49.** *The Konyn House, Claverack, Columbia County, 1766 (Photo by Ken Walton, 2017). Decorative brickwork in the center bay and on the gable-end wall incorporates initials and the date of construction. This information is repeated in tiles set into the top of each gable end wall.*



In contrast, houses that were constructed by builders of English training had gambrels whose lower roof slopes were shallower in pitch and which had upper and lower portions of similar width. The upper sections of roofs of this type were typically supported on purlins or queen posts (Figure 50 thru Figure 52).

**Figure 50.** *The Van Rensselaer Manor House, 1765 (Collection of W. R. Wheeler). This view, dating to ca. 1888, shows the house after it was renovated by Richard Upjohn in the early 1840s. The gable-end parapet walls with balustrades added at that time serve to mask the ends of the upper slopes of the gambrel roof. This house may have been the largest of those constructed during this period in the New York colony, and was intended to reflect the Van Rensselaer family's preeminent political and social status.*



<sup>65</sup> Walter Richard Wheeler, "Many new houses have lately been built in this city, all in the modern style. The Introduction of the Gambrel Roof to the Upper Hudson Valley." *The Hudson River Valley Review* 21: 1 (Autumn 2004): viii-11. The following discussion is based upon that article.

**Figure 51.** *The Brinckerhoff-Pudney-Palen House, East Fishkill, Dutchess County (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2009).*



**Figure 52.** *Roof framing of the Brinckerhoff-Pudney-Palen House (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2009). A queen (or purlin) post, seen here at center; north and south posts are connected by dropped ties, and an example of which is seen at upper left.*



Another feature of the brick houses constructed during the 1750-1765 period in the vicinity of Albany was the introduction of patterned brickwork, typically incorporating dates of construction, the initials of the owner(s), and decorative designs (Figure 53). A group of perhaps a dozen of these houses survives in the region. The technique had been utilized in other parts of the Hudson and Mohawk valleys (most notably in the De Wint House, in Tappan, Rockland County, which incorporates the date 1700 in its façade), but was uncommonly employed, and appears to have been limited to the Albany region during this period. The technique is similar to that used in houses built in New Jersey by Quaker families; however, no connection between the two communities is presently known. It may be that this technique is more reflective of the opportunities represented by the use of brick masonry, and reflects the general habit of marking buildings with dates of construction and initials, using other means such as anchor irons or (in the case of stone masonry buildings) carved blocks.

**Figure 53.** *The Pruyn House, Kinderhook, 1766 (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2007). The date "1766" and a heart are worked into the brick of the end wall.*



#### 4.3.III. Economic Decline and the Suspension of Building during the American Revolution

Toward the end of the 1760s, the province's economy began to decline. The British government added to this decline by the strict enforcement of the Navigation Acts and the imposition of new taxes.<sup>66</sup> In 1763, the government issued a proclamation limiting trade with the Native Americans and prohibiting the acquisition of their land west of the crest of the Appalachian Mountains. This caused outrage within the landed gentry, which had been expecting to reap the benefits of speculating on unsettled tracts in the west. The British Parliament levied a series of taxes to increase revenue, rather than control trade, which the provincial merchants found punitive. Other actions were taken regarding trade that colonists saw as the unwarranted expansion of the authority of the government. The Sugar Act of 1764, a rather innocuous action by Parliament (it revised an unenforced existing act), led to strong negative reactions. But it was the passage of the Stamp Tax – the first direct tax levied on colonists – the following year that tipped the balance and fomented resistance. The act was repealed but with the Parliament reserving the right to tax the colonists as they saw fit. The negative reaction of many of the colonists led to the slogan of "no taxation without representation," and the seeds of rebellion were planted.

The resulting conflict – the Revolutionary War – caused a near-standstill in building activity in many areas of the state, which took a back seat to the conflict.

The British had captured New York City on September 15, 1776, and it remained under British control until the end of the war. Despite plans to seize control of the Hudson, create a link to Canada, and seize control of the northern colonies, the British forces only managed to gain the river up to Kingston, which served as the state capitol while New York City was held captive. On October 16, 1777, Major General John Vaughan led British troops to set fire to the stockaded town. The losses were enormous for the townsmen and farmers affected. Vaughan continued up the Hudson, burning Livingston properties on the east side of the river a day or two after Kingston was demolished.

The Battle of Saratoga derailed the British plan and turned the direction of the war. New Yorkers in the Hudson Valley were relatively free of conflict; however, loyalists raided patriots' farms and stole cattle and crops for the British army. The counties raised militias to confront local threats, and many of the able-bodied Dutch in the region enlisted. The Dutch generally supported the rebellion, in part owing to their enduring antipathy for the English; some tenants, though, were persuaded to side with the Crown out of resentment to landlords who were leading the cause for independence. Some enslaved Africans were impressed into serving the British, their masters being loyalists, with the promise of obtaining

<sup>66</sup> Ellis 1967, 81-82.

freedom at the end of the war. The river was sealed and no trade was possible until 1783. Daily life grew difficult: several severely cold winters stressed families at home as well as soldiers in military service.

New construction during this period was largely suspended due to wartime uncertainties. Many of the region's wealthiest citizens were loyalists, and fled to England or Canada, taking with them whatever resources they could transport, leaving their dwellings and land behind. After the signing of the Treaty of Paris, building began again in earnest. Many projects had been suspended just before the war was completed and public buildings were constructed to serve the functions of the newly-formed republic.

Dwelling construction began apace, but the war had created a rupture with tradition, so that some of the aspects of the vernacular were not continued. The jambless fireplace was all but abandoned, except as used in existing houses and out-kitchens, which continued in some areas into the 1820s. Corbelled beams, which had gradually been falling out of favor beginning in the 1730s (but which had been used in the Albany area until at least the 1750s) were given up entirely. The use of gambrel roofs continued, but the English-framed roof prevailed after the war, supplanting the Dutch-framed type entirely.

#### 4.4. Colonial Cultural Groups Coalesce Around National Identity and Rural Politics 1785-1835

The Revolutionary War effectively ended the cultural rivalry between the Dutch and the English, as the liberated colonists bonded in the effort to create a new republic under the high-minded declarations of its national leaders. The defeat of the British military and the withdrawal of the English colonial authorities was an event of monumental significance, especially in New York, where the city had been occupied by the British army, and in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys, which had been major war zones and in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys, which saw more battles than any other colony. Over time, the optimism and ambition felt by the victors be demonstrated architecturally as rebuilding reflected new design tastes. Thousands of colonial-era buildings survived the war unscathed, and they remained in use, defining the scene until the next generation built new homes and public buildings representative of their times. Based on travelers' accounts from the period, urban houses in the old Dutch mode continued to characterize New York City and Albany; James Eights' watercolors of Albany streetscapes as they appeared in the first decades of the nineteenth century measured the slow progress of redevelopment (Figure 54). However, both cities would thenceforth be ruthless in clearing out the vestiges of their Dutch pasts.

**Figure 54.** *View of North Pearl Street, looking west, by James Eights (Albany Institute of History and Art). An example of a "half house" is seen at left.*

New buildings erected in urban areas during the final years of the eighteenth century reflected the influence of the New Englanders who flooded into the state after the Revolution. Gable-end facades were abandoned in favor of gambrel or gable roofs whose ridges paralleled the street. Elevations became more regularized, with three-bay facades featuring a side bay entrance as the most common house form from that time. Called by some contemporary sources a "half house," its design was closely related to that of the five-bay-wide center passage dwellings that had come to characterize the larger rural dwellings and some of the more pretentious urban houses (Figure 54). Loading doors were abandoned, as storage functions were relegated to basement spaces or larger commercial enterprises. The requirement of having brick facades was inexplicably abandoned, only to be reinstated after a series of disastrous fires.



The middling and working classes in the region's cities occupied pre-existing housing, much of it decrepit, and little of which remains extant. Rows of townhouses were built in New York, Albany, and Troy in the post-war era to accommodate increasing populations. The burning of Kingston in 1777 eradicated every wood frame dwelling, leaving only the shells of stone houses as connections to the past. Kingston was rebuilt as a modern city with detached wood frame and brick houses of varying scale and finishes, reflecting class hierarchies. Despite these formal changes, significant evidence remains to indicate that many of these houses continued to be constructed with H-bent frames, even while they abandoned outward signifiers of "Dutchness." Several standing structures in Lansingburgh that date to this period made use of that framing system and examples remain in both Albany and Troy. The latest-known examples of urban houses that retain Dutch framing date to the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

The urban and country houses of the merchant aristocracy maintained the large-scale, two-story forms, center-hall plans, bilaterally symmetrical façades, and Classical ornamentation established as icons before the war. Some were conservatives, such as Philip and Maria van Rensselaer's Cherry Hill, built in 1787 in Albany, a wood-frame house with gambrel roof. It is similar to the brick, gambrel-roofed house in Claverack built in 1786 for New York merchant William Henry Ludlow, except the latter has a prominent entrance with a wide, trabeated architrave surmounted by a Palladian window.

**Figure 55.** *The Ludlow House, Claverack. The entrance is elaborated by a Doric order frontispiece that incorporates narrow side windows and which serves as a base for a Palladian window above (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2015).*



The mansion built for Abraham Ten Broeck and his wife, Elizabeth van Rensselaer, in 1797, showed the signs of an emerging Neoclassical sensibility adopted from Europe by avant-garde builders and architects, such as Philip Hooker, who is believed to have designed the house (Figure 56). Progressive ideas were carried by immigrant builders and designers from England and France, as well as published designs and builders' guides. Boston had a strong influence as well in the work of Charles Bulfinch, considered by some to be the first professional architect in the United States. In the 1780s, after graduating from Harvard, Bulfinch made a tour of Europe and came home to introduce Neoclassicism to Boston. He met Thomas Jefferson in Paris, who had a role in shaping his ideas, and he was a mentor to Asher Benja-

min, who was probably the most important disseminator of the “modern” architectural taste through his many pattern books. These architects were responsible for the design of the most prominent public and religious structures of their day and were the natural choice when the merchant class sought to build.

**Figure 56.** *The Elizabeth van Rensselaer and Abraham Ten Broeck House, Albany, 1797 (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2015).*



The experience in New York City was similar to that of Albany, although of course much larger in extent. The British occupation left much of the city and adjacent communities on Long Island in ruins, so rebuilding was necessary, although little from this period has survived. Scores of merchants’ country seats spread northward up both sides of Manhattan Island and eastward along Long Island Sound. One of the more traditional examples is John Jay’s country house near the Sound. Built in 1787, the two-story, wood-frame, gambrel-roofed house is close to the conservative design of Cherry Hill. His nephew Peter Jay Munro’s Manor House in Larchmont, built ten years later, is a bit more stylish, with a curving staircase and other notable interior decoration. On the Hudson, States and Elizabeth Dyckman built the country house known as Boscobel in 1804–08. The design for the house was conceived while Dyckman was in England and clearly reflects the Neoclassical taste of London, although smaller in scale and degree of extravagance.

**Figure 57.** *Boscobel, as reconstructed in Garrison, NY in 1961 (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2017).*



Still farther north on the Hudson, new generations of the Livingston family were developing country seats along the river and inland across the manor. Notable among these were Arryl House, of avant-garde design with wings emanating from the four corners of its two-story central block; it was built in 1794 for Robert R. Livingston of Clermont, a leader in New York's revolutionary movement who would later succeed Thomas Jefferson as United States Minister to France; his brother John R. Livingston's more conventionally massed villa, Massena, built in 1797; and La Bergerie (Rokeby), an innovative house built in 1811-15 for their sister Alida and her husband, John Armstrong, a veteran Continental Army officer and United States senator who replaced Livingston as Minister to France. Those properties, as well as others in the Livingston neighborhood, show the influence of French architecture as experienced by Livingston and Armstrong, and ideas they brought back to New York. Then there was the direct involvement of French émigré architects in the design of Neoclassical architecture in the Hudson Valley. Joseph Jacques Ramee is believed to have designed La Bergerie for Armstrong at the same time he was creating the plan for Union College in Schenectady. The two Livingstons were clients of French architect Pierre Pharoux, who was quite active in the city as well as the country; he also drew plans for the villages of Tivoli and Athens, as well as designing structures in Albany and New York.<sup>67</sup>

**Figure 58.** *Arryl House, Clermont, Dutchess County (<http://clermontstatehistoricsite.blogspot.com/2013/10/imagining-arry-house-piecing-together.html>).*

Outside the cities and beyond the country seats of their merchants, the rural landscape also underwent a transformation at this time. As in the cities, rural architecture was slow to respond to the changing world; with few exceptions veterans of the war years continued to live in the traditional buildings their families had occupied prior to the revolt, some for many generations.

The surrounding countryside was largely saved from destruction, hence our legacy of a remarkable surviving collection



<sup>67</sup> Roger G. Kennedy, *Orders From France: The Americans and the French in a Revolutionary World, 1780-1820* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989).

of eighteenth-century stone and brick houses. Yet, many of the thousands of small wood-frame and log dwellings where tradesmen, laborers, and tenants lived, along with the barns, outbuildings, and shops associated with them, and which survived the war, have since been lost, leaving only the best houses and a small group of more modest structures as historic artifacts. Most of the pre- Revolutionary War-era buildings in the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys west of Schenectady were destroyed during the Revolution.

Some farmhouses damaged in the war were rebuilt much in the manner in which they were first created. The Dyckman farmhouse, built in 1785 in Manhattan, is a story-and-a-half stone house with a gambrel roof with flaring eaves sweeping across a front piazza designed in the traditional Dutch manner. It replaced the family's 1748 house that was destroyed by the British and duplicated its design, but with aesthetic updates. The Lefferts House, now located in Prospect Park in Brooklyn, has a similar story: it is the 1783 reconstruction of an older wood-frame farmhouse burned by British soldiers in 1776, reputedly using parts from the lost house and others. (It was moved to Prospect Park in 1917 from its original site a few blocks away.) Both houses were adapted and enlarged with wings over the years, but the intent of these families was to preserve them as their legacies.

**Figure 59.** *The Lefferts House, Brooklyn, in an early-twentieth-century photograph ([http://www.historic-structures.com/nj/brooklyn/lefferts\\_house.php](http://www.historic-structures.com/nj/brooklyn/lefferts_house.php)). Flaring eaves, pedimented dormers, and porches extending the full width of the main block of the house are typical of houses built or modified in the lower Hudson Valley and coastal areas in the years after the Revolution. They are encountered, less commonly, in the mid-Hudson Valley.*



The vast majority of Dutch farmers of the war generation simply returned to their homes and focused on restoring their livelihoods. Their houses endured into the nineteenth century (and beyond) essentially intact. Modernizations were made with concessions to efficiency and taste rejected by previous generations for reasons of cultural preservation. Old casement windows were replaced with sash units, and more were added to walls and roofs to improve living space. Room plans were reconfigured to divide large multi-purpose rooms into smaller, specialized spaces. Jambless hearths were converted to smaller, more efficient fireplaces or stove heating. Stoops gave way to piazzas. Basement kitchens were replaced with those more conveniently located in wings. The timing of this last innovation generally corresponds with the gradual emancipation of those enslaved in the state (1799-1827), and changing dining practices. The immigrant servants who replaced them were given better accommodations in the upper story of the wing.

**Figure 60.** *The Van Ness House, Claverack, Columbia County. Post-war alterations include changes to the entrance, introduction of dormers, and a piazza (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2015).*

When new houses were built for the middle and lower classes in Dutch areas after the war, a more standardized form became common, constructed either of stone or wood, such as the stone farmhouse built in Poppletown around 1800 (Figure 61).



**Figure 61.** *Poppletown Farmhouse, ca. 1800, Esopus, Ulster County. This house exemplifies the trend toward compact forms and symmetrical plans and elevations; dormers added later (Photo by Neil Larson, 1991, National Register Nomination Form).*



The story-and-a-half, gable-roof form of the traditional Dutch house was preserved, more because of class than cultural distinction. (At that time, two-story houses were still an elite-class signifier.) The center-hall plans of these dwellings were a room-and-a-half deep, which essentially followed the practice of dividing the large rooms of pre-war houses in service of spatial diversification. This had already been done in mid-eighteenth-century gambrel-roof houses in the lower Hudson Valley and by the addition of outlets or lean-tos to the backs of older stone houses in Ulster County. The lean-to would continue to be a popular addition form for a long time. This new compact form was fronted by a balanced five-bay, center-entrance façade. The rear wall contained a center entrance with single windows on each side for the back rooms. The square front rooms contained fireplaces snuggled up against the dividing partition. Rear rooms were unheated unless a corner fireplace was included in the plan, as was done in British farmhouses. Modest wood trim distinguished the entrance, fireplaces, and interior doorways and windows. A large bed chamber was centered under the ridge at one end with two smaller chambers sometimes partitioned at the opposite end, an arrangement that saw increased adoption during the nineteenth century. The use of half the garret for storage, a vestige of earlier living arrangements, persisted for some time. Continued placement of kitchens in the basement, with entrances at grade at one end, maintained the rectilinear integrity of the form and also the separation of households, as these were, at least until the 1820s, frequently the worksite and living spaces of enslaved Blacks. Eventually, kitchens were moved into wings for convenience of access, either by design or alteration (Figure 62). This resulted in a proliferation of nineteenth-century farmhouses of uniform, neat, and orderly appearance. Gradually, the house and its connected kitchen wing became the norm. The accessory wing had a diminished scale and finish. The evident juxtaposition evinced the dual function of the farmhouse: a formal domestic realm expressing the status of the family and a workhouse (and farmwife's domain) associated with the kitchen and farm activities but peripherally connected. Like a law or medical office or shop that set work areas aside from private parts of the house, the farmhouse kitchen, in its inherent functionality, identifies the home with the occupation.

**Figure 62.** *Unnamed house, ca. 1800, 2468 Lucas Turnpike, Marbletown, Ulster County. The house has a compact plan popularized at the end of the eighteenth century and a dependent kitchen wing that provided for the relocation of the kitchen from the basement (Photo by John Ham, 2018).*



During the early eighteenth century, the most prosperous farmers and rural merchants, inevitably community leaders, appropriated the elite two-story house form to signify their success. This was rarely done in stone houses, where taller walls were more difficult to construct. In New Paltz, where field-stone was locally available when town

leader Jacob Hasbrouck wanted to express his status with a surfeit of space, he designed his story-and-a-half stone house with a double-pile plan in 1722. To accomplish this, an uncommonly large gable roof was necessary. Once this was accomplished, others of his wealthy family and neighbors followed suit. In most places, two-story houses were limited by the gable-roof structure to a room-and-a-half deep plan; deeper double-pile houses required gambrel or hipped roofs. Brick became the preferred material for two-story houses, both for its structural qualities and its status. However, after the Revolution, the construction of large houses was increasingly accomplished using wood framing.

By 1800, new house designs incorporated fancy wood ornament inspired by builders' guides and pattern books, such as those published by Asher Benjamin. Prior to this, woodwork in a Dutch house was limited to the joinery of beams, doors, and windows turned newel posts and the pronounced cornices of fireplace hoods, doorways, and cabinetry. The adoption of elaborate woodwork in these houses was greatly assisted by the introduction of mass-production techniques to the fabrication of moldings, windows, and doors. First evidenced in the creation of standardized molding planes produced in great numbers by factories located throughout the state, by the late 1810s building elements such as newels, moldings, doors, and windows were available as "off the shelf" pieces in urban areas. Transportation improvements brought these elements within reach of those in the remotest areas of the state by the mid-nineteenth century.

One of the most significant landmarks to the transition of the Dutch mentality from the colonial to the post-war era is the house at Locust Lawn, built in 1814 south of New Paltz in Ulster County (Figure 63). The design of the two-story, wood-frame mansion was modeled on a house depicted in Asher Benjamin's 1797 book, *Country Builder's Assistant*. It was built for Josiah Hasbrouck, a scion of a prominent New Paltz Huguenot family, a farmer and store merchant who had been elected as a representative in the United States Congress during the Jefferson and Monroe administrations. A Jeffersonian man and agrarian aristocrat, Hasbrouck surely found his time in Washington, D.C. enlightening and inspiring. Raised in a commodious stone house containing a store that was built by his grandfather Jacob Hasbrouck (see above), Josiah had become the proprietor of a 1,000-acre farm with an elegant country house. A momentous shift in Dutch society made within the course of a single generation.

**Figure 63.** *Locust Lawn, Josiah Hasbrouck House, 1814 Plattekill, Ulster County (Photo by Daniel Case, 2019. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Locust\\_Lawn\\_front\\_view\\_2019.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Locust_Lawn_front_view_2019.jpg)).*

In 1819 Orangetown, Rockland County merchant David J. Blauvelt built a house as a gift to his daughter Marritje on the occasion of her marriage to Richard Amos (Figure 64). The design replicated the traditional story-and-a-half, gambrel-roof stone house that developed in the lower Hudson Valley, yet elaborated with modern decorative features popularized in the nineteenth century. The exterior envelope of the house was created with a hierarchy of materials: brick laid in a Flemish bond with brownstone trim on the front, cut and tooled brownstone on the ends, and rubble stone on the rear. A wide entrance with a doorway flanked by sidelights and surmounted by a fanlight is trimmed with



attenuated, textured pilasters and a layered cornice. The façade is fronted by a piazza tucked under the sweeping gambrel roof supported by tall, thin pillars interspersed with Chinese fretwork screens. The same elongated components characterize interior woodwork: doorways, windows, and an archway bisecting the center hall screening a staircase in the rear. The elaboration of trim in rooms from side-to-side and front-to-back varies with the hierarchy of spaces. Mantlepieces have the same narrow pilasters on the sides of the fireboxes, each with undulating surfaces and applied

ornament, and a layered cornice beneath the top shelf. The tall friezes between the tops of the fireboxes and the mantel shelves are divided into thirds, their central panels carved with fanned ovals flanked by others with lesser detail.

**Figure 64.** *Blauvelt-Amos House, 1819, Orangetown, Rockland County (Photo by Neil Larson, 1985).*



This type of woodwork, referencing the Neoclassical style, is found in farmhouse-after-farmhouse built in the first quarter of the nineteenth century throughout the entire Hudson and Mohawk valleys whether built by the Dutch, old English, or New Englanders. The remarkable variety of turnings and carvings on display in the design of mantelpieces, room-to-room, house-to-house, and place-to-place suggests catalogs of millwork were consulted to create individualized objects, although none such catalogs survive. (Perhaps designs were created using physical samples rather than printed ones.) Newspapers of the period refer to woodwork available for sale at “builder’s furnishing warehouses,” these located in urban areas, and the advertisements for these establishments included catalogues of items kept in stock, including “raffle flower” corner blocks, moldings, newels, doors, sash, fanlights, etc. Country woodwork was different from city woodwork, which was more formal, restrained, and standardized; mantelpieces in better houses were frequently made of stone. Country woodwork displayed a taste for fancy and the distortion of established forms and motifs (Figure 65). This distinction suggests the design of the millwork, coming out of city or country shops, recognized their clients’ desire to develop a vocabulary distinguishable from that in the city.

**Figure 65.** *West parlor mantel in the Houck House, Town of Florida, Montgomery County (ca. 1805) (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2002).*

The population of the state increased significantly in the thirty to forty years following the Revolution, both by natural increase and by immigration from New England. Where a woodworking tradition did not exist in the region before the war, it must be assumed that the building trades and architectural tastes associated with the Dutch were influenced by the newcomers. The wood architecture in the Yankee settlements along New York’s eastern border could be even more abstract than that in the



old Dutch towns. Then, some aspects of the Dutch tradition prevailed, notably, the persistent rectangular, story-and-a-half form; basement kitchens; wide center halls referencing the traditional three-room linear plan; and divided doors opening on stoops with benches on the sides, although distinguished with elegant peaked roofs with compass ceilings and elaborate frontispieces.

The cultural allegiances of the region had changed from one pitting the Dutch against the British colonizers before the war, to the country—comprised of the Dutch and Old and New English—against the city after. The Dutch and Old English were wary of the Yankees with their industriousness, desire for wealth and Puritan beliefs, as well as of their sheer numbers. The Hudson Valley was thickly settled by the Dutch, so their incursion there was inconsequential, except in areas with trade and industrial potential. In eastern and northern New York, particularly Van Rensselaer Manor and along the Mohawk, their presence became overwhelming, eventually causing the demise of the manors and the tenure system. The Dutch were not directly threatened by the Yankees, but as landowners, they tended to side with the landed gentry of the state in their disdain of the newcomers. Politically, their demands for democratization and the right to vote were particularly unnerving for the New York aristocracy. This attitude is best depicted in Washington Irving's *Legend of Sleepy Hollow*, yet like Ichabod Crane, the Yankees charmed their way into the Dutch circle. Crane was expelled but the New Englanders were there to stay. The Yankees also were the agents of modernity and democracy that foreshadowed the decline of traditional communities and practices (see *Rip Van Winkle*).

However, as the nineteenth century unfolded, the Dutch and the others were confronted by what they believed was a greater threat, which was the ever-widening reach of the social and political influence of New York City. Antagonisms between the city and country developed early in colonial New York, partly due to the persistent English condescension of the Dutch but also because of the inherent dichotomy of the urban and rural lifestyles. The merchants' lavish materialism was at odds with the farmers' modest, pious way of life, despite the commercial relationships they shared. While the Dutch had receded into their carefully preserved communities in colonial times, they had been liberated from their isolation, willfully or not, and their interaction with the city had become colored by changing world views, and new state and national affiliations.

In the early nineteenth century, Dutch farmers, as well as those of Old and New English stock, became aligned with agrarian political groups, pro-Jeffersonian and anti-Federalist, in the struggle to maintain control of the state government and prevent city capitalists from taking over. Like many political party disputes, actions became partisan and hard division lines were drawn. This state conflict carried strong overtones of the Federalist party's assault on Jeffersonian republicans and their belief in a government based in rural organization. In New York, emotions were unusually high and the rhetoric extreme. Hudson Valley farmers adopted a pious position extolling the virtue of rural life and condemning the degradations of the city. Evidently influenced by the Quakers, or even the Puritans, they continually referenced the idea of plainness as the basis of their rural values. The August 19, 1820 issue of the *Plough Boy*, a radical Republican newspaper published in Albany, included the following refrain.

*Sweet Mary, sigh not for the town, Where vice and folly reign;  
Spurn not the humble gown That suits the rural plain.*

This homespun imagery masked the seriousness of the conflict, and the extremity of the rhetoric found elsewhere in that publication. This was a sophisticated political struggle unlike what was happening with the tenants on the manors, Palatines in the Schoharie Valley, or the Yankee squatters, which was more akin to class-based agrarian unrest in Europe.

This culture war would continue until 1848 when the so-called agrarian aristocracy, then affiliated with national Democrats, finally lost control of the statehouse. It was during this time that a form of rural expression developed that was emphatic in its rejection of urban taste, much like a century earlier when the Dutch defiantly preserved their cultural system after the English conquest. In the nineteenth century, the same tendencies expressed themselves as a rural preservation movement. Art historian James Flexner called it "that wilder image" in a book of that name in 1962. Typical of that era, Flexner reasoned it was naïve and folksy rather than intentional and political, but the term is apt as it refers to the unnatural distortion of establishment (high-style) art. In the Hudson Valley in this period, portraits and landscape paintings

were plain in subject and mannerist in style whereas paintings in the city were opulent and realistic. Country furniture was simple, turned, and painted; city furniture was made of rare woods, intricately carved, and highly finished. Country dress was somber and plain, and so on. In this context, the traditional forms, modest proportions, simple materials, and mannerist decoration of Dutch architecture in the early nineteenth century are consistent with a rural cultural system as it developed in the Hudson Valley. These people were not poor, uneducated, socially backward, or disengaged from their world. Instead, plainness was a matter of choice and a reasoned expression of rural identity.

Other events occurred in the early nineteenth century that contributed to the transformation of the Hudson Valley. Wheat declined as the basis for the region's agriculture economy. Exhausted soils and a series of blights diminished production, with wheat from the northern and western parts of the state gaining prominence. Proximity to New York City turned the mid-and lower-Hudson Valley, as well as northern New Jersey and Long Island, into the city's market garden rather than an international wheat basket. The city's population amounted to 60,000 persons in 1800; twenty years later it had doubled, and in 1840 it had grown to 327,000 people. The demand for food for people, feed for animals, lumber, firewood, and other farm and manufactured products brought instant prosperity to the region. Farmers from the east and west brought their produce to numerous river landings where it was shipped by sloop, and later steamboats and barges, to commission merchants in the city. Many sons of Dutch farmers found jobs with city merchants.

The most valuable farm product was butter, and nearly every farm, large or small, in the lower Hudson Valley sent butter to market, with some farms specializing in cheese. Animal husbandry was the farmer's principal occupation, maintaining a small (five to tenhead) dairy herd, growing their feed, milking them twice a day and churning butter (the farmwife's job). Other animals included sheep, raised in certain places and usually in small numbers; swine, a few fattened on the waste from butter-making and refuse from the kitchen for family consumption; poultry, meat, and eggs for market; and work animals: horses and oxen. This farm census remained constant through the nineteenth century. Field production included quantities of winter wheat and rye for the flour, Indian corn, oats for horse feed, and hay for cattle, potatoes and orchard products for domestic consumption. Beef cattle, swine, and sheep were slaughtered for the family table.

Dutch barns, designed in part for storing and processing wheat, were adapted to accommodate cows and their feed and bedding. Spaces under the roof created for curing wheat became hay mows; side aisles were fitted with stalls and stanchions for animals. Cow houses were built abutting the barn, in order to accommodate more cows and hay and feed in the lofts above. New Dutch barns built in this period, particularly in the Mohawk Valley, were large with much greater capacity. Old barns were enlarged in ways that varied in different regions, probably because of choices made by local carpenters. In the Kingston orbit, the side walls and roofs were raised by the addition of short post sections on the purlins above the major posts of the H- frame. In the Albany sphere, the plan of the barn was lengthened by the addition of new bents on one end and extending the roof over them, and by the introduction of lofts that were accessed by side-wall ramps. Schoharie barns were enlarged by a gable-roof addition engaged perpendicularly to the rear wall of the Dutch barn (In the case of the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys, most remaining barns incorporate innovations dating to the post-Revolutionary War era, as the majority of agricultural structures built before that time were destroyed in the war). The adapted Dutch barn continued to be the center of the dairy farm until the middle of the nineteenth century when new barns were introduced in response to progressive farming methods heavily promoted by the state. Many Dutch barns were lost as a result, but those that survive did so because they continued to serve the requirements for many small farmers. Some were further adapted to conform to new farming methods, such as moving them over basements and shifting the center aisle from its orientation to the gable end to the side.

#### **4.4.I. Slavery and Farm Labor**

New York was one of the last Northern states to abolish slavery, indicating its reliance on this captive labor force. The first gradual emancipation law in New York was passed in 1799. This law manumitted all slaves born before July 4, 1799, but those children born into slavery after that date would not be set free until they turned twenty-five (females) or twenty-eight (males). These qualifications ensured that enslavers would be compensated for their loss of the most

productive years of those they enslaved. A second law, passed in 1817, granted freedom to enslaved people of African descent born prior to 1799, but ten years in the future. Slavery in New York State did not come to a complete legal end until July 4, 1827.<sup>68</sup>

Nearly all Dutch farms of any consequence relied on the labor of enslaved Africans. Most of them owned one or two people, a few as many as a dozen. Large numbers had been part of teams working on the wheat plantations of the colonial merchant aristocracy. When slavery was finally abolished in New York in 1827, the young people who were the last to be emancipated tended to leave rural areas and joined others in New York City and Albany, where work and African American communities were located. A small number of formerly enslaved people remained in the towns where they had been enslaved, settling in enclaves in rugged, unproductive agricultural areas of Hudson Valley towns, marginalized, and employed as day laborers or teamsters, as most occupations were not open to them; some old and infirm individuals remained on the farms where they had been formerly enslaved.

No sooner had full emancipation been achieved when Irish immigrant laborers and domestic servants, most of them indentured, became the common labor force. Unmarried females and males lived in the house in second-floor rooms of newly-constructed kitchen wings; married farm laborers lived in tenant houses.<sup>69</sup> These small story-and-a-half wood-frame dwellings (with side-hall plans in the lower Hudson Valley, and three-bay wide hall and parlor houses elsewhere) sprouted up across the countryside. Gradually these families obtained title to the houses (Figure 66). Log dwellings were more common in the early nineteenth century than in colonial times. Most had one-room plans and were the homes of those occupying the lowest economic stratum. Very few of these impermanent buildings have survived.

**Figure 66.** *The “Oldest frame house in the Catskills”, ca. 1905 (Collection of W. R. Wheeler). A house form commonly found on tenanted farms of the upper Hudson and lower Mohawk Valleys and dating to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This house type was also commonly constructed in villages in that region, as housing for mechanics and craftsmen. In the Catskills, they frequently were of log construction. This particular example was built in the 1790s.*



68 “Field Notes: Slavery and Emancipation in New York,” accessed online at <http://historyinaction.columbia.edu/field-notes/slavery-and-emancipation-new-york/> on 11 November 2020.

69 In the Albany area, significant numbers of German immigrants served as farmhands; more typically immigrants from Germany settled in urban areas, however.

#### 4.4.II. The Erie, Delaware and Hudson Canals

When the Erie Canal was completed in 1825, it was heralded as a modern marvel that opened the west to world-wide commerce. New York was already the nation's preeminent port, but with the canal, its fortunes multiplied. Its population had doubled by the 1840s. The city became an economic and political powerhouse and hosted a thriving, diversified culture. It was at this point that the state's agrarian society fell under its shadow; agricultural products originating from all parts of the state would now find a market in the metropolis. Cultural traditions and rural society were forever changed. What, for the Dutch, had been a cultural continuum became a heritage. This event had a significant role in the emergence of the Romantic Movement in New York and nationwide.

The Erie Canal had a far greater impact on the upper Hudson and Mohawk valleys, which were at that time experiencing a Yankee incursion, than in other longer-established parts of the Dutch region. The resulting dramatic increase in the population of those regions funneled huge amounts of produce, manufactured goods, and raw materials into the canal, bound for the city, offloading freight at Hudson River ports along the way. The increased transportation led to the commercial expansion of Hudson River towns and spurred industrial development. The river towns were rebuilt in a modern image. Manufactured and imported consumer goods flowed back from the city to the hinterlands, creating a trade that further enriched city merchants. The Dutch in the Hudson Valley were largely spectators of this expanded trade, having already established this commercial ebb and flow with the city. The Dutch food producers were essentially bypassed by this new economy, which would soon leave the countryside in stagnation and decline.

Three years after the Erie Canal went into operation, the Delaware & Hudson Canal was completed, connecting the Hudson River at Rondout (now part of the City of Kingston) with the anthracite coal fields of northeastern Pennsylvania. The 108-mile waterway followed the Delaware River south from Laxawaxen, Pennsylvania to Port Jervis, New York, named for John B. Jervis, the civil engineer responsible for the plans of both the Erie and D&H canals, and thence northeast along the Neversink and Rondout valleys in New York to the Hudson at Rondout, coincidentally one of the three trading posts established on the river by the Dutch West India Company in 1620. From there, coal was shipped to New York to fuel the city's industrial furnaces and domestic stoves. Unlike the Erie Canal, which was a state-funded project, the D&H was owned by the coal company that paid for its construction with the principal intent of transporting coal. However, the canal did transport forest and quarry products, among them bluestone, Shawangunk millstones, and cement, derived from sources along its route, and it fostered small local economies, though nowhere close to the magnitude of the Erie. What the Delaware & Hudson Canal did, however, as did the Erie Canal, was create new towns at its locks and basins, to supply and service the canal, where none had ever existed. The D&H was an agent of modernity in what always had been a traditional rural landscape in terms of function, design, and population.

It took thousands of laborers to build the canal and to enlarge it twice. Most were Irish immigrants, many of whom stayed in the region, entered the local workforce and lived in new housing built both in and outside of canal towns. They altered the composition of these areas, which prior to that had been largely populated by Dutch farmers. The houses built for them reflected a modern style that had been introduced by the canal company. At every lock and port along the canal, the company built lock-tender's houses, lock houses, offices, and other related buildings, constructed from standard plans created by the company's engineers. All of them, particularly the dwellings, were designed in a modern, Greek Revival style expressed in corner pilasters, tall friezes along the eave lines – those on the fronts pierced with small upper-story windows – trabeated doorways and pillared porches. The towns that immediately grew up around ports contained stores, hotels, smithies, liveries, and housing, all of them expressing the Greek Revival taste. In contrast to the building stock existing in older farming centers in these valleys, the canal and its towns comprised an alien presence foretelling the future. The Erie Canal had a similar effect in the Mohawk Valley.

#### 4.4.III. The Modern Style

The modern style expressed itself in new construction in the state as a whole, but in only isolated examples of houses in the Dutch countryside, a region that was essentially already built out. Still, natural increase brought a generation more comfortable with the changing times. The story-and-a-half prototype house with a center-hall plan, a room-and-a-half deep, and basement kitchen with Greek Revival-style trim is not uncommon in the region (Figure 67). Distinguished by symmetrical facades with wide corner boards made to resemble pilasters and a tall frieze running across the eaves,

these houses are sometimes decorated with a course of rectangular or round dentils and more often punctuated with small rectangular windows. In a similar manner, front entrances and their sidelights are framed by pilasters appearing to support a tall lintel across the top. Porches with flat roofs, fronted by columns (or turned posts representing them), distinguish the center entrance or widen out to cover two or all four flanking bays. Gable ends carry massive Greek trim with short returns at the base or, in more ornate houses, closing to frame a full pediment. Occasionally, the Dutch tradition was abandoned entirely in front-gable temple forms. There are some old stone houses where Greek Revival trim has been applied to facades to update appearances. Such re-stylings more frequently occurred in the next generation when Gothic Revival elements were added to much better effect.

**Figure 67.** *Unnamed house at 3449 Cooper St., Marbletown, ca. 1840, Ulster County. A compact, symmetrical dwelling with Greek Revival trim (Photo by John Ham, 2018).*



In 1831, Crines and Rachel Jenkins built a farmhouse on the productive farm Rachel's great-grandfather Abraham Hardenbergh established on the Wallkill River north of New Paltz in 1752 (Figure 68). Abraham's stone house was nearby. By contrast, the new two-story wood-frame house was an indication of the economic and cultural shifts occurring in the agricultural region, and how Dutch families were mediating between continuity and change. The center-hall, one-and-a-half-pile

plan with a basement kitchen was consistent with the Dutch house form as it had evolved after the Revolution, but the two-story scale was evidence of the eighteenth-century class hierarchy expressed in domestic architecture no longer was relevant, at least when it came to the rural elite. As was often the case, the basement kitchen in the Jenkins house was quickly replaced with a two-story wing that contained chambers above for indentured servants, with their own stairs to the kitchen because they were not directly connected to the family side of the house.

**Figure 68.** *Crines & Rachel Jenkins House, 1831 on the Hardenbergh-Jenkins Farm, Gardiner, Ulster County. A two-story farmhouse displaying design elements transitioning from the Neo-classical to the Modern taste (Photo by Neil Larson, 2019).*



Design features of the house also evinced the transitional moment. Neo-classical elements popular since the turn of the nineteenth century were still present, notably attenuated façade and porch trim and tall, distorted cornices above the windows, but others indicated that millworkers had retooled to create trim and turnings in the new

modern fashion. Complex turnings distinguished the newel post of the railing for the staircase in the wide center hall. Turnings were engaged to the sides of wood mantelpieces, which contained elements designed in stylized Classical mode. Window and door trim, wide boards deeply gouged, intersected at corner blocks containing carved acanthus leaves. The woodwork conformed more closely to the city taste than the preceding mannerist versions of Neoclassical decoration and probably was manufactured there and ordered by carpenters from catalogs. It signifies that the relationship between country and city was more relaxed in this generation. As the next half of the nineteenth century progressed, the association of houses built for Dutch families with their heritage became more and more tenuous to the point where they disappeared altogether.

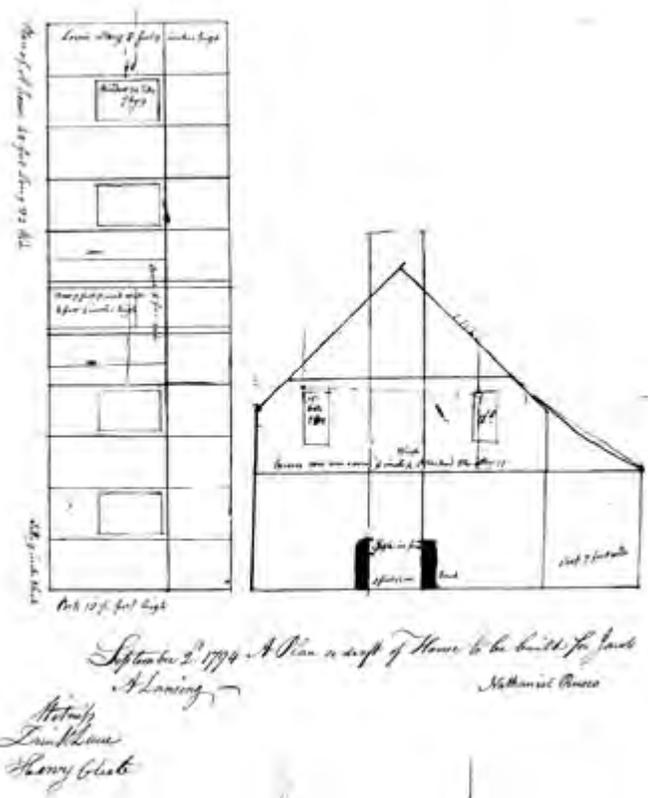
The Jenkinse inherited a large Dutch barn with the farm, apparently built for Rachel's father, Jacob Hasbrouck. It has been altered numerous times to adapt to different uses, the most recent of which was paving the floor of one aisle with concrete and installing stanchions for milking cows in a sanitary vacuum system collecting milk in a sealed tank in a small milk house wing attached to one end of the building. Attached to the other end is a mid-twentieth-century concrete block silo built to store and ferment corn silage added to cows' diets to increase the butterfat content of their milk. If the modern farmhouse was located on a new farm, a modern barn was likely built to go with it. In this era, it was the progressive basement barn, a modification of the English barn erected on an embanked stone basement open on one side, a configuration believed to be a healthier situation for cows and one allowing feed to be dropped easily from the central threshing floor, feed bins, and hay mow above. The roof structure was reconfigured to permit hay to be hoisted from wagons and moved inside through doors at the apex of the gables along a track running directly below the ridge board. It was not long before the capacity of the basement barn was inadequate and the poorly-ventilated basement found not to be as salubrious for cows as believed. Hudson Valley barns would undergo many changes during the second half of the nineteenth century, during which period the Dutch barn largely became a thing of the past.

#### 4.4.IV. Upper Hudson and Lower Mohawk Valleys

The continuance of the manor system in Rensselaer and Albany counties after the Revolution kept many of the tenanted farms in a depressed state and disinclined new settlers from building larger houses. As a result, the post-war building in these areas is almost wholly of wood-frame construction. It is typified by one-and-one-half story dwellings with center passages and lean-tos, which provide a range of narrower rooms across the back. This model was commonly constructed in areas adjacent to the manor as well, on properties that were not infrequently owned by Albany's elite, anxious to establish their own tenanted farms (Figure 69).

Those more closely associated with the Van Rensselaer family, either professionally or personally, were permitted to purchase lands within the manor outright, and those individuals built larger houses, typically center-passage dwellings of two stories, either one-and-one-half rooms deep or of double-pile plan; yet these houses were more often than not of wood-frame construction, rather than of more pretentious materials. Yankees made incursions in the less-policed areas along the Massachusetts and Vermont borders, constructing houses that reflected their New England origins.

**Figure 69.** Framing elevations of a tenant house built for Jacob A. Lansing of Albany, in Schaghticoke, Rensselaer County, 1794 (Hart Cluett Museum).



#### 4.4.V. The Mohawk Valley

The experience of the Dutch in the Mohawk Valley was significantly different than that of the Hudson Valley. The Mohawk Valley had suffered wartime devastation and loss more than any part of New York.<sup>70</sup> The once-prosperous farming region had been beset by fire, plunder, and murder. The population was severely depleted, and farms and fields laid in ruin. By the end of the war, members of the militia had been reduced from 2,500 before the war to 800; the taxable population was not more than 1,200. The Loyalist forces had made more than 300 widows and 2,000 orphans, killed thousands of cattle and horses, burnt more than two million bushels of grain, many hundreds of buildings, and vast stores of forage.<sup>71</sup> After the war Tories and native tribesmen were exiled to Canada, and their land was confiscated by the state, including Sir William Johnson's vast holdings. New houses, barns, mills, churches, and schools were built; fields were restored, and the region re-entered the wheat market in Albany. By 1788 Elkanah Watson observed that "The country between Schenectady and Johnstown was well settled by a Dutch population, generally in a prosperous condition."<sup>72</sup> Another traveler was impressed by the recovery of the war-ravaged region.

*After leaving Schenectady [the once considerable trading place then falling into decay], I travelled over a most beautiful country of eighty miles to Fort Schuyler, where I forded the Mohawk: This extent was the scene of British and Savage cruelty, during the late war, and they did not cease, while anything remained to destroy. What a contrast now! every house and barn rebuilt, pastures crowded with cattle, Sheep, & c., and the lap of Ceres full. Most of the land on each Side of the Mohawk River, is a rich flat highly cultivated with every species of grain, the land on each side of the flats, rising in agreeable Slopes; this, added to the view of a fine river passing through the whole, gives the beholder the most pleasing Sensations imaginable.<sup>73</sup>*

In September 1791, at the Schuyler mill at Palatine Church, Watson observed the "descendants of German emigrants intermingling on all sides with the enterprising Sons of the East [New Englanders] between whom mutual prejudices ran high."<sup>74</sup> Much of the energy for the region's restoration, progress, and modernity needs to be credited to the wave of New Englanders flooding over it immediately following the war. However, the mass of the New England migration ended up west of the old 1763 Proclamation Line into lands that had been reserved by the British for native tribes, and Palatines continued their tenure of the prime farms located on the flats and low hills near the Mohawk River. Newcomers who did settle in the mid-Mohawk valley typically established farms in peripheral areas.

The Dutch and Palatine farmers of the mid-Mohawk and Schoharie valleys quickly recovered their local economy after the Revolution, largely rebuilding what was lost following time-tested methods, and thus retained their ancestral farms. The high level of fertility of the region's agricultural landscape facilitated maintenance of traditional farming methods and an insular attitude—at least at first—to Yankee innovations. Reflecting these values, New World Dutch barns continued to be constructed after the classic form, with square plans and generally without incorporation of innovations until the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when farming practices changed, although the barrack continued during this period as the preferred method for storing hay. Similarly, house form was overwhelmingly homogenous in the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys, with one-and-one-half story wood or limestone houses having a center passage plan, predominating. Many of the frame dwellings incorporated rear lean-tos into their design (Figure 70).

70 This portion of the context was developed from a number of secondary sources, primarily Nelson Greene, ed., *History of the Mohawk Valley: Gateway to the West, 1614-1925* (1925) digitized by the Schenectady Digital History Archive, and found online at <http://www.schenectadyhistory.org/resources/mvgw/index.html>; accessed 11 November 2020.

71 F. W. Beers, ed., *History of Montgomery and Fulton Counties, New York* (New York: F. W. Beers & Co., 1878), 57.

72 Greene 1925, found online at <http://www.schenectadyhistory.org/resources/mvgw/index.html>; accessed 11 November 2020.

73 "Description of the Country between Albany and Niagara in 1792," in Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *The Documentary History of the State of New-York 2* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1849), 1105. Thematic Survey of Dutch Heritage Resources in the Greater Hudson Valley Survey Report

74 Greene 1925, found online at <http://www.schenectadyhistory.org/resources/mvgw/index.html>; accessed 11 November 2020.

Builders or their clients constructing during this time favored roofs of lower slope than those typically seen in the Hudson River Valley of the period, giving these dwellings a compact appearance. The region's farmers were quick, however, to accept the innovation of second-floor bedrooms, and the majority of dwellings constructed from the 1830s into the 1850s made use of "frieze windows" and the elaborate cast-iron screens with classical Greek-inspired detailing that inventor Williams Woolley began to manufacture in 1833 (Figure 71 & Figure 72).<sup>75</sup> Two-story houses were typically of wood-frame construction and were more often than not built using the H-bent framing system, or one of many variants invented to accommodate a shortage of large timbers and deeper house plans as the room-and-a-half deep and double-pile plans began to be accepted (Figure 73).

**Figure 70.** *The J. Vanderveer House, Glen, Montgomery County (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2008).*



**Figure 71.** (right) "Residence of Mr. George Getman," in Stone Arabia, Montgomery County, by Fritz Vogt (Private Collection). The house and outbuildings remain essentially as they are pictured in this late-nineteenth-century view. The house has a large kitchen wing, constructed to house servants and farmhands. The original out-kitchen survives as the right half of the barn that is shown here, perpendicular to the end of the later kitchen wing.



**Figure 72.** (below) *The Getman House, Town of Palatine (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2013).* The house incorporates cast iron window screens with Greek designs; cast iron anthemions are applied to the faces of its interior doors.



<sup>75</sup> Woolley first exhibited his designs for cast-iron frieze window screens in 1833; he continued to manufacture them for the next 10 years or so. Others began production of their own designs by the 1840s. See *The Commercial Advertiser* (New York, NY), 19 October 1833, 2.

**Figure 73.** *The Houck House (ca. 1805), formerly in the Town of Florida, Montgomery County (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2002). A two-story room-and-a-half deep house constructed for a family that had relocated here from Columbia County, the frame of the house incorporated adaptations of the H-bent framing system that permitted a deeper plan and high, plaster-ceilinged rooms. The wing in the foreground was a semi-attached kitchen, remodeled and extended to the north in the 1840s to accommodate hired hands and a woodhouse.*



While the Palatines rebuilt their houses and farms and resumed the lifestyle they enjoyed before the war, they were gradually forced to adopt advancements in agriculture, infrastructure, and institutions brought to the region by the New Englanders. Unlike the refugees before them, the Yankees brought an entire established culture with them, complete with advanced agricultural methods, religious, and educational practices, town organization, experience in manufacturing, and new architecture. Their sheer numbers created a demand for improved infrastructure linking them to the trade and markets in the east. One of their own, Elkanah Watson, a native of Plymouth, Massachusetts, created the Inland Lock Navigation Company, and by 1796 had improved water travel from Schenectady to Oneida Lake. Although this project was largely unsuccessful, it planted the seed for the planning and development of the Erie Canal, which when it opened in 1825 transformed the Mohawk Valley as well as increasing the fortunes of the Empire State enormously.

Yet, like the Palatines before them, the Yankees encountered discrimination by New York's ruling aristocracy and disdain for their democratizing effect on state politics. Together with the ongoing tenant rebellion, the Yankees pressured the state legislature to remove voting restrictions designed to limit the participation of small landowners, leaseholders, and working men. Yankees bore the brunt of satire and ridicule in newspapers and popular literature. Romantic novelists Washington Irving and James Kirke Paulding, darlings of the old New York establishment, negatively characterized Yankees as agents of change threatening the peace and tranquility of polite society and bringing an end to traditional Dutch life. Ichabod Crane was one such Yankee invader who needed to be driven out of Sleepy Hollow, and Rip Van Winkle awoke from his twenty-year nap to find the world had been changed by progress and modernity. The Dutch in their complacency were the subject of the author's criticism, having lost their command of the culture.

James Fenimore Cooper was less artful in his characterizations and more explicit in his resentment of the forces of change, particularly regarding elite landowners. The son of William Cooper, whose large landholdings at the headwaters of the Susquehanna River gave name to Cooperstown, James Fenimore Cooper extolled the noble lives of Native Americans and frontiersmen (e.g., Chingachgook and Natty Bumppo or Hawk-Eye) and condemned the New England squatters for undermining the livelihoods of landowners and diluting New York's cultural stock. It was an elitist position in which his personal stake was thinly veiled, but his novels as a group provide a compelling description of the decline of the New York aristocracy and the Dutch era.

#### 4.4.IV. Western New York

The destination of the majority of New Englanders was the million-and-a-half-acre Military Tract and the six-million-acre tract New York relinquished to Massachusetts to settle the long-standing dispute over the control of the territory (New York would retain governmental jurisdiction). Additional lands there and in northern New York state were opened for development at that time, through a combination of factors, including land grants made to New York's Revolutionary War soldiers (many of which were sold to speculators in Albany and elsewhere), removal by purchase or consolidation of Native American populations into reservations, and improvements in transportation. Albany speculators, including the Schuyler family (Angelica, NY was named after the mother of developer Philip Church, Angelica Schuyler Church) and John Tayler (sometime governor of the state), established communities and tenant-occupied farms. As a result, although New Englanders predominated in these newly-opened areas, their populations were highly diverse, incorporating Hudson Valley Dutch, and more recent European immigrants as well as New Englanders (Figure 74). Like the New Englanders, the Dutch minority in these areas brought their building traditions and institutions with them; houses,

barns, churches, and place names expressing their culture remain in the landscape of western and northern New York to this day (Figure 75).

**Figure 74.** Detail from “Plan of an American New Cleared Farm,” from Patrick Campbell, *Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America* (Edinburgh, 1793). This image, which purports to illustrate development along the Mohawk River, shows a great variety of structures, including hay barracks, English barns, log structures, and a substantial dwelling house with dependencies, at left, graphically illustrating the diverse built culture of then-developing areas.



**Figure 75.** A view in Angelica, Allegany County, by Anne Marguerite Hyde de Neuville, 1808 (New-York Historical Society). A story-and-a-half house of the type commonly built in the Hudson Valley at that time is the central element of a farmstead that includes multiple hay barracks.



By 1800, western New York was home to as many Yankees as Connecticut. In 1810, the population west of the old Proclamation Line (and the Mohawk River) had reached 200,000, and that number more than doubled by 1820; there were more than one million people in western New York by 1850.

In the newly-opened areas of the state – at the western end of the Mohawk Valley and in the Finger Lakes region, as well as along the Champlain Valley and west of the Adirondacks – Yankee settlers predominated, and a range of house forms and agricultural buildings that had their origins in New England characterized most communities.

However, New York’s Dutch population was almost as mobile as the New Englanders at this time, with significant numbers of people from the Hudson Valley moving into Vermont and northern New York, and “Schoharie Dutch” moving into Ontario, Canada in the post-war years. As with their new settlements in western New York, the Dutch brought their

building traditions with them to these areas, although their smaller numbers and more diffuse settlement typically meant that their cultural institutions were not established in these areas, and that the appearance of these communities has more in common with New England villages than those of the Hudson Valley. The early-nineteenth-century buildings built by the Dutch in these areas generally reflect their close contact with New England building traditions – either in building form or sometimes in framing strategies – and were adapted to account for changes in technology and availability of building materials.

## 4.5 Revivals and the Beginnings of Modern Scholarship

### 4.5.I. Romantic Interest in a Dutch Past

The beginning of the nineteenth century also marks the beginning of nostalgia for the Dutch past—either real or as imagined. Washington Irving’s *Knickerbocker’s History of New York* (1809) and later writings by Irving and others popularized a romantic version of Dutch-American history and culture, even as they gently parodied it. This nostalgia was at least partially fueled by the rapid expansion of the state’s population, which threatened to erase all traces of the Dutch past. This was seen most dramatically in urban areas; between 1800 to 1850, the populations of Manhattan and Albany increased nearly ten-fold, and the density of Manhattan doubled.<sup>76</sup>

Newspapers and journals began to regularly publish references to the destruction of Dutch houses in urban areas, and American travelers in the Netherlands began to turn their attention to connections between the vernacular architecture of the two countries.<sup>77</sup> One tourist observed the following:

*About fifteen miles after leaving Utrecht, we entered upon that part of the country, from whence doubtless the greater part of the Dutch settlers of New-York, emigrated. This was evident from the exact resemblance of the farm houses and barns to those upon the Mohawk. In England and Holland, farmers have much more rarely than in America, barns for the storing of grain and hay, but we had now entered a tobacco growing district, and we found in the barns constructed for storing this herb, the exact counterpart of the Dutch barn in America.*<sup>78</sup>

It was observed in 1836 of the so-called “Van der Heyden Palace” that “...so long as it existed, there was no better specimen of the mansions which were erected by the old Dutch nobility of the province...It would appear something like sacrilege to destroy any of the few monuments of past magnificence, that may exist among us, unless to supply their place by the best efforts of modern architecture.”<sup>79</sup>

James Eights’ watercolors of the 1840s and 1850s, depicting Albany streetscapes as they appeared in the first decade of the nineteenth century, were intended to memorialize the city’s appearance as it was before this time of great change. These images were distributed as colored lithographs, and received national distribution through their publication in 1857 as part of a look back at “Albany Fifty Years Ago,” in *Harper’s Magazine*.<sup>80</sup> (Figure 76).

**Figure 76.** One of James Eights’ views of Albany buildings, as reproduced in *Harper’s Magazine* (Collection W. R. Wheeler).



XV. Residence of Colonel Lansing.

76 <http://demographia.com/db-nyuza1800.htm> accessed 5 November 2020; “Albany Population Statistics,”

77 Walter Richard Wheeler, “Vernacular Documents: The Last of the Urban Dutch Houses in Manhattan,” in *The Society for the Preservation of Hudson Valley Vernacular Architecture Newsletter* 13: 7-9 (July-September 2010), 4- 7.

78 Anonymous. “Letters from Europe: Letter XLI,” *Albany Evening Journal*, 18 September 1834.

79 “The Site of the New Baptist Church...,” *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge* (Boston), 2: 11 (July 1836), 441.

80 Benson J. Lossing, “Albany Fifty Years Ago,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* 82 (March 1857), 451-463.

The increased interest in the region's Dutch history was seized upon by Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, who taught himself Dutch to explore the early European-American history of New York. His initial work resulted in the two-volume *History of New Netherland: Or, New York Under the Dutch* (1846, 1848), which was followed by two multi-volume edited collections: *Documentary History of the State of New York* (4 vols., 1849-1851), and *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (15 vols. total, published between 1853 and 1887; vols. 12-15 edited by Berthold Fernow), both based upon documents collected between 1841 and 1844 from European archives by John Romeyn Brodhead, during research trips funded by the state.<sup>81</sup>

Contemporaneously, David Thomas Valentine began publication of his *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York* (1841-1870, with several title changes during its print run), which incorporated substantial historical content into annual volumes that were principally intended as political directories. These volumes reproduced color lithographs of many of the Dutch landmarks in and around New York, particularly on Manhattan and Long Island (Figure 77). In Albany, Joel Munsell published early translations of some of the Dutch documents on the settling of Albany and the surrounding region and provided genealogical notes on its earliest settlers in a series of illustrated multivolume compilations begun in 1849.<sup>82</sup> These and subsequent publications raised the public's awareness of New York's Dutch past and its material culture.

**Figure 77.** Lithograph of "Old House 35th St 11th Avenue, N. Y." from *Valentine's Manual for 1864* (Private Collection).



#### 4.5.II. Dutch Revival Architecture

It is perhaps not surprising that Washington Irving poured some of his newfound wealth from writing about the region's Dutch history into the purchase and remodeling of a Dutch farmhouse, selecting the Acker house in Tarrytown, Westchester County in 1835. Irving's "restoration" was informed by his understanding of rural Dutch farmsteads of the seventeenth century, and included the replication of iconographic features such as stepped gables (Figure 78). He

81 Stephen McErleane, "The Radical Archivist," *New York Archives*, Spring 2015, 18-19.

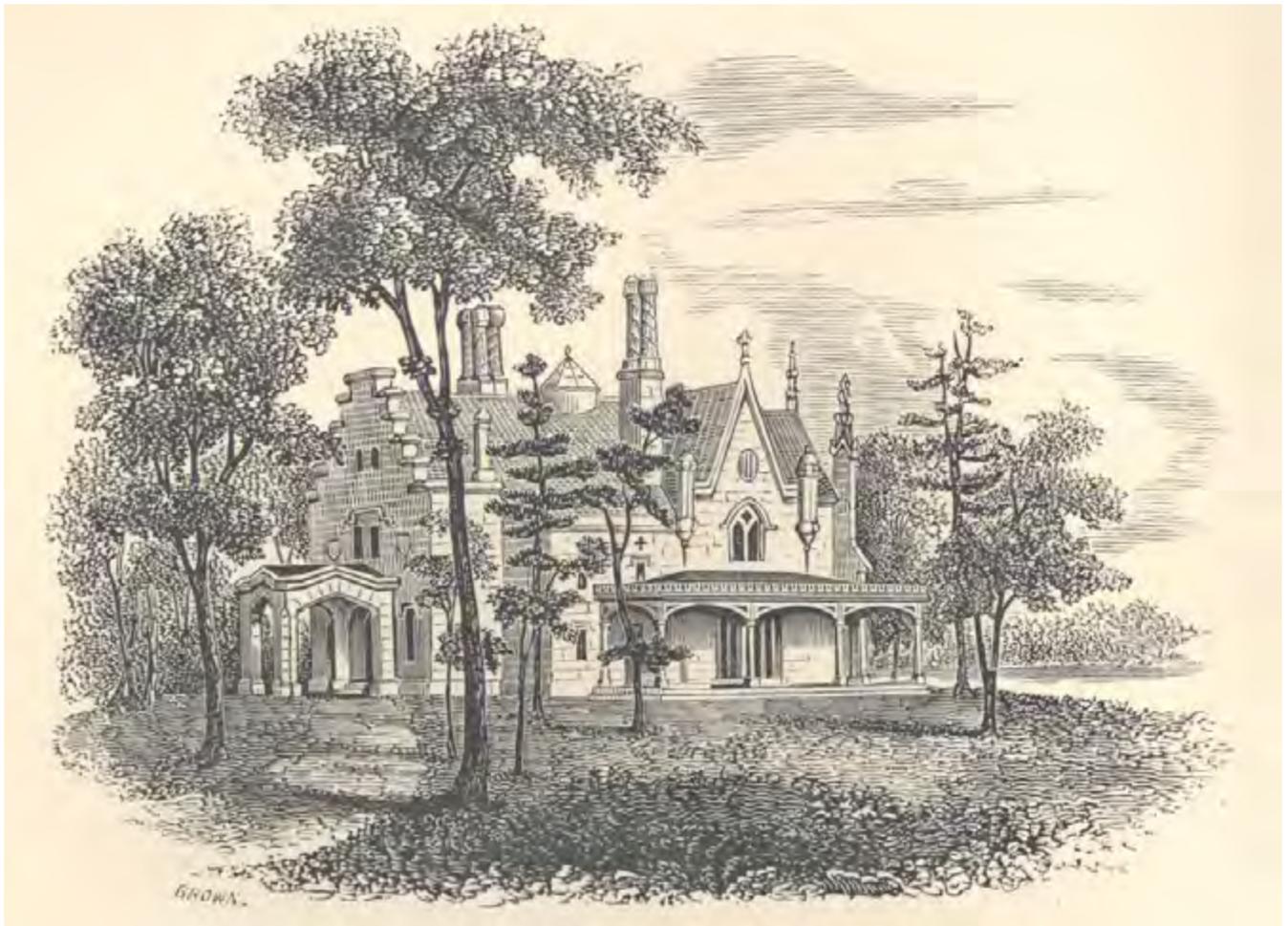
82 Beginning in 1849 as the *Albany Annual Register*, continuing as *Annals of Albany* (1850-1859), and concluding after a hiatus, with *Collections on the History of Albany* (1865-1871), all self-published.

used the Vanderheyden house in Albany as one of his models and acquired the weathervane from that recently-demolished house, which adorns his home to this day.

Notable nineteenth-century architect Alexander Jackson Davis, who had memorialized the few remaining examples of Dutch architecture in Manhattan in the early 1830s in a series of illustrations and short articles published in *The Mirror*, incorporated stepped gables in the Gothic Revival designs he provided for clients along the Hudson River and elsewhere (Figure 79). Through his association with A. J. Downing, and publication of his designs in popular journals and books, Davis' interpretation of the Gothic Revival with Dutch influences was promulgated across the nation.

**Figure 79.** (below) *Kenwood, looking northeast.* Engraved by Brown from a drawing by A. J. Davis. Published in A. J. Downing, ed., *The Cultivator* (Albany) 2:3.81 (March 1845).

**Figure 78.** *Detail of a stereoview of Washington Irving's Sunnyside by E. & H. T. Anthony & Co., 1869 (Collection W. R. Wheeler).*



### 4.5.III. Post Civil War Vernacular

By the mid-nineteenth century, the region's vernacular had largely begun to reflect forms seen elsewhere in the United States. The reasons for this are numerous. They included the promulgation of new designs in books and agricultural publications; the decline of the apprenticeship system, and the resulting opening up of the building trades; the rise of scientific farming approaches, which resulted in modifications to the care of animals and the storage of their feed; standardization of hardware and other building components through the introduction of mass-production techniques; declining availability of large-size timber, which forced a reconsideration of framing strategies; and transportation improvements, which brought building materials (and people) originating from far-flung areas to building sites across the nation. These forces, combined with a gradual homogenization of the nation's culture, resulted in the rise of a national vernacular.

There were, however, holdouts, particularly in the more rural portions of New York. Among the surviving New World Dutch barns in Mohawk, Schoharie, Delaware, and Fulton counties are the last-constructed barns of this type. The majority of these nineteenth-century barns are of the standard form, square in plan, but with lower-slung roofs and higher side walls, increasing the storage capacity of the building, while at the same time facilitating safer repairs to the roof. Some of these barns incorporated innovations, such as internal silos, hay bays, side ramps, and elevated basements. Identified examples constructed after the Civil War typically have their entrances situated on their eaves walls and are constructed of smaller timbers of standard size, frequently sawn (Figure 80). Possibly the last – certainly the last currently known – building that was constructed using New World Dutch framing techniques is a barn in Franklin, Delaware County. The owner related a family tradition that it was constructed to replace a New World Dutch barn that had been destroyed by fire and that the family desired to replicate the earlier building (Figure 81).

**Figure 80.** *This bank barn, constructed ca. 1875 in Ephrata, Fulton County, is framed like a New World Dutch barn, but with smaller members of standardized size (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2010).*



**Figure 81.** *Constructed in Franklin, Delaware County in 1898 to replace a New World Dutch barn that had burned, this barn replicated the framing and internal arrangement of its predecessor. It may have been the last Dutch barn constructed during the historic period (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2007).*



The construction of one-and-one-half story houses of wood-frame construction continued to predominate in rural areas, with center passage plans and shallower roofs, the latter facilitated by improvements in roofing technologies (Figure 72). These later dwellings frequently make use of a modified framing technique, incorporating elements from English as well as Dutch traditions; girts connected to corner posts support parallel second floor joists that span the full depth of these houses. If the dwelling had a deep plan, a secondary beam supported the joists near their halfway point (Figure 82). Roofs continued to be predominantly framed with pairs of common rafters, lacking a ridge pole.

**Figure 82.** Interior view of 1146 Quackenbush Road, Schenectady ([https://www.zillow.com/homedetails/1146-Quackenbush-Rd-Schenectady-NY-12306/32496229\\_zpid/](https://www.zillow.com/homedetails/1146-Quackenbush-Rd-Schenectady-NY-12306/32496229_zpid/) accessed 11 November 2020). The rough finish of the beams shown here is a strong indication that they were not intended to be seen, as was typical of late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century framing. Witness marks, indicating the former presence of lath and plaster, confirms that they were originally located above a finished ceiling, and, with respect to the central beam, within a cross-partition. The ends of the beams rest on a girt, seen in the background, right; the crossbeam rests on a post, center left.



#### 4.5.IV. A Second Wave of Nostalgia - Centennials, Bicentennials and Dutch Revival Redux

The celebration of the Centennial of the Declaration of Independence in 1876 provided an opportunity to continue to heal the nation after the Civil War, encouraging a unified view of American history that centered on English settlers and romanticized colonial history. The history of the Dutch in North America was marginalized in the process, as was that of enslaved African Americans, Native Americans, women, and recent immigrant groups. Despite the prevailing national narrative, the Centennial Loan Exhibition, held in New York, incorporated nods to Dutch-American history. Although largely consisting of genre paintings, the exhibit included canvases inspired by Washington Irving's stories and episodes from Dutch-American history.<sup>83</sup>

Albany's Bicentennial celebration, held in 1886, also featured a loan exhibition as part of its charter celebration.<sup>84</sup> The city's celebration included a series of public events and the unveiling of a group of bronze plaques scattered throughout the city, each in commemoration of a Dutch landmark. The large parade that crowned the celebration included one float that featured "a Dutch house of ancient style, gable roof, eighteen feet high."<sup>85</sup>

83 National Academy of Design, *New York Centennial Loan Exhibition 1876* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art/National Academy of Design, 1876).

84 *Catalogue of Albany's Bicentennial Loan Exhibition, 1686-1886* (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., Printers, 1886).

85 "The Gates Opened," *Albany Evening Times*, 19 July 1886.

Washington Irving and others had established the first social organization honoring New York's early past, the Saint Nicholas Society, in 1835. As part of the second wave of interest in Dutch-American history, The Holland Society, a membership organization consisting of the male descendants of Dutch settlers, was established in New York in 1885.

The establishment of the latter group, and Albany's public celebrations, coincided with an international aesthetic and cultural craze known today as "Holland Mania." All things Dutch were celebrated as part of that trend, which began ca. 1880 and continued into the 1920s.<sup>86</sup> The movement found expression in architecture – dark-stained corbelled beams and antique Delft-tile ornamented buildings with stepped or scrolled gables – and material culture (Figure 83 through Figure 86).

**Figure 83.** *The upper portion of the façade of 317 State Street, Albany, ca. 1898 (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2019).*<sup>112</sup>



**Figure 84.** (right) *Funeral spoon for Abraham Lansing of Albany, 1899 (Collection W. R. Wheeler). The tradition of gifting funeral spoons to close relatives and pallbearers was revived briefly during this period. The design of this spoon copied that of one of Lansing's ancestors, Maria van Rensselaer, 1688/89, now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.*



<sup>86</sup> Annette Stott's *Holland Mania* (Woodstock: The Overlook Press, 1998), is the best source for this phenomenon as it occurred in the United States.

Through this period, interest in New York's Dutch past continued to be promoted by social organizations, scholarship, and artists. A series of county histories, published beginning in the 1870s, began to place an emphasis on the state's early history of early Dutch settlers, although remaining largely male centric, and avoiding any detailed discussion about Native American-Dutch relations, or the colony's history of enslaving people.

Although Holland Mania largely passed out of favor with the changes wrought to international relations resulting from World War I, the Dutch Revival continued to be promulgated at a regional level by patrons and architects who sought to express their deep roots in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys into the 1920s. Among the patrons, Franklin D. Roosevelt – first as Governor (1929-1933) and subsequently as President – was a strong advocate of New York State's Dutch history and maintained no small interest in architecture. Under his direction, the Rhinebeck post office was constructed using the Kip-Beekman house as a model (and, in fact, incorporating some of its materials), and the rest stops of the Taconic State Parkway (the commission for the construction of which was chaired by Roosevelt from 1925) were constructed to reflect regional Dutch vernacular farmhouses (Figure 85).<sup>87</sup>

**Figure 85.** *The Todd Hill service station, Poughkeepsie, Dutchess County (NY HAER NY,14-POKEP).*



**Figure 86.** *9 Upland Avenue, Menands, Albany County, by Walter Hunter van Guysling, 1914 (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2018).*



Among the architects, Marcus T. Reynolds and Walter Hunter van Guysling were both descendants of Albany's oldest families, and both highlighted these connections in their work, which not infrequently mixed New Netherlandish and more generic Colonial Revival detailing (Figure 86). Reynolds and his brother, Albany historian Cuyler Reynolds, furthermore involved themselves in some of the first organized preservation efforts of Dutch-American buildings, including the Van Rensselaer Manor House and its land office, and the house at Schuyler Flatts.

The work of Colonial Revival architects was supported by a growing literature that documented select examples – deemed worthy of emulation – of earlier vernacular architecture. Although most of the publications tended to support the romantic notion of an English-American past, *The Monograph Series*, published by the White Pine Bureau, was among the first to issue monographs on Dutch-American vernacular architecture, including issues on farmhouses of New Netherland and of Manhattan island and early Dutch houses in New Jersey, published in 1915, 1923 and 1925, respectively.<sup>88</sup> These were followed by the first attempts at surveying large portions of the New York State's Dutch vernacular architecture, with Helen Wilkinson Reynolds' *Dutch Houses in the Hudson Valley Before 1776*, among the first to be printed, in 1929.<sup>89</sup> Additional publications, such as those by Aymar Embury II, reinterpreted elements of Dutch

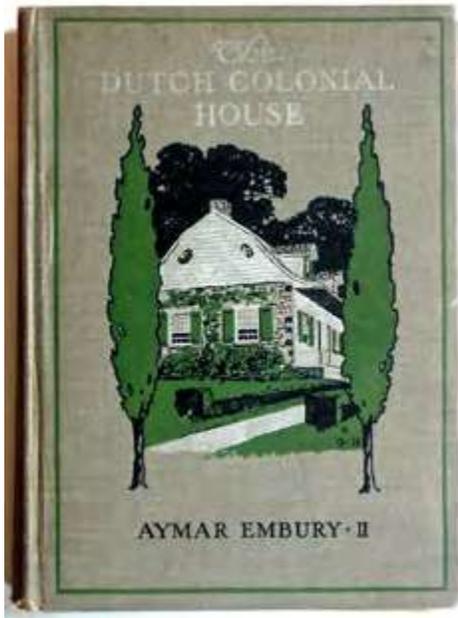
87 Bernice L. Thomas, *The Stamp of FDR: New Deal Post Offices in the Mid-Hudson Valley* (Fleischmanns, NY: Purple Mountain Press, 2002), 57-61.

88 Aymar Embury II, "Farm Houses of New Netherlands," *The White Pine Series of Architectural Monographs* 1:3 (1915); Lemuel Hoadley Fowler, "Some Forgotten Farmhouses on Manhattan Island," *The White Pine Series of Architectural Monographs* 9: 1 (February 1923); Clifford C. Wendehack, "Early Dutch Houses of New Jersey," *The White Pine Series of Architectural Monographs* 11:3 (1925).

89 Helen Wilkinson Reynolds, *Dutch Houses in the Hudson Valley Before 1776* (Payson and Clarke Ltd, New York, 1929). Originally issued in a limited edition, it has been reprinted several times by Dover.

vernacular architecture for their readers, conflating gambrel roofs, steeply-pitched gables with flaring eaves, divided doors and exposed beams with Colonial Revival detailing derived from New England's vernacular (Figure 87).<sup>90</sup>

**Figure 87.** Cover of Aymar Embury II's *The Dutch Colonial House* (Collection W. R. Wheeler).



**Figure 88.** The Van Weye-Van Keuren-Carl House, 138 Green Street, Kingston, restored by Myron S. Teller in 1923 (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2014).



Beginning during this period, and in part relying on this growing literature, other architects, such as Myron

S. Teller in Kingston, built their practices on the "restoration" of rural houses, upgrading them with hardware and features that served to make the past a bit more interesting to them than they had found it, and more livable for a new generation of occupants, not infrequently weekenders whose access to automobiles made the notion of a second home in the mid-Hudson Valley tenable (Figure 88).

## 4.6 Scholarship, Advocacy, Threats and Revivals

During the past 100 years, recurring anniversaries of landmark events in Dutch-American history have inspired a number of public celebrations, increasing the profile of Dutch heritage in the public's imagination. Anniversaries in 1924, 1932, 1959, 1986, and most recently in 2009 have each been attended with bursts of scholarship and interest in Dutch-American culture. Substantial exhibitions of Dutch-American material culture occurred in 1940 at Holland House in New York, in 1986 at the Albany Institute, and at the Bard Graduate Center in 2009, the most recent of these being the first exhibit to attempt an approach that focused on a woman's experience of the seventeenth-century colony.<sup>91</sup> The Albany exhibit benefitted substantially from the results of archeological work conducted beginning in the late 1960s, led by Paul R. Huey.

<sup>90</sup> Aymar Embury II, *The Dutch Colonial House: Its Origins, Design, Modern Plan and Construction* (McBride, Nast and Company, New York, 1913; second printing 1919).

<sup>91</sup> The Holland House exhibition was memorialized by a publication many years later: Maud Esther Dilliard, *An Album of New Netherland* (Bramhall House, New York, 1963); Roderic H. Blackburn and Ruth Piwonka, *Remembrance of Patria: Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America, 1609-1776* (Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, 1988); Deborah L. Krohn and Peter N. Miller, eds, with Marybeth De Filippis, *Dutch New York Between East and West: The World of Margrieta van Varick* (Bard Graduate Center/New-York Historical Society/ Yale University Press, New York, New Haven, and London, 2009).

Scholarly projects with institutional backing have been established to support the continuing study of New Netherland, beginning in the 1970s. The New Netherland Project (now known as the New Netherland Institute) was established as a joint project of the Holland Society and the New York State Library in 1974. Since its founding, it has sponsored scholarship in the field of New Netherland studies including dissertation awards and annual seminars and has overseen the translation of much of the large corpus of Dutch documents by Dr. Charles Gehring and Dr. Janny Venema that are preserved at the State Library and in other repositories.

The Colonial Albany Social History Project, established at the New York State Museum in 1981 by Stefan Bielski as a model community history program, gathers information in an attempt to reconstruct the seventeenth and eighteenth-century community of Beverwyck and its successors.<sup>92</sup> The New Amsterdam History Center was established in 2005 to “encourage the exploration of the Dutch history of New Amsterdam” through public presentations and online resources, including “Mapping Early New York,” a digital project.<sup>93</sup> The Holland Society and the Dutch Settlers Society continue to publish articles on New Netherland history in their respective journals, *de Halve Maen* and *The Dutch Settlers Society Yearbook*.

The Dutch Barn Preservation Society (DBPS) was founded in 1985, with the goal of recording and advocating for the preservation of New World Dutch barns. It was an outgrowth of a class taught by Shirley Dunn at Hudson Valley Community College, which was, in turn, inspired by work conducted in preparation for the Albany Institute exhibition of 1986. The Society for the Preservation of Hudson Valley Vernacular Architecture (HVVA) was founded in 1999 as the mid-Hudson chapter of the DBPS, and identified for study all aspects of vernacular building in the mid-Hudson Valley. The broader study area covered by the DBPS and the interest in all forms of vernacular architecture espoused by the HVVA have recently been brought together with the joining of the two groups, now known as Hudson-Mohawk Vernacular Architecture. Although vernacular work from all periods, and created by all cultural groups within that area are of interest, the group maintains a special interest in New World Dutch vernacular buildings and landscapes. Important publications by scholars completed during this period include Clifford W. Zink’s “Dutch Framed Houses in New York and New Jersey” (1987), David Steven Cohen’s article “The Dutch-American Farm” (1992), Janny Venema’s “Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664” (2003), and Jeroen van den Hurk’s *Imagining New Netherland* (2006). The publications of these groups (all available online) and scholars have significantly furthered the understanding and preservation of New World Dutch built culture.<sup>94</sup>

This sustained scholarly interest and resulting elevation of public awareness has inspired the construction of several new New World Dutch barns, the restoration of a number of dwellings, and the planning of small communities with Dutch vernacular themes, including sites in Dutchess County and in Berkshire County, Massachusetts (a region that also retains some eighteenth-century Dutch heritage). Unfortunately, it has also raised interest in New World Dutch barns among the wealthy, who favor their massive frames for adaptation into recreational pavilions, resulting in an accelerated loss of these resources in New York, as many are reconstructed on out-of-state sites.

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92 Colonial Albany Social History Project, <https://exhibitions.nysm.nysed.gov/albany/welcome.html> accessed 5 November 2020.

93 “Mapping Early New York,” <https://nahc-mapping.org/mappingNY/swipe.html> accessed 5 November 2020.

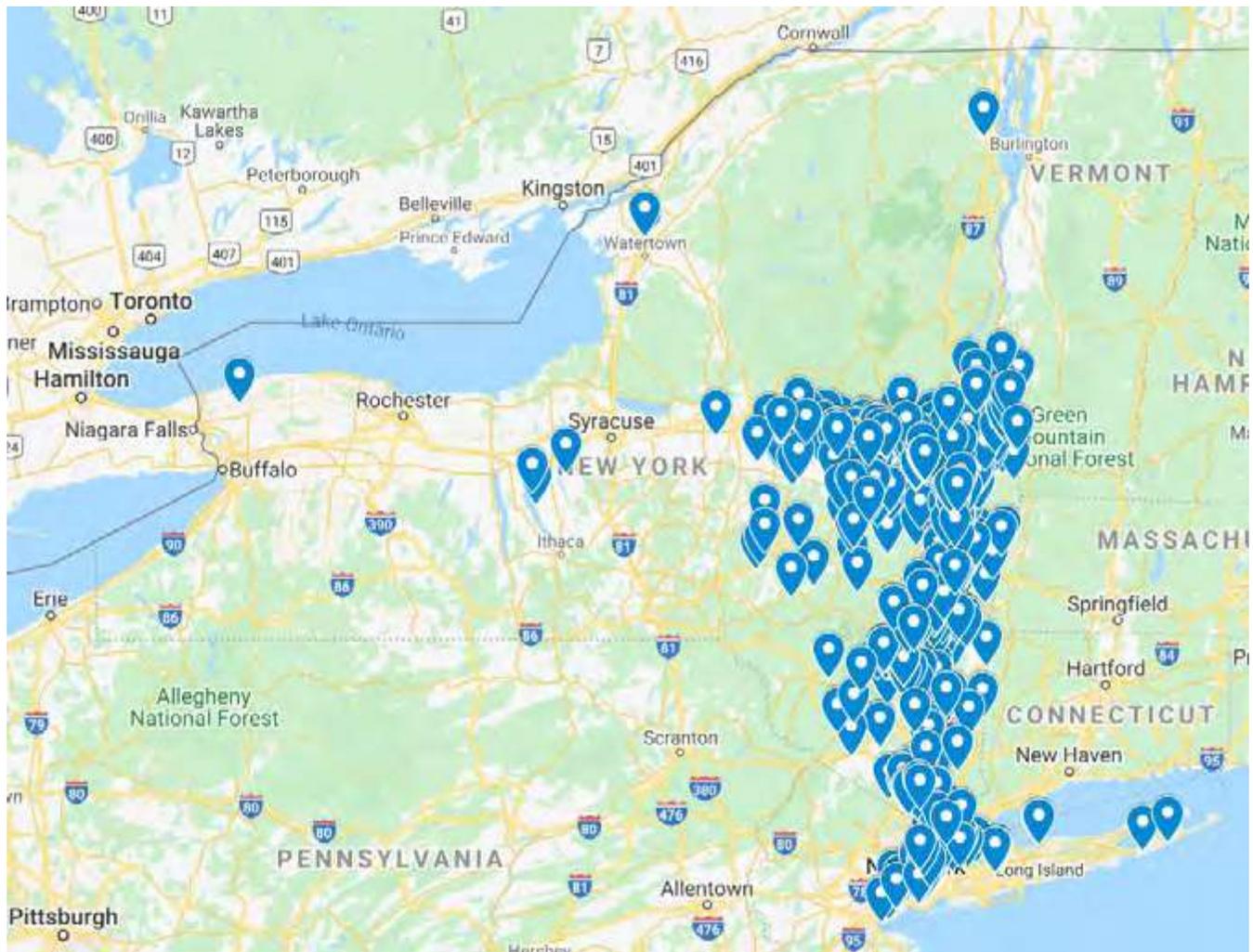
94 See [www.hmvarch.org](http://www.hmvarch.org) for these publications.

## 5. Survey Summary

Approximately 1,000 resources have been included as components of this survey. This group encompasses the full spatial and temporal range of surviving resources within New York State, but is not comprehensive for any one community or county. The counties identified as having the largest number of examples recorded (Albany, Columbia, Dutchess, Montgomery, Rensselaer, Rockland, Schenectady, and Ulster) are not surprising, given their early settlement by the Dutch and their cohorts, and because they have been subject to the highest level of scholarly inquiry to date. Counties that can be expected to yield significant numbers of additional examples include Greene and Schoharie.

Expansion of the survey into areas not commonly associated with Dutch settlement resulted in the identification of almost 120 resources. The largest number of these were located in Saratoga and Washington counties. Most of these resources have received little or no examination in scholarly literature, and have not previously been subjected to systematic survey or study. A map illustrates the locations of resources included in the present survey (Figure 89).

**Figure 89.** Pin map, showing locations of resources identified by the present survey (Hartgen, 2020).



## 6. Recommendations

### 6.1 Suggestions for Future Study

The present survey has made clear a significant gap in current knowledge with respect to areas in the state into which migrating Dutch populations brought their culture, particularly during the period ca. 1785-1850. Areas that require particular focus include western New York, and areas north of the Mohawk River. Similarly, within the Hudson Valley, Westchester, Orange, and Putnam counties have traditionally been presumed to have been largely settled by the English, and so little field research has been conducted to identify Dutch resources in those areas. The present survey demonstrates – perhaps not surprisingly – that cultural resources associated with Dutch settlement remain in those areas; systematic surveys of Dutch cultural resources in those counties, and genealogical tracking of family groups into these areas, are likely to identify significantly more examples.

Houses and farmsteads have historically been named after the male head of household at the time the dwelling was constructed or substantially altered. The contributions of women were rendered invisible by this practice, and they remain so, largely, today given that little research has been conducted to rectify this situation. A significant project would be the identification of the female heads of household associated with each of these resources. In other respects, the role of women in Dutch heritage remains a largely-untapped field of study.

Similarly, the status of women in a particular household cannot be fully understood through an examination of buildings outside of their social or material culture context. Many dwellings were curated by their families over a long period, and thus may not reflect the economic status of their owners during later periods. Archeological and archival work can associate material and social culture with specific periods of occupation and in doing so provide a richer context for understanding women's experience. Little work in this field has been accomplished to date.

Many of the construction dates for the buildings in the survey are speculative, and rely upon increasingly outdated research or upon a small group of well-documented structures as their source. Dendrochronology is a powerful tool that can establish the exact date of construction of a structure by providing felling dates for wood structural components. The testing of key examples of buildings in various locations will help explicate the history of construction in a given region. Previously completed dendrochronology has already significantly altered our understanding of the evolution of some of our earliest-standing buildings, and will continue to do so moving forward.

The relationship between people of Dutch ancestry, enslaved Africans and people of African descent, and Native American populations are difficult to parse out by reference to the built culture of the region alone. While the living conditions which enslaved people were subjected to can be identified, described, and usefully compared with that of their enslavers, their relationships are more accurately assessed through written sources and archeological studies. In particular, burial grounds associated with formerly enslaved Africans and their enslaved descendants are typically without burial markers and lack formal planning, meaning that they are archeological resources, rather than falling within a survey such as this. Exploration of the spiritual lives of enslaved people has recently become possible through the identification of nkisi and other intentional deposits secreted in and under the spaces in which enslaved people lived.

The study of Native American-Dutch cultural interactions as evidenced in built culture is limited insofar as the present survey is concerned, by the total loss of Native American-built structures during the period of interaction. However, this relationship can be understood through surviving historical documents, oral history in Native American communities, and the results of archeological investigations.

### 6.2 Historic Preservation Strategies

With the exception of the most prominent examples in this survey, which are frequently protected by public ownership, or by listing on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), the vast majority of the structures identified by the survey are not protected, except by caring owners or by a revered status in their communities. Thematic listing of all known

examples of particularly endangered resources, such as out-kitchens or New World Dutch barns, may assist in raising the status of these resources in the public's estimation.

Grants—such as those once given by the State for the preservation of barns—could provide necessary funds for owners who struggle to maintain their historic structures. There are additional tax credits potentially available for owner-occupied houses listed on the NRHP.

### **6.3 National Register nominations and local landmark designations**

The present survey did not include a new field survey and some of the data sources utilized were up to 15 years old. For this reason, the identification of specific examples for nomination to the NRHP is inappropriate at this time. Instead, the Registration Requirements (Appendix 1) presented with this report should be used to determine baseline NRHP eligibility for these resources until field verification is undertaken and more information becomes available.

### **6.4 Educational Outreach and Community Engagement**

Opportunities for educational outreach include the incorporation of discussions about common building types as part of local history curricula in our schools. The Dutch Barn Preservation Society generated a fourth-grade curriculum on the subject as part of its survey efforts, and it further sponsored the creation of a reduced-scale New World Dutch barn model, which has been very popular among school groups and the general public, when exhibited at historic sites and events.

Sponsorship of awards or fellowships for elementary school and university students who make these resources a subject of study would encourage the development of new scholars in the field. Sponsorship of conferences, publications, online presentations, and lectures would serve to stimulate interest and scholarship on Dutch-related cultural resources, increasing their chances of survival. The involvement of the public in focused surveys would further engage communities and increase the number of local advocates for these resources. Sponsorship of field schools whose focus would be the identification and documentation of standing examples of Dutch structures would be of great assistance in the preservation and documentation of these resources.

The development of materials for county and regional organizations to utilize, providing a factual basis for architectural history and addressing long-held misconceptions, would also serve an important purpose. Even among scholars, common presumptions about the nature of Dutch heritage resources prevail today, limiting the progress of their study.

Digital educational opportunities include the creation of an online clearinghouse for source materials (including connections to genealogical resources) and appropriate preservation measures for property owners; the creation of an application that could serve as a wayfinding aid, and which could provide information on specific resources as they are encountered in the field; and creation of video tours of specific sites, highlighting aspects of Dutch heritage; and the creation of a blog.

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# APPENDICES



# Appendix 1: Associated Property Types & Registration Requirements

## National Register of Historic Places Criteria and Aspects of Integrity as They Apply to Historic Resources Associated with New World Dutch Heritage in New York State

### Evaluating Properties to determine National Register eligibility: 3 Step Methodology

In New York State, a property may be deemed eligible for the State and National Registers of Historic Places if it meets at least one of four defined criteria. Official determinations of State and National Register eligibility are made by the Survey and National Register staff of the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO). New York has a separate State Register that uses the National Register criteria and which is part of the same designation process.

There are three essential steps for determining if a property meets the National Register criteria for listing: understanding the property within a larger historic context, assessing whether or not the property is significant within the historic context, and determining if the property retains sufficient integrity to convey its significance.

#### Step 1: Determine the Historic Context

The first step in any evaluation process is to understand the importance of a property within a larger historic context. Historic context is essentially historical background on a theme – in this case, New World Dutch Heritage in New York State. “New World Dutch” (hereafter Dutch, for brevity) encompasses a number of cultural groups which immigrated to New York from Northern Europe, principally the Dutch, Palatines (Germany), Huguenots (France), Flemish and Scandinavians, who collectively created a cohort separate from the British and whose material culture shares common features despite regional differences inspired by differences in locally-available building materials or variations of detail inspired by interactions with different cultural groups. Within this overarching theme are several related subthemes and associated property types as explored in Chapter 4 of this report. Examples of subthemes in this study include architecture, early settlement, community planning/development, trade/commerce, agriculture, and interaction with Africans and people of African descent. Examples of associated property types that reflect one or more historic themes include urban and rural houses, barns, domestic and agricultural outbuildings,, churches and burial grounds, and historic districts and cultural landscapes. In order to judge if a property is historically significant, it is critical to understand how the property fits into a larger picture or historical context.

The historic context for a particular property also helps establish a **period of significance** – a specific date range during which significant events or building trends occurred, or during which important individuals were active. Eligible properties can meet more than one criterion. They must also have existed within the period of significance of the context and retain physical integrity from that period as described below. This study explored Dutch Heritage in New York State extending from 1609, when Henry Hudson discovered the Hudson River under the Dutch flag, to 1959, which was the 350th anniversary of the Dutch presence in New York and an appropriate termination date for a series of Dutch revivals as manifested in new construction, historic house restorations, documentation projects, nostalgic events, commemorations, and publications. Any property determined State and National Register-eligible under the Dutch context will have a period of significance defined by its specific history, and which will fall somewhere within this 350-year time span.

## Step 2: Determine Historic Significance of a Property

### National Register Criteria

The second step in the National Register evaluation process is to determine if the property is **significant**. Words like “historic” and “significant” have very specific meanings in historic preservation. Just because a building is old does not mean it is historic or significant. If a property is determined to be significant within its historic context, it means that the property rises to a higher level of importance relative to other similar properties within the same context. In order for a property to be determined significant, it must meet at least one of four criteria. A property must also have existed within the period of significance of the context and retain physical integrity from that period, as described below. The criteria used for the National and State Registers are identical and are listed in the following table.

National Register Criteria	Definition
Criterion A	Properties that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history
Criterion B	Properties that are associated with the lives of significant persons in our past
Criterion C	Properties that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction
Criterion D	Properties that have yielded or may be likely to yield information important in history or prehistory

Under **Criterion A** a property must have a documented association with a significant event or represent a distinguishing aspect of Dutch Heritage in New York State at either the local, state or national level. It is also important to document that the property existed at the time the significant event or activity occurred. Under this criterion, the representative features will be principally buildings, but structures, sites, objects and historic districts may also qualify.

Under **Criterion B** a property must be associated with an individual who can be documented as having established his or her significance within the context of Dutch Heritage in New York State at a local, state, or national level. Properties should reflect the time period when that person achieved significance; properties that post-date that period will not be eligible. A property may, however, predate the period of the person’s significance, as long as its association under Criterion B is within the period of significance. Under this criterion, the representative resources will be principally buildings, especially houses. Each property associated with an important person should be compared to other associated properties to determine those that best represent a person’s historic contributions. Note that the best representative properties are usually those associated with the person’s adult or *productive* life; nomination of birthplaces is generally dissuaded, with preference given to the residence of an individual during the period in which they gained note. Graves of persons with notable significance in association with the context, if erected within the period of significance and for whom no associated building or structure survives, may also be eligible. Commemorative objects, such as monuments erected to recognize a documented individual, will be eligible in the context of their own era and design significance if erected within the period of significance, especially if an associated property is no longer intact or extant.

Under **Criterion C** an individual property must possess distinguishable physical characteristics that directly relate it to property types/methods of construction and periods associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State. In the majority of cases, Criterion C will be the principal means of establishing significance, and the architectural evaluation of a property will focus on distinctive characteristics of construction, form, plan, design, materials, and workmanship. This

criterion may also be applied to historic districts comprised of historically or aesthetically related resources that may lack individual distinction but which collectively represent a distinguishable entity expressive of Dutch Heritage.

**Criterion D** generally applies to archaeological sites that can answer important questions following a specific research design. For example, properties known to have been associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State may contain archaeological evidence that would provide valuable information concerning their domestic conditions, lifestyle, and their preservation of traditional objects. While most often applied to archeological sites, Criterion D can also apply to buildings, structures, and objects that contain important information potential. The National Register-listed Van Ostrande-Radliff House in Albany, for example, meets Criterion D (among other criteria) for its potential to yield significant additional information about Dutch Colonial construction practices of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

### National Register Criteria Considerations

The National Register provides additional criteria (known as criteria considerations) for properties that, for various reasons, would not ordinarily qualify for listing in the National Register (e.g., religious buildings, cemeteries, birthplaces, structures that have been reconstructed or moved, commemoratives, places associated with the recent past). These additional criteria provide a way to evaluate these normally excluded properties.

National Register Criteria Considerations	Definition
A	A religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance
B	A property removed from its original or historically significant location if it is significant primarily for architectural value or it is the surviving property most importantly associated with a historic person or event
C	A birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no other appropriate site or building associated with his or her productive life
D	A cemetery deriving its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events
E	A reconstructed property that is accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan and when no other building or structure with the same associations has survived. Must meet all three of these requirements
F	A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance
G	A property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.

The application of the Criteria Considerations as they relate to Dutch Heritage in New York State follows.

- A **religious property** may qualify for listing if it has a documented association with Dutch Heritage in New York State and can be demonstrated to be significant under Criteria A, B, and/or C. Examples of areas of significance would be a church that was played an important role in the social history (Criterion A) of a Dutch community; the church associated with an influential pastor and community leader (Criterion B), if no other properties remain to represent that person's productive life; and an intact example of a late eighteenth century ecclesiastical building (Criterion C - architecture).
- A **building moved** from its original location will have diminished significance because of the strong geographical component of the context. Moving a building to another location can create a false sense of historic development. However, a moved building or structure may be eligible if it can be documented that it is significant primarily for architectural value (Criterion C) or the most significant surviving resource associated with a person (Criterion B) or event (Criterion A) significant to Dutch Heritage in New York State. Also, in some cases, a building moved to a new location early in its history has assumed significance in its newer, current location, and in that circumstance can be considered eligible. It is critical that a moved property has an orientation, setting, and general environment comparable to those of the historic location and compatible with the property's significance. A resource that has been moved to an artificial grouping of buildings and structures, such as an outdoor museum setting, is generally not eligible.
- A **birthplace or grave** of a historic figure of outstanding importance within the context of Dutch Heritage in New York State may be eligible if there is no other appropriate building or site directly associated with that individual. Note that the birthplace or grave must be of an individual who was of outstanding importance at the local, state, or national level. The birthplace or grave of an individual who was one of several people active in some aspect of the history of a community would not be eligible.
- A **cemetery** may be eligible for its distinctive design features and/or association with persons of transcendent importance or association with significant historic events. The presence of gravesites associated with figures significant for their association with Dutch Heritage in New York State may contribute to the eligibility of a historic cemetery, but it is unlikely that the cemetery, as a whole, will qualify for listing in this context alone. Furthermore, many burials in a particular cemetery are likely to postdate the period of significance of the context. Burial grounds where associations with Dutch Heritage in New York State have a more prominent role in their significance may be eligible in this context if associations can be documented and if sufficient burials were made during the established period of significance. Groups of grave markers in cemeteries inscribed in the Dutch language or carved in a distinctive cultural manner can be eligible if demonstrated significant as artistic objects (Criterion C) even if a part of a cemetery or burial ground.
- A **reconstructed building** will generally not be eligible in the context of Dutch Heritage in New York State because the integrity of its association will most likely have been compromised. It is only in those rare cases where it can be demonstrated that the reconstruction has been accurately executed based upon sound archeological, architectural, and historic data that a reconstructed building would be eligible. The reconstructed building must also be located at the same site as the original. (Note that after the passage of fifty years, a reconstruction maybe attain its own significance for what it reveals about the period in which it was built.)
- A **commemorative property** associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State – for example, monuments erected to recognize significant documented events or individuals, or buildings reconstructed from ruins or a site as memorials to the Dutch Heritage – may be eligible as expressions a later generation's assessment of the past. An eligible commemorative resource must possess significance based on its own value, typically aesthetic, not of the value of the even of person being memorialized.
- A property achieving significance since 1959 will not be eligible in the context of Dutch Heritage in New York State because it falls outside the established period of significance.

### Step 3: Evaluate the Integrity of a Property

After determining the significance of a property within a historic context, the third step in the evaluation process is to assess the property's historic integrity. Integrity is the ability of a property to convey its significance, both physically and in more intangible ways. When evaluating integrity, it is important to understand the difference between integrity and condition. If a property is in poor condition but is recognizable enough to still convey its significance, it may still meet the criteria.

There are seven aspects of historic integrity that must be evaluated: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. To retain integrity, a property should possess several of these aspects. Not all aspects of integrity are important to all properties – it depends on the specific historic context and the criterion or criteria under which the property is significant. For example, if the property is significant because it was the home of a significant person, that person would have to be able to recognize the home if he/she were to return today. Otherwise, the building can no longer convey its association with that person.

There are two important steps to evaluating the integrity of a property: 1) Determine which physical features must be present for a property to be able to convey its significance; and 2) determine if those essential physical features are visible or intact enough for the property to represent its significance. For the first step, it is important to understand why the property is significant – in other words, under which historic contexts it is important. The seven aspects of integrity are:

- **Location:** the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event took place.
- **Design:** the composition of elements that constitute the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property. (Note: While architectural style may be less important in documenting sites associated with themes other than architectural history, form, massing, structure, window and door configuration, floor plan and spatial divisions might be important in a property's ability to represent a significant event or series of events.)
- **Setting:** the physical environment of a historic property that illustrates the character of the place.
- **Materials:** the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.
- **Workmanship:** the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period of history.
- **Feeling:** the quality that a historic property has in evoking the aesthetic or historic sense of a past period of time.
- **Association:** the direct link between a property and the event or person for which the property is significant. Integrity of association is always required. An eligible property must retain sufficient historic integrity to convey its significance. Few of the historic properties with documented associations to Dutch Heritage in New York State have survived intact to their original design. This is particularly true in rural buildings, which have been routinely altered to meet the changing nature of domestic life and agricultural economies.

The distinguishing cultural expression embodied in these resources and their explicit association with Dutch Heritage in New York State create an exceptional situation in the application of the integrity standards for National Register properties. A more specialized application of the integrity requirements is needed to accommodate this unique class of buildings and the cultural factors of their preservation. To be eligible for listing in the National Register under this context, properties must have integrity of association with Dutch Heritage in New York State. Of the remaining integrity standards, properties should usually have a high integrity of location and sufficient integrity of setting, design, materials, workmanship, and feeling to convey their association with the context. It is understood, however, that eligible properties may not meet all the integrity standards at a high level, and that some physical characteristics of a property from the period of significance may typically have been lost to, or visually obscured by, subsequent alterations. In general, integrity of association and location should be primary considerations, followed by overall design, workmanship and materials. Integrity of feeling and setting sometimes may be of secondary concern under this context.

In applying the integrity test for a potentially eligible property, the means by which it meets the registration criteria is a determining factor. Properties associated with events or individuals significant in the history of Dutch Heritage in New York State (Criteria A and B) may not need to meet the standards of architectural integrity as stringently as a property where the significance is primarily for its design and workmanship (Criterion C). In certain cases, aspects of integrity pertaining to location, setting, feeling, and association are likely more relevant. The integrity test should be applied in a balanced manner that uses each of the seven aspects of integrity in a cumulative way. The application of the integrity test was never intended to be reflective of a requirement that all seven standards be met in a single property.

Many properties significant to Dutch Heritage in New York State will require a careful consideration of the integrity test to ensure that these valuable resources are not excluded from registration. The following guidelines can be used in applying the seven aspects of integrity to properties associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State.

- **Location** is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where an historic event occurred. Cultural geography is a crucial component of Dutch Heritage in New York State, and integrity of location is very important.
- Properties are expected to retain a level of integrity of **Design** that their form, plan, materials, and workmanship from the period of significance. Design is the combination of these elements along with the particular expression of decorative style. In buildings associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State, aspects of architectural design will play a factor in their evaluation, notably in iconographic types of houses, barns, and churches. The integrity of design for lesser properties will be considered in the context of their existing form, plan, and materials, and how those characteristics continue to convey the comparative social and domestic conditions in which the associated people lived. Small, modest houses often have been altered by additions and interior changes that compromise the original design of the building, and the extent to which the original physical characteristics are preserved notwithstanding those modifications needs to be evaluated. The eligibility of town and farmstead plans will rely on the integrity of their design—acknowledging that, like buildings, they have evolved over time within the period of significance. Design can also apply to historic districts, whether they are important primarily for historic association, architectural value, or a combination thereof.
- **Setting** refers to the special character of the physical environment in which the property played its historic role. The settings of properties associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State are principally rural by nature, and it is the character of that setting that defines them. However, many rural houses have lost their historic “sense of place” as associated farm buildings have been razed and agricultural land has been lost to suburban development. Likewise, urban settings have evolved to the extent that properties associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State are rare relics now situated in more recent streetscapes. In both cases, setting will have limited value in determining the integrity of a property but certainly helps make a case for significance if the historic surroundings have survived intact.
- There will be an expectation for a high level of integrity of **Materials** for properties eligible for listing under the Dutch Heritage context. Perhaps more than any other aspect, materials are character-defining features of properties representing Dutch Heritage. Materials are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form an historic property. For any historic building to be considered intact, it needs to substantially retain the materials used in its initial construction. In general, most historic buildings retain significant amounts of original material, but the proliferation of replacement wall, roof, and window materials in the last fifty years has seriously compromised the appearance of their historic integrity and may obscure intact original materials. This is particularly the case with vernacular architecture that does not have the elaboration of form and ornament to distinguish its exterior envelope beyond surface materials. Plain buildings will appear less intact when they have been re-roofed and resided, even though they may retain historic materials beneath more modern materials. Realizing that in most cases replacement materials have been applied over historic fabric, the impact of this alteration is visual rather than physical, and it should be balanced against the significance of the property.
- Over time, many of the wood-framed buildings associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State have been altered or lost entirely, with those constructed of brick and stone retaining their character-defining features in disproportion-

ate numbers. Historic buildings with exteriors comprised of various types of regionally available stone or brick now characterize the type in the public imagination, and because of the permanence of masonry, these tend to better retain their material integrity. By comparison, wood-frame buildings, particularly those associated with individuals or families of lesser stature or means, are by nature rarer and subject to increased threat, and the application of a material integrity test should take this circumstance into consideration. This is particularly true of wood-framed domestic and agricultural outbuildings, notably barns.

- Material removals and alterations are more likely to involve window and door replacement, cornice alteration, porch removal, and/or the addition of new walls and dormers on upper stories. Mixed-use buildings often contain commercial fronts on the first-story and basement levels that have been renovated numerous times. It also can be expected that substantial changes to interior walls and ceilings have occurred. Expecting that material alterations will be a common factor in the evaluation of properties associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State, the cumulative impact of material alterations will be assessed within the full spectrum of the other aspects of integrity.
- **Workmanship** is another key element in assessing the integrity of properties eligible for listing under the Dutch context. It is the evidence of the artisans' labor and skill in constructing or altering a building, structure, object, or site. The method of shaping and joining of materials in the construction of Dutch buildings determine the character of their design and cultural affiliation, particularly in those buildings constructed after the English took control of the colony and, then again, after the Revolutionary War, when European cultural affiliations diminished. It is an effective tool for distinguishing between elite and vernacular architecture, and for identifying local building traits. There should be sufficient evidence of workmanship and level of finish in a significant building to determine the status of the household and its cultural milieu. Properties that are eligible because of their association with significant events or individuals should have evidence of craftsmanship that reflects the economic and cultural context of those events or people. Alterations that remove this evidence or transform it into another type or craft context will diminish the integrity of a property.
- **Feeling** is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time. While the levels of integrity of setting, design, workmanship and materials may vary, together they should convey a strong sense of feeling of a property's significance under the Dutch context. Feeling results from the presence of physical features that, taken together, convey the property's historic character. This aspect is particularly useful in the assessment of their integrity. It establishes a benchmark for assessing the overall architectural integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. Despite physical alterations, if these aspects of the building still combine to convey the feeling of the property's historic significance, then a positive evaluation is possible.
- A property retains **Association** if it is the place where the event or activity occurred and is sufficiently intact to convey that relationship to an observer. Like feeling, association requires the presence of physical features that convey a property's historic character related to the Dutch Heritage in New York State context. This aspect of integrity is established by the presence of certain physical features associated with the associated Dutch theme.

### Levels of Significance

When evaluating properties for National Register eligibility the level of significance – local, statewide, or national – is identified based upon the specific historic context and associated resource. The majority of properties listed in the National Register are significant at the local level only. The Hendrick I. Lott House (National Register-listed 1994) in Brooklyn is locally significant as one of the few remaining examples of a Dutch farmhouse built in the eighteenth century in New York City. The significance of some historic resources within the Dutch context may rise to the state or national levels due to exceptional values or qualities that illustrate the heritage of New York State or the nation; these properties will possess a high degree of period integrity. The Mabee House (National Register-listed 1978) in Rotterdam, Schenectady County, is significant at the statewide level for reflecting the building technology, lifestyle, and customs of farmers and tradesmen of the Low Counties in late medieval times; on the river flats of the New World, the Dutch settlers found an environment well suited to the transplantation of their culture. An example of a nationally significant property is the Fort Orange Archeological Site (National Register-listed/National Historic Landmark 1993) which comprises the single

most significant body of data documenting Dutch and early English relations with Native Americans at one of the most critically important strategic locales along the seventeenth-century North Atlantic frontier.

## Property Types Associated with the New World Dutch heritage in New York State

### 1. DOMESTIC

- a. Urban Houses
- b. Rural Houses
- c. Barns
- d. Domestic & Agricultural Outbuildings

### 2. RELIGIOUS

- a. Churches
- b. Burial Grounds

### 3. HISTORIC DISTRICTS & CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

#### 1a. DOMESTIC: Urban Houses

##### Description

The Dutch colony in New York developed in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries around four urban centers: New Amsterdam (New York), Fort Orange/Beverwyck (Albany), Schenectady, and Esopus/Wiltwyck (Kingston). Each of these initial four settlements was laid out with a plan of streets protected by a stockade following European and early colonial precedents. Urban lots were created with narrow frontages the house positioned in relation to the latter, with deep yards in the rear for gardens, orchards, and outbuildings. Significant aspects of street and lot plans survive in present-day Kingston and Schenectady, and partially in Manhattan and Albany (Figs.1-4). Plans appear to have been hierarchical with a fort and church serving as focal points. Better houses were concentrated around these, with houses of diminishing value situated toward the edges of the plan. Native American fur traders were sequestered outside the stockades, where agricultural fields and unprotected farmsteads were also located.

Although only a few buildings survive from this initial period, early views and building contracts indicate that these towns were comprised of houses, some with commercial spaces in front rooms (voorhuis), as well as churches and forts containing government houses, all of which were based on prototypes in the Netherlands or other Dutch colonies. The iconographic Dutch house – consisting of a front-gabled façade, often finished with brick – is common in these depictions, varying in scale consistent with local economic and social differences. However, houses with their gables perpendicular to the street also are pictured in these views, indicating that a variety of architectural preferences were at work from an early date (Figs. 5 & 6). Some of the earliest houses were built to specifications developed by the Dutch West India Company and erected by builders in its employ.

Although the traditional front-gable Dutch house remains the most identifiable form of New Netherland's early architecture, only a small number of these structures survive (Figs.7 thru 9). They were built on stone or wood foundations, and frequently had wood-lined cellars of smaller size within the building's footprint. First floors were typically elevated above street level, requiring a stoop to access the front door. Casement window groups and a loft door with hoist completed the façade's composition in the standard Dutch manner. In urban areas, the fronts of the wood-frame houses often were distinguished by a non-structural brick veneer attached to the wood frame with iron ties and integrated with the framing as nogging. Sometimes the brick terminated at a molded beam at the second-floor level; in other examples, the brick facing continued to the top of the street wall, past the raking edge of the roof to a decorated parapet finished in one of several distinct styles. Side walls, covered with weatherboards, often were no more than a foot away from neighboring dwellings. The rear of the house could be extended in linear fashion with wings to accommodate kitchen and garden functions. Living quarters for enslaved people were isolated in peripheral areas of the house and yard.

The characteristic H-bent frame also defined the design of these houses and would determine the manner in which Dutch houses would be built for more than a century after. Included in the standard design were planed board ceilings

bearing on massive beams, the ends of which were secured to posts with corbels, jambless fireplaces with decorated hoods, and built-in box beds. Cellars provided areas for preserved food storage, while garrets offered space for stockpiling grain and other valuables. The fundamental plan contained two rooms aligned front-to-back with the front room functioning in public or commercial roles and the rear room restricted and private. Kitchens were located in rear wings, outbuildings, or in a basement. In some cases, side aisles sheltered in lean-tos provided room for porches, circulation spaces, and secondary rooms. (Figs.10 & 11).

There are extant Dutch houses and outbuildings in the old towns and villages, but these were built in later periods; very few seventeenth-century buildings survive anywhere in the region. Urban houses became more “modern” as the years advanced and towns prospered and matured, and they became more diversified in their reflection of the composition of the community. However, as historic views document, many of the early Dutch houses were preserved in the mix, and new dwellings of modest size continued to be built, which made use of traditional Dutch forms into the mid-eighteenth century, either for practical reasons or with the intention of preserving a Dutch identity after the English Conquest (Fig.12). By the mid-eighteenth-century, architecture in Dutch towns where trade brought them in contact with the broader world became more cosmopolitan, although travelers from other parts of the colonies or Europe described them in unflattering terms as quaint, provincial, or “gothic.” What they were conveying, irrespective of condescending stereotypes, was an enduring Dutch template applied to the general progress of broader architectural trends and design tastes.

### Significance

The Dutch house is a highly significant building type in American architectural history. Scores of publications, from eighteenth-century travelogues to twentieth-century academic literature, have recognized it as a defining historic feature of the region. The front-gable façade is an emblem of the Dutch presence in New York, and it is one of the few American house forms with a direct link to those in the Old World. Massive ceiling beams, jambless fireplaces, split doors (also known as Dutch doors) on iron strap hinges, door stoops (even the term is Dutch) with benches are as universally associated in the popular imagination with the Dutch as are wooden shoes, clay pipes, and Delft tiles. Much of this has to do with Anglo cultural bias originating in the 1700s, but it was reinforced by the conscious curation of a Dutch identity in communities throughout New York. This mentality preserved iconographic elements of the traditional Dutch house and its construction methods into the nineteenth century even as architectural tastes and building practices advanced. Some would say this is the effect of provincialism, but these New York communities did not exist in isolation from the mainstream of progress. Rather, these houses complied with current norms while nurturing structural, spatial and decorative features carried forward from the past. This romantic, personalized connection to a Dutch heritage became a broader nostalgic expression in a series of revival movements in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

One of the most compelling components of Dutch architecture that survived into the nineteenth century was the bent frame – its survival cannot be attributed to a romantic notion, however, since in houses and commercial structures constructed with plastered ceilings (increasingly common after the Revolution) the framing system, with its closely spaced ceiling beams, was all but invisible. Rather, the survival of framing strategies that had their source in northern Europe was due to the manner in which knowledge was transmitted in the building trades, which was centered on the master-apprentice relationship, creating a closed system of knowledge transmission that only began to break down in the early nineteenth century.

### Registration Requirements

Any urban house associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State may be eligible for listing on the National Register if it can be effectively documented and demonstrated that it meets the integrity test. Significance will be established under Criterion A by a property’s associative characteristics with Dutch Heritage in New York State. A property sufficiently documented to be associated with a notable individual during this period also will be eligible under Criterion B. Distinguishing physical characteristics, either in terms of original design or as adapted during the period of significance, will play a determining role in establishing eligibility under Criterion C.

An urban Dutch house, in all its variations, should retain sufficient physical integrity to convey its association to the context and the period of significance. A property’s location in a planned town or village is a given integrity standard;

however, other properties in the region with Dutch cultural associations during the period of significance will also meet the standard. The same conditions apply in terms of setting, whether the property is located in a town or village or elsewhere in the regional environment. Eligible buildings will generally meet registration requirements if they retain the essential forms, plans and materials associated with their period and function. Aspects of workmanship are useful to assess the integrity of a building in relation to other comparable buildings both within the context and more broadly.

For an urban Dutch house to be eligible individually, it will have design, construction, or decorative features associated with the type. A front-gable façade is a distinguishing characteristic, ranging from an iconic seventeenth-century brick front with parapet gables to a plain weatherboard façade built in the nineteenth century. Brick and wood materials will be appropriate to their periods, as will fenestration, doorways, and stoops or porches. The framing of the house will reflect the preservation or evolution of the traditional H-bent structure. Floor plans may have elements of early Dutch houses preserved within them, either physically or conceptually. Interior decoration also may have features reflecting preserved Dutch heritage. The addition of wings, roofs, dormers, and other elements not directly associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State will be balanced against the significance of the property under other criteria or contexts.

**Example:**

Built ca. 1754, the Isaac Vrooman House, 31 Front Street, Schenectady was listed on the National Register in 1973 as a contributing building in the Schenectady Stockade Historic District (Fig.7). It also appears individually eligible for the National Register under Criterion A for its association with the settlement and urban development of Schenectady and with the Dutch society that existed there. Under Criterion C, the house is architecturally significant as a rare and distinctive example of an eighteenth-century front-gable house built in the Dutch manner. The house retains distinctive physical characteristics that distinguish the iconic urban Dutch house type with its wood frame, composed of closely spaced timber-frame bents, containing a story-and-a-half rectangular plan fronted by a gabled brick facade. Its mid-eighteenth-century construction date is manifest in the use of sash windows rather than casements and the absence of a loft door, which had become outmoded. The house retains integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association both as an individual property and as a contributing property in a historic district. Nineteenth-century decoration added to the house accentuated the picturesque Gothic appearance of the façade.

## **1b. DOMESTIC: Rural Houses**

### **Description**

The first rural houses were built for farmers brought from the Netherlands by the Dutch West India Company to produce food for the trading centers. According to one account, some settlers spent their first winter in excavated cellars with wood walls and floors and a temporary roof.<sup>1</sup> Towards the end of the seventeenth century, satellite villages extended the reach of settlements in different parts of the region. These include Kinderhook in old Albany County, Hurley (Nieuw Dorp) and New Paltz (Die Pfaltz) in Ulster County, and settlements on Long Island and Staten Island. These communities were situated on high ground (when available) above fertile flood plains, with access to major transportation routes, including the Hudson and Mohawk rivers and their tributaries, which were the true focal point of the settlement. Small fortifications or fortified dwellings were sometimes created within the village for protection. These smaller communities were frequently arranged along a single street and formed the core of farming, rather than trade, communities. Like the urban plans established by the Dutch, they also followed European models, with narrow street frontages, having buildings constructed adjacent to the street and occupying deep domestic lots containing barns and outbuildings, gardens, orchards and animal pens (Figs. 13 & 14).

Contemporary with the establishment of towns and villages, nuclear farmsteads were located on prime riverfront sites and later, as the population expanded, farther upstream on major creeks (kills) and deeper into the watershed on smaller streams (kleine kills) that had agricultural and water-powered industrial potential.

The first houses erected in the satellite villages and rural farmsteads appear to have been the same wood-frame story-and-a-half, front-gable dwellings common to the urban centers. At the turn of the eighteenth century, the front-gable house began to be abandoned in rural situations in favor of a house form with its plan of rooms instead arranged parallel to the street, with one or more doorways provided. No longer constrained by the narrow frontages of urban plans,

access to houses was made more convenient. By the mid-1700s, the plans and facades of newly-constructed houses were becoming regularized, as opposed to the informal arrangement of doors and windows more common to segmentally planned houses erected in phases. The principal two rooms – the hall and parlor – were, in this development, joined in a symmetrical unit, each with a door and window on the façade. Still later in the century, center<sup>95</sup> Cornelis van Tienhoven, “Information Relative to Taking up Land in New Netherland,” (1650), translated in E. B. O’Callaghan, *The Documentary History of the State of New-York* (Albany: Charles van Benthuisen, 1850), 21-26.

Passages, situated between the hall and parlor, with a single central doorway and two windows on each side, became the vogue. This plan would be the norm for the next 100 years. It was during this same period (the mid-eighteenth century) that one or more bedrooms began to be partitioned in one end of the garret, and front piazzas, English (jambled) fireplaces, gambrel roofs, and sash windows came into popular use. Construction methods and interior finishes changed little during this period: colorfully-painted beamed ceilings and doors, jambless fireplaces, whitewashed walls, and plank floors endured. Basements remained devoted to kitchens and food storage, and garrets continued to be used to store farm produce and other goods.

Dwellings with one, two and three-room plans represented the range of rural housing and the social and economic hierarchies of most communities prior to the Revolution. The greatest number of rural houses that survive from the Colonial period today are typically associated with that era’s wealthiest families, with some notable exceptions. Across the region, these houses shared many of the abovementioned features, but exhibited regional differences, mostly due to the availability of premium materials, but also due to aesthetic preferences. Thus, clapboards predominated as the exterior material of choice at inland sites, while shingles with scalloped ends covered many coastally-sited dwellings. Flared eaves are more commonly encountered in the lower Hudson Valley and on Long Island and Staten Island; steep gambrel roofs are common to the Albany region while lower-pitched gambrels predominate in Rockland and Dutchess counties.

Wood-frame houses constructed using the Dutch H-bent system were the most commonly constructed type throughout the region. As a framing system, it was subjected to a series of adaptations that permitted the inclusion of open staircases, deeper plans, and differing house forms as tastes changed and living arrangements evolved. During the course of the eighteenth century the use of other framing systems—most commonly the box frame favored by Anglo-Americans—became more popular in the region, a trend that accelerated with the influx of New Englanders into New York State after the end of the Revolutionary War. Despite this, the H-bent framing system continued to be used in rural areas well into the nineteenth century, and has been identified in urban and village buildings constructed as late as the first decade of the nineteenth century (Fig. 15).

In the vicinity of Albany, where extensive clay beds were easily accessible, the exterior walls of these H-bent framed houses were typically packed with brick nogging and finished with wood weatherboards or a non-structural brick veneer. Story-and-a-half wood-frame houses with brick exteriors are clearly identifiable as an Albany regional type, and can be found in Albany, Greene, Rensselaer, Columbia, and Schenectady counties. Houses with brick fronts and/or nogging were constructed in Manhattan and in Kings County as well, reflecting the proximity to clay beds in these areas, although surviving examples are rare; no brick-fronted dwellings remain.

In urban New York, Albany, and Schenectady, the use of brick on street elevations indicates the practical concern for fire safety and was mandated by ordinance. In rural areas, the use of brick facings would have been a status marker, differentiating these dwellings from their clapboard- or shingle-sheathed neighbors. While urban examples made use of nogging and brick facing irrespective of their size, in rural locations such treatment was limited to houses of higher status.

In areas where brick was less readily available, walls were packed with a mixture of clay and grasses around sticks wedged between posts, which was then whitewashed or plastered on lath nailed to the inside surfaces of the exterior walls.

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95 Cornelis van Tienhoven, “Information Relative to Taking up Land in New Netherland,” (1650), translated in E. B. O’Callaghan, *The Documentary History of the State of New-York* (Albany: Charles van Benthuisen, 1850), 21-26.

These houses typically contained two or three rooms and, sometimes, a basement kitchen; and they were often built in stages. The wood-frame structure with a two-room plan had become the standard, in line with the urban building tradition. Each room had its own entrance, with a stoop to negotiate tall basements, and a window on the front façade. In examples that were encased in brick, gable ends were decorated in the urban fashion with their parapets having tumbled brick edging or steps, and additional decoration in the form of date irons and designs worked into the brickwork. As the century progressed, the central chimney mass was replaced by chimneys located in the end walls, eventually facilitating the transition to center passage plans. Jambless fireplaces remained the norm into the mid-eighteenth century. Stone houses (and rarely, load-bearing houses) from this period can be found in the Albany region, localized to where stone deposits existed; their exterior walls were of solid masonry construction as in Ulster County and other areas.

Much of the Albany region was comprised of large land patents granted to prominent investors, such as Killian van Rensselaer, by the Dutch (patroonships) and later validated by the English. Robert Livingston's grant at the south end of the Albany region occupied the southern half of what is now Columbia County; the Coeymans and other smaller patents were located on the opposite, west side of the Hudson River. These patents were gradually populated with leaseholders, especially after 1710, many of them by Palatine refugees who built modest dwellings in the Dutch manner following specifications established by the proprietors, at least initially. Commonly, tenant houses were wood-frame buildings and had two-room plans with center chimneys. More modest examples with only one room are also known from this period, but few have survived. These tenant dwellings were simpler and plainer than freeholders' houses, and also smaller in size. Eventually, their plans were expanded to include a cellar kitchen opening at grade on one end. As tenant farmers became more established and prosperous, they built houses in the mainstream mode, including those of brick and stone construction.

There is an abundance of stone in the Kingston region of various types, depending on the locality, and it was the favored premium building material. Hundreds of story-and-a-half stone houses with one-, two- and three-room plans, scores with cellar kitchens, were erected in the region during the eighteenth century. Aside from differences in the selection of stone type—principally limestone and bluestone either quarried and dressed or collected from the glacial debris—the outward appearances, plans and interior finishes were consistent throughout. Wood houses were more common; most of them were occupied by the middling and lower classes, and few appear to have survived or have yet to be identified.

Nevertheless, they all followed the same Dutch models, with prominent beams spanning interior spaces front-to-back and jambless fireplaces. Like Albany houses, the street-side facades of those in Kingston contained doors and windows for each room, many of them since infilled as interior access was reconfigured to accommodate only one point of entry later in the century, and a more formal symmetry was imposed on the facade.

A large proportion of Ulster County houses were built for Huguenots— French Protestant refugees coming from havens in England, the Netherlands, Belgium, and the Palatinate— who settled first in Kingston and then Hurley before being granted the New Paltz Patent in 1677, from which they spread throughout the surrounding area by natural increase. The Huguenots participated in the development of the eighteenth-century Ulster County stone house and may have influenced aspects of its design. Based on their sojourn in the Palatinate, they may have had a role in introducing the predilection for cellar kitchens and stove heating.

Ulster County initially had jurisdiction over Dutchess County, located on the east side of the Hudson River, and some early settlement took place there. However, the county had been divided into large patents by the English and conveyed to men of influence. One of those was Henry Beekman of Kingston, who encouraged the settlement of Palatine refugees coming out of the ill-fated camps on Livingston Manor. This resulted in the spread of Kingston-type wood and stone houses into Rhinebeck and adjoining towns. In their search for unencumbered land on which to settle, the Palatines moved farther east into Dutchess County and even beyond into western Connecticut and Massachusetts, where they lived in wood, stone and brick houses built in the Dutch tradition. Perhaps not coincidentally, those Palatines who relocated from the mid-Hudson Valley to the Mohawk Valley identified and made use of deposits of limestone for their dwellings in Schoharie, Montgomery and Herkimer counties.

Dutchess County opened late to settlement and was the destination for cultural groups from other parts of the Hudson Valley. Despite the Palatine incursion, eastern Dutchess, as well as New York's entire eastern boundary, was overwhelmed by settlers from New England, and architecture in these areas shows little Dutch influence. Southern Dutchess, with its well-watered farmland, was settled by Dutch groups moving up from Westchester County, Long Island, and New Jersey, and the houses in those areas reflect the prevailing architectural forms, plans, and materials of those areas from which the settlers migrated. Wood houses predominated, these being of a story-and-a-half type with plans a room-and-a-half deep, and gable or gambrel roofs covering front piazzas in the fashion of the lower Hudson Valley. The best class of houses were built of brick; stone houses can also be found in the area, many of which are associated with families moving in from Kingston.

The southern part of Colonial Ulster County, later separated as Orange County, was first settled by a Protestant expedition from Scotland in 1695, which attracted further British immigration. They built houses of wood, brick and stone in an entirely different manner than the Dutch. Later in the 1700s, the English and Dutch intermarried and intermingled along the boundary, leading to shared influences in the architecture that followed. The British organized their house plans vertically with basement kitchens and the best room on the second story. Some Dutch houses incorporated this multi-story, side-passage plan and its three-bay front façade with offset-entry.

Farther south, in what had been Orange County but which is now Rockland County, brownstone was readily available, and that material was widely used in housebuilding, though brick was popular, too. Later in the eighteenth century stone and brick were sometimes mixed in the same building, sometimes to elegant effect. (Stone walls with brick trim was a combination favored by the English.) The county's story-and-a-half houses initially were built with gable roofs and later, frequently, with gambrel roofs, which covered a plan one-and-a-half rooms deep with a center passage. Long beams spanned the depth of these houses, usually supported by a load-bearing partition, aligned perpendicular to the framing. This became the characteristic Dutch house form throughout the lower Hudson Valley, including western Long Island, as well as in northern New Jersey. The lower part of the region was the most culturally diverse and integrated, and this can be seen in the contrasting British house form, a two-story, gable-roof dwelling with side-passage plan and three stories inclusive of basement. Inevitably, these cultures intermingled and architectural distinctions became less hard-edged.

Settlement by people of European descent in the upper Hudson Valley and in central and western New York State occurred only gradually, as it was deterred by frequently contentious relationships with Native American tribes, their changing alliances with the French or English, and the frequency of the wars that resulted. While Saratoga (today's Schuylerville) and settlements in northern Rensselaer County were established by the late seventeenth century, these communities were on the frontier of development at the time and were particularly vulnerable to attack. As a result, most of these communities were either destroyed during these conflicts or abandoned due to their indefensible status. Schenectady, to the west, although closer to Albany, was equally vulnerable, and was rebuilt after a disastrous raid in 1690, during which many were killed and the community burned to the ground. Thus, the oldest surviving dwellings in the Mohawk Valley date to the first decades of the eighteenth century and reflect the gradual economic and social stabilization that occurred during those years. The Mabee farm (Fig. 16) was initially constructed ca. 1705, and was added to during the course of the eighteenth century. The earliest houses which survive elsewhere today in Schenectady County date to the 1720s and 1730s and reflect the characteristics of the Albany region (Fig. 17). To the west, the surviving vernacular of the Mohawk Valley reflects the complex settlement history of that region, incorporating aspects of Palatine and Albany building traditions. Wood-frame and limestone houses dating to the eighteenth century survive in large numbers due to the absence of development pressures in that region, however many post-date the Revolution as a large number of early structures were destroyed during raids led by Sir John Johnson during the Revolutionary War (Fig. 18).

An elite level of rural architecture developed throughout the region as English governors granted proprietorships to favored individuals, and as city merchants acquired large tracts on which they established plantations for the cultivation of wheat and other trade products. The work on these plantations relied almost entirely on enslaved Africans, and so the history of these sites is inexorably connected to the Dutch role in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Some merchants built opulent new townhouses in the city and, in the country, imposing houses as the seats of their rural estates. The grandest were two-story, single-pile, center-passage-plan houses with ells containing dining rooms and kitchens, such

as the Phillipse Manor House in Yonkers, the Van Cortlandt Mansion in the Bronx, and the Glen-Sanders Mansion in Scotia, Schenectady County. While their design was a reflection of elite European mansions, all nevertheless employed Dutch building practices. Other country houses, among them the Van Cortlandt Manor House in Croton and Lithgow in Millbrook, were in essence over-sized Dutch farmhouses: story-and-a-half, double-pile, center passage houses with basement kitchens and roofs—a gable roof in the first example and the other a gambrel—sweeping across broad front verandas.

A hierarchical society was reflected in the scale of houses. The houses of elite individuals were generally two stories in height with a center-passage plan one or two (or sometimes one-and-a-half) rooms deep, and a bilaterally symmetrical façade distinguished by cornice, porch, entrance and window decoration. For most of the eighteenth century, the two-story rural house was an emblem of elite architecture and a landmark in the cultural geography of localities. While the status of the best farmhouses was indicated by its use of premium materials and greater number of rooms, they very seldom rose to two stories, in deference to the class hierarchy. While the three-room, hall-parlor-kitchen plan proved to be the ideal farmhouse type, it clearly ranked at a lower echelon than the two-story house with its outward magnitude of scale and the interior luxury of rooms. It would not be until the nineteenth century that the hierarchy of scale lost its relevance and two-story farmhouses simply expressed material wealth.

After the Revolutionary War, the expression of European cultural and class differences lost much of their meaning as communities united to forge a new national identity. In rural communities, ideological differences shifted from English versus Dutch to city versus country, and it was this new cultural confrontation that defined expression in rural art and architecture in the Hudson Valley during the antebellum years. Nonetheless, left-over features from the eighteenth-century context can be discerned in the restrained Neoclassicism that characterized the era, such as story-and-a-half scale, exterior material choices, framing methods, wide room-like center passages, and stoops with benches. From this point on, until Dutch revivals began to be fashionable at the turn of the twentieth century, Dutch expression was muted and often hidden.

Dutch houses constructed in the early nineteenth century are sometimes difficult to identify as their forms and outward appearances are similar to those built by New Englanders. There may be no obvious signs that a particular structure makes use of bent-frame construction, and there may be no other character-defining features evident other than the persistent story-and-a-half form. Examination of nailing patterns in exterior clapboards and in floorboards, and of exposed areas of framing in the attic and basements of such structures, can reveal the arrangement of principal framing members. The roughly three-foot spacing of framing bents in most structures with Dutch building tradition associations can be identified by these means. These later houses, constructed during the period 1790-1830, incorporated a large number of innovations in the way that they adapted the H-bent framing system to changing needs and resources.<sup>96</sup>

It was in the nineteenth century that most of the earlier remaining Dutch houses were removed from urban and rural landscapes, mostly due to obsolescence and improved standards of living. Surviving wood-frame dwellings were not infrequently incorporated into larger, more modern houses; others were repurposed as tenant houses or outbuildings. Few if any of the earliest of these were spared renovations that updated exterior appearance and interior space. A limited number of houses were raised to two stories and remodeled to conform with symmetrical five-bay wide, center-entry plans.

Many houses were “improved” in the prevailing Picturesque mode of the middle decades of the nineteenth century with the introduction of central-gable wall dormers, frieze windows and other features such as bracketed eaves, ornate verandas, bay windows, louvered blinds and paneled doors. Interior finishes also were upgraded with plaster ceilings and new woodwork. Some of these features—such as dormers and frieze windows—reflected the further differentiation of spaces within American homes occurring at that time at a national level; with the relocation of most of the family’s sleeping rooms to the second floor, the interior of these houses was further stratified into distinct public and private realms.

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96 Walter Richard Wheeler. “Post-Colonial New World Dutch Framing Innovations and the Development of the Balloon Frame,” in James W. P. Campbell et al eds., *Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Conference of the Construction History Society*. Cambridge, England: The Construction History Society, 2020.

The transformation of traditional Dutch H-bent frame construction into what was, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, popularized as “balloon framing,” has been traced from adaptations made by New York joiners and carpenters in the late-eighteenth century. These innovations were carried by settlers from the Hudson Valley to northern and western New York, Vermont, and lower Canada, and from there into the Midwest, where it became the prevailing wood framing system.<sup>97</sup> This development marked the final evolutionary stage of New World Dutch framing techniques.

### Significance

Rural houses associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State are historically and architecturally significant and, in some cases, have associations with historically significant individuals. They also are significant as landmarks in a rural cultural landscape initially developed by the Dutch in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys and on Long Island. Many remain components of farmsteads and rural communities and contribute to the significance of larger cultural landscapes and a broader pattern of community development. Usually sited on the sides of old roads and highways, they are artifacts that speak to the early development of transportation infrastructure and networks. They also are significant for what they represent in the architectural contexts of their regions or locality. Not infrequently, the house is all that remains of a historic rural resource, forlornly sited within a residential subdivision or commercial strip developed in the once-open farmland that had formerly embraced it.

Dutch Heritage in New York State is actualized in the extant cultural landscape of the Hudson and Mohawk valleys. This history includes some momentous events, beginning with Henry Hudson’s exploration of the river that now bears his name, and including the creation of trading alliances with Native American tribes; the planning of urban towns and rural villages; the active participation of farmers and merchants in international trade; brutal Indian wars and the enslavement of Africans and other marginalized peoples; the institution of organized religion and the Reformed Dutch Church’s role in maintaining Dutch cultural identity after the English Conquest; the English Conquest and Leisler’s Rebellion; the proprietary land and social system; the movement to preserve Dutch cultural identity through architecture, social practices, religion, language and iconography; and the nostalgia for the Dutch presence in response to urban growth, immigration and modernism. Yet at the foundations of these historical high points is a broad and complex community network, including careful interaction with the English, spread out across the entire region and the full extent of the state’s history. Each house, farmstead, rural and urban community, transportation route, river landing, and church is a landmark that informs the greater whole and derives significance from it.

Certain persons played significant roles in the establishment, organization and continuation of Dutch Heritage in New York State. Obvious examples include members of the Stuyvesant, Van Rensselaer, Livingston, Philipse, Van Cortlandt, Schuyler and Beekman families. Associating these individuals with places they historically inhabited begins the process of humanizing these otherwise inanimate structures. Other landmarks in the cultural landscape can provide the thousands of voiceless people represented by them with appropriate recognition.

Architecturally, rural houses associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State are significant as rare and distinctive examples of Dutch-American architecture reflecting the particular design characteristics of its locality, region or social class. While the architecture of early front-gable houses was fairly consistent in design and construction methods across the region, as settlement progressed and diversified, many local iterations of Dutch domestic architecture emerged during the eighteenth century. The localized characteristics of rural houses has been documented in numerous publications as well as historic resource surveys. Variations in wood and masonry materials, roof forms, floor plans, porch design, as well as variations that reflect class hierarchies, distinguish local groups while all houses fundamentally express associations with a shared Dutch-American cultural identity. By the mid-eighteenth century rural houses began to share characteristics with the architecture of local English-settled communities, by virtue of the adoption of features such as jambed fireplaces and two-story side-passage plans, along with the adoption of internationally-popular elements such as symmetrical plans and facades and sash windows.

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97 Ibid.

Like urban dwellings, rural houses evinced a continuing nostalgia for Dutch heritage in their design while selectively adding new features culled from other traditions, both locally and internationally. Most houses that survived into the mid-nineteenth century were subjected to multiple updates, with added Neoclassical or Greek Revival porches and trim or pointed Picturesque elements, the latter of which were particularly consonant with the old house's design underpinnings in Gothic Northern Europe. All these later alterations contribute to the significance of these enduring houses and provide reference points to the changing times and generational evolution of Dutch Heritage in New York State.

### Registration Requirements

Under the theme of Dutch Heritage in New York State, any rural house associated with the Dutch presence or with the preservation of Dutch heritage may be eligible for the National Register if it can be effectively documented and meets the integrity test.

A rural house may be found eligible under Criterion A for its specific association with a Dutch heritage theme. A property sufficiently documented to be associated with a notable individual during this period may also be determined eligible under Criterion B. Distinguishing physical characteristics, either in terms of original design or as adapted during the period of significance, will play a determining role in establishing eligibility under Criterion C.

A rural Dutch house, in all its variations, should retain sufficient physical integrity to convey its association to the Dutch context and the period of significance. A property in its original location may be determined eligible if it retains sufficient architectural integrity, even if its historic farmstead and/or rural setting has been compromised. Eligible buildings will generally meet registration requirements if they retain the essential forms, plans, construction features and materials associated with their period and function. Workmanship is a critical factor useful to assess the integrity of a building in relation to other comparable buildings both within the context and more broadly.

For a rural Dutch house to be eligible individually, it will have design, construction or decorative features associated with the type. Determining elements include a horizontal, single-pile plan with multiple rooms erected in one- or two-room sections with basements and garrets, each room usually with its own door and window unitized on a story-and-a-half façade. Later houses, dating from the mid-eighteenth century and into the early nineteenth century, will retain one-and-one-half pile plans, or plans that are two rooms deep, and may have central passages with open staircases. Wood, stone and brick materials will be appropriate to their periods, as will fenestration, doorways and stoops or porches. The framing of the house will reflect the preservation and evolution of the traditional H-bent structure. Floor plans may have elements of earlier Dutch houses preserved within them, either physically or conceptually. Interior decoration also may have features reflecting preserved Dutch heritage. The addition of wings, roofs, dormers, porches and other elements not directly associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State will be balanced against the significance of the property under other criteria or contexts

### Example

The Peter Wagner House, also known as Fort Wagner, in Palatine, Montgomery County, built ca. 1750, is a distinctive example of a mid-eighteenth-century rural house occupied by a Palatine family in the Mohawk Valley (Fig. 18). Under the theme of Dutch Heritage in New York State, the property meets National Register Criterion A as a landmark in the history of the region from its settlement to the Revolutionary War era. Peter Wagner brought his family from the Palatine camps in the Hudson Valley to build a homestead, and his stone house served as a meeting place and protective haven in the war-torn region. It also is significant under Criterion C as a rare surviving example of a settlement-era dwelling. Its stone construction associates its design and its builder with the domestic architecture of the mid-Hudson Valley. A two-story wood frame addition erected ca. 1815 contributes to the significance of this vernacular building with evidence of the changing design, building methods and lifestyles in the region as it rebuilt and expanded after the war. The house retains integrity of location, design, setting materials, workmanship, feeling and association.

## 1c. Barns

### Description

The New World Dutch barn is an iconic form significant to Dutch Heritage in New York State (Fig.19). It is as distinguishable an artifact of the Dutch presence as urban or rural Dutch houses, and at one point in time, just about every rural Dutch house had a New World Dutch barn associated with it, including those in rural villages. With the Dutch house, it shares significant characteristics of an H-bent frame and front-gable façade.

Historic documents indicate that at least some combination house and barns, a mixed-used architectural form found in the Netherlands, existed in the Albany and Kingston settlements in the seventeenth century, including at the Schuyler Flatts site. This was a rural building type more common in the Old World that either incorporated a dwelling within a barn or had a dwelling attached to a barn. Dwellings within house-barns were located at one end or corner of the barn and were not entirely partitioned from it. One example of this building type is thought to have existed in Albany County as late as the 1930s and was photographed; however, none are known to exist today.

The New World Dutch barn contains three parallel interior aisles, but variations containing single, two, and four aisles are also known. And like the house, the Dutch design of the barn has its source in the Netherlands. The aisled plans of these barns were common throughout Northern Europe, as well as in the mediaeval tithe barns of England. These barns feature a wide center aisle with a threshing floor and a loft above, this central area flanked by lower side aisles that accommodated animals and grain storage. They were framed with tall posts at the sides of the center aisle tied together with cross beams, forming the characteristic H frame, ranged in parallel bents. A top plate joining the posts of adjacent bents served as a purlin, providing medial support to the rafters of the broad gable roof. Barns varied in dimensions and framing materials depending on anticipated functions and availability of timber. They were the central piece in a subsistence farm that included wheat production and animal husbandry.

The New World Dutch barn differs from European barns in both its framing system and internal arrangement and it reflects its new world setting by its finely-crafted frame of squared timbers made possible by the presence of first-growth timber no longer available in Europe. Similar to the widespread adoption of the H-bent framed house throughout New Netherland, the New World Dutch barn was constructed throughout the colony, with only minor local variations.

It is estimated that as many as 400 New World Dutch barns are extant in New York and New Jersey; this number nevertheless represents a small percentage of those that once existed. A cultural icon in the rural landscape, the design and construction of a Dutch barn followed a strict set of requirements. They are framed with H-bents flanking a center aisle and supporting the common-rafter roof that extends over side aisles and which are seated on low side walls. The center aisle is floored with heavy planks that function as a threshing surface and is spanned by anchor beams that supported cut saplings that formed the base of a drying chamber for grain in the central loft. Doors open into each of the three aisles on both ends.

While conforming to an idealized standard, no two barns are exactly alike. Each barn has something unique in the dimensions of its plan, the volume of its interior space, the measurements of its timbers or the details of its joinery. In the center aisle, framing elements are carefully finished with anchor beams joined to posts, sometimes with rounded through-tenons, and braces.

From the initial settlement period into the early nineteenth century, New World Dutch barns were built in this standard manner and served the same function: the storage, curing and threshing of sheaves of wheat or rye, and the housing of animals. Sheaves were loaded from the center aisle into the loft where the grain was cured; when it was ready for threshing it was moved to the floor of the center aisle, where it was also winnowed in the draft running through the open gable-end doors; for this reason most New World Dutch barns are oriented to take advantage of prevailing winds. Side aisles were where the farm's animals were housed, primarily cows and horses. These aisles also served other farm uses, including storage for farm equipment and tools.

In the nineteenth century, when the profitability of wheat growing in the Hudson Valley was diminished by changing economics, soil exhaustion, and fungal and insect blight, Dutch barns evolved to conform to new agricultural uses centered on dairy cows. A variety of grains grown for animal feed and human consumption, rather than market, were still processed and stored in these barns, although by this time separate freestanding granaries and other specialized structures were being built, and the barn's primary storage function became for hay. A growing number of milk cows, seldom more than three or four at the beginning of this period, found shelter in one or both side aisles; work horses were stabled there as well. Soon after, separate cow houses were built adjacent or connected to the barn.

New World Dutch barns continued to be constructed in some areas well into the nineteenth century. Their designs incorporated, increasingly after the Revolution, regional variations such as the "U-plan" of Ulster County; the side wall entrance with earthen ramp, encountered most frequently in Rensselaer County; or the double-anchor-beamed bay, seen in Dutchess, Ulster and Montgomery counties.

The demand for hay continuously increased, and barracks—which had been constructed in the region from the beginning of European settlement and were a common component in the agricultural landscape into the mid-nineteenth century—became inadequate and outmoded. The dimensions of new barns expanded accordingly. Old barns were enlarged for this purpose; some by increasing the size of the loft by raising the roof and others by extending the plan by the construction of additional bays framed in the same manner, or by constructing wing on the rear (Fig. 20). In most of these alterations, the volumetric form and gabled façade of the Dutch barn was preserved.

As progressive dairy barns were introduced in the mid-nineteenth century, Dutch H-bent framing was adapted for use in the construction of basement and ramp barns and other structures. However, in these applications, the orientation of the center aisle and doors was moved to the eave walls removing one of the most iconographic aspects of the Dutch barn—its gable façade. Only the frame, concealed within the building, remained to recall its Dutch heritage, and this also was modified to facilitate changes to the interior plan. These hybrid barns were created both in new construction and by the renovation of existing barns. Examples of this type of barn were built almost until the end of the nineteenth century. Many other Dutch barns remained unaltered either because of conservative agricultural practices or because the barn's primary function on the farmstead had been taken over by a barn of newer design, with the older structure then serving a secondary function on the farm.

### Significance

New World Dutch Barns are historically and architecturally significant artifacts associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State. They are often associated with the history of enslaved Africans who worked in and around them. A study of property assessments compiled in 1798 in the town of New Paltz, compared entries on schedules for houses and barns with a third listing enslaved Africans and their owners. It found that 83% of the 280 enslaved Africans counted in the Town of New Paltz in 1798 lived on farms that also had Dutch barns, indicating that this building type was a conspicuous landmark in the African-American experience.<sup>98</sup>

They also are significant as landmarks in rural cultural landscapes associated with the Dutch in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys and on western Long Island. Many remain as components of farmsteads and rural communities and contribute to the significance of larger cultural landscapes and a broader pattern of community development. Once present on virtually every Dutch farm in the region, their survival is threatened by obsolescence and because they are attractive to the wealthy clients of timberframers who specialize in their adaptation into houses or recreational pavilions, typically resulting in their relocation to sites outside of New York State. The estimated 400 extant Dutch barns represent what is probably the bare minimum of examples sufficient to record the spatial distribution and regional variations found in this building type.

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98 Neil Larson, "An Inventory of Dutch Barns in the Town of New Paltz in 1798," Dutch Barn Preservation Society Newsletter 10: 1 (Spring 1997).

The design of these barns was derived from aisle barns in The Netherlands, some containing dwellings, that functioned within mixed husbandry agriculture. When introduced to New York, the barn was adapted for use in the curing and threshing of grain and its construction methods—incorporating some features not commonly encountered in Netherlandish examples—were largely standardized. While they were subsequently regionalized and individualized in many subtle ways like Dutch houses were, New World Dutch barns throughout the state are defined by a three-aisle plan, H-bent frames and broad front-gable facades. In addition to being significant components in the early agricultural history of the state and landmarks in the colony's wheat trade, Dutch barns were designed and preserved as significant iconic objects in the landscape to represent the Dutch presence and their cultural independence. The pairing of Dutch barns with Dutch houses on farmsteads visually reinforced the claim the Dutch had on the region.

When New York's international wheat trade collapsed after the Revolutionary War, farming in the mid- and lower Hudson Valley shifted in focus to supplying foodstuffs to New York City. A similar shift occurred in the upper Hudson and Mohawk valleys, but only after the introduction of transportation improvements, including the steamship and the opening of the Erie Canal, made movement of farm products to urban areas feasible. The same improvements resulted in the dramatic expansion of communities along the Hudson and Mohawk rivers, creating closer urban markets for these agricultural products. Butter and cheese were the prime commodities and Dutch barns were adapted to accommodate cows and hay. This was a momentous transition; the dairy industry determined the course of agriculture until the end of the twentieth century. Pre-existing Dutch barns were altered and enlarged in a number of distinctive ways and some methods were distinctive to certain localities. For example, in Ulster County, barns were enlarged by raising the roof by adding extensions to the tops of the H-bent posts. New hay barns were added perpendicularly to the rear end of barns in the Schoharie Valley and southwest Albany County. These alterations preserved the Dutch barn's characteristic massing and gable facade as well as its significance as a cultural landmark. New Dutch barns were constructed on a larger scale with spaces once devoted to processing grains repurposed for dairy and mixed husbandry. Later in the nineteenth century, barns were adapted or built with the addition of basement quarters for cows. Rather than wholly adopt progressive barn models promoted in farm literature, some Dutch barn builders integrated the traditional H-bent frame into a hybrid building, relinquishing the iconic gabled front in favor of practical considerations, showing the fracturing of Dutch cultural practice in the republican era. Still, hundreds of Dutch barns were preserved, but probably for economic rather than nostalgic reasons.

### **Registration Requirements**

Under the theme of Dutch Heritage in New York State, Dutch barns are significant landmarks of the Dutch presence in a locality of the region and the history of agriculture and community development. Dutch barns are rare artifacts of Dutch architecture and material life may be eligible for the National Register if they can be effectively documented and meet the integrity test. They represent a highly-threatened resource, being inordinately subject to demolition or relocation, and deserve special attention. Most surviving Dutch barns are associated with surviving historic properties that also contain Dutch houses and, in some cases, other buildings and lands comprising all or part of a historic farmstead. Dutch barns that exist without this context may be individually eligible for the National Register in a local context where they are rare and threatened.

Significance may be established under Criterion A by a property's associative characteristics with Dutch Heritage in New York State and early agricultural history. Distinguishing physical characteristics either in terms of original design or as adapted during the period of significance will play a determining role in establishing eligibility under Criterion C.

A Dutch barn, in all its variations, should retain sufficient physical integrity to convey its association to the Dutch context and the period of significance. A property in its original location may be determined eligible even if its historic farmstead and/or rural setting has been compromised and does not meet the test. Eligible buildings will generally meet registration requirements if they retain the essential forms, plans, construction features and materials associated with their period and function. Workmanship is a critical factor useful to assess the integrity of a building in relation to other comparable buildings both within the context and more broadly.

For a Dutch barn to be eligible individually, it will have design, construction, or decorative features associated with the type. Determining elements include a three-aisle plan with a center aisle framed by H bents with massive anchor beams joined to posts by through-tenons and with a plank threshing floor. Side aisles likely will not retain original features other than framing. Identifiable changes to these aisles, up to the installation of concrete floors and metal stanchions in the twentieth century contribute to the significance of the barn. Alterations made to raise the roof of a barn and its walls will be considered contributing to the architectural and agricultural history of the barn. The massing of the building with its wide footprint, tall gable roof, and gabled façade with large wagon doors in the center flanked by smaller doors for the side aisles, mow door are character-defining features and should be intact. Some facades will be embellished with pentice roofs over the center entrance, jettied upper stories, martin holes and windows. Wood weatherboards were the original exterior materials, although vertical boards replaced them in many instances, usually after other alterations were made in the nineteenth century. Other additions, such as cow houses, hay houses, stables, and milk houses, built in the period of significance, will contribute to the significance of the building. The addition of wings, roofs, and other elements not directly associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State will be balanced against the significance of the property under other criteria or contexts. Barns that have been moved and/or converted into dwellings will only be eligible if they meet the integrity test.

**Example:**

The William Shultes Dutch Barn, built ca. 1800 in western Albany County, is significant under National Register Criterion C as a distinctive surviving example of a New World Dutch barn, the principal agricultural building on farms associated with the Dutch Heritage in New York State. The barn's center aisle is spanned by substantial anchor beams joined to posts supporting the expansive gable roof carrying over side aisles to exterior walls. Wagon doors on the ends are painted to simulate arches in the Palatine manner. It has a cross-gable addition on the rear constructed to provide more space for the hay. A wing attached to the front was built for stabling cows and storing their feed. These additions reflect common changes made to adapt original barns to new uses. The Dutch barn retains integrity of location, design, setting materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. While individually significant, the barn is a contributing feature of a historic farmstead containing a house, numerous agricultural outbuildings and farmland. The Shultes farmstead as a whole meets Criteria A and C in the areas of agriculture, early settlement, and Dutch heritage.

## 1d. Domestic & Agricultural Outbuildings

**Description**

Due to obsolescence, outbuildings associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State are exceedingly rare. The vast majority of outbuildings extant on historic Dutch properties are either of a sort that bear little association with significant Dutch elements. A small number of outbuilding types can be linked to the Dutch Heritage of New York State.

**Houses occupied by the Enslaved**

Descriptions of accommodations for enslaved Africans in urban and rural houses, as well as outbuildings, have been given above under those headings. Surviving outbuildings in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys associated with the enslaved are exceedingly rare, and documentary evidence is slight and often misleading. In most instances, the only way to determine how the enslaved were accommodated is by inference from census data: numbers of five or more suggest that at least some of them resided outside the house. An extant eighteenth-century house in Schenectady that was occupied by enslaved people is a narrow wood-frame building with a shed roof, and it resembles a non-extant example pictured in the well-known Van Bergen Overmantel (Figs. 18 & 19). These buildings also may have been out-kitchens, which are known to have been a place where enslaved people slept (see below).

In the nineteenth century, after manumission, most African Americans left farms, relocating to the cities where there were more work opportunities and Black communities. Some formed small enclaves in local towns and found work as day laborers. They lived in small, modest dwellings, which they often owned, but outside of the Dutch realm. Census records indicate that some older people without kin or other options remained on the farms where they had been enslaved.

**Out-kitchens**

Sometimes called summer kitchens, out-kitchens were one-room (or, rarely, larger) buildings with cooking fireplaces and bake ovens that were located close behind Dutch houses, and in some instances attached to them at a corner

(Figs.21 thru 23 and 25). Introduced in the seventeenth century, they have been found in farm and village settings across the region, and are recorded in early building contracts for the City of Albany. Sometimes built of stone or brick, possibly for fire protection, the majority of surviving examples are of wood frame construction. A doorway was located on the gable end opposite the fireplace, and there generally were windows on the side walls. Typically separate from the house and with its own heating source, it was likely a place where enslaved people or free Blacks lived, since it was their workplace as well. On larger farms and plantations, larger out-kitchens reflect an increased number of enslaved people quartered there (Fig.24).

### **Smoke houses**

Smoke houses were common on Dutch farmsteads as smoking was an important process in the preservation of meat, although there was not anything particularly Dutch about their design or function (Figs.23 and 26). They were particularly prevalent during the dairy era in the nineteenth century when the number of swine increased to be fattened by whey and other wastes from the butter churn, as well as other household wastes. Smokehouses are typically of small size (perhaps four- or five-foot square), with a gable roof and a door on one end. Larger ones may reflect a commercial function. Some had chimneys to release smoke; others were vented through voids in the envelope or by cupolas. Brick was the usual fireproof building material. Stone was an option, but it was a challenge to build a stone structure that small. Wood-frame smoke houses were built, also, but appear to have been less common.

### **Wagon houses**

Wagon houses were small story-and-a-half barns with space for a wagon and/or carriage, stalls for horses, and a tack room on the main floor and loft for feed, hay, and storage (Fig.27). On Dutch farmsteads, wagon houses were constructed with a bent frame with wagon, stable and loft doors on the front and windows on the end walls. Wagon houses became common on farms after the Revolution. Prior to that, horses are stabled in the Dutch barn and vehicles parked in sheds. On better farms and in later periods, larger and more stylishly-designed barns were built focusing on the care of carriages and the finer horses that propelled them.

### **Cow houses**

As cow populations increased on farms, the Dutch barns could not handle the increasing cow populations. This problem was addressed by the construction of a separate building or wing to contain cows on the ground level and the feed and hay they required in a half-story loft above (Fig.28). The long, narrow gable roof building appears to have had space to shelter farm equipment also. The cow house was constructed with H-bent construction associating it with the Dutch Heritage of New York State. Although amply documented in historic photographs, few of these buildings have survived, having been replaced by subsequent stages of development of dairy-based agriculture.

### **Granaries/corn cribs**

After the Dutch barn was adapted for dairy production and grains grown on the farm were used more for animal feed than monetary trade, a separate building was added to the farmstead to stockpile them. Like other farm outbuildings, granaries were framed with bents, close-spaced in this case to support the load of grains stored in bins in the upper half-story. Large doors at ground level permitted wagons to enter the building and unload (Fig. 29). Other areas on the ground floor were used for equipment storage and work activities. (Presumably, grain was dried and threshed in the Dutch barn.) Granaries typically had a corn crib built into the side opposite the grain bins on the upper level. Whereas the exterior of the building was covered with wood weatherboards, the sections of the three outside walls enclosing the crib were finished with slats providing air flow to dry shucked corn; the floor was slatted as well. In the upper Hudson and Mohawk valleys, a corn crib of small size (typically 10-15 feet square) with a bent frame and a center pedestrian aisle flanked by open cribs was a common farm outbuilding (Fig. 30). These smaller examples not infrequently have a space at the end opposite the entrance used for tool storage or as a workroom.

### **Hay Barracks**

Hay Barracks were structures designed to shelter haystacks. They were typically constructed of four posts set into the ground, with a hipped or gable roof that could be raised or lowered on hangers looped over pegs inserted in a vertical series of holes in the posts (Fig. 31). Barracks had long existed in northern Europe before being introduced in New York

by the Dutch, and they could take a variety of shapes and sizes. Some had adjustable floors as well, that when elevated provided shelter for small farm animals. Examples built with fixed elevated floors with a small board-enclosed room underneath were sometimes referred to as corn barracks, with the lower spaces being used for equipment storage of equipment. While historic views include them as a farmyard feature, they could be easily erected in pastures or anywhere hay was needed. On some farms, barracks were used into the twentieth century, even for baled hay. No examples of New World Dutch hay barracks constructed during the period of significance are known to exist today, however important reused component parts are preserved in numerous barns and agricultural outbuildings.

### **Other outbuildings**

Most of the activity of the eighteenth-century Dutch farmstead centered on the house, barn and barrack. In the next century, farmsteads diversified and farmers erected a variety of outbuildings with specific functions, such as forges, workshops, slaughterhouses, sheepfolds, pigpens, poultry houses, and privies.

### **Significance**

With most of the surviving resources associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State existing in the rural context, outbuildings associated with farmsteads are important components of the cultural landscape initially developed by the Dutch in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys. Many still are components of farmsteads and rural communities and contribute to the significance of larger cultural landscapes and a broader pattern of community development. Once present on virtually every Dutch farm in the region, outbuildings are threatened by obsolescence, even though hundreds still are extant. They also are associated with the history of the enslaved people who worked in and around them.

In most cases, their designs reflect traditions of Dutch-American architecture principally in their use of bent framing or Old World forms like hay barracks. In the nineteenth century, there was little to differentiate farm outbuildings from mainstream agricultural models, and they represent the evolving production and practices of regional farming. When the wheat economy collapsed in the Hudson Valley after the Revolutionary War, farming shifted its focus to supplying foodstuffs to New York City. Butter was the prime commodity and outbuildings adapted or were introduced to accommodate the change in function. The transition from wheat to dairy occurred later in the Mohawk Valley because the soil continued to be fertile and transportation improvements, notably the Erie Canal, made it more accessible. In terms of agricultural history and the region's trade with the city, this was a momentous transition; the dairy industry determined the course of agriculture until the end of the twentieth century.

Where the Dutch barn contained most of a farm's needs in the eighteenth century, with the exception of hay barracks, with the growing diversity of products and functions in the nineteenth century, as well as the introduction of mixed husbandry, the farmstead developed a complex of specialized outbuildings.

### **Registration Requirements**

Under the theme of Dutch Heritage in New York State, a Dutch farmstead—Dutch house and Dutch Barn together—may be significant as a landmark of the Dutch presence in a locality of the region and the history of agriculture and community development. Domestic and agricultural outbuildings associated with these farmsteads have the potential for listing on the National Register as contributing features if they can be effectively documented and meet the integrity test. They are also threatened with demolition and deserve special attention. Outbuildings with documented associations with African Americans living or working on a farm may be individually eligible for the National Register in a local context where they retain physical integrity from the period of that association and are no longer part of an eligible farmstead.

Significance will be established under Criterion A by a property's associative characteristics with Dutch Heritage in New York State and early agricultural history. Distinguishing physical characteristics either in terms of original design or as adapted during the period of significance will play a determining role in establishing eligibility under Criterion C.

A domestic or agricultural outbuilding in all its variations, should retain sufficient physical integrity to convey its association to the context and the period of significance, as well as the eligible farmstead itself. (Association is the most important integrity standard to meet.) Eligible buildings will generally meet registration requirements if they retain the

essential forms, plans, construction features and materials associated with their period and function. Workmanship is a critical factor useful to assess the integrity of a building in relation to other comparable buildings both within the context and more broadly. For a domestic or agricultural outbuilding to be eligible as a contributing feature on a farmstead or individually, it will have design, construction and decorative features associated with the type.

**No example provided**

### **3a. RELIGIOUS: Churches**

#### **Description**

Even before the English Conquest, the Reformed Dutch Church was the cultural center of the Dutch community in New York, but following the takeover, the church became even more of a unifying institution and conservator of the Dutch identity, and it remained so for many years after. For much of that time, the Reformed Dutch Church in America was governed by the classis in the Netherlands, which provided, in the absence of a colonial government, a crucial link to the Old World. Like houses and barns, Dutch churches – and these included the Reformed and Lutheran churches established by the Palatines – were landmarks symbolizing the Dutch presence and the network of their communities in the region. Fundamentally, they varied little from English churches, but they were imbued with a sense of cultural preservation.

The first churches were square or octagonal in plan without prominent entrances or towers. Historic views show them with windows in the walls and steep hipped roofs with a steeple or belfry centered on the roof (Fig. 32). Plans for these buildings likely came from the Netherlands, as well as some interior furnishings. The earliest were constructed of wood, but soon after masonry became common, providing the buildings and the institution with prestige and permanence. Interiors were plain with elevated pulpits on a side wall opposite the entrance; box pews and benches were arranged on the main floor and in galleries. Eighteenth-century churches with rectangular plans survive throughout the region with entrances centered between windows on long sides and pulpits opposite in the traditional manner (Fig. 33). This amendment may simply reflect the growth in sizes of congregations, but it also gave the buildings a more modern form. Gambrel roofs were introduced, which enhances the Dutch appearance, although that association came later.

After the Revolutionary War when Dutch-American buildings began to increasingly reflect unity with national architectural expression, Dutch churches lost some of their iconographic characteristics. The prevailing Protestant model of the English parish church, a long rectangular plan with an entrance on one narrow end opposite an apse at the other connected by a center aisle. The entrance was centered between windows or additional doors, entering a narthex. It was surmounted by a second story of windows and a bell tower of varying elaboration. Many churches with older rectangular plans were altered, relocating the entrances from the sides to the gable ends, shifting pulpit locations, creating aisles and adding towers, often in an extension elongating the plan and creating a narthex (Fig.34).

Enduring Reformed Dutch church congregations built a number of churches over the course of their histories; some were renovated to meet changing needs and tastes, others were lost. By the mid-1800s the distinguishing characteristics that had expressed a Dutch iconography a century before had evaporated along with the cultural preservation movement that created it. Reformed Dutch churches, now under the auspices of the Reformed Church of America, continue to be built today.

#### **Significance**

The churches built by the Dutch in towns throughout the Hudson and Mohawk valleys are significant objects associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State and should be recognized (and protected) wherever they exist. Historically, churches served as cultural centers for Dutch communities and were their primary link to Old World language, customs and institutions. Ironically, in Palatine settlements, Calvinists and Lutherans coexisted and had churches for their separate denominations. (This is not to say that the history of the Dutch church in American was not immune to controversy.) Dutch churches also are architecturally significant as symbols of the Dutch presence in the English colony and like Dutch houses were designed to express their distinctive identity. The architecture of early churches recalled European forms and plans as they were still in the collective memory of the settlers. In the early eighteenth century,

as that imagery grew more remote, new church design was more staunchly expressive of the preservation of Dutch heritage in America, although in New York City, this approach was not taken, the Dutch Reformed Church (1729) wholly following English models in its design. And by the nineteenth-century, that pride was enveloped in the mainstream of the evolving American material culture.

No churches survive from the settlement era, having become obsolete and unadaptable as Dutch communities matured in the eighteenth century. One possible exception is the Sleepy Hollow church, which is reputed to have been built in the 1690s, but its brick construction, gambrel roof, entrance in the narrow end opposite an apse suggest a later construction date or a substantial alteration. The history of the Huguenot church in New Paltz, Ulster County, provides an example of church development common in other Dutch communities. A church was organized in 1683, five years after the New Paltz Patent was granted to the heads of twelve Huguenot families, and a stone church was erected in 1717. Historic images depict it as having a square plan, hipped roof, and belfry. This church was replaced in the 1770s by a larger stone church with a rectangular plan and a gambrel roof. In 1839, the second church was demolished and the stone used for the basement of a large, brick church with an aisle plan in the Greek Revival style. (The stones from the first church were used to build a school in the village.) A similar process occurred in Tappan, Rockland County, as well as in towns throughout the region (Fig.35).

Some of the removals may have been due to changes in urban planning concepts. In both Albany and Schenectady, the earlier churches occupied sites in the middle of principal thoroughfares. The Albany church was described as needing to go in 1806 due to its impeding commerce, as well as being old fashioned. The English church in that city was also in the middle of State Street, but at the top of the street; it was removed at about the same time. The materials from both churches were used in new structures for their respective congregations.

Churches also are significant as landmarks in the context of Dutch town planning, especially in places where twentieth-century urban and village development or suburbanization has compromised or obliterated historic community patterns. Church histories also provide evidence of class hierarchies in Dutch communities, as documented by interior seating plans, including gallery locations designated for enslaved people. There was no separation based on gender.

The Dutch church is a highly significant building type in American architectural history. Scores of publications, from eighteenth-century travelogues to twentieth-century historical literature, have recognized them as landmarks of Dutch heritage. While the Dutch endeavored to preserve traditional forms of domestic architecture, churches were more responsive to modernizing trends, particularly those located in urban areas, in part due to ecclesiastical influence—Dutch ministers were educated in universities in cosmopolitan situations—and in part, probably, to a more worldly view of the vestry.

Church construction was a capital project for which distinctive design was expected by the community, and, certainly, keeping up with the English churches was imperative. Church construction was specialized enough that it did not employ Dutch methods, at least as far as it is known.

By the nineteenth century, Dutch church design, like everything else, was swept up in the Romantic Movement, beginning with the Greek Revival and continuing through High Victorian Gothic (Fig. 36). In the Colonial Revival era, Dutch forms and imagery found renewed popularity in domestic architecture, and perhaps in new church design as well. It was a period of historic preservation and old Dutch churches were restored, and at least one replica was erected – on Huguenot Street in New Paltz.

### **Registration Requirements**

Under the theme of Dutch Heritage in New York State, surviving Dutch, Huguenot, and Palatine churches have potential for listing on the National Register. Any church associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State is significant and may be eligible if it can be effectively documented and meets the integrity test. Significance will be established under Criterion A by a property's associative characteristics with Dutch Heritage in New York State in such areas as social history and ethnic heritage. A property sufficiently documented to be associated with a notable individual during this

period may also be eligible under Criterion B. Distinguishing physical characteristics either in terms of original design or as adapted during the period of significance will play a determining role in establishing eligibility under Criterion C.

A Dutch church, in all its variations, should retain sufficient physical integrity to convey its association to the context and the period of significance. ( A property's location in a planned town or village is a given integrity standard; however, other churches in the region with Dutch cultural associations during the period of significance will also meet the standard. The same conditions apply in terms of setting, whether the property is located in a town or village or elsewhere in the regional environment. Eligible buildings will generally meet registration requirements if they retain the essential forms, plans, and materials associated with their period and function. Aspects of workmanship are useful to assess the integrity of a building in relation to other comparable buildings both within the context and more broadly.

Some Dutch churches will be eligible as contributing features in an urban or village setting comprising a historic district associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State. For a Dutch church to be eligible individually, it will have design, construction, or decorative features associated with the type. Brick, stone, and wood exterior materials will be appropriate to their periods, as will roof profiles, bell towers, steeples fenestration, doorways, and stoops or porches. The framing of the church may reflect the preservation or evolution of the traditional Dutch construction methods. Floor plans and interior finishes will retain evidence of earlier stages of development if the building has evolved over time. Interior decoration also may have features reflecting preserved Dutch heritage. The addition of wings, roofs, and other elements not directly associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State will be balanced against the significance of the property under other criteria or contexts.

### Example

The Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. Peter (Old Stone Church) in Rhinebeck, built in 1730 and enlarged and renovated in 1824, is a distinctive example of a Palatine Lutheran church associated with the Dutch Heritage of New York State (Fig.34). Listed on the National Register in 1975, this church is significant under Criteria A and C as a historic landmark in the settlement pattern of Palatines in the state as well as their presence in Dutchess County and as a significant surviving eighteenth-century church building that was updated in the nineteenth century. The stone section of the church was built in 1730 with a meeting house plan with an entrance centered on the east (road) side as was common with early churches associated with this theme. As with many early churches, the church was modernized with reorienting the plan to a central axis through the long dimension, relocating the entrance to the gable end where a bell tower had been erected. The church retains integrity of location, design, setting materials, workmanship, feeling and association.

## 3b. RELIGIOUS: Burial Grounds

### Description

Burial grounds are significant resources associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State. Church grounds and family grounds were the common burial sites. Some church grounds in urban areas were removed in the nineteenth century with burials relocated to rural cemeteries or paved over entirely. Church grounds survive in other parts of the region, although reorganized and expanded so they no longer retain their early patterns, which could demonstrate how the community defined social hierarchies, family bonds, and marginalized groups, such as African Americans. Many family grounds have been lost to abandonment or neglect.

The principal cultural artifacts in burial grounds are grave markers, that is, stones carved with the names and death dates of the deceased. In the majority of cases where the plans of church graveyards have been altered or burials have been removed to other cemeteries, it will be the stones themselves that represent Dutch Heritage in New York State. There are burial grounds in Ulster and Dutchess counties where the earliest markers are simply riven bluestone slabs with initials and dates carved on them in no standard pattern (Fig.37). This would suggest they predate the presence of a stone carving craft in the community or links to a broader supply network. Not long after, though, more conventional stones came into use. Brownstone slabs with scrolled tops carved with death heads or other iconography above the imprint of names, life dates, and other text, in Dutch or German, early on, and increasingly in English during the eighteenth century, became the norm (Fig.38). By design, their details are not distinguishable as Dutch; rather they are well within the mainstream of cemetery expression. In the early nineteenth century, the preferred material shifted

to marble and iconography became more Romantic: urns, weeping willows, obelisks and the like (Fig.39). Later in the century, granite markers came into favor, reflecting more trends in the monument trade than in any cultural agenda.

### Significance

Burial grounds are significant landmarks in the cultural geography of communities and families associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State. Most are associated with churches and farmsteads, either extant or gone; in the latter case, the presence of a burial ground is an important cultural footprint representing a broader history. In many cases, a gravesite is the only tangible evidence of an individual's existence in a place. Burial grounds naturally expanded and diversified over time and represent the course of history of Dutch communities, church congregations and families, as well as the design and iconography of grave markers (Fig. 40). Despite markers having been moved around in the reorganization of a church yard or moved entirely to another location when urban yards were closed down (or simply paved over in the redevelopment of certain sites), Dutch gravestones have their own inherent significance in their design and cultural affiliation. The crude, riven bluestone markers erected in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are uniquely associated by design and history with the Dutch presence. Later stones, produced by trained stone carvers, bear little manifestation of Dutch- American iconography that would distinguish them from mainstream design and methods. However, these objects still are still significant for the personal and community histories they represent. Like architecture, the changing design of grave markers shows the evolution of artifacts expressive of Dutch Heritage in New York State and the gradual merging with mainstream culture after the Revolutionary War.

### Registration Requirements

Under the theme of Dutch Heritage in New York State, a surviving church burial ground associated with Dutch, Huguenot, and Palatine churches or family plots associated Dutch farmsteads have potential for listing on the National Register with the consideration that it derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events. Most of these resources will satisfy the considerations for age and design features. Those retaining an association with churches will be eligible as components of a church property that is effectively documented and meets the National Register criteria with considerations applied to religious properties. Significance will be established under Criterion A by a property's associative characteristics with Dutch Heritage in New York State. Burial grounds that have been moved to another location will meet Criterion A if the rural cemetery or community association cemetery to which it was moved is eligible (e.g. Albany Rural Cemetery to where burials from churchyards in the city were moved) or as separate groups, if the stones as artifacts can be demonstrated to be significant under Criterion A as the representation of a community that no longer exists. A cemetery containing the graves of persons of transcendent importance may be eligible. To be of transcendent importance the persons must have been of great eminence in their fields of endeavor or had a great impact upon the history of their community, state, or nation. (A single grave that is the burial place of an important person and is located in a larger cemetery should be evaluated under NR Criterion Consideration C: Birthplaces and Graves.) Distinctive design characteristics of certain gravestones may result in them being individually eligible under Criterion C.

### Example:

The old burial ground in Hurley, Ulster County, a historic district designated a National Historic Landmark in 1971, is a significant resource under the Dutch Heritage of New York State theme (Fig.37). It meets National Register Criterion Consideration D as a cemetery deriving its significance from age, distinctive design features, and association with historic events. The history of the ground reaches back to 1662 when Nieuw Dorp (New Town) was settled on the Esopus Creek south of Kingston. It contains markers of various historic types ranging from bluestone slabs crudely carved with abbreviated names and dates to brownstone headstones carved by craftsmen in the eighteenth-century manner with death heads, names, dates and texts, square-headed marble stones with death imagery produced in the nineteenth century, and granite markers of the twentieth century together representing the full extent of the history of the community. The cemetery retains integrity of location, design, setting materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

## 4. Historic Districts & Cultural Landscapes

### Description

The Dutch colony in New York developed in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries around four urban centers: New Amsterdam (New York), Fort Orange/Beverwyck (Albany), Schenectady, and Esopus/Wiltwyck (Kingston). Each of the initial four settlements were laid out with a plan of streets protected by a stockade following European and early colonial precedents. New towns such as Hurley, New Paltz, Marbletown, Schoharie, Claverack and others platted house lots along a highway in farm settlements above fertile flood plains. The remains of these plans and their evolving built environment survive to comprise historic districts based on their urban history. Most if not all of these have already been listed on the National Register.

Some of the early rural villages, as well as more atomized settlements, are components of cultural landscapes that include agricultural lands along the tributaries of the Hudson and Mohawk rivers enduring in that use. These landscapes contain farmsteads, mills, churches, hamlets and other resources that combine to evince the full scope of the Dutch presence in New York from settlement to the present day (Fig. 41). Flood plains along major and minor tributaries were prime destinations for Dutch farmers, who quickly became a significant source of grain for New York's international trade. Virtually every town in the region organized around a creek for its agricultural and industrial potential, some more profitable than others. The pattern of settlement can be mapped along these waterways and most of the surviving historic resources associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State will be found in areas defined by these cultural landscapes. They survive because flood plains are unsuitable for development. Some smaller landscapes, particularly those in mountain locales, have reforested as farming ceased as a viable activity.

A cultural landscape will have a waterway as an axis with a broad flat area made fertile by seasonal flooding on one or both sides. Ridges large and small frame a valley or vale to contain the flood plain. The earliest settlements were located on plateaus above expansive fertile areas, such as Kingston, Hurley, and Marbletown above the Esopus, New Paltz above the Wallkill, dorfs in the Schoharie Valley, and towns along the Mohawk. At that time, the farmland was held in common with each farmer working his own plot, in much the same way as in Europe. Soon after, divisions were made to provide ownership rights. In the next generation, individual farms were established on other flood plains as communities spread out into the hinterlands. Roads were routed along the sides of the floor plain linking farms with each other and with mill sites and transportation centers. The network extended throughout the Dutch region and defined a broader and expanding cultural landscape. Once this valuable farmland was fully occupied, later generations moved to farms in the west or into cities.

### Significance

Cultural landscapes are significant geographical and historical landmarks associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State. These agricultural nodes, with the fields, meadows, pastures, buildings, roads, stone walls, tree lines, and other landscape features form the basis of settlement patterns of the Dutch in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A Dutch house, New World Dutch barn, church, village or any of the historic resources associated with Dutch Heritage in New York State exists or once existed in a cultural landscape. Because of their fertility, many of these landscapes continue to function as agricultural land, although altered in their patterns of use in response to changing farm production and practice. (The history of these agricultural lands also reaches back to the region's prehistory; Native Americans had cultivated these areas long before contact with Europeans.)

Dutch Heritage in New York State is based in agricultural occupations and lifestyles, and the resources associated with agriculture include the landscape as well. The landscape was valued for its fertility but also for its symbolism for the prosperity and status of a farmer and the community as a whole. If a landscape setting exists for a historic farmstead, it will be all the more significant for the association. In this way, cultural landscapes also are significant for the architecture they contain.

### Registration Requirements

Under the theme of Dutch Heritage in New York State, cultural landscapes have potential for listing on the National Register if they are sufficiently intact to provide an agricultural setting for historic Dutch farmsteads and other built elements

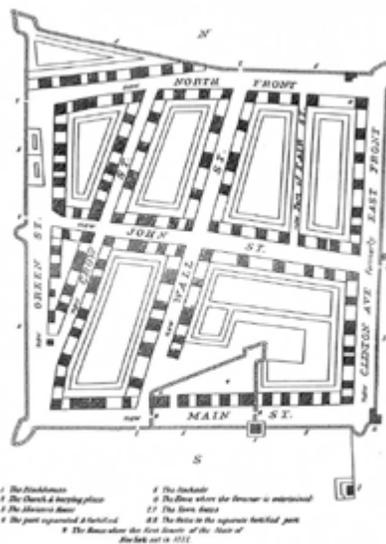
and landscape features. It also will have a visual, geographical setting that will define its boundaries. Significance will be established under Criterion A for historic associations with Dutch Heritage in New York State and under Criterion C for design characteristics of contributing farmsteads and other related buildings. An individual farmstead can be eligible with associated farmland, but a cultural landscape will cover a broader area and contain more than one farmstead thus forming a historic district. In addition to location and setting, eligible cultural landscapes will have integrity of design in the context of changing agricultural land use over time and with its components provide the feeling of its historic significance as conveyed by visual means.

## Figures

**Figure 1.** Detail of the "Castello plan" of Manhattan, by Jacques Cortelyou, 1660 (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, Italy).



**Figure 2.** Plan of Kingston, mid-nineteenth century redraft of a map by Rev. John Miller, 1695 (<https://nyheritage.org/citation-information>).



**Figure 3.** Plan of Albany by John Wolfgang Roemer, 1698 (*The National Archives, London*).



**Figure 4.** Detail of John Wolfgang Roemer's map of "Schenectady Town," 1698 (*The National Archives, London*).



**Figure 5.** *"The South Prospect of the City of New York in America, by William Burgis, ca. 1717 (Princeton University Library).*



**Figure 6.** (Below) *"View of Houses in the City of Albany," (Columbian Magazine, 1789).* While gable end to the street houses predominated, larger structures with their roof ridges parallel to the street, as the Schuyler-Stats House, at left, and the center- passage gambrel-roofed Stevens House adjacent to it came to increasingly characterize Albany and New York as the eighteenth century progressed.



**Figure 7.** (Right) *Late-nineteenth century view of the Isaac Vrooman House, 31 Front Street, Schenectady. The house has a brick front on its wood frame. It was modified with the addition of Greek Revival lintels and scrolling verge boards in the mid-nineteenth century and retains this appearance today (Schenectady County Historical Society).*



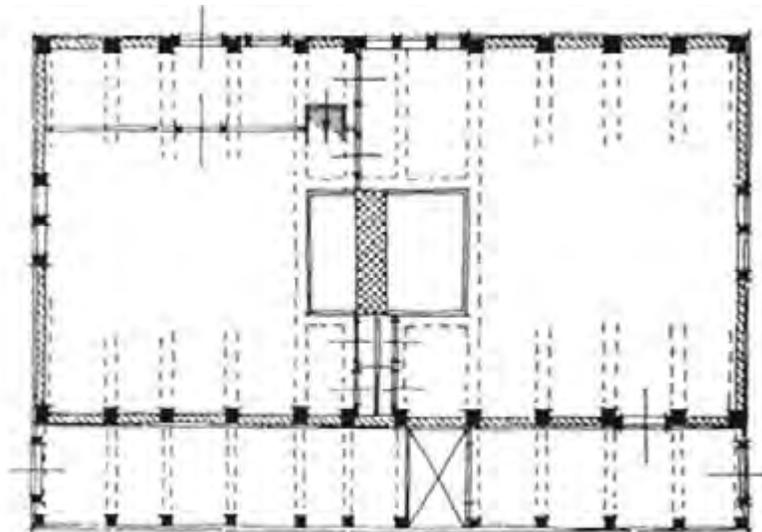
**Figure 8.** *The Pieter Winne House (ca. 1725) in Bethlehem, Albany County (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2012). A rare surviving example of the use of brick on the lower half of a façade, this treatment is identical to that which characterized many houses built in urban Dutch New York. The Van Ostrand house in Albany (ca. 1728) also had this feature; it will be restored as part of preservation efforts now underway.*



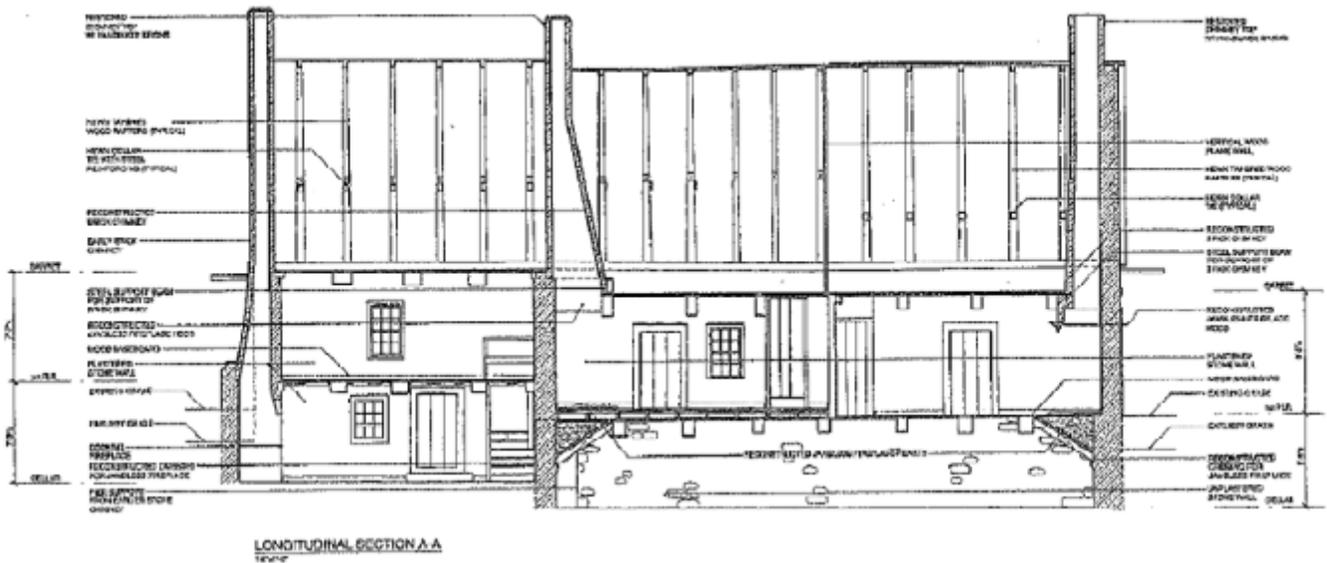
**Figure 9.** *The Adam Vrooman House, 119 Front Street, Schenectady, a wood-frame gable-end to the street urban dwelling, together with the brick fronted gambrel-roofed Van Slyck house, at 121 Front Street, seen at right (Photo by Walter R. Wheeler, 2018).*



**Figure 10.** *Two room plan with side aisle. Conjectural reconstruction of the plan of the Jan Martense Schenck House (Henk J. Zantkuyl, 1985).*



**Figure 11.** Detail of a drawing showing a section of the Abraham Hasbrouck House, New Paltz, Ulster County. The *opkamer* is shown above a basement kitchen, at left (<https://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/ny0842.sheet.00007a/>)



**Figure 12.** Detail of a watercolor view depicting North Pearl Street in Albany, as it was at the beginning of the nineteenth century, by James Eights (Private Collection).



**Figure 13.** (Right) Plan of Hurley (F. W. Beers, 1875). The original plan of Hurley extended along a single street from the church on the north to the intersection at the south. The village was elevated above the Esopus Creek; crops were grown on a flood plain north east of there. House lots were narrow and deep, extending farther back than is indicated here.



**Figure 14.** (Below) Plan of New Paltz (F. W. Beers, 1875). The street plan of the original part of New Paltz is seen in the upper portion of this map, north of the Academy lot. Each house has a home lot with boundaries similar to those depicted here. The village was elevated above the Wallkill; crops were grown on the flood plain west of the river. By this time, a railroad had traversed the backs of the east side lots, which had extended further east. The dwellings depicted in the upper right represent an African American enclave that developed on the plain behind the village.



**Figure 15.** (Right) Work undertaken at 800 Broadway in Albany in 2016 revealed it to be a ca. 1800 dwelling with bent frame construction that had been raised by being jacked up to permit the installation of a storefront (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2016).



**Figure 16.** (Below) The Mabee Farm (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2006). The oldest structure, built initially ca. 1705 and 1761 is at center; a small living quarters is located to the left (ca. 1767) and a tavern (1795), at right.



**Figure 17.** *The Arendt Bradt House, Rotterdam, Schenectady County, ca. 1736 (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2015).*



**Figure 18.** *(Right) Johann Peter Wagner House (aka Fort Wagner), Palatine, Montgomery County (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2005). The stone portion of the house was built ca. 1750; the wood addition was constructed ca. 1815. The house is typical of the surviving stone houses from the first half of the eighteenth century in that region.*



**Figure 19.** *The Schermerhorn barn, formerly in Rotterdam, Schenectady County (Photo by G. W. Allen and A. I. Delahanty, for HABS, 1937). Believed to be the only seventeenth century barn that survived into the era of photography, the Schermerhorn barn evidenced the steep roof, gable end wall entrance with secondary corner doors and square plan typical of this building type. The shed-roofed wing seen at left was a later addition, built to house farm equipment.*



**Figure 20.** *The Schultes barn, West Berne, Albany County (Photo by Al Dietz, 2009). A cross-gable addition, constructed to house hay, can be seen at the rear of the Dutch barn, and a barn constructed to house animals and wagons is attached to one corner of the barn. The rear addition is open to the back of the Dutch barn.*



**Figure 21.** (Right) *Slave House* associated with the Adam Vrooman house (ca. 1720?), Front Street, Schenectady (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2002). This structure, with its diminutive size and shed roof, is similar to that seen in the Van Bergen overmantle painting.



**Figure 22.** (Below) Detail from the Van Bergen overmantel, depicting the house of Martin Van Bergen and an associated summer kitchen or slave dwelling, attributed to John Heaten, ca. 1728-38 (New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown).



**Figure 23.** (Right) *Smoke house, privy and summer kitchen* associated with the Gidney house, Newburgh, Orange County (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2012).



**Figure 24.** Photo of Coldenham, Cadwallader Colden Jr. House with large out kitchen on right, ca. 1900, not extant (Coldenham Preservation & Historical Society, <http://www.coldenpreservation.org/>).



**Figure 25.** The Philip Schuyler House, Schuylerville, 1777 (Photo by Roberta S. Jeracka, 2016). Both the main two-story block of the house and the semi-attached summer kitchen were constructed using the H-bent framing system. The two-story portion of the house was built in 1777, after retreating British troops burned Schuyler's earlier house on the property. The summer kitchen (or out-kitchen) may be of an earlier date.



**Figure 26.** (Right) A smoke house with ventilating cupola, associated with a house on CR 101, Ravena, Albany County (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2015).



**Figure 27.** (Below) The Adriance New World Dutch barn in Staatsburg, Hyde Park, Dutchess County, with its wagon house, at left (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2015).



**Figure 28.** (Right) *The Dellamont-Wemple barn, Rotterdam, Schenectady County (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2007). The cow barn, with later sliding doors for farm equipment at the gable end, is seen here in relationship to the farm's New World Dutch barn.*



**Figure 29.** (Below) *Josiah DuBois Farm, New Paltz, showing the granary, at right (National Register Nomination Form photo by Neil Larson, 1987).*



**Figure 30.** (Right) Granary and crib typical of Rensselaer and Albany counties, and of the Mohawk Valley (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2012). This restored example is at Nip Moose Farm in Pittstown, Rensselaer County.



**Figure 31.** (Below) The Wemp New World Dutch barn, relocated to Feura Bush, New Scotland, Albany County, together with a reconstructed hay barrack, at right (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2015).



**Figure 32.** (Right) *The Dutch Reformed Church, Albany, 1715, as seen in an engraved view drawn by Philip Hooker in 1806, previous to its removal (Private Collection).*



**Figure 33.** *The Palatine Church, Palatine, Montgomery County, 1770 (Photo by W. R. Wheeler, 2005). Typical of many churches constructed before the Revolution, the building has a centrally placed side-wall entrance. The steeple is an early-nineteenth century addition, but replaces a smaller one formerly in that location.*



**Figure 34.** *Old Stone Church, Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. Peter, Rhinebeck NY (Wikipedia user Daniel Case, CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=6948793>). Original entrance in center bay of side wall ca. 1786; tower and new entrance added ca. 1823.*



**Figure 35.** Three successive Dutch Reformed Churches of Tappan, NY (New York Heritage Digital Collections. <https://cdm16694.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/nyacklib/id/3031/>).



**Figure 36.** First Reformed Church of Schenectady, designed by Edward Tuckerman Potter, 1863. This view was taken soon after the building's completion (Collection of W. R. Wheeler).



**Figure 37.** Bluestone slab grave marker, Hurley Burial Ground, Hurley, Ulster County (Empire Explorer, <https://www.empireexplorer.com/listing/old-hurley-burial-ground/>)



**Figure 38.** Brownstone grave marker, relocated in the 1860s to the Albany Rural Cemetery from the Dutch Reformed church burial Ground (Photo by Paula Lemire, <https://albanychurchgrounds.wordpress.com/2012/02/07/the-oldest-stones/>)



**Figure 39.** (Right) The John E. van Alen gravestone, DeFreestville, Rensselaer County, 1872 (Photo by Sam Swanson, 1980). The design of this stone replicates others that were a part of the family burial ground and which were collectively moved to the Bloomingrove Cemetery at that date.



**Figure 40.** *The Montfort Cemetery, Port Washington, North Hempstead, Nassau County (Wikipedia user Daniel Case, CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=4280506>, 2008). Began as a family cemetery, it became a public burial ground by the end of the eighteenth century.*



**Figure 41.** *Aerial view of the Mabee Farm, showing its relationship to the Mohawk River, at lower left, and Route 5S, originally a Native American trail, at top (Drone photo by Michael Diana, 2019).*



# Appendix 2: Bibliography of the Built Culture of the New World Dutch Cultural Hearth

## Bibliography of the Built Culture of the New World Dutch Cultural Hearth

Compiled by Walter Richard Wheeler

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### Introduction

This bibliography includes references to buildings and construction in all of those areas which are within the New World Dutch Cultural Hearth (NWDCH), which includes areas along the Hudson, Mohawk and Schoharie valleys in New York, and northern New Jersey. Adjacent areas, including counties in western New England abutting New York, are also included, as they share aspects of their construction history with the NWDCH.

Included are books, journal articles, theses, dissertations, archeological reports, historic structure reports, and conference papers which deal principally with the built culture of the NWDCH. Archeological reports are only included if they contain a substantial amount of information on buildings or built culture. Books on associated material culture studies have been included only if they include built or material culture as a substantial part of their topic. Pattern books and builder's manuals are included only if their content substantively reflects regional building practices. Articles from the two preeminent journals covering this region and topic, the *Dutch Barn Preservation Society Newsletter*, and the *Hudson Valley Vernacular Architecture Society Newsletter*, are not included at this time. Full runs of these publications can be found at [www.hmvarch.org](http://www.hmvarch.org).

Monographs on architects or individual buildings designed by architects are NOT included in this bibliography. Inclusion here does not constitute an endorsement of the research or conclusions presented by the various authors.

Items in the bibliography are organized by county. Items which address resources and topics covering multiple counties are located at the end of the bibliography in a section entitled *Regional Studies*.

Consult <http://www.hmvarch.org/dendro.html> for pdfs of dendrochronological reports for structures within our study area. HABS/HAER documentation for many structures within our study area can be found at [http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/habs\\_haer/](http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/habs_haer/).

This bibliography is an ongoing work. Suggestions and contributions sent to me at [w.wheeler@hartgen.com](mailto:w.wheeler@hartgen.com) are welcomed and encouraged. Updates to this bibliography will be regularly posted at [www.hmvarch/resources](http://www.hmvarch/resources).

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