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“A Certain Brauch:” German-Georgian Palatine and Rhenish Immigrant Houses in Columbia County, New York and their Vernacular Architectural Roots

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**“A Certain *Brauch*”: German-Georgian Palatine and Rhenish Immigrant Houses in
Columbia County, New York and their Vernacular Architectural Roots**

Senior Project Submitted to
The Division of Social Studies
Of Bard College

by

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Annandale-on-Hudson, New York

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Dedication

My culminating Bachelor's thesis in Archaeology is for my mother, Julie, and my sister, Elizabeth, who have shown me endless patience, support, and encouragement, and my father, Richard, who continually supports me from above. I am forever indebted to you for the help and guidance that you have given me not only throughout this process, but throughout my whole life--not to mention for encouraging me to pursue my dreams as an archaeologist. I have so greatly appreciated your willingness to learn and grow with me as I've researched and written this project, valued your suggestions and criticisms (Mom is always right), and I can only begin to repay you by dedicating the work put into this endeavor and this final product to you, my family and my closest unit.

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<https://www.linkedin.com/in/andrew-roberge-b15504208>.

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1) Introduction

The questions that I aim to explore and answer with anthropological, archaeological, and architectural theory, and material culture analyses in this thesis are inspired by my four years of undergraduate work at Germantown, New York's Reformed Sanctity Church Parsonage, or, colloquially, the Maple Avenue Parsonage. What follows will be a cultural and architectural exploration of the 1709-1710 Palatine immigrants to New York's Hudson Valley from the Rhineland. This thesis relies heavily on the model of colonial development that James Deetz outlines in his book, *In Small Things Forgotten* (1996), first published in 1977. Deetz' model of colonial development, which is based on English colonial New England, identifies a "medieval" stage of worldview, a period of "re-anglicanization," and ultimately culminates in a worldview dominated by a "Georgian" sense of order. It can be readily observed in Germantown, the greater Hudson Valley, and elsewhere in the Palatine diaspora, that the Palatines eventually reached this era of Georgian influence, most notably through the presence of Georgian-influenced Palatine houses. Note that I write "Georgian-influenced," and not simply "Georgian," since the Georgian, or "T" style of house, is very distinct and not always applicable in tracking the movement and adoption of the Georgian worldview. Dwellings may be "Georgianized" without fitting the customarily understood description of a Georgian style house or what comes to mind when one speaks of Georgian houses. Traditionally, the Georgian architectural period in America is recorded to have spanned from 1714 to the 1830s. In this thesis, I venture to track the development of the "medieval" Palatine worldview to a Georgian-influenced one through an architectural lens. I focus on the turn first from the building of very primitive shelters, to the production architectural structures vernacular to the Rhineland, to those influenced by the Georgian Worldview. I will assess the ways in which several houses in Germantown and

Columbia County, New York fit and deviate from the Georgian model. In this thesis, I discuss the Reformed Sanctity Church Parsonage in Germantown, New York, The “Stone Jug” in Clermont, New York, and The Simeon Rockefeller House in Germantown, New York, and analyze their vernacular origins and subsequent additions, many of which reflect the processes of Georgianization.

While Deetz (1996) concerns himself with several data sets of material culture: ceramics, gravestones, and other quotidienne objects he calls “small things forgotten,” and elucidates how the Georgian worldview is manifest in them, this thesis will focus on architecture and architectural practice in a very particular sense. Deetz employs the structuralist methodology of identifying patterns, but analyzes these patterns in a very particularistic and ethnohistorically founded way in accordance with structural Post-Processualism. Though a full comparison of the Palatine’s material culture against the English Colonial Georgian worldview would be fruitful, for the scope of this year-long project, and given the size of Bard archaeology’s available data sets, focusing on one aspect of material culture will likely yield the most concrete contributions to the understanding of the subject matter. Had I all the time and resources in the world, I would replicate Deetz’ study and then some by analyzing the same data sets and adding other categories, such as folk art, as well. However, in this study, I will start to analyze Palatine houses and their shift from the vernacular for both its form and symbolic implications on worldview and Palatine development in the New World.

1.1) A Discussion on Worldview and Creolization

Central to this thesis is the anthropological concept of worldview. To define worldview and provide a blueprint for its active application and study, as well as to better understand the Georgian worldview's effects on society, I turn to historian Mechal Sobel's oft-cited book, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (1987).

Sobel adopts sociologist Thomas Luckman's (1967) definition of worldview for her work on the creolization of African and African American peoples with Anglo-Americans in Virginia, which states that:

A world view is 'an encompassing system of meaning in which socially relevant categories of time, space, causality and purpose are superordinated to more specific interpretive schemes in which reality is segmented (Sobel 1987: 8 from Luckman 1967).

Sobel's work is pertinent to reference for this thesis as, like Africans, African Americans, and Anglo-Americans interacted and influenced each others' cultures in Virginia, the Palatines, a creolized group themselves, also interacted with the English, Dutch, and Africans and African Americans in the New World. Creolization, according to Jane Webster of the Oxford Classical Dictionary (2016), is an anthropological term "referring to the process by which elements of different cultures are blended together to create a new culture," particularly in a colonial context. Leland Ferguson, in his 1992 book *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800*, also emphasizes that the process of creolization is a pathway for creativity, creation, and discovery (Ferguson 1992). Creolization is an incredibly important concept for this thesis, as well as for any study observing the connection or contact between two or more cultural groups. Sobel organizes her book to discuss attitudes towards time, which are ascertained from behavioral analysis, attitudes towards space and the natural world as displayed in building and naming practices, and understandings of causality and purpose. Sobel is also careful to survey

the different aspects of culture present in creolization as individual parts, and attributes them to their rightful cultures before relating them to other parts of creolized cultures. Sobel explains the processes through which disparate worldviews, when placed into conversation, can be seen to influence, or even rely deeply upon each other.

Sobel's examples of African and Anglo-American worldview and culture, and the ways in which they interact and influence each other, present a useful heuristic through which we can understand the interactions between the vernacular and the Georgianized. Sobel lays a blueprint from which we can work to analyze different cultures, using similar methods to her's. Understanding the traditional and vernacular Palatine attitudes towards time, space, and causality, as well as those of the Georgian era to which Palatines would have been subjected, can help us understand how they interacted and influenced each other, or creolized. For example, Sobel (1987) finds that time was rigidly ordered in eighteenth century Virginia Anglo-American upper-class society and kept with clocks and watches or by structured daily practices of religion (calls to prayer), economics (hours of market operation) and socio-politics (signals for community meetings). Conversely, Africans and African Americans acted with "presentism," and emphasized "slow movement, patience and waiting" (Sobel 1987: 26). Sobel explains that, for Africans, time was conceptualized not in terms of arbitrary numbers on a clock, but rather by the completion of tasks and the ecological constraints of sunlight and the seasons. However, Sobel found that these attitudes were further stratified by the variables of class and circumstance, and that indentured and yeoman-class whites and African Americans and slaves actually conceptualized time in congruent ways. Poor whites, reliant on other landowners for work, were driven to labor hard and according to mechanized time, but became indignant and ambivalent to working under a boss. Enslaved Africans also displayed the same sentiment towards work, and

rightfully regarded work as punishment, not a privilege. Sobel (1987: 26) notes that this shared sentiment, as well as their uniform understanding of time tied to ecology and labor, yielded an unexpected sense of unity between the downtrodden enslaved Africans and African Americans and poor whites.

As will be further discussed later in this thesis, many Palatines came from backgrounds as quasi-indentured *Leibeigene* in the Rhineland, and operated on similarly agrarian and ecologically driven clocks under quota-demanding landlords. Before being influenced by the enlightenment and the Georgian Order, Palatines understood time in this traditional way. Also to be discussed later in this thesis, after some time in the New World, the Palatines and their English neighbors began to feel the influences of the Georgian Order and experienced a turn towards mechanization, individualization, scientific and empirical thought, and control of the world (Deetz 1996, Leone 2003, Pogue 2001, Shumate 1992). It is important to note that the manifestations of the Georgian worldview were most attainable by those with more “elite” social and economic status, or those colonists more closely in contact with mother Europe, and therefore not accessible to everyone. With this turn came the implementation of clocks and the standardization of time. Gathering this information allows us to parse out the individual components that make up the composite culture and worldview that Palatines eventually reached after influences from the English, Dutch, and Africans and African Americans.

Sobel discusses similar congruences in attitudes towards religion and spirituality, and finds that, although Anglo-Americans tended to denigrate African Religion and separate themselves from it, attitudes on the magic and spirituality of place were quite similar in the two groups. Both Africans and many whites regarded land as something imbued with a sort of religiosity, holiness, or spiritual power, while Anglicized, or Georgianized whites separated land

from the metaphysical and phenomenological notion of place and simply exploited and developed it. Sobel similarly tracks congruences between African myths and the Bible, and also describes that poor whites and Africans both felt similarly uncomfortable in the Anglican influenced churches of the elite. Instead, Christian Africans and whites gravitated towards simpler and smaller churches for worship.

The Palatines, in forming their identity, were subject to much religious persecution and tumult both in the Rhineland and along their journey to the New World. As will be discussed later, the Palatine migrant cohort was, at least initially, not uniform in religious identity. However, in Rotterdam and London, both stops along the Palatines' journey, many Catholics, Mennonites, and Jews were forced into conversion and reformation to Protestantism. Their exposure to different religions is not negligible, and the efficacy of forced conversion past a performative or public-facing point will probably never be able to be fully understood. Furthermore, when Palatines came to enslave Africans and African Americans in the New World, they were exposed to African spirituality. Likewise, Africans were exposed to white Palatines and English colonists. While it is assumed that many slave owners attempted to convert the enslaved to Protestantism, they weren't always successful in eliminating African beliefs, and African spiritual practices persisted. At the Parsonage, the enslaved Africans and African Americans who lived there probably practiced their Bakongo religion in secret--as evidenced by the concealed nature of their spiritually charged material placements and the subtly punctuated *Dikenga* cosmogram on the cellar hearth's frame (see Figure 1.5 to come)--long after their supposed conversion to the Reformed faith, and their descendents continued to do so when they became free. While the *Dikenga* cosmogram may have actually been perfectly noticeable to the white eye if one knew where to look for it, it was placed by Bakongo descendant people for

Bakongo descendant people to knowingly revere. These two religions coming into contact with each other undoubtedly influenced both Palatine and African American attitudes and understandings of the world, though of course aspects of each separate also remained and persisted in each group.

Most applicable to this thesis is Sobel's work on architecture and land organization. Sobel (1987: 100) explains that, throughout most of the eighteenth century, Africans and African Americans and whites tended to live in practically the same conditions; both races lived together in "one- or two-room wooden houses with rude lofts, wooden chimneys, and earthen or wooden floors." Only after whites tended to move into more substantial and permanent houses were Africans and African Americans left in specifically slave dwellings--slave cabins--that had once been "basic housing for most of the population" in Virginia (Sobel 1987: 100). After this period, Sobel notes that Africans and African Americans and Anglo-Americans began to influence each other in home design and the organization of villages around common or community areas. Certain prototypes of structures emerged according to economic and practical values of size, location, and layout, and blended African building methods with English forms and vice versa (Sobel 1987: 119). Examples of this include the "dogtrot" house, and the adoption of post-hole construction methods. To extend this theoretical approach to the Palatines, it is revelatory to examine household layout and blueprint as a reflection of lifeways and function. Palatine vernacular houses were structured to function differently than Georgianized houses, and changes to lifeways and practices often came with Georgianization. Using Sobel's work with Africans and African Americans and Anglo-Americans as a point of reference, one can better understand the mechanisms through which Palatines interpreted, implemented, and rejected English influences in their houses while maintaining aspects of their own identities.

Overall, Sobel's work displays the ways in which different cultures can contribute to one another in tangible ways and influence thinking, alter each other, expose commonality, highlight differences, and create new shared identities pieced together from disparate parts to form a composite whole. Understanding these piecemeal and complex cultures allows one to explore the attitudes towards time, space, and worldly positionality that those who lived them may have had, and therefore can shed light on worldview.

1.2) My First Trip to the Parsonage in 2018

As an 18 year-old first-year student at Bard with an insatiable thirst for tactile history (doubtlessly spawned from a childhood of metal detecting, museum crawling, and watching the History, Discovery, and Travel channels on television with my family), I had high hopes for my first historical archaeology class with Professor Christophe Lindner. While I was fairly confident that I wanted to pursue archaeology, I was unaware of the intensely immersive and immediately impactful journey upon which I was about to embark throughout my undergraduate tenure. Unique to Bard, and almost definitely as a result of its small class size and geographic location steeped with diverse and layered histories, Bard archaeology students skirt the torturously tantalizing simulations and theoretical studies that other archaeology undergraduates are limited to during the academic year. Instead, we are provided the opportunity and given the trust to dive right into the dirt with each course. Every course is in equal parts context, theory, lab, and field school. Immediately being able to learn by actually performing archaeology that contributed previously unknown information and data to historical understanding felt truly important and confirmed archaeology as my primary academic focus.

Professor Lindner’s Spring 2019 course focused on the 1709-1710 Palatine immigrants and the early African and African American Bakongo-descended peoples whose history and culture provided crucial context for our field site: Germantown, New York’s Maple Avenue Parsonage. Having spent the beginning of class reading, discussing, and familiarizing ourselves with the site’s history through Lindner’s publications, the Palatines through Philip Otterness’ *Becoming German: The 1709 Palatine Migration to New York*, and the Africans and African Americans present through Patricia Samford’s *Subfloor Pits and the Archaeology of Slavery in Colonial Virginia*, I had begun to understand the immensely dynamic and intersectional nature of the information and site at hand. Little did I know that I was then just scratching the surface of the archaeological history that would enrapture me for years to come, and I certainly couldn’t have predicted my impending visceral physical, emotional, phenomenological, and sensory reaction to the site. To get to our first dig after weeks of contextual and historical preparation, I and my seven classmates piled into a stuffy Bard van driven by Professor Lindner and barrelled down NY Route 9G to the Parsonage. My excitement and anticipation mounted as we approached our destination.

Figure 1.1) An Etching of the Maple Avenue Parsonage from a 1900 Photograph and The Maple Avenue Parsonage in 2010 Before Archaeology Exhibits Began
<http://www.germantownnyhistory.org/home>.
 Accessed 3 January 2022



Before continuing on the genesis of this project and my personal connection to it, it is necessary to become acquainted with the Palatines and the Maple Avenue Parsonage, just as my classmates and I had to do before commencing our dig. To begin with a broad scope which will eventually focus more particularly on the Parsonage site, what follows is a brief history of the Palatine immigrants and their journey to the New World--most specifically to Bard College's backyard--as well as their eventual diaspora throughout the United States.

1.3) A Brief History of the Palatine Immigrants, *Becoming German*, and Points of Research

The people whom we now consider to be some of the first German-Americans were actually not "German" at all--at least not at first. Germany, as we understand it now, did not yet exist as a unified state in their lifetimes. Fleeing oppression in their own homelands, the 1709 multi-ethnic Palatine immigrants hailed from many of the disparate Germanic states and principalities of the Holy Roman Empire and the Southwestern Rhineland (Otterness 2006: 2, 3). In actuality, though attributing its name to the migration, the formal "Palatinate" was represented by only one of the states from which immigrants hailed--"the majority of the 'Palatine' immigrants did not come from the Palatinate at all, but from dozens of other [surrounding] principalities in the Holy Roman Empire" (Otterness 2006: 3). Motivated to be "pioneers" (Ellis 1878: 264) of their own destiny and escape their socially binding feudal shackles, violence from the encroaching French, the ever-tightening grip of poverty, their reliance on infertile land for cropping, and budding religious tensions, the disparate Palatine immigrants forged, and had forged for them by outsiders, a sense of solidarity--a new collective identity--in dreaming the tantalizing dream of a New World promising free and fertile land and a fresh start. Otterness

(2006) proposes that the Palatines, first arriving in London in 1709 and then immigrating to New York in 1710, tactfully formed a shared sense of identity and purpose from this disparity--that of the German--in active and constructive ways. To better understand the immigrants' motivations and the process that Otterness details, it is essential to contextualize the world from which they came.

Figure 1.2) A Map of the 18th Century Palatinate and Rhineland
 (Appears as "Map 1" in Otterness 2006; 10. Based on a map by Fritz Trautz in *Die Pfälzische Auswanderung nach Nordamerika im 18. Jahrhundert*, Heidelberg, 1959)

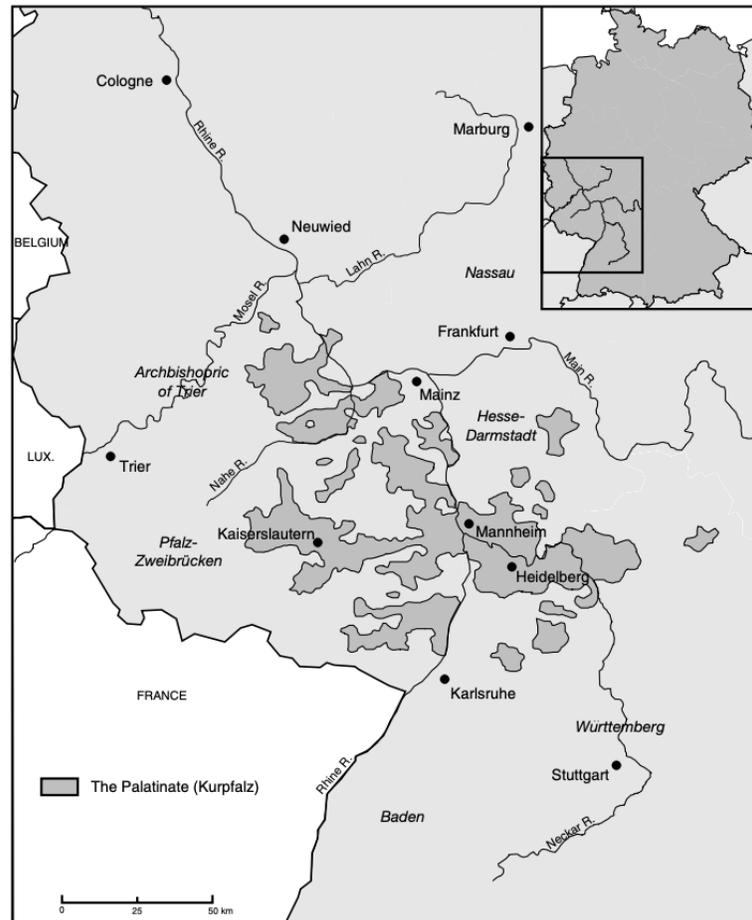
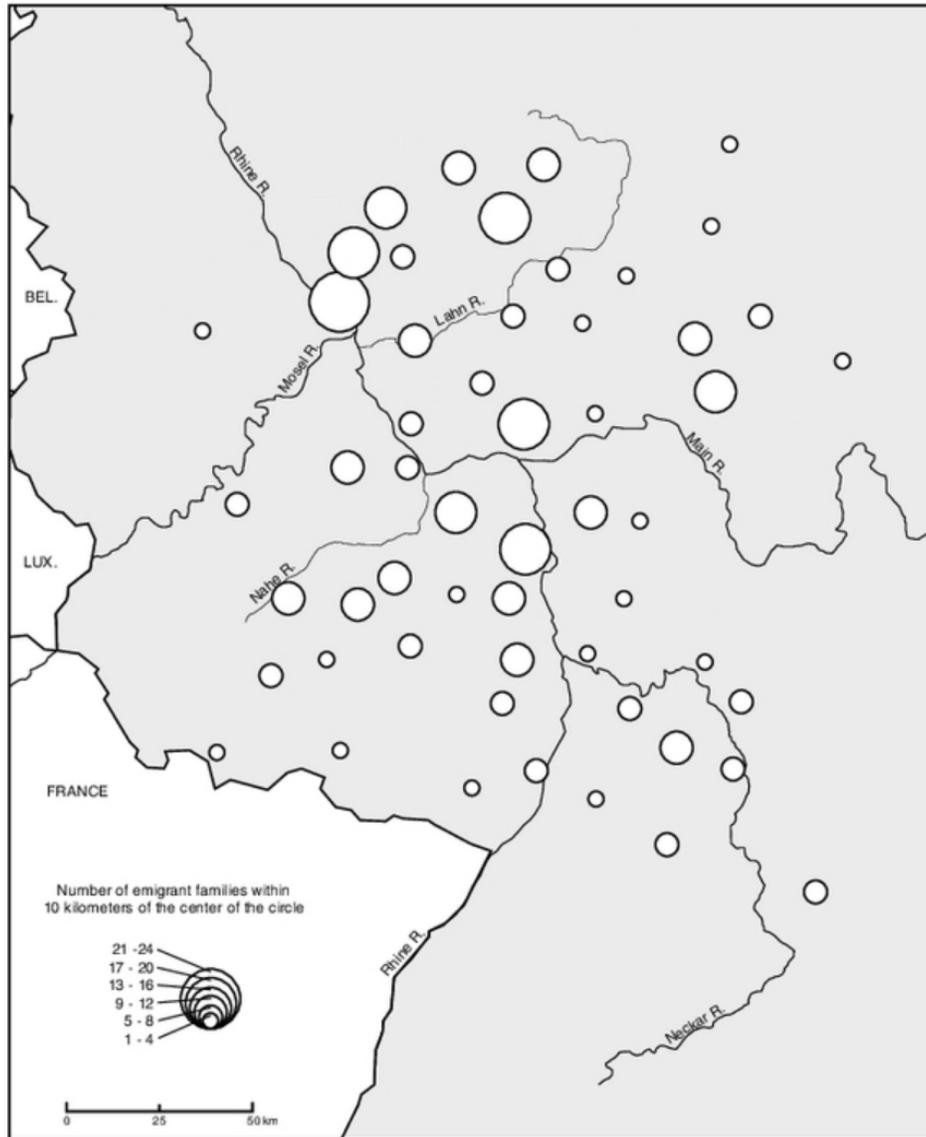


Figure 1.3) A Map of the Palatine Immigrants' Origins

In the words of Otterness (2006: 11), “comparing this map and Map 1 illustrates that many of the 1709 emigrants did not come from the Palatinate. The various principalities of the Hesse and Nassau east of the Rhine River and north of the Main River provided many emigrants, as did the numerous tiny principalities northeast of the confluence of the Lahn and Rhine rivers”

(Appears as “Map 2” in Otterness 2006: 11)



Movement and immigration were anything but foreign to the people of the southwestern Rhineland and the principalities from which the Palatines came. For the immigrants, migration was a long established fact of life. A century before the 1709 Palatine migration, the lands saw

frequent movement prompted by “constant destruction from war and plague,” among other hardships (Otterness 2006: 12). In turn, people moved from village to village to avoid sickness and war--some successfully and others not--and ethnic boundaries began to blur. Identities further mixed as princes from the various principalities of the region recruited outsiders, specifically Swiss and French, to repopulate their villages and reestablish the agricultural and viticultural practices that governed their economies (Otterness 2006: 12). Ultimately, as a result of the Thirty Years’ War (1618-1648), the German states of western and central Europe lost between 30 and 40 percent of their population. The Palatinate alone lost between 75 and 80 percent of its population, and whole towns and cities were effectively wiped from existence (Otterness 2006: 12). The Plague followed shortly after and continued to decimate the population, as did the 1688-1697 War of the Palatine Succession (or the Nine Years’ War) during which the French ran roughshod through the southwest Rhineland sacking cities and destroying lucrative vineyards. However, rulers of the regions attempted to repopulate their lands by offering monetary incentives and promises of religious tolerance to potential outside immigrants (Otterness 2006: 13). For example, in the mid-seventeenth century, Karl Ludwig, a Calvinist Palatine elector, recognized Catholicism and Lutheranism in his principality, and even extended religious tolerance to groups of Swiss Mennonites and European Jews (Otterness 2006: 13). Other regional rulers offered total freedom and privacy of worship to draw immigrants to settle, or welcomed Huguenot refugees from the war. Efforts such as these played no small role in establishing the Palatinate as one of the “most religiously diverse regions of Western Europe,” as well as a cultural melting pot (Otterness 2006: 13). Furthermore, assuming similar roles as workers of the land may have been a unifying factor for those newly connected by immigration.

In the wake of this mass destruction, the southwestern Rhineland's economies inherently suffered, as well. The resultant era of crisis provided ample opportunity for outside merchants, particularly the Dutch, to capitalize and establish commerce with the Rhineland. The Dutch had a far more extensive reach into the material and economic world than the largely pastoral southwestern Rhinelanders. The Dutch came to dominate local trade but also, in turn, exposed the eventual Palatine immigrants to goods from throughout Europe, as well as from the New World and their eastern colonial conquests. As was suggested by fellow Bard student, Katherine Albert, in her own senior thesis, exposure to these goods acquired by the Dutch East India Company and the rest of the Dutch empire may have further tantalized the Palatine immigrants and sparked dreams of new lives in a New World (Albert 2018: 18).

For the religious and culturally diverse inhabitants of the southwestern Rhineland, the Protestant Reformation in the Holy Roman Empire proved to be especially tumultuous. For the Catholics in the area, persecution followed reformation efforts. In an era of *cuius regio, eius religio* (he who rules determines the religion) dictated by the 1555 Peace of Augsburg, any sense of religious security was diminished by an "ever-changing stream of priests and pastors" (Otterness 2006: 14). Eventually, the 1648 Peace of Westphalia recognized three major Christian sects: Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Reformed, or Calvinism, and granted the people so-called freedom of religion. It was declarations like this that tended to attract outsiders to immigrate and repopulate the Holy Roman Empire and the southwestern Rhineland. That being said, single religious sects tended to dominate regions, though the dominating sect differed from place to place (Otterness 2006: 15).

To the extent that it existed, religious freedom, or at least the idea of it, would only last for so long. With the War of the Palatine Succession, or the 9 Years' War, French forces occupied

the Palatinate and Rhineland and enforced a Catholic agenda (Otterness 2006: 15). Catholic churches were reopened or consecrated, and non-Catholics came under fire once again. Following this French influence, Johann Wilhelm, a Catholic Palatine elector, came to power, and the premise of *cuius regio, eius religio* held true. Primary reports in the form of letter exchanges between the elector of Brandenburg and Wilhelm in 1694 recount that the Protestants of the Palatinate faced harsh oppression and persecution (Otterness 2006: 15). If Wilhelm did not persecute non-Catholics himself, it certainly seems that he turned a blind eye to French aggressions and imposition. Under scrutiny, Wilhelm eventually passed a *Religionsdeklaration* in 1705, which regulated the ratio of Catholic to Reformed churches, and essentially conflated the Lutherans with Reformed Calvinists. In this diversity (for example, Heidelberg, the capital city of the Palatinate, 53 percent of people were Reformed, 24 percent were Catholic, 22 percent were Lutheran, and roughly 1 percent were Jewish) tensions between religious leaders and citizens of the Rhineland principalities stewed (Otterness 2006: 15).

Even among post-Reformation groups, further stratification occurred and continually “split the already fractured religious communities of the German southwest” (Otterness 2006: 16). Largely inspired by Phillip Jacob Spener, a Lutheran Pastor from Frankfurt, a turn toward Pietism came about. Pietism called for a more introspective and emotional connection to the faith, rather than one characterized by formal and ritual devotion (Otterness 2006: 15-16). Organizing into groups called conventicles, Pietists eventually posed problems for institutionalized religion. Pietism created rifts between communities, but also allowed for new allegiances and understandings of group identity to be formed. Pietist movements also emphasized frequent group readings of the Bible, which in turn increased literacy rates throughout the southwest Rhineland (Otterness 2006: 18).

Religious differences and affiliations aside, what most of the Palatine immigrants could bond over was their relationship with the land as agricultural laborers. These immigrants commiserated over shared grievances caused by inclement weather--which certainly plagued the German southwest in the early eighteenth century--and infertile land, and could also form valuable relationships in their trading and production endeavors. As previously mentioned, agriculture and viticulture were vital keystones of society, and their workforces were largely made up of pastoral villagers--the same demographic from which most Palatine immigrants came. In fact, most of the Palatine immigrants, and most rural Rhinelanders in general, were categorized as *Leibeigene* (Otterness 2006: 17). *Leibeigene* were subjected to taxation and interference from the lords of the land upon which they resided. While onerous, banal, and understandably vexing in its own right, *Leibeigene* status also posed lingering generational issues for the Rhinelanders. When a *Leibeigene* died, egregious taxes had to be paid in order for his land to be passed to his inheritors. Furthermore, as land was repopulated and subsequently divided, parcels became smaller and less viable. For these reasons, the Palatines sought a better, more free, and more viable life in the New World.

While these long lasting struggles and instabilities certainly held a place in the minds of the immigrants, other more immediate occurrences also catalyzed their migration in the few years leading up to their 1709 departure. The War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714) once again sent French forces on a warpath through the Rhineland and, most devastatingly, through the Palatinate. Fleeing the horrors and fallout of war was one of the primary motivating factors for mass exodus. Furthermore, it is historically recorded that the winter of 1708-1709 brought forth a deep and devastating freeze (Otterness 2006: 22). As written by the pastor of the village of Runkel: "Right after the New Year, such a cold wave came that the oldest people here could not

remember a worse one. Almost all mills were brought to a standstill, and the lack of bread was great everywhere. Many cattle and humans, even the birds and the wild animals in the woods froze--” and other documents reveal that snow and ice caused great structural and environmental damage which brought wine production to a standstill (Otterness 2006: 22). With no means of production and the harsh elements to battle, Rhinelanders fell into economic ruin and hunger. The resulting hardships can be directly understood as motivating factors for emigration since, in the Rhineland, citizens needed to petition their government to emigrate and their reasons were recorded. In the village of Schultheiss, all sixty-two surviving petitions list hunger and poverty as the chief reasons for leaving (Otterness 2006: 23).

For many years, pamphlets and books circulated the Rhineland detailing the wonders that the New World offered. These publications were frequently commissioned with goals of recruiting the one thing the colonies lacked: people to inhabit them. Given the extreme challenge of surviving in the Rhineland, it is no surprise that when the masses caught wind of the publication of a golden book promising free land in the English colony of America, the Palatine immigrants jumped at the opportunity. In his several publications of what was known and identified simply as *The Golden Book* first published in 1707 (Otterness 1999: 9) (though formally titled *Aussführlich und umständlicher Bericht von der berühmten Landschaft Carolina, in dem engelländischen America gelegen*), Reverend Joshua Kocherthal, a Heidelberg-based Lutheran pastor, hinted that Queen Anne had designated free land in the American Carolinas for settlers, and was even willing to provide transportation for them (Otterness 2006: 25). Kocherthal, having met with the proprietors of the Carolinas, agreed to write a promotional book for the benefit of their colony. Kocherthal produced a wonderfully accessible and understandable piece, which lauded the Carolinas for providing exactly what the Palatine immigrants desired:

fertile soil suitable for growing familiar crops, temperate and secure climate, low taxes and growing commerce, lack of feudal obligation, and religious freedom (Otterness 2006: 27). While Queen Anne was initially prepared to offer a small cohort of immigrants support in America, and she did indeed do so, there was no way that she and the English Crown could have been prepared for the resultant response that Kocherthal's publication received. The news spread like wildfire throughout the southwest Rhineland and amassed a group of 15,000 willing and eager immigrants.

In what Otterness (2006: 34) describes as a "vast, unthinking movement," 15,000 opportunistic migrants willing to give up their entire livelihoods congregated at the confluence of the Rhine and Main rivers in 1709, or prepared elsewhere for migration. Otterness stresses that these people were not previously unsettled in their lands, and uprooted well established, albeit unsatisfactory, lives, often bringing their families with them. There, just outside of Rotterdam, the migrants camped awaiting what they understood to be their due transport to Queen Anne in London (Otterness 2006: 37). A group of mostly peasants and artisans "teetering on the edge of poverty" (Otterness 2006: 35), the migrants willingly made great sacrifices, defied their home governments, renounced their possessions, livelihoods, and in some cases even their rights to return home, and faced persecution from their compatriots, families, and neighbors, all in chasing the promises alleged to be in a book many of them had never seen or read. Appealing to the Dutch officials in Rotterdam, the migrants applied for transport, but many faced troubles when the money that they believed they had been promised for their passage didn't exist and they could not provide it themselves. As a result, many of the migrants who had nowhere else to go and no home to which they could return had to camp outside of the city. It is important to note that these forced circumstances provided the first opportunity for mingling and interaction

between these then strangers. After some time, plus a continual influx of more and more migrants, the situation at hand could not be ignored and the city of Rotterdam felt compelled to provide public aid to the homeless opportunists. Funds were raised to feed and clothe the group, and some even were granted passage to London. Eventually though, new British Whig immigration philosophies claiming that population increase would inherently lead to economic growth and increase in power would inspire the Crown to welcome the migrants with open arms (Otterness 2006: 39). With help from British foreign officers in the Netherlands, the migration began in full.

Britain, though willing and eager to welcome new potential citizens, was not prepared or equipped to handle the sheer magnitude of Rhinelanders who were continually inspired by promises of land in America. The religiously and geographically diverse migrants quickly overwhelmed their meager accommodations and the receiving Brits. To cope with this problem, the Whig party sought to naturalize the migrants and allow them the full rights of citizenship, but, despite this promise, the Palatines kept their eyes fixed on America. Eventually Palatine numbers mounted so severely and steadily that housing camps needed to be developed for their accommodation. Barns, warehouses, and properties just outside the city were quickly transformed, and the Palatines moved in. However, once the summer returned, farmers required their barns back and tent housing camps had to be installed. In these housing constructions, it was only upon taking censuses that the British realized the cohort's diverse origins. The British understood that "the migration did not consist of one large, cohesive group," but rather was "a hodgepodge of hundreds of small groups of families and neighbors from dozens of different principalities--" of the migrants who made it to London, 80 percent were married and many had children (Otterness 2006: 45; Otterness 1999: 10). Censuses revealed that the migrants came

from different parts of the European world and practiced different religions, but also exposed a thread of commonality--according to James Dayrolle, one of the migrants' vital English allies in the Netherlands, a great many of the migrants fled not primarily their religious hardships, but the burdens of their "Princes Government and the contributions they must pay to the Enemy--" the French (Otterness 2006: 45). The censuses also revealed to the British that many of the migrants shared the same occupations, social classes, and general ways of life. These similarities were integral consolidating forces for the newly connected migrants and contributed greatly to their growing sense of identity and purpose.

Given the nature of the camps, which forced unprecedented hoards of people into confined spaces and left them, in part, exposed to the elements, as well as the group's generally poor health, the camps eventually commanded the attention of the Crown and London's populace. One Londoner reported that the Palatines were the topic of "all [their] domestic talk" (Otterness 1999: 10). The Palatines did not have much in terms of clothing or food, and movements to raise funds for them began. However, in a short time, Britain's own needy began to feel slighted by the attention being paid to the foreigners (Otterness 2006: 49), and negative sentiments rose. Some called for the group's total expulsion, and others threatened violence.

Otterness (1999: 16) writes that the Palatines:

Could only beg that England's artisans 'lay aside all Reflections and Imprecations, and ill language against [them]...' and assured them that 'it [should] be [their] Endeavor to act with great Humility and Gratitude, and to Render [their] prayers for [them].' But the British had their own prayer, as expressed by an English pamphleteer visiting the German camps: 'We'll pray for them, but wish 'em out o' the land.'

Nevertheless, camp life persisted and the cohort tried their best to go about life normally until it became painfully clear to the migrants that "the queen had never planned to settle them in America and had been completely unprepared for their arrival" (Otterness 2006: 51). In response, some joined the British army, some left the camps to settle in England, and some

persisted, their minds fixed on the New World. Those who remained stayed on in the camps and even continued to marry and have children, again bringing together multiple identities in union. Camp conditions, however, did not change and, given their hardships and history of persecution, the migrants, understood to be refugees, earned the public title of the “poor Protestant Palatines--” though a significant number of them were Catholic (Otterness 2006: 53). The Whigs also continued to believe that their newfound population would be helpful to them, and prolific writer and author of *Robinson Crusoe*, Daniel Defoe, even picked up their cause and wrote a Palatine history with goals of evoking public pity and support through his rhetoric. “Confident that the public mind would change as soon as it knew the true state of these Palatines,” Defoe penned a brilliant series of 1709 editorials in which he recounted and embellished the Rhinelanders’ history with war, violence, and taxation, and marked them as one cohesive group of hard working honest folk looking:

abroad for an asylum, a place of rest, a land where liberty is established, and property secured; where what their industry has gained the government will permit them to enjoy; where they may reap what they sow, and eat what they earn; where they may call their souls their own and not starve in the midst of plenty (Fernsemer 1920: 102; 103).

He also labeled them all, though untrue, as Protestant refugees fleeing Catholic persecution. His rhetorical appeals effectively captured the public, but also played a significant role in the formation and imposition of Palatine identity. Defoe labeled the cohort as one and illustrated them all as Huguenot refugees and skilled laborers. Defoe essentially told the public how the Palatines should be perceived and labeled them as pitiful refugees. We know that the Palatines, though living in refugee-like conditions, fled their homelands by their own volition. Defoe effectively conflated all of the manifold identities represented in the cohort into one more simplistic and less distinct and differentiated one. That label permeated not only the public’s perception, but the migrant group’s intrinsic perception of itself. However, central to Otterness’

claims, the Palatines did not deny their newly assigned submissive identity, and instead tactfully employed it to speak with one voice, receive continual British support, and move ever closer to the New World. Adopting this identity, the newly coined Palatines wrote continual appeals for aid and leaned into the Britons' perceptions of them. As Otterness (1999: 14) writes:

The immigrants' accounts of their recent history did more than encourage British charity. It also created for the migrants a shared, if fictional past. When a people invent for themselves a common past, whether that past is real or imagined, they enhance their sense of a common identity.

As necessary aid increased and camp conditions inherently deteriorated, public contempt for the Palatines grew. Londoners especially spoke out against the Palatine cause upon learning that Defoe's portrait of the group as Protestant refugees was not entirely accurate and that many of the Palatines were Catholic. Londoners started regarding the Palatines as less than human, racialized them as the Other, and likened them to "vermin" and "vagabond" gypsies--according to Otterness (2006: 62) the epitome of the dangerous and the Other, at the time--and feared that their squalor spread disease and harmed public health. According to Otterness (2006: 65; 1999: 14), this can be understood as the Palatines failing to "become British," and instead in part as them "becoming German." Londoners went as far as threatening violence against the Palatines, and eventually governmental action was necessary.

To quell the unrest, the British government sprang to action and began to more or less successfully export the migrants to Ireland, Jamaica, and North Carolina. The Catholic Palatines were the least desirable to the religiously uniform British, so efforts to resettle them were lacking, and efforts to convert them or conscript them to military service ensued. Those who did not convert--roughly 2,200 Catholics refused to convert--were sent home, and the dynamics and makeup of the immigrant group were greatly changed (Otterness 2006: 69). Those who were sent home were quickly replaced by other Rhinelanders still waiting in Rotterdam and dreaming of

the New World. Effectively, the Palatine movement became almost entirely Protestant, which provided another means of unification and allowed for the creation of a common identity for years to come.

As the seemingly endless pool of migrants squatting on its periphery remained and even grew, the British government needed to continue relocating their new “vagrant destitute” (Otterness 2006: 71) subjects. Still hoping that the “Germans could serve a useful purpose for Britain, but not as proper Britons” (Otterness 2006: 72), the English proposed a new way to ensure that the Palatines enhanced their empire. A proposal arose to send 3,000 of the migrants, many of whom were husbandmen, to New York to transform some of its undeveloped land into fertile and fruitful farms, as well as produce naval stores--tar and pitch for watertight-sealing ships--for the Crown. Not only would the Palatines produce goods, but they would also serve as a human buffer between the British and Dutch developments and their hostile French and Indigenous neighbors. The Palatines would also reduce the Crown’s reliance upon the Baltic regions for tar and pitch. The Palatines were charged with this labor, though some of it was paid, until they effectively repaid their debts to the Crown for their transportation and support. Spearheaded by newly appointed New York governor Robert Hunter, a Scotsman, New York prepared for the Palatines’ arrival. It is pertinent to note that Robert Hunter himself, like his Palatine subjects, was not an Englishman, but rather newly British. The colonies were still composite conglomerates of many people from many places and backgrounds, like the Palatines, who came together in one place.

The journey to America was anything but easy for the migrants. Sickness and disaster riddled the Palatines, and many of them died in transit--particularly children. One statistic taken in census measurements shows that, between their 1709 departure and mid 1711, the average

family size decreased from 4.7 people per household to 3.6 (Otterness 2006: 80). As a result, there were many orphans and young widows left alone. While tragic, the events that followed proved invaluable for the formation of a German-American identity. Before arriving at the land upon which they would soon settle, the Palatines were briefly quarantined on New York City's Nutten Island in conditions that were reminiscent of their camps outside of Rotterdam and London. The Palatines were once again given meager tents in which to live and barebones victuals. Otterness (2006) also proposes that the Palatines might have recognized the Dutch influences in New York City's architecture as they passed through it. Dutch architecture in the New World is a primary example of how architectural ideals travel along with people. From there, many orphans and young children were apprenticed off by Hunter, which therefore exposed them to different people, trades, backgrounds, and customs throughout several of the colonies and the city. Though the apprenticeship of children was not taken well by the Palatines, as children were separated from their families, Palatine horizons were undeniably expanded through this exposure and cultures necessarily blended as Palatines were thrust into the New World's workforce. Furthermore, young widows had to remarry to secure government benefits and protection, which in turn "broke down regional and religious differences among the emigrants" (Otterness 2006: 82) who did not all share the same customs and dialect through familial union and the perpetuation of family structure.

In establishing Palatine society in the New World, religion became a major concern. Naturally, the English wanted the migrants to conform to the Anglican religion, but the migrants wanted to continue their personal forms of worship. Before they even arrived in the Hudson Valley, the Palatines once again strategically employed acts of conformity and rejection in creating their identity. The Palatines agentively acquiesced to their English benefactors by

adopting some facets of Anglican worship into their Lutheran and Reform traditions--just enough to appease them. While they were noted to resent the English attempts to make them conform, they kept their eyes ever fixed on their promised free land and did what was necessary to achieve it.

Eventually Hunter, the Crown, and the colony of New York determined that the best places for the Palatines to settle would be along the Hudson River, given its deep river landings and dense forests, and Hunter went about acquiring 6,000 acres of land from Robert Livingston--a prominent politician, diplomat, and Chancellor of Indian Affairs'--personal 160,000 estate, as well as 6,300 more acres of the Crown's land across the river (Otterness 2006: 88). The Palatines would necessarily rely, in part, on the Livingston family for food, and were therefore under their observation. Livingston, who also operated a gristmill and brewhouse, agreed to supply the Palatines with "one-third of a loaf of bread and one quart of beer per day per person. The loaf to be the size of that known as the four pence loaf and the beer of the kind known as ship's beer" (Miller 1976: 97). In September of 1710, the surviving migrants would settle the Hudson Valley in two camps, East Camp and West Camp, which were made up of small villages. The makeup of the villages played a further unifying force in breaking down cultural variations within the cohort, as each of them was made up of people from all regions of the Rhineland (Otterness 2006: 97). Otterness (1999: 18) notes that the migrants' original places of origin were carefully recorded in churchbooks upon the establishment of parishes. The Maple Avenue Parsonage falls in the territory of Queensbury in East Camp. In an attempt to maintain order, Hunter and the Palatines appointed governing listmasters in the villages--Palatines themselves who would ostensibly oversee the distribution of supplies and victuals. From Hunter,

the Palatines received food, small monetary stipend, cattle and horses, farming equipment like plows and carts, as well as guns (Otterness 2006: 91).

Despite their stated agreement to partake in the naval stores project, for a plethora of reasons it would be nearly two years before the Palatines would produce any tar and pitch. The first few years following the Palatines' settlement in the Hudson Valley were marked with both subtle and overt rebellion that would prove a major challenge to Hunter and the Crown. Truthfully, as Otterness (2006) interprets it, the Palatine cohort had little intent to participate in the naval stores project, and instead sought to farm on their new personal land. Even that goal, though, would be ignored by the Palatines in defiance of what they came to understand as a replication of the feudal ties that once bound them. Resolved to be slaves to none, not even for the promise of their own land, some Palatines once again tactfully and strategically manipulated their situation to reclaim agency over their own destinies. Others felt it best to work in hopes of completing their contract, but a sizable cohort of the group preferred rebellion.

Discontent with feeling forced, once again, to work under a master--Hunter-- many of the Palatines stopped working entirely and, for a while, seemed to do almost nothing at all. Feeling as if "the British government was no different from the governments of the petty princes that they had known in the German southwest" (Otterness 2006: 93), the Palatines began to champion efforts of self-reliance and subversive intent. For example, rather than mobilize in the ways that they were directed, the Palatines simply ceased working for a period of time, even on their own farms. The Palatines also rebelled in more overt ways, even mounting a full-scale armed display of potential force on Hunter's property, which resulted in the confiscation of the guns that the Palatines had been issued (Otterness 2006). That being said, the Palatines were acutely aware that their very survival depended on support from Hunter and the Livingston family, but also that

the success of the Crown's project depended on them. Therefore, the Palatines danced with Hunter, both acquiescing and rebelling all at once, in attempts to make their discontent known while maintaining their survival. It is also worth noting that there was disagreement among the Palatines on the course of action to be taken in pursuit of their common goal of freedom.

The Palatines were doubly discontent with the land that they had been issued because, as both Hunter and the migrants were well aware, it was not as fertile as other alternative options for settlement. A.G. Roeber, in his book *Palatines, Liberty, and Property* (1998) even posits that Hunter and Livingston were aware that the naval stores project would likely fail, and that they maintained control over the Palatines for their own convenience and gain. Roeber cites Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon and governor of New York and New Jersey from 1701-1708, who reportedly stated that "everyone knew that this land was 'not the best for pine trees'" and that "Livingston and some others will get Estates, the Palatines will not be the richer" (Roeber 1998: 9). Some Palatines longed to leave the Hudson Valley and resettle in the Schoharie Valley in search of sustainable futures, which was forbidden under their contractual agreement with Hunter and the Crown. Furthermore, the Palatines were wholly insulted by their charges, in general, since they were appointed to work deeply within dark forests. German folklore associates the forest with demons and other disquieting evils, and the process of tar and pitch making also resembled the production of charcoal, which was performed by the lowest of the low in German society (Otterness 2006: 104). As an amalgamation of these reasons, the Palatines enacted their subversive agenda, which only led to further scrutiny and surveillance by Hunter. As a result of their rebellions, Hunter had to employ a military presence to ensure order. The migrants earned a wretched label as "turbulent," subversive, and hardheaded (Otterness 2006: 109). Hunter and his colleagues also began to racialize the Palatines as a white Other, harshly

juxtaposing them against the English who they viewed as more civilized. The Palatines were treated, and felt like, servants more than ever, and couldn't help but link their condition to their servitudinal past. With no end in sight, tensions further escalated. Hunter expended more and more of his own funds to try to keep the peace, and eventually realized he was fighting a war of attrition. After he learned that his funds were spent in vain and would not be reimbursed, he had no choice but to formally end the project only shortly after it truly began, though that would not be the end of all tar and pitch endeavors. On September 6, 1712, the Palatines--a group "forced to ignore differences of territorial origin and dialect as it struggled for survival" (Otterness 2006: 111)--were finally free. They had successfully kept in mind the structures of their Old World and actively subverted and upended them to become the beneficiaries of a system that had once suppressed them.

In the years following the formal end of the project, the Palatine cohort spread across the colonies, notably moving to Pennsylvania, modern day Columbia County (where the Maple Avenue Parsonage sits), the Schoharie Valley, and other parts of New York and New Jersey. Those in Pennsylvania would come to be known as the Pennsylvania Dutch.. However, many families chose to remain in the camps where, after such a tumultuous process, they had finally begun to establish themselves. Those who remained were no longer under Hunter's formal command, no longer received supplies from him or the Livingstons, and therefore faced extreme hunger and deplorable conditions until they established themselves. Otterness (2006: 113) remarks that, over the next decade, the Palatines' worldly positionality was in flux, and they often resorted to Old World tactics alongside New World allies to establish themselves in America. Those who remained also were provisionally offered jobs once again making tar and pitch, and Hunter attempted to reinforce their obligation to the Crown. Hunter and the

Livingstons effectively took on the remaining Palatines as tenants, and therefore subjected them to taxation and production quota (Breugel 1996). As Martin Breugel recounts in his 1996 essay “Unrest: Manorial Society and the Market in the Hudson Valley, 1780-1850,” the following decades were filled with social upheaval, tension, and even violence instigated by tenants revolting against their landlords. In due time, the remaining Palatines worked and bought their way to independence. Those who traveled to Schoharie were situationally forced to interact with the indigenous Mohawk peoples, and managed their relationships with them to form an alliance and gain valuable help and resources.

Turning attention to East Camp and the land that would eventually be coined as Germantown, sometime after 1741 a small stone structure was constructed on the current Parsonage’s lot, now near the road (Dickerman 2019: 30). Formerly left out of the archived historical record, Bard Archaeology uncovered this small structure in the Parsonage’s front yard in 2010. However, retrospectively we now see that this early structure might have been added to the 1850 Vaughn copy of the Wigram map of 1798 Germantown (Personal communication E. Dickerman 2022). This early iteration of the Parsonage likely first served as the home for Reverend Casper Ludwig Schnoor, who arrived in 1746, as well as Ministers Eggo Tonkins Van Hoevenberg and Johannes Casperus Rubel who came after him (Albert 2018: 36; Personal communication E. Dickerman 2022). Analysis of ceramics found in and around the structure’s ruins by Lindner and Dickerman (Personal communications 2022) determines its terminus post quem to be roughly 1746, however there is still much to learn about this construction and active archaeological testing continues to this day. Shortly thereafter in 1763, Reverend Gerhard Daniel Cock arrived in Germantown. Cock probably also lived in this small stone structure for several years, but In 1767 he married Chrstina TenBroeck, a local descendant of wealthy Dutch

immigrants. Upon his marriage to TenBroeck in 1767, the original western stone section of the standing Parsonage of the First Reformed Sanctity Church in Germantown--what Bard Archaeology calls the Maple Avenue Parsonage--was built. A stone dug-out structure, likely no higher than the modern Parsonage cellar's level with a sleeping loft above, the early western section was possibly a simple one-room construction (Personal Communication E. Dickerman and C. Lindner 2022). Dendrochronology of the Parsonage cellar's ceiling beams (perhaps originally supporting the loft), as well as ceramics discovered in the house's builder's trench, combined to create an approximate terminus post quem of 1767, the year of Cock's and TenBroeck's marriage. Together, Cock and TenBroeck had two children and acquired several African and African American peoples whom they enslaved. The enslaved people more than likely were a part of TenBroeck's dowry (Personal communication E. Dickerman 2022). The burgeoning size of the Cocks' household, as well as perhaps pressure from the TenBroeck family to appear more fashionable, then necessitated more post-1767 additions to the new stone structure that produced the extant house's second story and attic (Personal communication E. Dickerman 2022). Additional analysis revealed that the Eastern side of the Parsonage was likely added in the 1830s (Personal communication E. Dickerman and C. Lindner 2022), yielding the façade that we see today. Now sitting as the second oldest surviving building in Germantown, the parsonage would have been known as the *Pfarrhaus* to the community and the Reformed ministers who called it home (Personal communication C. Lindner: 2019) With religion an integral facet of Palatine life, it is undoubted that the Parsonage would have been an immensely important building to the community. Furthermore, Reverend Gerhard Daniel Cock, who was ordained in Amsterdam and arrived in Germantown in 1763 (Miller 1976: 9), displays a continued connection between the Old and New Worlds and is an important reminder that,

though the Palatines fled Europe, they were not entirely isolated from her influence. Through connections like these, remembrances of the Old World coming in the form of traditions or material possessions could have made their way to Germantown and made tangible differences in societal culture.

Even before the colony's very inception, African enslavement was an active force in New York. It is reported that the first African slaves were brought to New York's land by its Dutch settlers in 1626, and black sailors accompanied the Dutch in their 16th Century exploration of the Americas (Hodges 1999: 8). Therefore, though disquieting, it is not surprising that, after accruing enough resources to purchase slaves, several Palatine families came to own slaves, themselves. As communicated to me by Christophe Lindner and substantiated by archaeological evidence, at least one of the Palatine families who inhabited the Parsonage owned African slaves (Notably the Cock family). Eventually, though, after several generations of enslavement in Germantown, a black family with the surname of Persons that likely descended from these slave families came to own the Parsonage as their home. After the Persons family owned the Parsonage, the Fingar family rented it to tenants from 1911-1943, and then it was acquired by invaluable contributors to Bard Archaeology's knowledge on the property, the Ekert family. While the Persons family lived there, Maple Avenue became what is understood as Germantown's black neighborhood (Miller 1976: 12). After their death, the Ekert family left the property to the town of Germantown, and Bard Archaeology, led by Christophe Lindner, began testing on the property in 2009.

1.4) Back in the Parsonage

Back in the van, my enthusiasm further burgeoned during the short fourteen minute commute from Bard while Professor Lindner pointed out pertinent Germantown landmarks that we passed along the way. It became clear that the town's namesake ran deeper than its obvious referential locution, as Palatine influences--though, as explained above, not all Palatines hailed from what we now call modern Germany and originally populated the many states of the Holy Roman Empire-- appeared everywhere if you knew where to look. We passed centuries old cemeteries in which many Palatines are interred, the roads constructed from the Palatine's original landing sites along the Hudson River, and the original Palatine settlements of Annesbury and Queensbury. We also noted the woods, several miles to the northeast of modern Germantown, in which Palatines labored, though briefly, to produce naval stores. Germantown Central School even brandishes the mascot of "the Clipper" to commemorate the ships upon which the Palatines traveled. We also noted the influences that the Palatines had on the development of local architecture as we passed what is known as the 1752 "Stone Jug" house in Clermont, NY. Built by Konradt Lasher, an original Palatine immigrant farmer, the Jug is listed on the National Registry of Historic Places as a National landmark. With its gabled roof and original Dutch doors, the Jug still stands largely as it did contemporarily to the original Palatine immigration aside from its added modern amenities, and its architectural elements are vernacular to the mid-1700s with distinct influence traceable to the Rhineland. Inextricable from Lasher's livelihood and the function of the worked land, its property also includes the foundations of several other stone buildings and a barn (Rural Intelligence 2015; The Historical Marker Database 2016).

Figure 1.4) Clermont, NY's Stone Jug and its Marker Sign
 (<https://www.ruralintelligence.com/real-estate/the-stone-jug-2>)
 Accessed 7 December, 2021



We pulled onto Maple Avenue, parked across the street from the Parsonage (the property does not have its own driveway), and entered through the side door. Upstairs we viewed and studied several Bard Archaeology exhibits displaying artifacts linked to the Palatines found in the Parsonage well and back yard, and acquainted ourselves with how the house would have sat in the 1760s. We noted personal belongings and objects tied deeply to the livelihoods of the property's former inhabitants, like an antique cobbler's bench believed to be Henry Persons', and felt the gravity and humanity of studying and performing archaeology in a space that many called home. Introspectively, we reflected on what it might be like if someone, many years from now, studied and dug in our own dwellings and uncovered our belongings.

Our test units for the semester were located in the basement of the Parsonage, where, according to historic accounts as well as Lindner's and Bard Archaeology's research, the aforementioned African and African American slaves lived. Our task was to continue excavating the fireplace hearth in which Bakongo religious concealments--intentionally placed and grouped objects--of pipe stems, quartz crystals, blue beads, shells, fish scales, and other symbolic objects

had been found, and upon which is punctuated one of only a few Bakongo *Dikenga* “cosmograms” known in North America. The cosmogram comprehensively encapsulates Bakongo understandings of life and death and the physical world and the spiritual afterlife, and is the centerpiece of many Bakongo religious practices. I am including a figure of the cosmogram to express my utmost gratitude towards and reverence for the site, its former inhabitants, and its forever charged religiosity. I thank the cosmogram and those who marked it on the wall for showing me the immense amount of history--often forgotten or underrepresented history--that can be anywhere one may look, and the necessity for careful and ethical archaeology to uncover, preserve, and spread it. Germantown, the Parsonage, New York, and the identity and culture of the Palatine immigrants, as well, would not have been the same without this African and African American presence. I could picture the people who once called the basement home, and I felt their presence as I dug the objects that were so important to them. The energy of the site, the lingering power of the religious rituals performed there, and the humanity of archaeology permeated to my core and confirmed for me that I was truly studying what I loved. Throughout the semester we uncovered amazing components of concealments and evidence of hearth use, my personal favorite being the sole of a leather shoe, which I discovered sandwiched between two sizable stone slabs.

Figure 1.5) The Parsonage Hearth's Bakongo Cosmogram
(<https://www.bard.edu/archaeology/exhibits/germantown/>)
Accessed 3 January, 2022



As my classmates and I worked in the basement, I dove deeply into studying West African religions and their material cultures. I found myself enthralled by the inherently subversive and secretive, or “hidden,” tenets of the Bakongo religion and its material practices. The stakes of practicing the Bakongo religion were heightened and its tenets of secrecy extenuated at the Parsonage, since the enslaved Africans who were held there in bondage had white Protestant masters who were also in the clergy (Personal communication with C. Lindner: 2019; Samford 2007). It was likely believed by the white slave owners that African religious practices ceased, or were forced to cease, in favor of Lutheranism, but the Bakongo religion is documented to have been practiced well into the 1900s at the Parsonage. That being said, while I by no means mean to leave the Africans and African Americans present at the site out of the narrative, their presence also sparked further questions on the Palatines.

Primarily, I wondered how some Palatines and their descendants might have rationalized owning slaves when they themselves were once indentured, bore the brunt of harsh servitude, public discrimination, and even racialization, and risked their lives to move across the world to unpromised land because of it. How must their thinking have changed to allow for this dramatic paradigm shift, and what followed in their culture as they came to be independent and self-sustainably powerful? Did they become independent? By what, or by whom, were these changes influenced and inspired? Subsequent courses and field experiences at the Parsonage spawned further questions about the group, especially when keeping Otterness in mind. Bard graduates Ethan Dickerman and Cheyenne Rose Cutter, with whom I had the privilege to work and collaborate, also undertook senior theses at the Parsonage. With their guidance, I wondered if Palatine traditions could be seen as distinctly American developments, or if they could be traced to the Old World of the Rhineland. If they were developments made in the New World, by what, or by whom were they influenced? What worldviews and understandings did the Palatines bring with them from their respective and multiple homelands, and did these worldviews coalesce to become distinctly Palatine? Though, as Otterness explains, the Palatines were regarded by outsiders to be one cohesive unit, and even tactfully embraced this identity themselves, did the Palatines truly ever become distinctly Palatine or distinctly American in their culture? I have had the privilege of exploring the plural identities of this site and the multiple cultures that interacted with it and wrote its history--Palatine, African and African American, and even Indigenous-- and I have fortunately maintained a relationship with the site and the town of Germantown. I anxiously and excitedly take on this thesis as an opportunity to explore and deeply dive into the heart of my interests and questions.

Given that we know the Palatines came to be influenced by Georgian ideologies and hegemonies, my search for answers to my questions begins by using Deetz's work as a foundation to analyze this Georgian turn in Palatine architecture. The following sections of this paper expound on Deetz' work, and contextualize the developmental model he proposes. I will specifically survey the architectural and building practices and styles that can be observed in America's Palatine diaspora, and similarly analyze several Palatine houses in Germantown and Columbia County. Building Georgianized houses (houses deviating from the Rhenish vernacular) with traditional architectural, topographical, and locational ideals in mind may offer an intriguing blend of Old and New World tactics and display distinct aspects of Germanness shining through in the English colony of New York.

1.5) *In Small Things Forgotten-- An Introduction to James Deetz, Ian Hodder, and the Field of Material Culture*

In the 1996 edition of his book *In Small Things Forgotten*, which was originally published in 1977, Deetz outlines a methodology for and undertakes an analysis of English Colonial cultural development in the New World: America. With goals of understanding cultural development over time and how certain eras were characterized by their material and social cultures, Deetz primarily concerns himself with material culture and evidence of human self-perception. Material culture inherently constitutes and is constituted by the perceptions and understandings of people in a lived in and created world. Early in the work, Deetz explains the importance of studying material culture, which he defines as “not culture but its product” (Deetz 1996: 35). Deetz states that material culture is “the track of our collective existence” which “holds the promise of being more democratic and less self-conscious in its creation than any other body of historical material” (Deetz 1996: 219). According to Deetz, material culture is the

study of the ways in which we shape our physical world-- the “sector of our physical environment that we modify through culturally determined behavior” (Deetz 1996: 35). Cynthia Falk (2008: 5) simply defines material culture to include “anything made, modified, or used by human beings.” As Don Miller (1982: 17) views it, material culture can provide valuable sets of “pottery, field systems, temple architecture or indeed anything in the archaeological record that we can interpret--” which are defined to better understand the results of human productive processes. These sets or categories, according to Miller (1982: 19), “form the environment in which we live, but are not universal and must incorporate the flexibility necessitated by a consideration of context” because, truthfully:

In material production, one society may build sixteen kinds of structures for different activities such as temples and cooking-huts, while another society may perform the same range of activities in a single structural form. The essential point is that no object has an intrinsic meaning; its meaning depends upon the place it is assigned within this dividing up and active creation of the material world (Miller 1982: 16).

As will become evident later in this paper, Miller’s treatment of material culture surrounding the assessment of patterns in non-universal ways that fold in the importance of context and cultural variation is to be lauded, and informs much of my work on the Palatines. Deetz, Miller, and this thesis accept and allow for variation to occur in patterns and their adoption, and also aim to substantiate their existence with evidence and understanding of their agentive adoption.

Material culture includes artifacts ranging from the most simple and quotidienne to the most incredibly complex feats of human creation. Material culture extends as well to practices like animal butchering and breeding, and even human kinesics like dance or sport. It encapsulates all the ways in which we interact with our physical world. In his study, Deetz ventures to analyze Colonial English ceramics, architecture and living space, gravestones, and other objects, artifacts, and features of life that he considers to be the book’s namesake: small things forgotten. Deetz includes these quotidienne artifacts and remnants--unassuming objects

and practices so ingrained into our daily practices and consciousness that we tend not to pay them much mind--like common house furniture, cutlery, and trash middens because, as he expresses in several different ways, the grandiose is not always the most wholly representative of the vast majority of society. That being said, it is fundamental to understand that all artifacts and practices “carry messages from their makers and users” (Deetz 1996: 4).

Archaeologist Ian Hodder further explains the importance of material culture as a field of study revelatory of cultural intricacies when stating that “each use of an artefact, through its previous associations and usage, has a significance and meaning within society so that the artifact is an active force in social change” (Hodder 1982: 10). The use or adoption of artifacts into use can be explained by, but also reflects back on, society. Hodder also states that “artefacts and their organisation [sic] come to have specific cultural meanings as a result of their use in particular historical contexts” (Hodder 1982: 10), and therefore can inform archaeologists about dynamics from specific loci and time periods. Therefore, it is apt to conduct my study under the basic premise that an analysis of material culture--the what?, when?, where?, how?, and why? certain artifacts are adopted and used-- can reveal the worldview of its creators and the processes of world-building human agents. Again, while Deetz concerns himself with multiple data sets, I will examine houses and building practice.

1.6) A Bipartite Conjunction of Archaeological and Documentary Data

Deetz emphasizes the imperative practice of incorporating historic documentation and writing into studies of material culture. Neither artifacts nor writing can stand alone in the field of historical archaeology, and the two must always be in conversation. As will be elaborated later in this thesis, documentation and historic evidence are necessary partners in adequate material

analysis. Without primary historic information to bolster and validate them, analytic claims and interpretations of materials, whether accurate or not, remain strictly and more firmly in the realms of unsubstantiated hypothesis and speculation. Keeping this in mind, analyses of worldview pertaining to each of the Palatine houses and their inhabitants are unfortunately limited in this study. Only with more archaeological research and the uncovering of ethnohistorical documents could their personal worldviews truly be expounded, so this study mostly focuses on the adherence to and deviation from vernacular and Georgian forms, as well as each house's process of Georgianization.

In his chapter on Cape Cod, Massachusetts towns, Deetz explains that what was once understood as little more than an unknown cache of artifacts was discovered to be the remnants of a tavern lost to time. Only through the tandem use of historic writing and record and material analysis could the formerly incomplete context of the site be filled in; “written and archaeological information can combine to give a more detailed picture than either could separately” (Deetz 1996: 48).

Historical archaeologists, as opposed to ancient or prehistoric archaeologists, are fortunate to be able to rely on written histories to supplement their archeological findings and analyses and, as Deetz eloquently writes:

The literacy of the people it studies is what sets historical archaeology apart from prehistory...even if a majority lacked the ability to write, others often wrote about them. They were born, married, and died, and these events were recorded. The church records, diaries, court records, land deeds, and contemporary histories give us a window through which to witness the past (Deetz 1996: 10-11).

With more complete understandings and material to unite into knowledge, performing this bipartite historical archaeology allows us to reveal culturally relative “common senses” (Deetz 1996: 34), understandings, motivations, behaviors, and beliefs in ways that allow for less

interpretation and more combination and coalescence of material information. Furthermore, doing so takes steps to guard against ethnocentrism, bias, and scholars' imposition of their own worldview and understanding onto the group being studied. Combining these two means of analysis allows the archaeologist to appropriately recognize that:

in the past people have done things and behaved in ways that to us might seem almost irrational but that to them may not have been, and that phenomenon of culture change is far more complex and imponderable than we might suspect were we to rely only on the detailing of it by prehistorians (Deetz 1996: 34).

1.7) Deetzian Stages of Colonial Development and the Georgian Worldview

Deetz's research in *In Small Things Forgotten* focuses on Colonial New England's development, which "played out in one location, to become something distinctively American, and ultimately modern" (Deetz 1996: 50). As an abstract for his proposal to come, Deetz wrote that:

English emigrants who had come to the New World for a variety of reasons, brought with them a blueprint--in their minds--for recreating the culture they had left behind. Likewise the unwilling passengers aboard the thousands of slave ships that made the same crossing brought with them, against enormous odds, traditions from their West African homelands which would endure in a new and hostile environment. Both would come together in the New World, and combine in complex ways through both resistance and accommodation to form a new culture, one not seen before and one that would become a vital component of our modern society (Deetz 1996: 58).

As previously stated, one of the driving questions for exploration in this paper concerns this "blueprint" for recreating culture left behind; in what ways, if at all, did the Palatines emulate the cultures from which they came in the building of their houses in the New World? Moreover, since New York was an English colony as well, how did Palatine houses compare to colonial English houses in New England, and just how might the Palatines have been influenced by the English? Diving into the ways of "resistance and accommodation" through which Deetz suggests that new culture forms or creolizes, Deetz conceptualizes Colonial English cultural development

in America as having three distinct phases: the arrival and first several decades in the New World characterized by a “medieval” worldview, a Post-1660 “re-Anglicanization” phase, and a post 1760 phase characterized by a “Georgian” worldview and the influences of the European Renaissance (Deetz 1996: 59, 61, 62).

Upon their arrival, the English brought with them a “tradition that owed much of its form to the English Middle Ages, recently drawn to a close” (Deetz 1996, 58-59). Though what is formally studied as the Renaissance had begun and was continuing to unfold contemporarily with their arrival in America, for various reasons its effects and influences on human perceptions of self and the world had not yet fully reached the immigrants. Deetz claims that these developments were not accessible to the “simple” (Deetz 1996: 59) people of pastoral England, and that their geographic isolation from Europe only magnified this lack of accessibility. As a result, the colonists projected the world they experienced and the roles that they had held in England onto their understanding and construction of the New World. Much of Deetz’s argument relies on the wide acceptance that “the earlier in time one goes, the more people were directly and intimately tied to their environment,” and “as culture became more complex, our removal from the natural world increased” (Deetz 1996: 31). According to Deetz (1996: 59) “the first four decades undoubtedly saw the establishment of the rural English tradition on New World soil.” However, since the colonies were not largely populated by members of the elite, there was a “resultant skew in cultural form in the direction of that of simple husbandmen and yeomen” (Deetz 1996: 59). Furthermore, English ideals still structured the society, religion, and material culture, which is evidenced in large part by the fact that “the earliest houses show strong ties to the English Homeland, and in time become more American and more regionally diverse. In all of this time, they are organic, corporate, and exhibit a growth that is sensitive to the needs of the

family unit” (Deetz 1996: 164). The gradual change in house style captures the progression to the Georgian style houses in question experienced by both the English and the Palatines.

Furthermore, the Colonists’ essentially agrarian ethos permeated their architectural forms, food ways and means of food preparation, as well as their technologies and general societal and material culture.

As explained above, “until circa 1660, Anglo-American colonial culture was essentially that of Old England, since the first native-born generation was still a minority of younger people” at the time (Deetz 1996: 59). Deviation from English custom could naturally only be expected when a generation of people never having seen England and native only to the New World came of age in society. Prior to 1660, extant English colonies were beginning to slowly drift towards a material and societal culture that was becoming less influenced by English traditions and traditional worldview. However, with the restoration of the Crown under Charles II (Deetz 1996: 60), the colonies regained England’s attention and fell back under her watchful eye. What followed from 1660 to about the 1776 American revolution is what Deetz (1996: 61) calls a period of “re-Anglicanization.” After this “re-Anglicanization,” the new Americans “were more English than they had been in the past since the first years of the colonies” (Deetz 1996: 61). In this second phase of development, strong and regionally diverse traditional cultures--understood as folk cultures--developed alongside, but separately from, urban centers. The folk developments changed slowly and “[interacted] with their neighbors to a very limited degree,” which Deetz attributes to poor infrastructure for communication and transportation, as well as deeply seated local political groups (Deetz 1996: 61).

Societies like these are categorized as “peasant societies,” as they tend to be best represented by workers of the land who exist externally from but support their nearest urban and

economic centers with their goods (Deetz 1996: 61). In turn, “their values are conservative and traditional, characterized by close ties to kin; suspicion of outsiders, change, or innovation; and a life governed by the change of the seasons” (Deetz 1996: 61). While there were certainly important collections of cosmopolitan city dwellers in the colonies, Deetz does not regard them to be representative of the true character of Colonial America. Instead, Deetz views the cosmopolitans as trendsetters who were the “brokers of taste and fashion” more frequently in close contact with the English homeland (Deetz 1996: 62). It was these cosmopolitans that made the common colonists aware of the profound influences on English material and social culture that occurred during the Renaissance. According to Deetz, the Renaissance “reformed the English worldview into something totally different from its earlier, medieval form--” something modern--in far more ways than just the material (Deetz 1996: 62). These changes, which Deetz understands to have taken hold around 1760, define the period that is governed by what he (Deetz 1996: 62) calls the “Georgian” worldview. While the term “Georgian” traditionally refers to a style of architecture characterized by its symmetry, precision, and inclusion of classical details (Shumate 1992: VII, 1) Deetz transmutes its meaning to apply its tenets in typifying the worldview and development of culturally structuring processes spawned from this third phase of Colonial development.

Deetz, quoting art historian Alan Gowans, remarks that the Georgian turn was a “change in basic tradition” birthed from a new way of life and newly defined relationships between man and nature that actually still govern our worldly perceptions to this day (Deetz 1996, 63). Its physical manifestations are understood to be a reflection and expression of the fundamental change in the understanding of worldly order and structures. In effect, the Georgian worldview played a decisive and hegemonic role in everyday decision making, and informed the domestic

choices made by many Americans then living, despite its largely unrecorded status as a code or collection of ideas. Its decisive influence yielded considerably regular patterns and occurrences in cultural practice and material culture that Deetz used to typify and substantiate the existence of a distinct “Georgian Order” of things (Deetz 1996, 63). In turn, the Georgian worldview was adopted into the lexicon of structuralist thinking, since its patterns were extended to make universalist claims about societal structures and cultures. Deetz employs the use of patterns, but is careful to not make unfounded universalist claims. In fact, the Georgian worldview was widely renamed as the “Georgian Order,” which exemplifies the belief that an entire structure was imposed and characterized how humans subject to it understood the world (Cox 2018).

With increased understanding of the natural sciences, the development of empirical thought, and the influences of Renaissance enlightenment, the eighteenth century in the Anglo-American world came to be known as the “age of reason” grounded by “order and control” (Deetz 1996: 63). Leone and Potter (2003: 212) comment that the worldview strove for “balance, order, symmetry, segmentation, and standardization.” The results of this new worldview championed the “mechanical where the older was organic, balanced where the older had been asymmetrical,” and the “individualized where the older had been corporate” (Deetz 1996: 63). In general, theorists interpret the Georgian Order as a distancing from the unpredictable disarray of nature.

While the characteristics of the Georgian worldview are most palpably apparent in “high-style” (Shumate 1992: 4) and academic architecture--Georgian ideals entered the repertoire of contemporary builders, thinkers, and architects--patterns can also be observed in the cultures of the more general populations in more ways than just their architecture. Deetz (1996: 164) posits that the Georgian worldview began mostly in the spheres of the elite before being

“passed slowly to their rural neighbors.” Instead of what some structuralists might explain as an intangible and deeply internal paradigm shift, post-processual thinkers view the spread of the Georgian worldview as a stimulus diffusion of materiality and typology likely influenced by development in thinking. To more comfortably make claims that physical representations of the Georgian Order represented a universal and fundamental rewiring of the human brain, post-processualists would need to find explicit ethnohistorical evidence substantiating the semiotic meanings of observed patterns. Deetz certainly accumulated this evidence, and so perhaps he could be best understood as a post-processualist employing the ideas of structuralism in a deeply particular and attentive way. More concrete analysis of structuralist and post-processual theory comes in the following section. That being said, patterns are still valuable to analyze and, with significant and adequate contextualizing as Deetz does, interpretive archaeology can be of use. It is paramount to remember, though, that interpretive archaeology is inherently subjective, so again the importance of particular and ethnohistorically supported evidence is emphasized. Regardless, with the observed patterns of the Georgian Order, gone was “the medieval ‘acceptance’ of nature taking its course, along with the unworked materials, exposed construction, and additive composition that expressed it” (Deetz 1996: 63).

According to Deetz, these beliefs and practices manifest in architecture, individual positionality and understandings of self, and in more tangible material ways. Georgianized Architectural works, whose studying and identification Deetz attributes to Henry Glassie in his 1975 work *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia*, tended to be “rigorously symmetrical” while appealing to a “central element” distinctly different from its pre-Georgian medievally derived predecessors (Deetz 1996: 66). According to Deetz (1996: 67), individuality and privacy was championed in the organization of living space, processes of food production and consumption,

and burial practices. Furthermore, the Georgian worldview champions the idea that humans have achieved mastery over nature, and this premise is notably on display in landscape architecture and through the use of perspective manipulation. For example, as Leone (2003) notes, land can be manipulated to appear natural in order to demonstrate that man can artificially replicate the processes of nature.

As would follow, scientific instruments displaying both understanding of the world and control over it, like clocks and thermometers, also became popularized. Leone (2003) also notes that towns and cities tended to organize their streets and communities around central focal points and areas of commerce or high traffic. In her often cited book, *The Death of Nature*, author Carolyn Merchant (1980) corroborates these claims by explaining that the Renaissance and Scientific Revolution brought about the mechanization of society and the exploitation and reproduction of natural processes and pathways that led to human expansion and development. Underlying all of these tangible and interpretive manifestations, though, seems to be the aesthetic mobilization to justify differential power for producing what is most pleasing to the human eye. Leone (2003: 251-252) references 18th century building and landscaping manuals that remark that there is nothing more pleasing to the eye than “contracted” and “regular conduct” that leaves “no room for any vain and trifling thoughts to interrupt.” To display this regularized conduct, Deetz (2003) notes, for example, the development of distinctly similarly styled houses from the original vernacular design, the transition from the sharing of plates and chamber pots to people having their own, and the whitening in color of small and large artifacts. The whitening of objects (ceramics, gravestones, house facades) according to his structuralist patterning supported with particular evidence, demonstrated a distancing from nature’s unpredictable and uncontrolled forms. Similar ideologies permeated animal butchering practices

to implement regulated portion control. Leone and other thinkers interpret this as a manifestation of colonial pleas for control over a still tumultuous New World and the ever volatile forces of nature.

The basic tenets and patterns of the Georgian worldview, typified from these examples, can be further extended to other objects of material culture. In his study, Deetz not only examines the material appearance of ceramics, architecture, and social organization, but also gravestones and other “small things forgotten,” to see if the tenets of order and symmetry appear. While this thesis focuses on the Palatine pathway to an architectural era governed, or at least influenced in part, by the Georgian Order (further and more expansive studies of patterns and particular ethnohistorical evidence would have to be conducted on other data sets to expand this claim to other materials and artifacts), it is still useful to describe the Georgian distinctions and patterns observed in other materials and artifacts. Summarizing the patterns that Deetz identifies: Georgian style houses are rigidly symmetrical in floor plan, room size, and window and door placement, and can be observed to have whitened over time. Pogue (2001: 50) writes that “houses evolved from unpainted rambling vernacular piles to tidy whitewashed fashion statements.” That being said, of course not all houses came to look exactly alike. The traditional Georgian style house is not the only layout with which Deetz concerns himself, as it is not representative of the bulk of colonial Americans. Mostly, Deetz tracks the development of houses from the vernacular of the Old World to more regionally diverse, academic, and controlled new designs. Deetz (1996: 126) writes that:

Vernacular building is folk building, done without the benefit of formal plans. Such structures are frequently built by their occupants or, if not, by someone who is well within the occupants' immediate community. Vernacular structures are the immediate product of their users and form a sensitive indicator of these persons' inner feelings, their ideas of what is or is not suitable to them. Consequently, changes in attitudes, values, and worldview are likely to be reflected in changes in vernacular architectural forms. Academic architecture proceeds from plans created by architects trained in the trade and reflects

contemporary styles of design that relate to formal architectural orders. It is much less indicative of the attitudes and lifestyles of the occupants of the buildings it creates. Vernacular building is an aspect of traditional culture, and academic architecture of popular culture.

In summation of Glassie's understanding of vernacularity, Edward Chappell (1980: 62) offers that:

Traditional builders call on conceptual models that provide direction for design. The models consist of both a basic idea of what a house or other artifact should be, and a limited number of ways in which the artifact can be transformed. The builder performs mental operations using the obligatory and optional rules of the model to generate a specific form that fulfills individual need, resource, and fancy.

It can be understood that changes to vernacular architecture were allowed by a shift in attitude towards more permanent settlement, as well as acculturating forces and stimulus diffusion. In the New World, and with Enlightenment ideals, people built homes in which they could stay and build futures (Deetz 1996: 133), and were exposed to new people and ideas.

Ceramics and other objects are observed to have whitened and become simple to display order and control, and also became individual as opposed to shared objects. Individualization holds true for many household objects, as well. Deetz' extensive work on gravestones is not particularly applicable to the Palatines, since much of his theory relies on the English Puritan identity.

2) Embracing Structural Post-Processual Archaeology: A Turn Away From Traditional Structuralism

Deetz presents an understanding of archaeology rooted equally in the fields of historical archaeology, interpretive and contextual archaeology, ethnohistorical particularism, and symbolic archaeology. Deetz draws on structuralist strategies of grammatical patterning in his work, but remains wary of traditional structuralism's widely noted shortcomings and gaps in logic. In essence, Deetz employs structuralist methods while maintaining culturally relative and particular

ideals in accordance with Post-Processual thinking. Deetz is careful not to interpret his archaeological findings without adequate documentary, particular, and ethnohistorical evidence to support them. Deetz (2003) also clearly expresses his concerns with traditional structuralism's failures, but explains that analysis of patterns can still be appropriate and valuable with the right evidence.

Traditional structuralism understands archaeological patterns to be relationships constructed in response to human perceptions--meanings, symbols, understandings--of a lived world universally deeply rooted in the fabrics of the human mind. As explained by James Deetz:

In simplest terms, structuralism holds that human thought is organized and functions according to a universally shared complex of oppositional structures that are mediated differently by different cultures, or by the same culture at different times (Deetz 2003: 222).

The structuralist field truly turns towards the psychological, with overarching goals of cognitive determinism. Attributing cultural development to specialized and internalized patterns of the human mind leads to universalist claims of human patterning, organization, world view, and material relationships, which in turn thwarts efforts of particularism and ethnohistorically specific archaeology. While structuralist archaeology may actually incorporate aspects of particularist and contextual archaeology--i.e. the thick and thorough study of a group on its own--by acknowledging relative cultural mediation, the conclusions it draws are then often applied to make universalist and logico-deductive claims. While structuralist methodologies can reveal deeply intricate facets of specific cultures, the extension of its claims to other groups, or even all members of the same group, is inappropriate. These traditionally structuralist and generalizing claims are precisely what Deetz tries to avoid by emphasizing the need for particularism and adequate ethnohistoric evidence substantiating patternist interpretations.

Archaeologist Ian Hodder (1982: 8-9) summarizes the justified refutation of structuralism when stating that: “the criticisms of structuralism centre [sic] on the inability of the approach to explain particular historical contexts and the meaningful actions of individuals constructing social change within those contexts.” Deetz accepts that cultural development--the construction of lifeways, processes, norms, and the adoption of materials--is always meaningfully constituted with active thought processes and choices inspired by specific and particular stimuli. Deetz acknowledges, unlike many who use structuralist methodologies, that, in order to avoid unfounded universalist claims, “the uniqueness of cultures and historical sequences must be recognised” (Hodder 1982: 5). Different groups exist under different conditions and inevitably have different backgrounds and experiences that yield varying worldviews and understandings. A plethora of factors come into play as culture emerges and changes, and these factors are anything but universal. While determining or identifying patterns that can be widely applied is an ideal and immensely satisfying goal that would certainly be helpful in broadening understandings and expediting further exploration, it is intangible and could simply never reflect the “intrinsic fuzziness that characterises [sic] material forms--” as Miller (1982: 23), a student of Hodder’s describes. Deetz turns to Structuralist patterning as a heuristic blueprint for interpretation, but is careful to not make generalizing claims or to revoke the agency of any party. Deetz only ventures to make claims with adequate particular support, much in the style of the post-processualists that followed after him.

In postmodern, interpretive anthropology, individuals are understood to have the utmost agency in creating their lived experiences and worlds--material culture included--and take active roles in shaping their lives. Deetz, in his work, understands that, instead of acquiescing to traditional structuralism’s “rigid logico-deductive methods” (Hodder 1982: 13), world-building

humans perform actions--creating, discarding, performing ritual, organizing society, and so on-- in response to particular historical and temporal sequences, relationships, and adaptive experiences that are so specific that they could never be truly universalized; “As soon as any human choice--” or really any human interaction at all-- “is involved, behavioral and functional laws appear simplistic and inadequate because human behaviour [sic] is rarely entirely mechanistic. The role of ethnoarchaeology,” coupled with symbolic analysis and interpretation, “must also be to define the relevant cultural context for social and ecological behavior” (Hodder 1982: 13, 5). In accessible summation supporting Post-Processual structural archaeology and challenging structuralism archaeologist Christopher Tilley (1982: 21) states:

All social phenomena, and especially the functioning of all social institutions, should always be understood as resulting from the decisions, actions, attitudes, etc. of human individuals... we should never be satisfied by an explanation in terms of so called ‘collectives.’

As Tilley (1982: 29) recalls from Jean Piaget, “Man can transform himself by transforming the world and can structure himself by constructing structure; and these structures are *his own*, for they are not entirely predestined from within or without.” Piaget stresses the agentic properties of man and therefore refutes universalist claims. Tilley (1982: 28) further stresses that “since, in social life, patterns of structures exist only so far as they are actively reproduced in human action, logically, structure cannot exist independent of system, and in fact the two terms are either conflated or used interchangeably.” Tilley and Deetz emphasize the human as agent and creator of structure, and reject that humans simply fall into universalist patterns without active construction.

The symbolic and practical meanings, as well as meanings stemming from shared belief systems imbued in objects, extend beyond basic notions of structure and function. Meanings are instead particular and must be understood through studies of symbolism, interpretive,

ethnohistorical, and contextual archaeology, and, when possible, historical documentation. It may still be pertinent to understand the structured and representational thought processes of a given group, but one must be certain to have adequate documentation and evidence when venturing to make logico-deductive claims understood to be the results of active and agentive construction. Deetz critiques the generalizing and universalizing tendencies that fail to account for particular variation and agency frequently associated with structuralist work, but he ventures to employ structuralist ideas of patterning in particular and ethnohistorically supported ways to make appropriate and well-supported claims.

2.1) A Brief Interlude On Symbolic Archaeology In Support Of Structural Post-Processual

Thinking

As stated above, the field of Structural Post-Processual archaeology comprises the approaches of symbolic, interpretive, ethnohistorical, and contextual archaeology, and, when possible, historical documentation. Again, while Deetz uses structuralist analyses of patterning, his work should be viewed as a turn away from traditional structuralism and rather a turn towards emphasizing the particular. While ethnohistorical and contextual archaeology are more readily understandable processes, symbolic and historical archaeology rely on the understanding of certain theories. To understand the value and means of symbolic and interpretive analysis in archaeology, one must turn to the works of semiologist Ferdinand de Saussure, as well Charles S. Peirce and John E. Robb's interpretations of them. Though Saussure worked primarily in linguistics, his theories are easily extended to the physical world, and he is regarded as one of the fathers of semiology: the study of signs and symbols and their use and interpretation. Fundamentally, signs are understood to be the "combination of a concept and a sound-image," or

a “signified and signifier” (Saussure 1966: 67). The signified is both the physical thing that is referred to with words (the signifier), as well as the psychological imprint that it carries with it. Therefore, signs are plainly a means of expression. When extending his theory, objects, images, and physical materials can also be classified as signifiers, since their production and definition is “not a passive process, because objects and activities actively represent and act back upon society” (Hodder 1982: 10). Signs are also understood to be defined by “collective behavior” or convention (De Saussure 1966: 68). Though their origins are arbitrary, which can be especially understood in the context of linguistics (words are rarely intrinsically tied to what they signify), signs are continually reproduced and reaffirmed by society. Meaning is attributed to signs based on repetition and consensus within a group, and, though eventually immutable based upon their continual reproduction, signifiers are constituted and initially ascribed their associative meanings by free choice. The very arbitrariness of signs is what predicates their constitution. Meaning is derived in particular ways given a specific group’s needs, desires, customs, developmental particularities, and circumstance. Ascertaining these particular factors reveals embedded cultural importances.

The signifier is often also attributed a deeper meaning as a symbol, which begins to fold in its “rational relationship[s] with the thing[s] signified” (De Saussure 1966: 73). Symbols are defined in specific contexts because, inherently, every member of a group “participates at all times” in the defining and reproduction of meaning (De Saussure 1966: 74). In fact, according to Hodder (1982: 10), “the effects of symbols, intended and unintended, must be associated with their repeated use and with the ‘structuration’ of society.” Extending Saussure’s work, Peirce posits that symbols carry a meaning that is entirely arbitrary, though contextually rational when situated by societal usage, from what they signify and must be culturally learned. Symbols

represent an object, function, or process. Peirce takes into account how something might be interpreted or perceived by an audience, and those perceptions are associated with symbols over time. John E. Robb further cements the importance and relevance of symbolism in archaeology in his 1998 paper, *The Archaeology of Symbols*. Robb defines symbols as “tokens that represent reality” as “tiny ‘packages’ of information,” and subscribes to the postmodern view that symbols are “arbitrary fragments incorporated into a phenomenological experience” (Robb 1998: 330, 329). In accordance with postmodernists, Robb (1998: 330) views “every human intervention in material things as a symbolically constructive act.” Keeping this premise in mind, if humans are their own active agents behaving in culturally specific ways and constituting their own symbols (LibreTexts 2021), then “this approach in turn commits us to taking symbols seriously as a pervasive aspect of the archaeological record” that have their own material life and represent social realities (Robb 1998: 332). Simply, since symbols are, by definition, widely accepted and reproduced within their cultural group, they must necessarily be representative markers and adequate points of analysis and reference that “are in a continual state of reinterpretation and change in relation to the practices of daily life,” and therefore reflexively constituted and constituting (Hodder 1982: 10).

Robb (1998: 331) also remarks that, for example, “if we understand how a prehistoric rock carving was made technologically without knowing why it was made culturally, the effort is considered a failure.” It is the ethos of particularist and structural Post-Processual archaeology to determine this ‘why?’ from documented, shared, interpretive, and ethnohistorically founded information in conjunction with archaeological evidence. Symbols, which can be “the commonest things” (Robb 1998: 331), can be invaluable in ascertaining cultural representations and worldviews, active choices or proclivities to act certain ways or believe certain things, and

motivations behind the constitution of meaning. Those motivations must be as particular as any group being studied, and are best understood as:

mosaic tesserae, or perhaps Legos; fragments with qualities such as color, shape, and size, inherently arbitrary, that are temporarily assembled and experienced as meaningful by people playing with them (Robb 1998: 338).

Those motivations must be studied for:

(a) Iconic or representational meaning...; (b) structural or relational meaning...; (c) phenomenological or experiential meaning...; (d) [particular] grammars and variations of form, technique, and decoration; (e) perceptual aspects... (visual, auditory, tactile features); (f) cross-artifact styles and semantic associations; (g) social connotations and associations of artifacts, representations, and styles; (h) technical analysis of techniques of manufacture and use wear; (i) economic aspects of artifact manufacture as cultural process; (j) artifact life histories from nature through deposition; (k) context of use and interpretation; (l) knowledge differentials and layers of interpretation among users of artifacts; (m) ambiguity, multiplicity of interpretations, misunderstandings, and irony (Robb 1998: 341).

Robb (1998: 341) also declares that, because “the significance of an artifact may involve a complex combination or juxtaposition of many of these codes, contexts, and circumstances,” “with such an array of questions to ask, our interpretations can never be final and lawlike.”

Instead Robb affirms the need for adequate ethnographic and historical evidence to situate and inform interpretations, from which relative certainty can ideally be drawn. Robb’s declarations also demonstrate the impracticality and flaw of structuralist universalist claims.

Symbolic analysis can help us understand the reasonings and cultural motivations behind why “a 1930s toaster became streamlined like an automobile,” or why “dark green suddenly [became] popular in 1990s consumer goods,” and can most definitely help us dive into the “learned, culturally specific structures” (Robb 1998: 342, 335) that constituted the Palatine worldview developed as they oriented and organized themselves in the world and built their dwellings. Ultimately, since every facet of culture, including the material, is meaningfully constituted, created, and perceived even if subconsciously, “the question is not whether we can

find symbols archaeologically, but whether we can find anything cultural that is not symbolic” (Robb 1998: 331).

In short, structural Post-Processual theory allows for human agents to be understood as the creators of their own structure and world view. In no way are universalist claims or processes imposed on a group, and their individual intricacies are understood to be inextricably tied to their histories and development. The goal of Post-Processual archaeology is to understand how people structured *their own* lives in response to *their own* contextual situations. Structuralist theory aims to impose anachronistic structure both particularly and universally as a means to generate modern understanding, rather than delving into the necessary contexts of the past. Structural Post-Processual theory lets the past speak for itself, which yields truly democratic interpretations less prone to bias or narrative alteration. Furthermore, Post-Processual theory ideally yields well-supported understandings drawn from performing the due diligence to situate oneself in respect to the worldviews of the groups at hand. Only with this positionality can one explain particular historical contexts and the meaningful actions of individuals constructing social change within those contexts. Effectively, Deetz captures the spirit of anthropological founding father Franz Boas’ theories of Cultural Relativism and Historical Particularism. The online educational service LibreTexts beautifully consolidates this in their review of Hodayun Sidky’s 2004 book, *Perspectives on Culture: A Critical Introduction to Theory in Cultural Anthropology*:

The primary assumption of Historical Particularism is that each society has its own unique historical development and must be understood based on its own specific cultural and environmental context, especially its historical process. Boas approached each culture as unique and distinctive and asserted that the culture of a society was shaped by its own particular historical, psychological, and social forces (2004). While Boas did believe that there were universal laws that could be derived from the comparative study of cultures, he thought that the ethnographic database was not yet robust enough for us to identify those laws (2004). To that end, he and his students collected a vast amount of first-hand cultural data by conducting ethnographic fieldwork. Based on these raw data, they described particular cultures instead of trying to establish general theories that apply to all societies (Sidky 2004; LibreTexts 2021).

2.2) Deetz's Slow Turn, Hodder, and a Final Declaration of Theory

While Deetz (1982, 2003) works within structuralism's parameters, in reading his work and assessing his methodology, it is clear that he felt the field to be a bit impersonal and wanting for more particular attention. Deetz does not write in the way that structuralist purists might expect. One might be able to ascertain Deetz' understanding of the importance of particular context from reading the very first points of theory in his foundational text, *In Small Things Forgotten*. Early in the work, Deetz (1996) stresses the coupling of archaeological processes with the reading of primary and historical written sources to perform a sort of ethnohistoric archaeology. At times (2003), Deetz even begrudgingly rationalizes structuralism's offerings while simultaneously longing to patch the holes in its foundation.

Deetz agrees with theorist Noël Hume, who stresses the relationship between documents and artifacts and the importance of knowing the contextual history of artifacts uncovered, but is reluctant to move fully away from the quantitative and scientific goals of establishing broadly applied patterns (Deetz 2003: 220). Like Noël Hume, Deetz (2003: 220) "agrees that a particularistic approach to material culture will not likely produce results that have explanatory power beyond the context of the immediate data set--" results cannot be extended beyond the immediate data set because they are necessarily particular and non-universal to account for specific cultural complexities and variance--but continues to struggle with the inhumanity of strict archaeological science. In structural Post-Processual and more modern archaeology and anthropology, it is more than sufficient, and often preferable, to remain within the specific and immediate data set at hand. Though using structuralist means of analysis, Deetz lauds particularism in his approach. Deetz identifies patterns in materials for analysis after significant comparative study, and only ventures to make interpretations of meaning with adequate

evidence. Deetz is careful not to dive inappropriately into the human psychology. Applying this understanding to Palatine houses and house building grounds this thesis. Deetz would want to understand human thought processes in relation to the materials with which they entangle themselves, but on a particular level.

Deetz (2003: 221, 222, 231) openly grapples with the binarily bounding “quantitative but overgeneralized scientific” and “richly descriptive but theoretically timid work of those of a more particularistic bent,” and unenthusiastically concludes that “at least binary thinking has aided in theory building” and that “perhaps it is better to chance being wrong in an interesting way than right in a dull one.” While questioning the field, Deetz is careful not to fall victim to a phenomenon elucidated by anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot who states that “the more distant the sociohistorical process is from its knowledge,” whether that distance be temporally or positionally, “the easier the claim to a ‘scientific’ professionalism” (Trouillot 2015: 5). Deetz is clearly not satisfied with the works of those who do claim a general professionalism, and calls instead for the particular. Now, we champion the “particularism of those who labor long and hard to relate objects to individuals and to instill an honest respect for the complexities of the historical record” and allow for the physical environment to “provid[e] the stage upon which cultural options are sorted out, rejected, accepted, and ordered into a *particular* cultural logic” (Deetz 2003: 232, 228). Modern theorists understand that it is best practice to not colonize the minds of those long dead and unable to confirm, deny, or elucidate structuralist theoretical patterns by speaking on their behalf with proposed certainties. Instead, structural Post-Processual archaeologists venture to let history speak through the composite analysis of artifacts, documents, and historical accounts in contextual, symbolic, ethnohistorical, and interpretive ways. Adopting the goal of uncovering and understanding history and how history contextualizes

and explains material culture, and coupling that with the importance of archaeological artifacts, is the field's central ethos. While history is ideally factual and authentic, it is understood that historicity--what Trouillot (2015) defines as the plural and dynamic creation of history and its eventual archiving--is an active process that may skew, redact from, or banalize historical truths in creating archived and public histories, the combination of both recorded history and archaeological evidence serves to paint a fuller and more democratic picture. In essence, putting structural Post-Processual archaeology--the composite theory defined above which grounds this thesis--into use, removes the active application of intangible and lofty *theory* in thinking, and therefore is tangible and grounded in truth, not simply theory.

This project acknowledges James Deetz' slow methodological turn and variation from traditional structuralism and his use of structuralist patterning in a particularly and ethnohistorically supported way. I champion Deetz' methodological call for a Post-Processualist approach. Post-Processual structural theory accounts for the cultural particularities that structuralism overlooks in its theoretical and scientific typifying goals. Given Deetz' methodology, the interpretive analyses surrounding Palatine architecture in this project follow his work and strive to be supported by particular, symbolic, contextual, interpretive, and ethnohistorical methodologies.

3) The Ethos of Architectural Analysis

When considering the sheer amount of time that one spends within the walls of their home or the confines of their personal property--eating, sleeping, working, living--it should be no surprise that studying houses can be immediately revelatory of worldview. People are reflected in their houses, and their houses reflect back onto them. Therefore, studying changes in

houses and aesthetics can display societal influences and the ways in which a house's inhabitants were affected by them. Thankfully, changes in housing ideas tend to be well documented in both history and the material record, so discerning worldview can often be a direct process supported by ample evidence. For example, Harrison Meeske in his 2007 work *From Vernacular to Spectacular: Function Follows Form: How Houses Changed Lifestyles of the Hudson Valley Dutch, 1700-1830* (46), supports his fieldwork with journals and diaries of the houses' contemporaries, which "enable us to evaluate (in hindsight) how contemporaries judged the significance or the perceived importance of innovations, ideas and the latest gizmos." Cynthia Falk, in her 2008 book *Architecture and Artifacts of the Pennsylvania Germans: Constructing Identity in Early America*, draws on ethnohistorical information provided through oral histories, probate inventories, receipts, and personal diaries. Supporting analyses with ethnohistoric material is, again, consistent with Post-Processual thought. Doing so contextualizes houses and other objects by revealing their meanings in more concretely supported ways, not simply by modern interpretation.

In her comprehensive work *Dutch Houses in the Hudson Valley Before 1776*, Helen Wilkinson Reynolds effectively captures the spirit of studying architecture in the humanities: "houses are significant in so far as they reveal the living conditions of a period and the capacity of the people who occupied them. They are a record of human society and the peculiar genius of a given community" (1965: 1). Though initially inspired by the early Dutch colonists of New Amsterdam, Reynolds' study welcomes the continual stream of migrants, including the Palatines, to New York after New Amsterdam was taken by the English in 1664. When studying the houses built by the Palatines and their descendents, Reynolds understands their dwellings through a folk lens. Reynolds even includes in her work a realization that she and her photographer had while in

the field: “These houses are folklore! They are a song of the soil. They spring from the soil and they are an expression of the life of the people” (Reynolds 1965: 2). Reynolds understands the houses as signs revelatory of the Palatine worldview and daily life. Edward Chappell (1980: 55) bolsters the argument for folk study in architecture by writing:

form in folk architecture is primarily determined by the traditions and the symbolic needs of the people who construct and live in the buildings. For this reason, the identification and interpretation of building patterns in a region can provide a fertile resource for understanding the condition of people’s culture--

especially when applying post-processual techniques of assessment and accumulation of archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence. When applying folk theory produced by Burt Feintuch in his 1976 publication “A Contextual and Cognitive Approach to Folk Art and Folk Craft,” Palatine houses can certainly be analyzed in accordance with post-processual thinking and easily understood as indications of how lifeways may have looked. According to Feintuch (1976: 76; 70) folk artifacts (houses included) “must be produced and consumed within the confines of the small group,” and are “the graphic experience of the same social temper, background of thought, religion, character, and even aspirations that characterizes the folklore and the group as a whole.” In accordance with these parameters, the Palatines can certainly be considered a contained group sharing the same ecological and social experiences. Cynthia Falk (2008: 5) similarly supports the study of houses by saying that houses and the physical settings in which people lived are “tangible evidence of how they wanted to portray themselves.” In fact, as noted by Harrison Meeske (2007: 44), “In many northern European languages, the word ‘home’ is derived from the Old Norse *Heima*, which represented more than just a physical place and encompassed the more abstract meaning of a ‘state of being.’” By studying architecture in this way, one can understand houses as agentively constructed representations of worldview and the ways in which people wanted to be perceived.

4) Humble Beginnings and the Emergence of Vernacular German and Dutch Architecture in the New World

In this section, I begin to elaborate on the observable change in Palatine structures from early humble shelters, to German vernacular constructions, to homes touched by the Georgian influence. As an abstract for this phenomenon, Falk (2008: 19) summarizes the foundational work of architectural historian and preservationist G. Edwin Brumbaugh (1933: 8-9, 39), who synthesizes that “simple German peasants [who came to America] had a background of their own, which found expression in plain, almost austere, architecture, of great solidity and primitive detail.” Brumbaugh concludes that “more pretentious structures,” constructed later, “began to bear the impress of English ideas” and “show[ed] less pronounced German traits.” Roderic Blackburn, in the introduction of Meeske’s *From Vernacular to Spectacular* (2007: 7), writes that German houses in the Hudson Valley:

Began as simple structures like sapling and bark huts, which became larger and more complex over centuries but in different ways, with different descent lines, so to speak. But unlike the evolution of species, houses are not determined by DNA but by the choices humans make about how, where, and in what they live.

The descent lines of which Blackburn speaks allow for the tracing of architectural practice, but necessitate very particular attention, wary of generalized patterning.

4.1) Digging In

Sources tend to agree that the very first Palatine dwellings constructed upon arrival were likely built very basically and quickly out of necessity. The Palatines had to act expediently to survive the forthcoming winter, built on largely uncleared land, and had to forage for all building materials. Reynolds (1965: 17) emphasizes the fact that the first immigrant dwellings were likely simple log houses, and William Krattinger (2008: Section 8: 4) corroborates this information by

stating that the first dwellings were quickly built frame and log buildings. Meeske (2007: 42) states that “Many of the earliest settlers along the Hudson lived, at first, in the most hastily thrown-together shelters imaginable,” and Walter Miller (1976: 98), a Germantown, New York historian, records that the Palatines first built “comfortable huts” and “dug in” to their allotted land. Miller adds that “the term ‘dig in’ may be applied literally to these people,” and that:

According to all tradition the huts which they constructed were, in many cases, little better than roofed over dug-outs, and the greater portion of them were partially sunken into the ground for additional shelter and warmth. Logs were used in constructing these shelters, and, in some spots, the holes which marked their location could still be discerned even down into the closing years of the nineteenth century.

Meeske (2007: 43) also summarizes architectural historian Alan Gowans by stating that “the first settlers to arrive would have of necessity erected modest shelters. Only after the land had been cleared and life was not so demanding could the second or third generations erect more permanent houses, some fifty-odd years later.” Ruth Piwonka and Roderic Blackburn, in their 1996 book *A Visible Heritage, Columbia County, New York: A History in Art and Architecture* (33), support Gowans’ analysis by stating that:

Only after two or three generations had cleared the wilderness, established local government and churches, and made their farms profitable, did the community’s most successful landowners, farmers, and merchants build substantial homes adorned with medieval northern European elegance.

Piwonka and Blackburn add valuable context to the phenomenon of Georgianization in stating that, specifically in Columbia County, the aggrandization of houses was something available only to those with substantial amounts of money. Notions of digging in are also survived in oral histories pertaining to the Palatine landing, and have led to speculation that depressions visible along a tributary close to the Hudson River near the probable location of the original church in Queensbury are what remain of some of these original structures (Personal communication C. Lindner 2019). Whether the remnants of storage structures that served a more utilitarian purpose

or original Palatine dwellings, there is certainly more to be investigated about these depressions. Perhaps, if Bard Archaeology acquires the rights to test on the land, these claims could be substantiated with material evidence.

4.2) Reproducing the Vernacular

As noted, after more time to establish themselves, Germans in the Hudson Valley produced homes that were more permanent, and therefore opportunities for more substantial architectural expression arose. With access to more materials and more established lifeways, the Palatines no longer needed to reside in primitive huts, dug-outs, and simply framed structures. From these opportunities came the production of houses styled in ways vernacular to the Rhineland. The Palatines and their descendants turned from constructing primitive homes which mostly provided them with shelter, to reproducing dwellings similar to those in which they and their ancestors had lived in the Old World. Piwonka and Blackburn (1996: 33) offer that “The early settlers of Columbia County maintained their Dutch [and Rhenish] culture in both architecture and furnishings,” and that “Their houses were derived directly from the old-country medieval prototypes common in northern Europe.” To provide a glimpse at general architectural patterns vernacular to the Rhineland and reproduced in the Hudson Valley, though again assuming that these patterns apply universally is dangerous and untrue, Meeske (2007: 43) writes:

The houses typically were unpainted eighteen-by-twenty-foot wooden shells with a few small casement windows... within was a dimly-lit single room, a large smoky hearth, and an enclosed stairway or ladder that accessed an unheated storage loft. Working, cooking, eating, socializing, and sleeping took place in the main room, usually referred to as the “hall,” which was a medieval designation for a principal room. In a larger house, there was a nearly identical second room that might serve as a workshop, a store, or perhaps as a combination best room and master bedroom. A dank cellar, often with freestone

walls and a dirt floor contained a winter's store of root vegetables in baskets, kegs of potables, and a miscellany of other items.

As defined in this paper, the vernacular is, in part, a direct reflection of humans and their ecological environment, and therefore vernacular houses can be seen as performing functions necessitated by the environment. Piwonka and Blackburn (1996: 4) write that "Columbia County houses built in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries followed tradition closely, emphasizing function over form."

To begin analyzing the more substantial architecture that was produced in the decades after arrival, geographic anthropologist Jay Edwards of Louisiana State University offers an in depth look at the 18th century German migrants to Louisiana in his piece "Contributions of the Early German Settlers to the Creole Architecture of Southern Louisiana" (2020). Since it is necessary to understand the architectural models that the Palatines brought with them to their New World destinations, one must understand the architectural styles vernacular to the Rhineland to track their appearance and development in the New World. To do so, it is pertinent to draw on works concerning early German migration throughout the entirety of the Palatine Diaspora.

Coming from the same Germanic principalities, this group of German immigrants to Louisiana would have known and produced the same vernacular architecture as the Palatines in the Rhineland and brought similar building practices to the New World, though they departed for America later in 1721. Edwards states very simply that many German immigrants, regardless of their final destination, began by constructing purely German forms (Edwards 2020: 23).

Edwards, concerning himself with the folk architecture of the Rhineland, writes that:

From the late middle ages on, German vernacular has accommodated itself to a wide variety of forces and constraints. Among these are: local laws, technological advances in appliances and construction methods, economic limitations, changing functions of the farmstead, inheritance laws which affected the stability of the sizes of land holdings, warfare, pillage and conquest, local differences in building materials and their costs, and changes in the patterns of cooking, baking, sleeping, sheltering animals and storing grain, among others.

All of this resulted in a wide variety of timber and stone house forms, but with certain strong historical themes tying them together (2020: 16).

Given this variation and these emergent themes, Edwards pares his study down to what he considers to be the two most influential and prominently produced German housing styles in North America-- the *Flurküchenhaus* and the *Ernhaus*. Variations in form are still largely tied to the floor plan, house mechanics, and architectural grammar presented in these styles.

4.3) The *Flurküchenhaus*

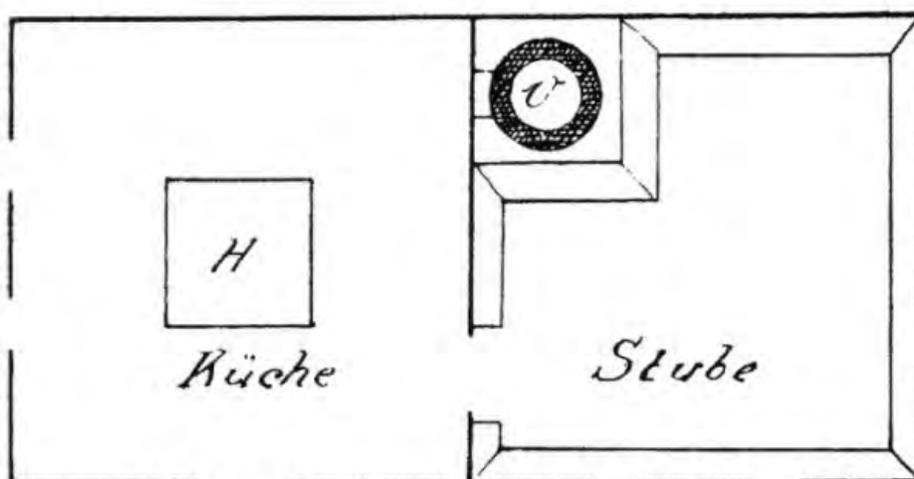
The first model that Edwards details is the *Oberdeutsches Haus* (southern German house), or the *Flurküchenhaus* (kitchen-hall house). Edwards tracks this style to Pennsylvania and the greater Mid-Atlantic, and notes its development over time. Edwards explains that this style typically consisted of 2 asymmetrical roughly-square rooms, a *Küche* (kitchen) and a *Stube* (heated stove room). Both rooms typically had their own entrances, often yielding two closely positioned doors at the front of the house. Additionally on the *Flurküchenhaus*, Edward Chappell, in his study “Acculturation in the Shenandoah Valley: Rhenish Houses of the Massanutten Settlement” (1980: 60), writes that “structural characteristics include stone and log exterior walling,” or exposed timber framing called *Fachwerk*, “and an honest expression of a diverse assortment of internal construction devices.” To compare the Rhenish vernacular to that of the English, Deetz (1996: 99) recounts that the English vernacular house was often organically assembled from timber and cobble, left these building components exposed in a style similar to *Fachwerk*, and that “the houses of this early time grew according to need, and in their expansion reflected the development of the families that inhabited them.” Furthermore, comparing the vernacular to the Georgianized or “Academic” English house, Deetz (1996: 99) writes that “It is in this seemingly random but truly adaptive kind of accretion that such houses most strongly

contrast with the academic structures that come to influence and ultimately replace them.”

Though Chappell discusses German immigrants to Virginia’s Shenandoah Valley from Pennsylvania, again, the years of their migration (to Massanutten in about 1733, and to the New World even earlier), subjection to English influence, and points of origin are comparable to the Palatines’. Reynolds (1965: 20; 21) also writes on the Hudson Valley’s “oldstonhouses” forged from crude materials and packed with mud, and also explains that some homemakers opted to use brick imported from the Netherlands.

Figure 4.1) The Floor Plan of an Oberdeutsches Haus or Flurküchenhaus

(<https://www.crt.state.la.us/Assets/OCD/hp/grants/NPShistoricfunding-2020/FY19-20-Final-Deliverables/LOUISIANA.GERMAN.VERNACULAR.ARCHIT.04.FULL-TEXT.pdf>; from Rudolph Meringer, *Das Deutsch Haus und Sein Hausrat*, Leipzig and Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1906, Pg. 22)
Accessed 18 February, 2022



4.4) A Georgianized Flurküchenhaus

Edwards (2020) notes that, both in the Rhineland and in the New World, many *Flurküchenhaus* were expanded or redivided to feature three or four rooms, also asymmetrical in size. Rather than build new houses, something only the wealthy could comfortably do, humble farmers often worked with what they already had. Often, these additions display Georgianizing

endeavors and changes being added to the extant vernacular structures. Chappell (1980: 56) notes that German house expansions have a relationship with “early post-medieval English housing developments, when second floors and chimneys were commonly inserted in earlier open-hall houses,” and that the houses once linked by unifying patterns relating them to each other, Rhennish houses, and German houses in Pennsylvania and New York, slowly diminished. That being said, “the amalgamation of Rhenish and English forms does not follow a clear pattern of development towards a formal Georgian model, and a number of disparate English forms can be discovered in different houses” (Chappell 1980: 61). Special and particular attention must be paid to each house being studied to avoid inaccurate patterning. Patterns are valuable when regarded as the “average,” but, as in any data set, variation occurs and must still be appreciated. In general, though, Meeske (2007: 81) offers that “When vernacular dwellings were modified into Georgian houses, the typical solution was to create a center hall and symmetrically rearrange the windows.” Falk (2008: 13) synthesizes that:

In the second half of the eighteenth century, select members of the Pennsylvania German population chose to build a new type of house. The buildings they constructed were typically two-story masonry structures. What differentiated them from other contemporary dwellings of similar size and building materials was their floor plan, which most notably included a center or side through-passage or occasionally a half-passage--basically a hallway, in modern parlance--that was entered via the front door and provided access to most of the other spaces within the house.

Most frequently, expansions added a sleeping room (*Schlafkammer*) and lobby (*Vorhaus*) (Edwards 2020: 19). Edward Chappell (1980: 57) writes of these expansions observed in both settlements:

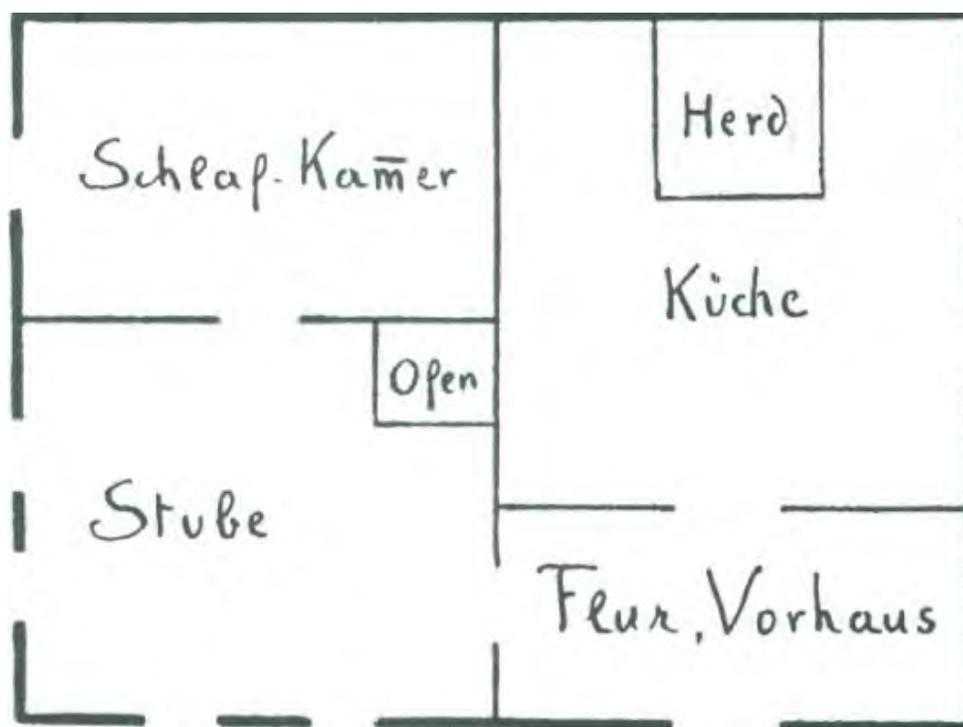
A front and rear door gives entry into a narrow kitchen room, or *Küche*, which was served by a large cooking fireplace. Related to the function of the English hall, the room was utilized for both cooking and as the primary informal living space. The *Küche* is located to the right of the chimney in eighty per cent of the Massanutten examples [the German settlement featured in Chappell’s study.] A wider room called a *Stube*, located on the opposite side of the chimney, was apparently used for more formal gatherings, a function that was similar to that of the Anglo-American parlor. That valley Germans may have generally eaten in

the *Stube* is indicated by Samuel Kercheval's statement that a long pine table was always located in a corner of the room, with benches permanently fixed on one side. Similar fixed *Stube* furniture has been observed in houses in Switzerland. In most large *Flürkuchenhauser*, the rear of the *Stube* is partitioned to form a narrow unheated sleeping chamber called a *Kammer* by the Germans and a *Stibli* by the Swiss. Traditionally, the *Stube* was heated by an iron or tile stove that was fed with coals through an opening in the rear of the *Küche* fireplace.

The *Stube* became the focal point of family life, with 17th and 18th century *Stube* featuring built-in benches against the walls and windows (Edwards 2020: 22). These built-in benches are also noted to appear in Pennsylvania. Sometimes the *Stube* was even subdivided into living and sleeping areas, but also importantly functioned as a buffer between the smoky and smelly kitchen area and places of leisure in the home. Additionally, the *Küche* was sometimes partitioned to include a workroom or pantry, and is also known to feature an enclosed staircase leading to the second floor attic of the house, if applicable. Attics served vital storage purposes, but also structured the gabled roofs of the houses by supporting large load-bearing beams.

Figure 4.2) An Expanded and Georgianized Flürküchenhaus

(<https://www.crt.state.la.us/Assets/OCD/hp/grants/NPSHistoricFunding-2020/FY19-20-Final-Deliverables/LOUISIANA.GERMAN.VERNACULAR.ARCHIT.04.FULL-TEXT.pdf>; from Rudolph Meringer, *Das Deutsch Haus und Sein Hausrat*, Leipzig and Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1906, Pg. 26)
Accessed 18 February, 2022



With regard to fenestration, or window placement, as well as door placement, Chappell (1980: 57) concludes that many German house builders conceived of positioning with regard to the inside of the house, rather than the outside. Chimney placement follows suit, and is especially important since many German-style chimneys bore significant weight of the roof. While Georgian architecture champions symmetrical façades, it appears that the German vernacular relies more on function from within the house. Furthermore, nearly every German house in Edwards' (2020) and Chappell's (1980) studies features one or two-roomed cellars, which were used for storage of food and farming supplies. Cellars are noted to primarily take two forms, one being a vaulted barrel shape, and the other a more squared dug-out. These cellar spaces were often insulated with cobbles, horse hair, staw, clay, mud, crushed shells, and any other packable or mixable materials. Cellars are also noted to have been the primary place for cooking in some dwellings, which further pushes the Georgian ideals of order, cleanliness, and the prevention of smoke and smells mixing with otherwise pure spaces.

In an included figure, Edwards (2020: 20) also notes Fort Paul Long, a *Flurküchenhaus*, of Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, as a prime example of the Rhenish vernacular blending with Georgian ideals. While keeping the geometric proportions and general façade of a house native to the Rhineland, the fort also features distinctly English chimney placement and more symmetrical window placement. Georgianized architecture calls for the placement of chimneys at one end of a house, so as to not distract or clutter the central elements of its façade, and often other smaller heating stoves provided warmth throughout the whole house. Very pertinent to this study, Edwards also claims that Fort Paul Long's position nestled into and built upon a hillside is vernacular to the Rhineland.

Figure 4.3) Fort Paul Long of the Shenandoah Valley

(<https://www.crt.state.la.us/Assets/OCD/hp/grants/NPShistoricfunding-2020/FY19-20-Final-Deliverables/LOUISIANA.GERMAN.VERNACULAR.ARCHIT.04.FULL-TEXT.pdf>; Pg.20)

Accessed 18 February, 2022



Chappell, writing long before Edwards, also featured Fort Paul Long in his article (1980: 60), and similarly noted its distinctive siting. In his survey of the Massanutten settlement, Chappell observes that:

Most of the existing houses [in Massanutten] are sited so that the ground slopes downward at the rear and at one gable end, allowing external entrance to the cellar either at ground level or by way of a short flight of steps. This method of hillside siting, with relatively direct entrance into two floors, is a distinguishing feature of the Rhenish house in America.

Chappell expounds on the convenience of having entrance to both levels of the house from the outside given the slope and grade of the topography. As one could imagine, bringing crops or other outdoor equipment directly into the basement level from the outside would have been far more practical and clean than carrying them through the entirety of the house. Also, as a result of hillside siting, some cellars are actually able to have windows to the outside if situated correctly. I also personally imagine that constructing a cellar by digging inwards into the side of a hill may have been far easier than digging downwards to clear a sunken area. Chappell concludes that

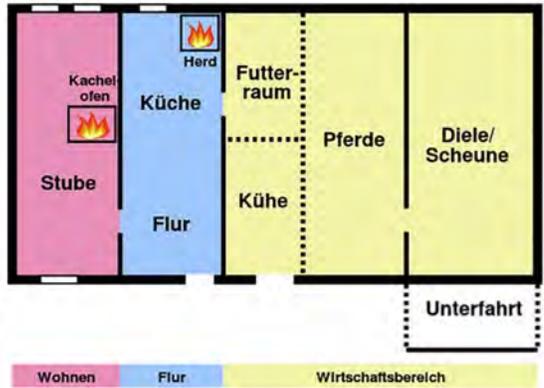
houses sited on and in hills can be understood as a Germanic trait, and therefore can be understood as vernacular (1980: 60).

4.5) The *Ernhaus*

Edwards also writes on the *Wohnstallhaus* (house-barn), or *Ernhaus* (hall house). Most frequently, these dwellings served as farm houses, and were “the most prevalent type of farmhouse between the Rhineland west of Silesia by the 17th century” (Edwards 2020: 20). *Ernhaus* were also made of the same organic and scavenged materials as the *Flurküchenhaus*, which was again congruent to the English vernacular that Deetz (1996) typified. As Harrison Meeske (2007: 42-43) writes, the Dutch in the Hudson Valley built similar houses-- “Many early settlers built what are called *Los hoes* or *Einhaus*, which were buildings combining animal and human habitation.” The hall of “hall house” refers to a hall-like entry space before the kitchen area and from which the other rooms are accessible. The hall, also called a *Flur*, is likened to the *Vorhaus* parlor or lobby of the *Flurküchenhaus*, and also features its own entrance door. These houses typically have two or more doors on one of their long sides to provide entrance to both rooms, which served very different purposes. In fact, many scholars refer to this type of structure as a “two-door house.” The *Ernhaus* became increasingly popular “after c.1550, as changes in farming practices resulted in smaller herds of cattle being housed in the same building as the humans” (Edwards 2020: 20). Edwards writes that:

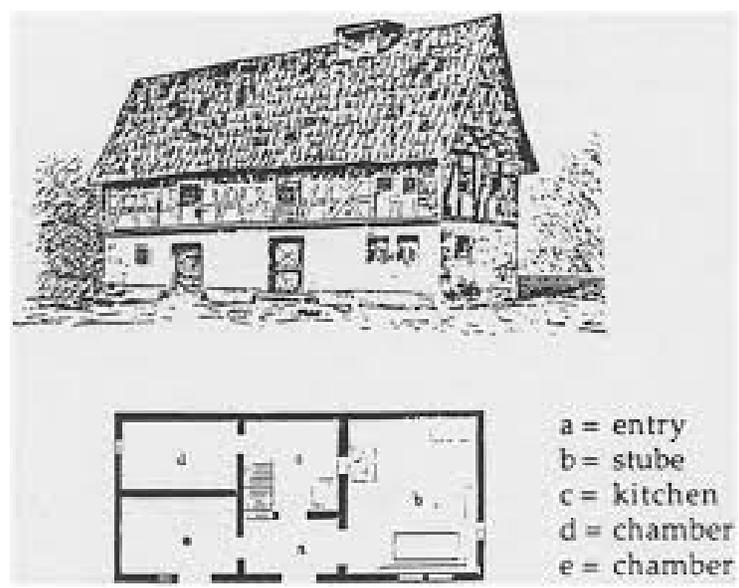
The house was organized into three zones: The family’s living zone (*Stube*) was separated from the byre (*Stall*) by a central hallway, the *Flur* or, in Franconia, *Ern*. The *Flur* had its own front door. At the rear of the hallway stood the stove or kitchen where food was prepared. The *Flur* opened into both zones of the house, providing access to the clean living area (*Stube*) and to the stables and grain storage (*Wirtschaftsbereich*). Front doors provided entrance to the *Flur* and the *Wirtschaftsbereich* (2020: 20).

Figure 4.4) An *Ernhaus* Floor Plan and Vocabulary Key
 (<https://www.crt.state.la.us/Assets/OCD/hp/grants/NPSHistoricfunding-2020/FY19-20-Final-Deliverables/LOUISIANA.GERMAN.VERNACULAR.ARCHIT.04.FULL-TEXT.pdf>; Pg. 21)
 Accessed 18 February, 2018



- Wohnen*: living area:
 - Stube*: living room
 - Kachelofen*: cocklestone, (ceramic stove/heater)
 - Ofen*: warming oven
- Flur (Ern)*: hallway
 - Küche*: kitchen
 - Herd*: cooking stove
- Wirtschaftsbereich*: working area.
 - Kühe*: cows
 - Futterraum*: fodder area
 - Pferde*: horses
 - Diele/Scheune*: barn
 - Unterfahrt (Vorhof)*: porch for working.

Figure 4.5) A “Two-Door House,” or *Ernhaus*, and Floor Plan, 1656 Frankfurt, Germany
 (From Domer 1994: 16).



4.6) A Georgianized *Ernhaus* and Two-Door Houses

As Edwards (2020: 22) notes, *Ernhaus* evolved to be strictly human residences given technological changes and developments in farming practices. Animals were moved to other outdoor buildings or *Hofs*, and the *Stube* became the central point of family life and activity. Removing animals from the living space, as well as separating the work space from the living space, directly adheres to Georgian ideals of cleanliness and order. Delineating specific purposes for each room, organizing around a relatively central hallway, and separating the *Herd* kitchen stove from the living space (see Figure 4.4) all adhere to Georgian ideals. Similarly, *Ernhaus* are observed to have been restructured to feature end-located fireplaces, as well as symmetrically placed windows. Some houses did not restructure their chimneys, and it is important to note that not every aspect of every house was necessarily changed in the processes of Georgianization. The most prominent feature of these houses that remain, though, are their two front doors. Two front doors emerge as a common theme in many examples of German-American houses, and offer an intriguing blend of the vernacular and the Georgianized.

Dennis Domer, in his 1994 essay “Genesis theories of the German-American Two-Door House,” presents two-door architecture as both a perpetuation of the vernacular, and an acceptance of Georgian ideals. At once, as aforementioned, having two doors served a fundamental purpose for the German people, as it offered access to very differently purposed rooms. Domer (1994: 2) presents the implementation and perpetuation of two-door houses as an accommodation for the “specific demands of social life.” Rather than dragging work materials, food, wood for burning, or animal-related supplies through the living area accessed through one door, using a second door to access the work area proved more efficient and convenient. Domer (1994: 1) notes that the appearances of two-door houses varies widely based on where, when,

how, and by whom they were built, as well as the materials used for building. However, he presents a grammar of two-door houses serving very similar functions regardless of style and form (1994: 2)--

Whether their two-door houses had one, one-and-one-half or two stories, or were I-houses, four-squares, Cape Cods or bungalows, their two [rooms] almost always functioned in tandem as a formal, public space behind one of the doors and an informal, family space behind the other.

However, in addition to this vernacular tradition, Domer also suggests, in tandem with Henry Glassie's work (1975), that having two doors emerged as a feature of Georgianization. The second door, whether already positioned given its vernacular layout or moved to accommodate, served to make house façades symmetrical and displayed acculturation (Domer 1994: 6). While keeping the Rhenish vernacular at heart, German-Americans built two-door houses to match the façades of central-halled and single-doored English houses as closely as possible. Even when phasing out of use in accordance with cultural and farming changes, the second door remained a staple of German houses. Domer (1994: 6) suggests that the tradition of building houses with two doors may have been kept as a symbol of heritage and pride. Perhaps the second door also served as an intentionally placed marker of cultural distinction from the English dominant.

5) General Patterns of Georgianizing the Rhenish Vernacular and Observed

Georgianization in Columbia County

Overall, it can be readily observed that German-American houses, beginning as vernacular structures, underwent fundamental changes in the mid and later eighteenth century. Given the social contact between Germans and English in the New World, when placed in conversation with the observed additions of distinctly English architectural features to German

houses, one can begin to understand the process of Georgianization and acculturation to the dominant English norms. In summation:

In the later eighteenth century, with the advent of classical inspiration, decorative appearance became more important. By the nineteenth century, that trend accelerated, with style changes based largely on European prototypes being introduced almost every decade (Piwonka and Blackburn 1996: 4).

These European ideals and the changes from vernacular to Georgian architecture “had much to do with the developing ideas of privacy, comfort, domesticity, and gender roles” that emerged from Enlightenment Europe (Meeske 2007: 8). Meeske substantiates the adoption of these ideals with “rich citations to early journals and diaries” that “flesh out these concepts through the eyes of the participants, always the best sources” (2007: 8). He also attributes the phenomenon of Georgianization to an increased sense of homeland and security felt by the Palatines after spending time in the Hudson Valley (which therefore allowed them to explore new ideas), the successful farming of surplus, increasing literacy rates that helped circulate ideas, and finally, hegemonic pressure (2007: 138).

In Columbia County and the greater Hudson Valley, Piwonka and Blackburn (1996: 38) observe that “Spacious gambrel-roof houses, usually with a central hall and one or two rooms on either side, became fashionable... in the 1760s.” They offer a typical Georgianized German house in which “the room arrangement, plastered and corniced ceilings, paneled walls over jambed fireplaces, and second-floor bedrooms are all akin to Georgian features found elsewhere in the colonies and represent an abrupt departure from the features of true Dutch homes” (Piwonka and Blackburn 1996: 38). They note the symmetrization of window placement, the occasional movement of chimneys to the end of structures, the addition of central hallways, and the partitioning or adding of spaces to corroborate with English floor plans. Meeske presents examples of Georgianization through which the German blended with the English like how, for

example, “Stone houses in Dutchess County with gambrel roofs were often refined with brick gables to reflect the prevailing fashion” (Meeske 2007: 50). He also notes the enlargement and modification of traditional homes to conform to the use-specific plans of their new neighbors, the English. Falk (2007: 14) also notes the appearance of carved stones on or in houses displaying dates and names to label individual properties, as well as important scriptural passages in German and with German letterings and grammar. The emphasis of individual ownership can be seen as an example of Georgian ideals permeating understandings of society and human relationships with the world and each other, however German carvings also serve to label houses as distinctly German. Perhaps this can be understood as a way of applying English ideals in a German way.

Giving structures of this sort a rightful classification, Falk (2007: 13) labels German vernacular structures touched by the Georgian influence as “German-Georgian.” German-Georgian houses are viewed as “hybrids having a dual and conflicted agenda.” Falk details that:

On the one hand, many examples of the type preserve certain architectural characteristics that are specifically associated with people who hailed from the German-speaking principalities of central Europe. On the other hand, they incorporate numerous attributes that in a late eighteenth-century American context are generally identified with the Georgian architectural style (Falk 2007: 13).

As composite blends adapting to cultural change in some ways while remaining true to traditional form in others, Falk (2007: 13) describes that “From a modern perspective... these German-Georgian buildings seem somewhat schizophrenic in their mingling of perceived German and English traditions.” These houses can be seen as products of creolization between Germans, English, and in the case of the Maple Avenue Parsonage and likely other houses in Columbia County, Africans and African Americans.

However, scholars also suggest that the transition from vernacular dwellings to Georgianized ones observed in the German American and Palatine diaspora was not a product of simple acculturation, but rather a phenomenon of agentive choice made by the immigrants. Rather than blindly following the English standard, Germans actively picked and chose architectural aspects in accordance with their own aesthetic and functional desires, as well as desires for personal refinement. Falk (2007), pertaining to the Pennsylvania Germans, suggests that an agentive choice of identity construction--the curated acceptance and rejection of architectural forms-- allowed for Germans to meaningfully portray themselves in the ways that they wished. Truthfully, the processes through which the identity of Palatine houses were defined, constructed, and changed is an incredible parallel to the construction of Palatine identity, as recorded in Otterness' *Becoming German*. For example, Falk recounts the journals of European travelers who remarked that many of the colonies were dominated by English ideals, but that Germans in Germantown, Pennsylvania were particularly averse to leaving their traditional customs entirely, and that, even on the outskirts of a heavily anglicized Philadelphia, remained distinctly German in appearance and practice. By adopting some English aspects of house design and rejecting others, the Germans made themselves distinct in society and kept their heritage at the core of their being.

Harrison Meeske (2007: 42) provides an integral counterpart to these ideas by stating that:

The abandonment of vernacular dwellings involved more than moving from a split level to a ranch house. Life in a traditional home is intimately entwined with traditional values, perceptions and cultural issues. Changes to a...home could be seen as a rejection and abandonment of folkways intimately related to their strongly held religious beliefs, linguistic traditions, and cultural values.

With the adoption of English ideals inherently came movement away from, or the reframing of traditional Rhenish culture as it appeared in the home. Together, multiple scholars emphasize an

agentive authority through which Germans curated a cultural tradition while moving nevertheless towards English acculturation in form. Sometimes acculturation truly only occurred in form and appearance, as certain aspects of architecture and the home came to hold symbolic meaning for Germans, reflecting their traditional lifeways rather than Georgian ideals.

6) Anglo-German, or German-Georgian Creolization: The Agentive German Adoption of and Resistance to Dominant English Forms

Jay Edwards (2020: 23) confidently writes that everywhere that German immigrants built in the New World, “they constructed houses which retained a certain *Brauch* (remembrance) of their ancestral architectural patrimony.” For example, many German houses in the New World feature two front doors, favor gable-sided houses with roofs to match, and support German lifeways in their layout and positioning. Though building in English colonies and eventually adopting Georgianized building and aesthetic practices, the Germans maintained many of their own traditions, which conflict directly with English ideals and façade arrangement. German houses are even noted to have confused the English who didn’t understand the purpose of having multiple doors, or which one to enter (Edwards 2020: 25).

Both Edwards (2020) and prolific scholar, Edward S. Chappell, in his study “Acculturation in the Shenandoah Valley: Rhenish Houses of the Massanutten Settlement” (1980), understand the prolonged retention of the German vernacular as a sort of resistance to cultural pressure to keep up with English ideals. Some ethnic markers were systematically suppressed, but others remained as crucial facets of identity and intentional cultural separation. As would follow, “significant deviation in the form of some [vernacular] structures and later alterations to others are proposed as indications of the impact of acculturation” to English

influence (Chappel 1980: 55). They note the slow and piecemeal adoption of English features, notably the addition of English-style chimneys which better heated the entirety of the house, until primarily English-style architecture became the norm. Dennis Domer (1994) also posits that the proliferation of German architectural features served a mimetic purpose in a time of cultural and ethnic stress caused by immigration and dominant English influence, and allowed for the continuation of German lifeways as well as opened opportunities for symbolic meaning to be assigned. Domer asserts that raised cooking stoves, social uses of the *Stube* including family dining, house-barn configurations, open front porches or broad eaves used for working and protecting farm equipment, gabled roofs, and two-door facades on small houses, even if not used in their traditional way, were symbolic of the traditional identity through remembrance. Chappell (1980: 62) corroborates this analysis by saying:

The grafting to the Flürkuchenhaus of some Anglo-American building features, such as simple common-rafter roofs, gable chimneys, and rooms heated with fireplaces rather than stoves, can be viewed as similar to the use of various stylistic details on vernacular buildings. Although these features represent the acceptance of some parts of a foreign building model, they do not signal a shift in functions within the old house form.

As an example of this symbolic phenomenon, Cynthia Falk (2008: 1) recounts a story from a French aristocrat's 1790 visit to a Pennsylvania tavern. The tavern's keeper, Clements, was of Dutch descent and asked to show the Frenchman an object he considered to be very important. That object was an heirloom andiron kept in the tavern's hearth. The andiron had been brought by Clements' grandfather to the New World, and, as was recorded (Falk 2008: 1, from Alexandre-Frédéric 1799): "Clements [saw] in this old piece of furniture... a family monument, which [made] him trace two hundred years of his genealogy." As Falk synthesizes, people certainly imbued material goods with meaning pertaining to their traditions and heritage. As aforementioned, the persistent appearance of two door houses can also be ethnographically noted as a harkening to tradition, even though often house function changed in accordance with

Georgian ideals and no longer necessitated having two doors. Similarly, choices to build houses out of river or field stone as opposed to the English standard of brick (though, as aforementioned, some stone houses were later garnered with brick), but still in English styles, can be seen as homage to the Old World while accepting choice aspects of creolization. Overall, Falk (2008), Chappel (1980), and Edwards (2020), all support Deetz' (1996: 59) proposal that cultural changes and creolization are the product of "resistance and accommodation."

7) German-Georgian, or Georgianized German Houses in Columbia County, New York

It is now time to turn to the application of Georgian architectural analysis and analyses of creolization and agentive adoption in Columbia County. In this section, I provide brief histories of several houses and aim to track their development from vernacular (sometimes from earlier, humble shelters) to Georgianized houses. In this study, I examine the Germantown Reformed Sanctity Church Parsonage (or the Maple Avenue Parsonage), Clermont, NY's Stone Jug, and Germantown's Simeon Rockefeller House. The Parsonage and the Rockefeller House appear today with both vernacular German and Georgian features, and therefore exist currently in Georgianized states, and the Stone Jug sits mostly in its vernacular state. Of these houses, Krattinger (2008: Section 8: 4) writes that they share "at least one major aspect so far as interior spatial arrangement, but in larger terms representative of the overarching tradition of stone masonry construction commonly equated with the Hudson Valley Dutch but inclusive of the German, French, and other Northern European groups." Additionally, all three houses are built upon and nestled into hillsides. Tracking the development of these houses and the ways in which they adhere to and reject aspects of both Palatine and English architecture offers insight into the values and worldview that their owners may have had. As composite examples of creolization,

with the exception of the “Stone Jug,” these houses potentially allow for the tracking of influences that homeowners may have experienced, as well as of acculturative pressures to which they may have been subjected, and definitely display agentive choices of change.

When possible, I aim to support analyses with thick and thorough description and reference to historical material that confirms the attitudes towards and impetus for change that homeowners had, however more of this work should be continued in further research. Observing, studying, and recording changes in these houses is first necessary before understanding their anthropological implications with the help of ethnohistoric information. Ideally I would be able to access homeowner records or writings regarding the changes to their homes, but that information is not always available--at least not yet. That being said, the bulk of information on these houses comes from their National Register of Historic Places application forms, which present both architectural and historical synthesis of the properties. To begin, I turn to the Germantown Reformed Sanctity Church Parsonage, or the Maple Avenue Parsonage, which was the inspiration for this project. Of the houses, there is perhaps the most readily accessible wealth of information on the Parsonage available to me, given Bard Archaeology’s significant work on the site.

7.1) The Germantown Reformed Sanctity Church Parsonage

When referencing the National Register of Historic Places petition written for the Parsonage (Goche and Beebe 1975), it is necessary to synthesize the information it presents with the newer, more accurate information on the property uncovered by Bard Archaeology and its community colleagues, as well as Edward Cook and William Callahan in their 2017 dendrochronological analysis of the Parsonage’s wooden beams (2017: 4). The petition’s authors, James Goche and Lynn Beebe, wrote at a time when it was believed that the western section of

the standing Parsonage was constructed as early as 1746 and added to in 1767, based on inaccurate history. However, Bard Archaeology has proven that a small stone structure close to the modern road was built in roughly 1746, and that the western section of the extant Parsonage structure was built for the first time in roughly 1767. Ethan Dickerman believes this small stone structure, which is consistent in proportion with other ephemeral 18th century homes, to have been the original Parsonage, in which Reverend Cock probably lived for some time before his marriage into the wealthy TenBroeck family (Personal Communication 2022). With the first stone structure (the small one close to the road) essentially lost to time until its 2010 archeological discovery, it is easy to see how histories offering the building of a structure in 1746 would have been understood to reference the only structure left standing and reported to have existed. As would follow, Goche and Beebe also attribute the building of the extant Parsonage's east section to 1767, but Bard Archaeology and Hudson Valley architectural historian John Stevens (Personal Communication C. Lindner 2022) posit that the eastern section was added in the 1830s. After correcting the dates that Goche and Beebe present, their architectural and historical write-up becomes increasingly clear and invaluable.

To recap the currently standing Parsoange's history, a stone dug-out type structure, likely not reaching higher than the extant Parsaonge's cellar level, was constructed c.1767 upon Reverend Gerhard Daniel Cock's marriage to Christina TenBroeck. It is important to note that neither Cock nor TenBroeck were Palatines, themselves (the Dutch TenBroeck family immigrated much earlier and Cock immigrated later), but, as religious figures in the community, they served the Palatines and became integral members of Palatine society. Given their social importance, as well as the elite status of the TenBroeck family who were active in politics and law in Kingston and Albany (Schenectady Digital History Archive 2020), the Cock-TenBroeck

family cannot be regarded as representative of the General Germantown populace (Personal Communication E. Dickerman 2022). The structure likely had a small sleeping loft above the single room by which it was comprised, and the extant cellar's ceiling beams may be remnants of this loft, or garrett. However, the Cock's biological family began to expand, and enslaved Africans and African Americans who may have been brought by TenBroeck or subsequently purchased by the Cock family were added to the household. The growing number of people present may have, after some time, necessitated the post-1767 addition of a second floor (now the main floor), an upstairs bedroom level, and an attic.

It is almost certain that there was an enslaved presence in the Parsonage before 1790, but the first written record of enslaved Africans and African Americans on the property comes in the 1790 census (Personal Communication C. Lindner 2022). As will be discussed, the presence of a large cellar hearth fit for cooking suggests an enslaved presence in the standing Parsonage house, however we are not certain if or when the African and African people who left the aforementioned Bakongo *Dikenga* and concealments in the cellar were enslaved at the time the artifacts were deposited. Since many of the cellar's concealments date to the mid-19th Century, Bard Archaeology has interpreted them to be associated with the Persons family, who were free African Americans and owned the house at that time. That does not entirely preclude the fact that, at some point, some people being held in bondage may have lived in the standing Parsonage's cellar, though.

In an attempt to better understand the living situation of the people held in bondage at the Parsonage, Christophe Lindner and Ethan Dickerman's current research is exploring if the original c.1746 stone structure close to the current road--what Dickerman and Lindner interpret as the original Parsonage--may have actually served as a dwelling for the people enslaved by

Reverend Cock and the TenBroeck family. As Lindner explained to me (2022), small dwellings, external to the main house of a property, were used to house grandparents in Pennsylvania Dutch society, and the Parsonage property's small stone structure may have actually been maintained and used as a slave dwelling while the Cock family lived in a larger home on the property. This theory is perhaps substantiated, and certainly made more compelling and worth testing, by the discovery of archaeological fill dating to the mid-19th century in the small stone structure's footprint (Personal communication C. Lindner 2022). Further interpretation is necessary to decipher if the fill suggests the burial of the former dwelling, or perhaps suggests the use of the site as a midden pit or other area that accumulated refuse. The theory that the structure stood as a slave dwelling is made all the more intriguing, though, by its apparent presence on the aforementioned 1850 Vaughn copy of the 1798 Wigram map of Germantown (Personal Communication E. Dickerman 2022). The enslaved people present at the Parsonage would have been kept in bondage by the TenBroeck family after Cock and Christina TenBroeck's deaths, but probably left the Parsonage when new ministers moved in. However, more members of the Cock and TenBroeck families lived nearby, and the people once held in bondage at the Parsonage may have relocated there. Christina, herself may have moved in with her nearby family after Cock's death to make room for the new minister, and may have brought the enslaved people with her. The Parsonage returned to the TenBroeck family later, when Dr. Wessel TenBroeck Van Orden acquired it in 1818.

The eastern portion of the house, today covered with blue shingles, was built in the 1830s and begins to reflect the adoption of English architectural ideals. Goche and Beebe (Section 8: 1) begin by establishing the Parsonage as "an important representation of the early settlement of Columbia County." Goche and Beebe (1975: Section 8: 2-3) also offer that the Parsonage,

“composed of two small, nearly square, gable roofed sections,” is “a simply designed rectangular structure” and “unpretentious in size” that “reflects the simplicity of lifestyle in the modest agrarian community in which it was erected.” In turn, the Parsonage “clearly illustrates the proportions and character of vernacular 18th century design in a community whose traditions were drawn from the German background of its population.” The original 1767 stone structure of the Parsonage “is similar to dwellings built by settlers of German extraction elsewhere in Germantown as well as in the Rondout Valley of Ulster County, New Paltz, and sections of Pennsylvania” (Goche and Beebe 1975: Section 7: 1), and also sits prominently upon and in a hill. As Edwards (2020) and Chappel (1980) note, hillside structures were advantageous in providing access to multiple levels of a dwelling, offered shelter from the wind, and are strategically engineered feats of construction that account for uneven topographical conditions while offering ease of building processes. Though one might assume that uneven conditions equate to undesirable land for building, the prominent recurrence of hillside German houses suggest that the hillside plots may have actually been sought after, at least by some. Dissecting the Parsonage’s history offers a unique opportunity to to study three distinct phases of architectural development and decision making: the initial 1767 dig in, the reproduction of the German and Rhenish vernacular, and then the addition of a Georgian influenced wing, or rather a wing added to produce a Georgian façade, onto the standing vernacular.

As it stands today, the Parsonage measures one-and-one-half stories in height (using the colloquially accepted architectural measurement equating one story to roughly fourteen feet as opposed to measuring the number of floors), given the topography of the hillside in which it is nestled (Goche and Beebe 1975: Section 7: 1). The slope of the terrain also leaves some of the basement walls exposed, and the 1830s eastern addition starkly contrasts with the

white-plastered facade of the original stone structure. The house's main entrance, or rather what became its main entrance, is located in the front wall of the original stone structure and accessed by stairs mounting the hillside terrain. The eastern addition saw the building of a side door and cellar bulkhead. The Parsonage's fenestration appears relatively consistently spaced and symmetrical, though the stone structure's windows are observed to be slightly staggered. The structure's roof is also steeply gabled and features an end chimney on either side. Though the current roof is asphalt shingled, it is known that earlier roofs were made from wood. However, during the Summer 2021 Bard Archaeology Field school, significant evidence was uncovered suggesting that there was once a stone slate iteration of the roof that was previously unknown. To best analyze the Parsonage for its development and the ways in which it adheres to and deviates from vernacular German and Georgian practices, it is necessary to discuss each version of the house.

The initial dug-out structure, though constructed far later than when primitive dug-outs were necessary upon first arrival in 1710, was simple and remained closely tied to the earth. Arriving later on and of his own volition, Reverend Cock probably did not need to construct a barebones home, and may have actually had the economic freedom or support of the churches of the Old and New world to build a more substantial structure. Certainly by 1767 East Camp's land was developed enough to have yielded ample access to building materials, but regardless, the first structure was built in the material vernacular. Perhaps, in accordance with Reformed theology (Dyrness 2004), clergy were not supposed to hold many earthly possessions, and certainly not any grand ones. Additionally, it is possible that, as a staple of Old World identity in the community and as a building associated with the ever-important church, the Parsonage was constructed to harken specifically to the vernacular. As what was likely a one-room structure

with sleeping loft, or garret, above, the 1767 Parsonage's first iteration fits the model of the *Flurküchenhaus* in many simplified respects, and embodies the tenets of folk housing. Carved directly from the Earth's bedrock (one can see jagged bedrock in the corners of the extant Parsonage's cellar floor), the original structure most likely had a hearth-stove cooking area, which also served as a heat source. The hearth was probably in the same position as the cellar hearth we see now. Today's chimney, rising two-and-one-half stories from the ground (cellar) to its top (above the attic), was the result of additions to follow. Before being added to post-1767, the original structure's solitary room was probably a *Küche/Stube* hybrid, and acted as the main hall would have in larger, multi-roomed vernacular structures. Additionally, as Meeske (2007: 43) notes of one-room houses, many were dimly lit with a large and smoky hearth, and had storage and sleeping lofts accessible by ladders or enclosed staircases. Though it is not certain when it was built, an enclosed staircase offering access to the second level built in the first phase of addition, what was once simply a loft, was discovered in the Parsonage when removing a wall partition in preservation and renovation efforts (Miller 1976).

When added onto post-1767, the structure gained a second level (referred to as the first floor) and another upstairs sleeping, or bedroom level (second floor) and attic, bringing the house to a total of three floors plus an attic (basement cellar, first floor, second floor, attic) (Goche and Beebe 1975: Section 7: 1). What was once the only level of the structure, the dug-out, became the cellar, and another room and sleeping level with an attic were stacked on top of it. The first floor room probably functioned as a *Stube*, with the kitchen remaining in the cellar. The desire to aggrandize, and perhaps to begin the processes of Georgianization, in the Parsonage's case, is particularly supported as agentive inspiration for change by the fact that, according to Ethan Dickerman (Personal communication 2022), the wealthy and prominent TenBroeck family likely

wanted the Cock family's home to appear more fashionable. Truly, their marriage union may have been predicated on the house's renovation, especially considering that the TenBroeck family held much social prestige and likely would have been well known and revered in the community. It may not have gone over well had Christina TenBroeck's home not matched the family's standard of living. Eventually, middle and upper class aesthetics were equated with the Georgian English model, or at least with Georgian house functioning and lifeways within the dwelling. As an aspect of Georgian function and thinking, the sleeping level was split into three individual rooms (Goche and Beebe 1975: Section 7: 1), which were likely used as private bedroom quarters, and probably assigned to individual members of the Cock family. However, the post-1767 addition cannot truly be seen as a Georgianizing effort because it essentially just stacked the vernacular model of the traditional *Flurküchenhaus* vertically (see Figure 4.1). The Cocks' choice to designate a sleeping area where a loft may have otherwise been more vernacular to the German tradition, rather than to add a *Schlaffkammer* or subdivide the *Stube* for sleeping, also speaks to their vernacular outlook. Overall, the TenBroeck family's desire to appear more fashionable was probably just a call for a bigger, above-ground house, and the house also expanded to accommodate their growing household.

The chimney, added onto and stemming from the basement hearth, also opened to feature a first floor fireplace. The addition of this second fireplace, which wasn't used for cooking, but rather for warmth, actually fits the prescribed grammar of Georgianized German houses. The second fireplace suggests the designation of the first floor room as a *Stube*. Beginning to differentiate rooms by function can be seen as the beginning of a Georgianizing process, however the majority of the Parsonage's Georgianization came in the 1830s. Additionally, some of the enslaved people who resided at the Parsonage may have lived mostly in the cellar (others

may have lived in the small stone structure close to the modern road), as evidenced by the presence of the cellar-kitchen hearth (Krattinger 2008: Section 7: 1). Again, while most of the Bakongo concealments found in the cellar's hearth date to the 19th century when the Persons family was free, that does not foreclose the possibility that some enslaved people may have inhabited the cellar at some point. What follows are images of the cellar hearth and the first floor fireplace from Goche and Beebe's 1975 National Register of Historic Places application.

Figure 7.1) The Parsonage's First Floor (left) and Cellar (right) Hearths

<https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75317006>

Accessed 28 March, 2022



While there is little historical record of the original 1767 structure's door before the post-1767 additions, the second level brought the addition of another door to the front of the house. With the addition of the second level came the addition of the house's main entrance that we see today. Therefore, one can ask the following question: how did one access the original subterranean 1767 structure? Archaeological evidence, as well as local folk history report that, although today's standing structure only appears to have one door providing access to the stone section, the original structure actually had another door. This door would have likely been the entrance to the first 1767 structure, and then been kept as cellar access when the Parsonage was

later aggrandized . The door in question is now a window, and appears as the lower-left window on the front of the house right at the slope of the hill. A window was installed in its place during renovations to the house that occurred in the 1940s. The practice of keeping two doors providing access to each level of the house from the outside is directly observed in the Rhenish and German vernacular, and fits the grammar of the *Ernhaus* and *Flurküchenhaus*. The second door can be understood as a product of the German vernacular trait of having entrances to both levels of a house available from the outside. One of the focuses of Bard Archaeology's Summer 2021 field school was to substantiate these claims to history, and, through finding ample building materials dated to multiple eras of time, it is believed that the door's existence is well on its way to being proven. Figure 1.1 in this thesis is an etching of the Parsonage displaying the cellar door, and the following figure indicates where the door would have been.

Figure 7.2) The Parsonage Today with Annotation of Where Original Cellar Door Would Have Been

(<https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75317006>)

Accessed 28 March, 2022



Furthermore, in this image one can readily observe that the windows of the stone 1767 section are not symmetrical, but rather placed in reference to the interior of the structure--a feature of folk and vernacular building that reflects practicality as opposed to aesthetics. The windows were placed to allow the desired view from inside the house, not necessarily with the façade's appearance in mind. The windows' positions also account for the grade of the hill's slope to provide a desirable line of sight from the interior. Had they been placed symmetrically, the view may have been altered or obstructed, or the sightline from within may have been too awkwardly high. Keeping in mind that the lower left window was once a door, its placement becomes even more significant. Therefore, the post-1767 addition to the Parsonage can be seen as perhaps the very beginning of Georgianizing processes and the influence of Georgian functional understanding, but, overall, an extension of the vernacular in form.

The 1830s eastern addition to the Parsonage, however, directly displays the emergence of Georgian architectural ideals. It is important to note that, at this time, the property was owned by the physician Dr. Wessel TenBroeck Van Orden, who was a cousin of Christina TenBroeck and inherited the property. After Reverend Cock's death in 1791 and Christina's death sometime after 1793, the property was inhabited by two more reverends and ministers before it fell back into the TenBroeck family's hands. The TenBroeck family, prominent in Albany and Kingston and active in politics and law, had accrued a fair amount of wealth and prestige in New York and was therefore not representative of the general Germantown populace. The citizens of Germantown were probably well aware of the TenBroeck family's prestige, since other members of the TenBroeck family had married into several Germantown families. Dr. TenBroeck Van Orden's status and wealth may have catalyzed this 1830s work, and certainly would have made taking on

substantial renovations more accessible. Furthermore, as Georgianization ties directly to Enlightenment ideals and the Enlightenment champions the notion of controlling nature, Ethan Dickerman and I can't help but correlate Dr. Van Orden's occupation with the property's aggrandization and Georgianization. As Dickerman rhetorically questions: "Who else better to control the natural world than the doctor who can heal the ill?" (Personal Communication 2022). Perhaps Van Orden thought it best for his home to reflect the enlightened nature of his profession.

As both Deetz (1996) and Sobel (1987) would agree, the TenBroecks did not represent the "yeomen," or more simple rural folk in the New World, but rather the elite more connected with mother Europe and apprised to the effects of the Enlightenment. Given this, it may be surprising that the Parsonage was not Georgianized sooner. Falling where it did on the timeline, the 1830s aggrandization may have represented a sort of pre-colonial revival era incentive, or simply may have occurred later when practical and desired. Subsequent research and the uncovering of personal ethnohistorical documents could substantiate these claims, and would fit the true ethos of Post-Processual archaeology and the Deetzian approach.

The 1830s addition effectively increased the building's footprint by roughly twenty-five percent, and most notably added the element of the central hall in addition to a side entrance and cellar bulkhead. The addition also served to frame the structure's extant second-level entrance roughly in the middle of the façade, which effectively transformed it into a main and central entrance. The main entrance, originally designed as a German vernacular entrance to provide access to both levels of the house from the outside, appeared more balanced, which reflected Georgian ideals. Of the house's 1830s addition (though referring to it as the 1767 addition given their skewed timeline), which is still apparent in how the house stands today, Goche and Beebe

(1975: Section 7: 1) write that “The main entrance occupies the central of the five bays and provides access to the central hall. The central hall, which is part of the west section, is flanked by a single room on the west and two rooms on the east.” The 1830s addition created this central hall from the edges of the original western section or added to it, and added the two rooms on the east.

The Parsonage expanded in the manner illustrated in Figure 4.2, which represents a general Georgianized *Flurküchenhaus*, though it did not feature a designated *Schlaffkammer* as indicated in the figure. One of the rooms added on the east, probably in the spot of the modern kitchen, likely served as a work room for the Cock family as opposed to a *Küche*, since the enslaved people whom they held in bondage probably still cooked in the cellar for the Cocks and themselves. This layout would accurately reflect the grammar proposed by Edward Chappel (1980: 57), who claims that the *Küche*, or another work room, was often accessible through the main entrance and hall, as well as by a back or side entrance. The side door, though attributed to English lifeways and aesthetics, also worked in harmony with the German vernacular philosophy which called for access to every room of the house from the outside. The upstairs second floor also became accessible from a staircase in the central hall, which Edwards (2020) notes as a feature common to Georgianized *Flurküchenhaus*. By creating new rooms and specifying their purposes, as well as providing access to each room of the house from a central passage, the Parsonage effectively became more ordered and controlled. The addition also produced another end chimney, though now only an aesthetic feature in the house’s modern form, which balanced the house symmetrically, as well as two more symmetrically placed windows.

The choice to create a full-height sleeping, or bedroom, area on the second floor, made accessible by stairs in the place of where a loft might traditionally have been built, as opposed to

designating or building specific sleeping rooms on the main floor, remains interesting and significant, though. Replacing what might have been built as a loft with a more formal sleeping area can be seen as a remnant or perpetuation of German vernacular architectural placement and therefore German vernacular worldview, but also another adoption of Georgian architectural tenets. Formalizing rooms as opposed to a loft emphasized particular room function, as well as privacy and individuality. The designation of specific rooms at once represented a symbolic harkening back to or referencing of the Old World's cultures like Clements' heirloom andiron in his Pennsylvania tavern, but also blended Georgianness with an Old World practice.

Overall, the Parsonage offers an exemplary timeline of the processes of Georgianization, while also displaying that Georgianization is not a universal process. The Parsonage shows that some aspects of the vernacular remain while others change, and reflects decision making based on social pressures and personal desires, as well as practicality. The Parsonage's creolized form incorporates aspects of German practicality, while also changing in form and function to assimilate to, or willfully adopt the English dominant forms. The Parsonage also offers a useful timeline upon which we can track Georgian ideology and its acceptance into German-American culture, since the bulk of the Parsonage's aggrandization came in the 1830s. Change occurring at this later date might suggest that Enlightenment ideology reached the 1830s owners at a later date than one might expect, or that it was only at that point that the Parsonage's owners could afford renovations. However, given that the property was owned by the wealthy, politically active, and elite TenBroeck family post-1767 and again in 1818, renovations probably would have been feasible and Georgian ideals most definitely would have reached their lexicon. Therefore, the 1830s aggrandization may have been a product of desire at this later date, and not reflective of ability or accessibility. It might also suggest that what was once the Cock

household, again the home of the Reformed Church's minister and probably integral to the community's German and Palatine identity, may have been left to continue to appear more purely German to harken symbolically to the homeland's religious practices and ancestral origins. Therefore, expanding the 1767 structure out of necessity but in ways that maintained much of its German identity, at least on the outside, makes more symbolic and practical sense, and the later 1830s change might be a more clear reflection of change in attitude and aesthetic desires. Perhaps the TenBroeck family chose to wait until the property had begun to lose its associations with the church, as more time following Reverend Cock's death passed, before changing it dramatically. Again, subsequent documentary evidence is necessary to substantiate these hypotheses. Regardless, it is pertinent to note that all of the property's changes were conducted by the wealthy and elite TenBroeck family. Their economic status and continual connection to mother Europe may have been important factors that made these changes more conceivable, feasible, and accessible.

7.2) The Simeon Rockefeller House

The original stone portion of the Simeon Rockefeller House, sometimes known as the Rockefeller Tavern, was built by Simeon Rockefeller, sometimes called Simon, in 1755 (Krattinger 2008: Section 8: 1). Simeon built the home, which sits in Germantown, New York, on the land he inherited from his father, Diell Rockefeller, who immigrated to Columbia County from Germany with his wife and three sons in 1733. Presumably, Diell, his wife, and their children lived in a smaller, more ephemeral dwelling before Simon inherited Diell's land and built the house now known as the Simeon Rockefeller House. The house is named for Simeon, who "resided most of his adult life in the stone section of the [extant dwelling], which was

erected on land... just west of the parcel purchased by his father Diell in 1751” (Krattinger 2008: Section 8: 1). Though the Rockefeller family was not a part of the 1710 Palatine migration, William Krattinger notes in his 2008 National Register of Historic Places petition for the house (Section 8: 1) that Diell was inspired to move by the established presence of Germans in the area. This is important since, unlike the 1710 Palatine immigrants, Diell ostensibly had the financial freedom and stability to move to the New World on his own, and may not have been fleeing the same pressing hardships felt by the earlier Palatines. Furthermore, Diell Rockefeller’s immigration to Germantown marks the beginning of the infamous Rockefeller lineage in America, which reached the height of its power and wealth when John D. Rockefeller, founder of Standard Oil, expanded his Ohio oil refineries in 1870. While the Rockefeller name is inextricably tied to copious wealth today, their beginnings were far more humble. Diell’s sons continued on in their family’s Old World occupation as millers, and accrued a comfortable amount of wealth by starting a saw and grist mill in Germantown. However, this wealth did not translate directly into the same wealth that later Rockefeller’s held, since John D. Rockefeller’s father, William Avery Rockefeller (the son of Simon’s brother Godfrey), was not a wealthy man (Wikitree 2022). Ostensibly, the wealth that Simeon, or Simon and his brothers accumulated dissipated, or simply did not reach the 19th century Rockefflers who found their fortune in oil later.

As the house sits today nestled into a hill, “the exterior largely reflects a c.1800 expansion” of timber-framed wood (the eastern section of the house), though “the building began as a c.1755 stone house that was subsumed within the larger construct at the time it was aggrandized” (the western section of the house) (Krattinger 2008: Section 7: 1). The extant structure also features a large, multi-story porch verandah, which was built much later than the

1800 aggrandization in the 20th century, and another enclosed porch on the opposite side, and the entire structure sits between one-and-one-half and two stories high, depending on the grade of the slope. It is pertinent to understand that the home may not have been entirely private, and that it also acted as a tavern and meetinghouse for the public in some capacity. The Rockefeller Tavern is known to have hosted the very first Germantown town assembly. Keeping this in mind, some repetition in room design, as well as the presence of more hearths and fireboxes than might be expected of a private residence, might make more practical sense.

Given this aggrandization and the confluence of styles that it yielded, Krattinger lauds the house as not only representative of the “development of the region’s vernacular architecture at the turn of the 19th century” (Krattinger 2008: Section 8: 1), but also as representative of two distinct building episodes revelatory of the forms and aesthetics of their given times. He remarks that the c.1755 stone structure and c.1800 addition juxtapose each other, and that:

The existence of the two building traditions side by side, with the majority of the earlier dwelling remaining largely intact, subsumed within the addition, provides the opportunity to study the earlier domestic tastes of the Rockefeller family in the pre-Revolutionary War period with features and finish work illuminating the region’s vernacular at the turn of the 19th century (Krattinger 2008: Section 8: 4-5).

To track the home’s Georgianization, as well as assess the ways in which it maintains or harkens to the vernacular, it is once again necessary to analyze both sections of the house. Doing so can in turn begin to apprise us of what the early Rockefeller’s lifeways may have looked like and, at the very least, as Krattinger states, showcase their domestic tastes. As would follow, I begin with an analysis of the c.1755 stone section of the house.

The earlier c.1755 stone section was built in vernacular style, as it was:

of the two-room type with garret space above, with one if not both of the primary rooms having jambless hearths, though it is possible that the westernmost room had a five-plate stove that communicated with the fireplace in the opposite room, an arrangement often equated with New World German households (Krattinger 2008: Section 8: 5).

The garret was unfinished and likely used for storage, or perhaps designated as a simple sleeping area. Krattinger (2008: Section 7: 3) also adds that “the older section of the Rockefeller house was built in the traditional manner of stone houses in this region in the pre-Revolutionary War period, with load-bearing rubble masonry walls supporting the interior floor framing, consisting of substantial hand-hewn beams.” Consisting of two rooms with hearths, the Simeon Rockefeller house aligns with the *Küche* and *Stube* model presented in the general grammar of the *Flurküchenhaus* (see Figure 4.4). It is difficult to picture the house as a simple *Flurküchenhaus* now, given its significant expansion and increase in length, and now it appears as more of an *Ernhaus* in form and footprint (see Figures 4.4 and 4.5). The structure also featured “a basement kitchen chamber accessible from grade,” which suggests “a slave presence in the house” (Krattinger 2008: Section 8: 5). Though it is likely that the Rockefeller family enslaved Africans and African Americans before 1790, the first written record of an enslaved presence in the house comes in the 1790 census (Personal Communication C. Lindner 2022). The basement also features a large unfinished area. Following the same logic applied to the Cock family in the Reformed Sanctity Church Parsonage, it is not unlikely that the people whom the Rockefellers are recorded to have held in bondage cooked for the family, and that both upstairs hearths were primarily used for heat and served a more social or aesthetic purpose. Therefore, it may be best to understand both of the rooms of the original two-room house as *Stube* parlors, in function. One of the spaces may have also been designated to be a warmer sleeping area than the unfinished garret loft, and therefore acted as a *Kammer*. What follows are Krattinger’s 2008 photographs of the main floor’s hearths.

Figure 7.3) The Simeon Rockefeller House's Two Main Floor Hearths
<https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75317063>
 Accessed 3 April, 2022



The stone portion of the house continues to follow vernacular grammar given its multiple access points to each of the main rooms of the house, as well as access to the basement cellar built into the grade of the hill's slope. The presence of two doors is observed in many *Ernhaus* and, as written by Dennis Domer (1994), the “two-door house” was an incredibly popular German design that provided external access to both main rooms of a house, which served different functions. Additionally, the house's fenestration appears to be symmetrical, which Domer (1994) notes as being a common Georgianizing change made in *Ernhaus*, along with the addition of end-chimneys. The structure features two end-chimneys, each one communicating with two of the four hearths in their respective areas. If the vernacular structure's windows were once asymmetrical and placed with an interior view in mind, they were likely later changed to reflect Georgian ideals. Furthermore, one of the original stone structure's entrances is a divided “Dutch door,” and the other a simple wooden door. Interestingly, when the c.1800 addition was built, all but the two doors to the stone structure were replaced with English-style panel doors.

The choice to leave two vernacular doors in place while changing the rest to match the dominant English style may be significant as a reflection of curated and agentively maintained culture in the face of change. The Rockefellers may have chosen to make the distinction between the Old and New sections of their house, and let their doors reflect these time periods and cultural allegiances. Additionally, Dutch doors commonly indicate agricultural or working functionality, which seems to bolster the house's identity as a sort of *Ernhaus*, especially in collaboration with the property's barn. A traditionally farm-style (even if not used functionally as a farmhouse) house, pairs aesthetically and contextually well with a working barn.

Turning more to the c.1800 addition to the house, Krattinger (2008: Section 7: 1) describes that the expansion notably raised the structure from one-and-one-half stories to a full two stories, as well as changed the home's footprint to adopt a new "center passage scheme," which "in essence consisted of the addition of a side hall, double pile section to the east side of the stone house to form the new plan, with two new rooms to the east of the center passage and the two rooms of the stone section to the west of it." The aggrandization added two rooms to the main floor, as well as an "upper landing providing access to both a spacious hall and a chamber situated above the rear parlor," and also expanded the basement cooking area to create a larger, more strictly designated cooking hearth (Krattinger 2008: Section 7: 3). The expansion also added significant length to the structure, and appears to have mutated the home's form into what could be best understood as a sort of Georgianized *Ernhaus* in footprint and external appearance, with the practical *Wirtschaftsbereich* working area being replaced by additional living and parlor rooms more vernacular to the Georgianized *Flurküchenhaus* (See Figures 4.4, 4.5, and 4.2, respectively). As Edwards (2020) explains, the Georgianized *Ernhaus* most frequently came to feature a central hallway, so the structure adheres to this proposed grammar. The Rockefeller

Tavern is interesting, as it would appear to capture the process of a *Flurküchenhaus* being aggrandized to appear as a German-Georgian *Ernhaus* while remaining true to the common blueprint of the *Flurküchenhaus* in many ways, which is a dynamic hybrid amalgamation of multiple vernacular German styles with Georgian ideals. The structure does not adhere directly to the grammar of either the *Flurküchenhaus* or the *Ernhaus*. The tavern's enclosed porch also aligns with the *Unterfahrt* work porch displayed in Figure 4.4, which supports the notion of the structure taking the form of an *Ernhaus*. The four-season porch is accessible from the hill's grade, and connects with the original stone structure. What follows is a picture of the house showing its four-season porch--we unfortunately do not have an immediate record of when it was added, though its many windows suggest a date later than the c.1800 aggrandization. Perhaps its footprint always existed, or at least came to be c.1800 or earlier, but was then made larger and more grand at a later date.

Figure 7.4) The Simeon Rockefeller House and its Four-Season Porch

(<https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75317063>)

Accessed 4 April, 2022



Krattinger also remarks that the two rooms added in the eastern section essentially replicate the rooms of the original stone house as “two rooms with a central chimney mass serving fireboxes in each of the rooms,” but came to be understood and used as front and rear parlors (Krattinger 2008: Section 7: 3). These essentially duplicate rooms of the original stone structure’s could be understood as a product of the structure’s role as a tavern, not simply a private residence. In the rear parlor located beneath the raised hall and to the south of the chimney mass, there is an additional kitchen hearth area and bake oven. The presence of this functional cooking area to the right of the chimney mass fits the grammar of the Georgianized *Flurküchenhaus* proposed by Edward Chappel (1980), who deduced that nearly eighty percent of Massanutten German homes placed *Küche*, or other rooms with larger hearths in this position. The house was brought to its extant form by Simeon, or Simon Rockefeller Jr., who inherited the property from his father. The timber-framed structure addition was also built from hand hewn wood and building materials, as opposed to irregular river or field stone, which demonstrates an immense amount of order and control over aesthetic appearance and a curation of materials.

Krattinger (2008: Section 8: 5) writes that:

This addition was representative of features, finishes and spatial arrangements equated with the English building tradition, the finishes reflecting the Adam-inspired Neoclassic taste of the era, in contrast with the earlier masonry dwelling to which it was attached, the latter in keeping with the more modest domestic arrangements and finishes of the mid-18th century Dutch vernacular tradition.

As would fit Falk’s (2008) proposed grammar of the Georgianized *Flurküchenhaus*, the structure was raised to be two stories and feature two levels, and expanded to feature four distinct rooms on the first floor in addition to a large central hall.

The idea of the Rockefeller Tavern as a Georgianized *Ernhaus* is made all the more valid given the presence of another long barn on the property. The Rockefeller family ran an

uber-successful saw and grist mill several miles away, and this barn likely played an important role in their company's immense success. As Edwards (2020) writes, the *Ernhaus* traditionally housed both a family and their livestock, and through Georgianization processes, the livestock were moved into external barns, or *Hofs*. Though the Rockefeller's original *Flurküchenhaus*-esque home likely never housed livestock and probably only held work materials prior to the barn's building, they may have chosen to aggrandize the house to appear as one of these Georgianized *Ernhaus* structures in aesthetic form when placed in conversation with their barn. The Rockefeller family's steadily mounting wealth from their saw and grist mill operation could have afforded them the opportunity to make this decision based on aesthetics, as opposed to vernacular function and necessity. Again, one can argue that, although the Rockefellers held an occupation tied closely to the earth, their wealth began to remove them from the class of rural laborers and yeomen and push them closer to elite status. With this eliteness seems to have come the means and the opportunity to aggrandize.

Regarding the four first-floor fireplaces, all of them appear to date to the c.1800 expansion, though the two in the original stone house existed before but were aggrandized. Krattinger (2008: Section 7: 3) writes that they are "constructed of brick with brick-laid hearths and each is of slightly different proportion, with the two larger ones--in the rear east parlor and the east room of the stone section--being fitted with cast iron cooking cranes." Their fitting with cooking cranes is intriguing since, as evidenced by the large basement cooking area, most of the house's cooking was likely done by enslaved people in the cellar. Perhaps these outfitted hearths in the main living space existed as symbolic examples which reflected the vernacular house ways from which the Rockefeller family came, and acted as a *Küche* if only symbolically. Perhaps the iron cooking cranes were seen, again, almost like Clements' andiron in his Pennsylvania tavern.

Each fireplace is also aestheticized differently, and two are intricately adorned with academic-style pilasters and marble stonework. Other aesthetic details that emerge are mantels and other woodwork that reflect English style. The central hall of the house also provides access to the central two of the four first-floor rooms, which in turn provide access to the outermost rooms of the house, as well as includes staircases both up to the hall and chamber, and down to the basement. Each feature of the house is directly or indirectly accessible from this central passage, which reflects a Georgianized patterning of symmetry and centrality.

With the addition of the central hall also came the emergence of what would prove to be the house's main entrance. While the two entrances to the stone house correspond to its original two rooms, the third door on the south-facing side of the house corresponds with the c.1800 addition center passage, which was added to the edge of the original stone structure. Front access to the central passage, which in turn provides access to every room of the house, fits the grammar of Georgianized *Flurküchenhaus* that Falk (2008) synthesizes. Furthermore, the structure fits Domer's (1984) "two-door house model," and the grammar of the Georgianized *Ernhaus*, since it has not just two, but three entrances on its southern façade. In the figure below, one can observe one of the original stone house entrances as well as the door to the central passage. Another door to the original stone structure is hidden from view by the large evergreen tree on the left of the frame.

Figure 7.5) The Simeon Rockefeller House's Southern Façade with Multiple Entrances
(<https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75317063>)
Accessed 4 April, 2022



Additionally, Krattinger (2008: Section 7: 1) implores us to analyze the interior aesthetics of the house, and states that its “interior finish contrasts the earlier aesthetics of the stone house, built in the Dutch vernacular tradition of the Hudson Valley, with the Neoclassical motives of the early 19th century, namely the federal style.” The house’s intricately styled trims, mantles, and expensive marble adornments, as well as the English paneled doors and sidelight windows reflect not only the influence of English styles, but also the family’s wealth. When placing these material aspects in conversation with the maintenance of traditional German material culture, a representative picture of German-Georgian ideals, and subsequently of the Rockefeller family’s understandings of their identity and positionality, as well as the ways in which they wanted to portray themselves, is painted. Krattinger (2008) suggests, like Falk (2008), that it is revelatory to study the interiors of houses to see how lifeways and identity are reflected in their aesthetics and functionality. Doing so makes sense since, practically speaking, it is often easier and requires

less physical effort to alter the inside of a house than to rework its structure, entirely, and to curate a home's interior appearance and aesthetic. At the least, it is important to study what people brought into their homes and why, as well as how they wanted their immediate surroundings to look.

One component of the house that displays a harkening to traditional vernacular materialism and reflects the symbolic meaning imbued in vernacular objects is a bathroom with modern amenities built inside a large faux Dutch *Kast*. Though we cannot be sure when the bathroom was built, it is located in the main hall (Krattinger 2008: Section 7: 3). The *Kast*, according to the Metropolitan Museum of Art's blurb on the *Kast* artifact with accession number 1988.21:

is a distinctive type of cupboard that was made in the New York—New Jersey area settled by the Dutch. Strongly architectural in design, the *Kast* derived from Dutch prototypes and was made in America until the early 1800s. The most important piece of furniture in the home, it was probably often a dowry gift. Certain features of the construction and design details reflect, as does the form of the *kast* itself, Continental rather than English influences.

Additionally, according to Avis Berman of American Heritage (1991):

Most of the Dutch who immigrated to New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut (the only areas where *kasten* were made) in the seventeenth century were people of modest means. Those who became rich in the New World established comfortable homes that emulated the tastes and flourishes they had left behind. As in Amsterdam and The Hague, prospering Dutch settlers used their main gathering room as a showplace for household wealth.

Therefore:

It is no wonder that the *Kast*, a massive cupboard for storing household valuables, was the most important piece of furniture a Dutch settler in America could own. It safeguarded not only such tangible treasures as gold, silver, porcelains, and linens but Dutch notions of domestic life as well (Berman 1991).

Berman (1991) also writes that “the storage chests for articles that were too precious to be left out in the open, became characteristic furnishings in their own right, symbols of order and

achievement,” and that they were often written into wills as special bequests. She lauds the *Kast* as distinctly vernacular to the Dutch, notes its overhanging cornices and ball-feet, which are staples of Dutch cabinetry, and remarks that the *Kast* eventually gave way to what were deemed as more aesthetically favorable English-styled cabinets. She concludes that:

If the *Kast's* style imbued it with energy, its form projected household substance and reliability—two qualities that were distinctly Dutch. Indeed, this monumental cabinet, a repository of social values, is eloquent of the strength of purpose that allowed its colonial makers to successfully preserve their heritage long after all political ties with their homeland had been severed (Berman 1991).

Berman captures the spirit of symbolic materialism with her analysis of the *Kast*, and provides a heuristic blueprint from which we can understand the significance of the continual and agentively supported presence of the vernacular in the Georgianizing world. Understanding the presence of the vernacular as such helps to combat the notions of blind German, Dutch, and Palatine acculturation to the English dominant.

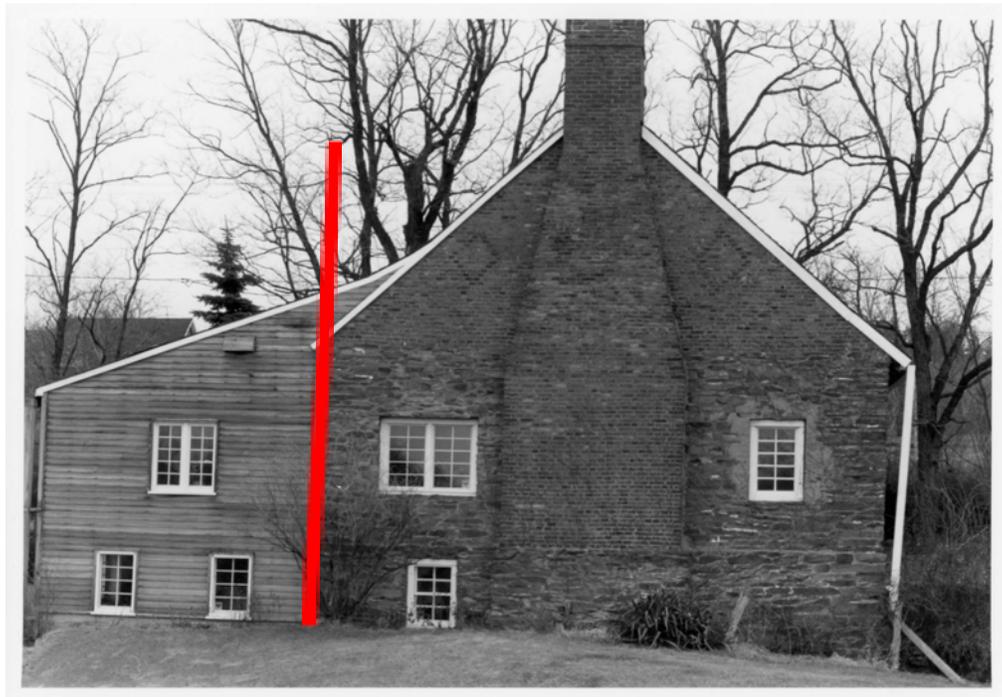
7.3) Clermont's Stone Jug

Analysis of Clermont, New York of Columbia County's "Stone Jug" deviates a bit from my previous analyses of the Parsonage and the Rockefeller Tavern, since the Jug sat in its original vernacular form until it was aggrandized only much later in the 1950s. It is therefore not possible to track Georgian influence on the structure and its tenants in real time, but it is still pertinent to analyze the Jug as a vernacular structure. Doing so can extend understandings of vernacular architectural grammar and forms, as well as suggest certain lifeways and choices. The house is also sited on and in a hill, which is an important component of this study and can shed light on this seemingly vernacular practice.

Built in 1752 by Konradt Lasher, the son of Bastian Lasher who was a part of the 1710 Palatine immigration, the square-shaped one-and-one-half story structure sits in and upon "one

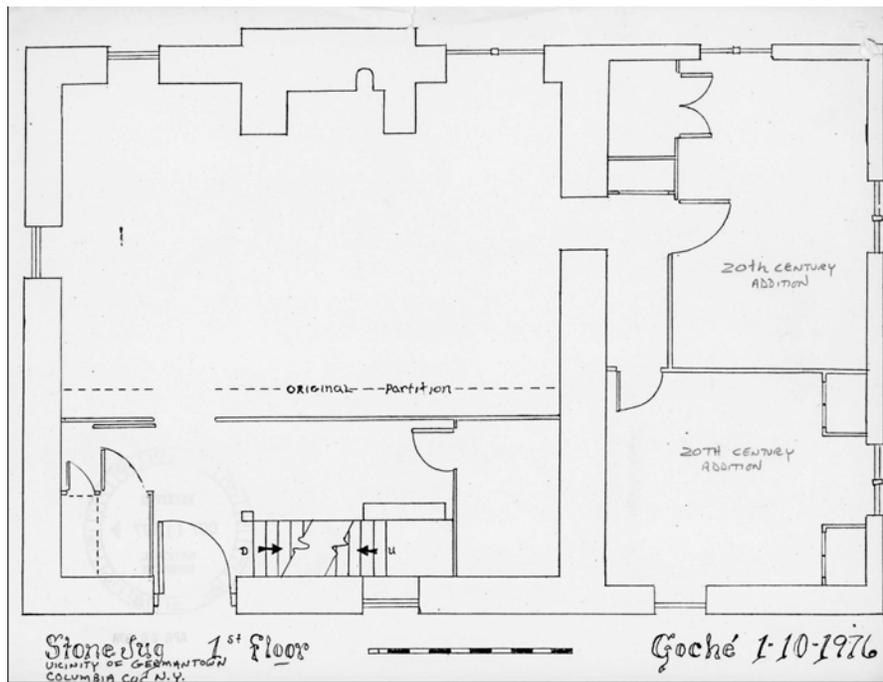
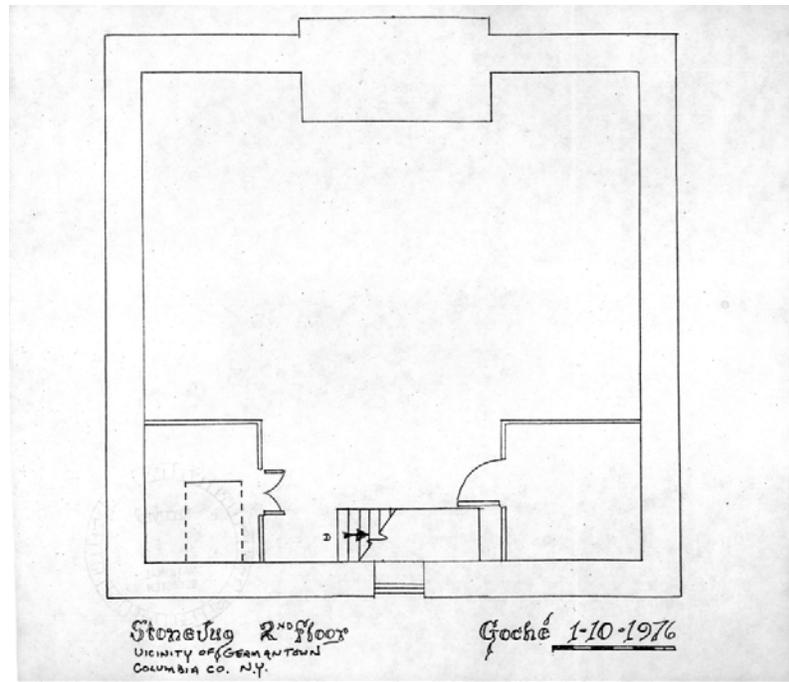
of the many hillsides common to that part of Columbia County” (Gobrecht 1977: Section 7: 1). The Jug is located next to the remains of two other stone houses belonging to Konradt’s brothers. However, since those structures are not standing, they are best studied archaeologically. The three properties originally shared a well (Gobrecht 1977: Section 7: 1). The house is composed of an original mortared fieldstone section, only supported on its western side with regimented stacked brick, and a 1950s wood frame and fieldstone addition to roughly match its original aesthetic. The addition expanded the Jug’s first floor and basement levels. The structure features a steeply gabled roof with a central chimney on the western side that tapers as it rises. According to Larry Gobrecht in his 1977 National Register of Historic Places petition for the Stone Jug, the house is “unusual in Columbia County because of the use of stone rather than the more popular brick” (Section 8: 1). Given its material composition, the Stone Jug reflects the style of the “oldstonhouse,” which Reynolds (1965) traces back to the Rhineland and notes throughout the Hudson Valley. The following figure displays the Stone Jug as it sat before its 1950s addition, as well as how it sits now with red annotation demarcating the addition.

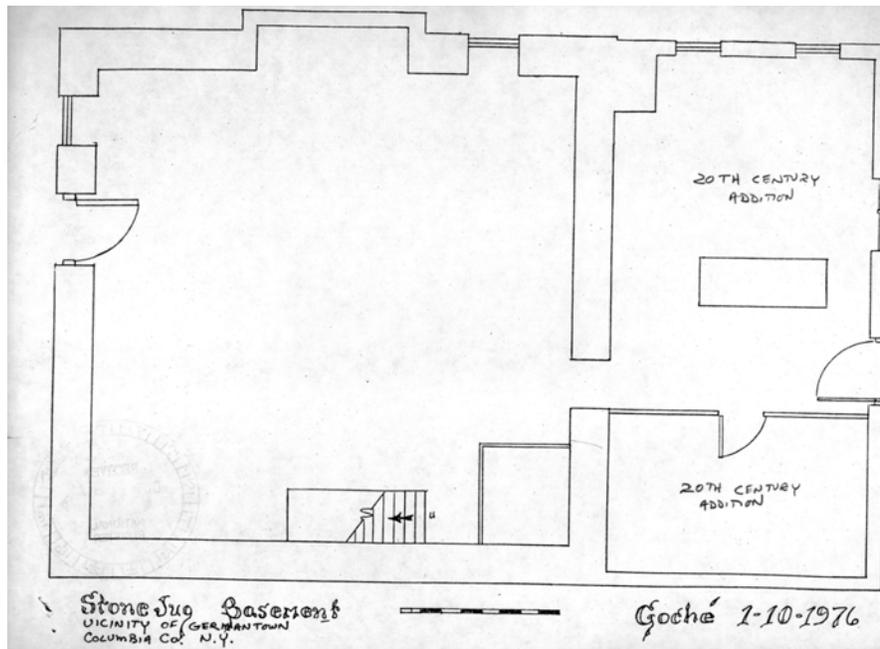
Figure 7.6) The Stone Jug pre-1950s, and The Stone Jug as it Sits Today with Annotation
(<https://landmarkhunter.com/151205-stone-jug/>; <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75317085>)
Accessed 6 April, 2022



The Stone Jug's blueprint features a "single large room at each level of the original structure with the hearth in the basement" (Gobrecht 1977: Section 8: 1), and the main floor also features a fireplace on the west wall that corresponds with the aforementioned chimney. The basement hearth indicates that the cellar served as the *Küche*, and may also suggest the presence of enslaved people held in bondage on the property. The main floor's fireplace indicates that it functioned as a *Stube*, and therefore the Stone Jug largely fits the grammar and function of the *Flurküchenhaus*, simply stacked vertically. Falk (2008) observes that many two story masonry structures like the Stone Jug were eventually aggrandized to include a Georgian central hall and other English features, but the Stone Jug did not see such changes. Indeed, even the Jug's asymmetrical windows remained in their vernacular positionings, and the 1950s addition only added to this asymmetry. Additionally, the structure has an exposed-rafter garrett, which was never partitioned and therefore likely used for storage (Gobrecht 1977: Section 7: 1). Climbing from the basement to the garrett is a small enclosed staircase in the house's southeast corner. The Stone Jug's original section features a basement, first floor, and garret loft. The following figures are drawings of the house's floor plans from Gobrecht's 1977 petition. They appear in the following order: the loft, the main floor, and the basement. One need not look at the 1950s addition included in the drawings.

Figure 7.7) The Stone Jug's Floorplans
(<https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75317085>)
Accessed 6 April, 2022





The Jug also fits the grammar of vernacular German structures since it features external entrances to each level, and therefore to each room of the house. The lower level access, which corresponds with the southern grade of the hillside, opens to the basement room with a “seven-foot wide hearth built into the west wall” that also corresponds with the chimney (Gobrecht 1977: Section 7: 1). The main floor’s east entrance opens to the *Stube* fireplace room. The Jug’s preserved original entrances are of the “Dutch door” style, and the door’s iron hardware remains intact. As aforementioned, Dutch doors, which are split into two independently opening halves, are a common feature of agriculturally oriented dwellings. The Dutch doors, while perhaps a harkening to the Old World’s styles, may have also served a practical purpose, given the presence of a 19th century L-shaped barn in close proximity to the property and Lasher’s occupation as a tenant farmer (Gobrecht 1977: Section 7: 1).

While the structure is very easily supported as vernacular and appears largely uninfluenced by the Georgian Order, there is a small feature that suggests the sway of Georgian

ideals of individual ownership and the distinction of individualized places. According to Gobrecht (1977: Section 8: 1), there is “an inscription carved into the stone lintel over the east door bears the date 1752 and the initials ‘K.B.L. & J.’” The initials are those of Konradt and his wife. As Falk (2007: 14) notes, carvings such as these suggest both the influence of the Georgian order and emphasize individuality and private possession, but also suggest a perpetuation of Germanness, at once. Carvings labeled houses as distinctly German, especially when accompanied by German phrases or important Reformed scripture in German lettering and with German grammar, and therefore differentiated them from their English neighbors.

7.4) Potential Future Work to Continue this Project and Expand its Scope

The scope of this project and the parameters by which I chose houses to study have been necessarily restricted by time, resources, permissions, and accessibility. Therefore, I studied houses to which I had immediate access, or about which I could read public access information from the National Register of Historic Places. However, I venture to propose not only the beginnings of a continuation for future researchers, but an expansion of this project, its goals, and its sample size. Though I have conducted very little work on these houses and properties myself, I have compiled a list of future sites of interest throughout Columbia and Dutchess County through observational field work, suggestions from Chrisophe Lindner and William Krattinger (2008), and subsequent research. Future researchers will also be certain to find invaluable contributions from Bard Archaeology community colleagues Emily Majer and Alvin Sheffer, as well as Germantown’s town historian, Thomas Shannon. Some of the following sites of interest fit the parameters of being vernacular-appearing pre-Revolutionary structures sited on and in hills, and others expand the project’s scope of time, topographical siting, and location. All

sites of interest, however, do appear to be vernacular or German-Georgian in form. Expanding the project as such would allow us to track and compare vernacular construction across different variable stratifications of time, location, and siting, and also to compare Georgianization processes across the same variables.

Professor Christophe Lindner suggested two properties in Germantown to me for exploration, and I drove past them to conduct a quasi-observational study. On my drive, I found another house displaying vernacular architecture. I will not disclose pictures of and specific addresses for these properties, since Bard Archaeology does not yet have permission from their owners to investigate and study them. The first house is on Lasher Avenue in Germantown, and from the outside displays asymmetrical fenestration as well as what appears to be access to both a basement and main level on the same side of the façade. The house is also built into a small hill, and has another entrance on the side that is built into the hill's grade. The house also has more modern siding, a central chimney, a long gabled roof, and a porch offering access to what is used as the main door. It is worth investigating when and if the house was aggrandized before arriving at this more modern form, as well as when it was originally built. The exterior of the house suggests an adherence to vernacular blueprints.

There is also a house on Church Avenue, immediately off of the turn from Main Street in Germantown, which is sited in and on a hill and built on a stone foundation. There appears to be at least one entrance to a lower level at the bottom of the hill's slope built into the stone foundation, and there is a central door on the road-facing wooden facade to an upper level. From the road, it also appears that there may be an elevated and enclosed porch, which might suggest the presence of an *Unterfahrt*. The house also has two end chimneys sitting upon its steeply gabled roof, which might suggest a *Küche/Stube* scheme on the main floor, perhaps with a hearth

below. The property may have been aggrandized from an original stone form through the addition of a wooden frame second level, and all of the house's windows are symmetrical. Upper windows may also suggest the presence of a loft, which further adheres to the proposed grammar of the Georgianized *Flurküchenhaus*. It is worth investigating this structure's history and construction, as well as who inhabited it.

Another house sits on the corner of Church Avenue and Reuter Road in Germantown, and appears to be a wooden saltbox structure with two entrances and asymmetrical fenestration conjoined with a larger wooden *Ernhaus* shaped structure with a barn door entrance. The property therefore appears to be agriculturally focused, and might reflect the worldview and identities of its builders and former inhabitants. Again, finding the history and dates of construction for this house will likely be fruitful. This property is not built into a hillside, and offers the opportunity to study vernacular architecture sited on flatter terrain.

William Krattinger, in his 2008 National Register of Historic Petition for the Simeon Rockefeller house, also offers the Koecherthal House, the Lasher-Barringer-Overbaugh House, and the Hendrick Martin House as exemplary of German-Georgian architecture in Germantown and West Camp--the original Palatine settlements. Professor Lindner also suggested the Dick House of Germantown as a property of potential interest. The Koecherthal House is not sited on a hill, but appears as a vernacular structure. The Lasher-Barringer-Overbaugh House is a c.1800 construction, and therefore post-Revolutionary, but can help construct a timeline of vernacularity and Georgianization, as well as track the values of Palatine descendents as generations spent time in Germantown. The Hendrick Martin House expands the survey from Columbia County into Dutchess County, since it is in modern Red Hook, New York, not in Germantown. However, the area was still settled by Germans and it is most likely that architectural attitudes remained

consistent. In additional observational study, I also found three houses on River Road in Red Hook that have multi-level entrances, some of which are Dutch doors, and appear to showcase wooden aggrandizements to original stone structures. The Dick House may also display the values of Palatine descendents, since it was built 150 years after the 1710 migration c.1860.

8) Conclusion: Creolized Houses and Lifeways in the New World

The Palatines, when immigrating to the New World, were confronted with just that-- a *new world*, totally alien to them. In this New World, it became necessary for them to find their place, and doing so meant balancing the livelihoods they knew with the demands of colonial New York society. As written in Horatio Spafford's 1813 *New York Gazetteer*, the Palatines and their descendants remained connected to their roots even more than a century after their 1710 landing in modern Germantown, and almost forty years after America gained her independence. Spafford recorded that the Palatine descendant citizens of Germantown were "still characterized by the steady habits of their ancestors," and that "they own[ed] the soil which they cultivate[d]...with much care." Spafford also wrote that Germantown had "33 looms in families," and that most clothing and fabric-goods were manufactured in the household, rather than imported or purchased. He also recorded the presence of two meeting houses and churches, three school houses, three docks and storehouses, and that the Palatines produced an abundance of excellent fruit (1813: 193). Spafford recounts a simple and self-sufficient Germantown (though Germantown was a well known exporter of apples to New York City), deeply rooted in agriculture and apparently less influenced by the ongoing and commercializing Industrial Revolution in America. In fact, Spafford (1813) explains that he was able to differentiate the

Palatine descendants from people of other nationalities, given their continuation of Old World Rhenish practices in an increasingly industrializing New York.

That being said, Spafford's work recounts only the general Germantown populace, which, on average, differed tremendously from the Cock-TenBroeck family and the Rockefellers who lived in the houses in this study. Reverend Cock, Christina TenBroeck, and Diell Rockefeller and his sons were not members of the 1710 Palatine migration to the Hudson Valley, but instead later joined the Palatine community of their own volition. Cock and Rockefeller immigrated freely, and probably had the economic and circumstantial freedom to do so, and the TenBroeck family arrived in New York much earlier with a prior Dutch cohort, but married into Palatine society. Additionally, all of the above held social and economic status that labeled them as more "elite" than the average citizen, and therefore probably apprised them of the newest trends and standards more directly and made them more financially accessible. As became clear in this study, these surviving German-Georgian houses in Germantown acquired their Georgian components by the hands of these elevated members of society. Still though, like Jay Edwards (2020: 23) writes, Spafford probably noticed a certain *Brauch*, or remembrance of the Old World in Palatine houses, even in the dwellings of these wealthy and more elite families. This *Brauch* is the product of German-Georgian architectural creolization.

Though by 1813, as displayed in this study, the Simeon Rockefeller house had been substantially aggrandized and altered by Georgian ideals and the Parsonage was soon to be on its way, many of Germantown's residents perpetuated the Old World's lifeways in more ways than one. Compared to New York City, Kingston, and Albany's urban industrialists and wealthy elites, many of the people of Germantown lived more simple or "folk" oriented lives, and Deetz (1996: 61) may have characterized Germantown as a "peasant society" that supported itself and its

nearest urban centers with its production of goods, materials, and food. Nearly all Columbia County farmers with considerably sized operations sent their crop surplus to market, and shifts in understanding of the economy and one's place in the world began to influence the general dynamics of rural lifeways and households (Breugel 2002: 3). For these more average citizens, whom Deetz (1996) would classify as the common "rural" people, the effects of Georgianization, at least in physical architectural forms, seem to have been less readily accessible and probably trickled down to them more slowly than for their wealthy neighbors. For the wealthier and more elite, who were better able to overtly Georgianize their homes, the remnants of their humble beginnings still remained in the vernacular aspects of their dwellings, which were once built out of necessity and in accordance with Old World traditions.

The Palatines brought with them the cultures that they knew from the Old World and coalesced as an immigrant cohort thrust together by a common goal and close proximity, but also encountered other cultures along their journey and in New York. The Palatines were immediately reliant upon the English in both London and the New York colony, and eventually encountered indigenous and African peoples, as well. Necessarily, these cultures impacted each other and began to blend and shift in choice ways. With the English being significant players in the world's power dynamic, as well as having direct dominance over the Palatines, though, English material and Enlightenment culture became the hegemonic dominant and highest standard in much of the world's eyes, especially in America both before and after the American Revolution (Deetz 1996: 61). Some members of Palatine society, as evidenced by the Simeon Rockefeller House and the Parsonage, began adopting aspects of this standard later, after the Revolution, and after acquiring social and monetary status. For other Palatines, Georgianization remained a more unattainable

process. Nevertheless, even amid these architectural changes, aspects of Palatine culture, both materially and in lifeways, persisted.

As observed and outlined in this study, Palatine houses, after the initial dig-in phase, were constructed in largely the same ways as they were in the Old World. Houses retained vernacular production, materials, siting, and functional arrangement and usage, as well as vernacular aesthetics. However, after decades passed, some Palatine houses began to adopt Georgian English aesthetics and functionality, and became hybrid German-Georgian dwellings. In effect, these houses display a creolization of the vernacular Palatine home building culture with colonial New York's standards, after spending significant time under their influence. In the Parsonage and Simeon Rockefeller House, Georgianization occurred after the colonies had been established as America, but reflected colonial English influence in a sort of pre-colonial revival era style, accompanied by distinctly vernacular remnants. The colonial revival period is widely agreed upon by architects to have spanned the 1880s to the 1940s. However, Palatine home Georgianization was not universal, and certainly did not happen in any universal manner. While this project refers to general grammars observed by historians, archaeologists, and architects, it accepts that there is no true standard of either vernacularity or Georgianization, only observable patterns.

As prior stated, the Palatines perpetuated many of their vernacular home traits in symbolic, if not functional ways, and did not simply acculturate to English society. In some ways, it is apparent that the Palatines resisted the hegemonic English norm entirely, and chose to separate themselves from the English in conspicuous ways. What has become apparent is that, instead of blatantly accepting Georgianization as the norm, the Palatines instead began to accept some choice Georgian ideals in a process of creolization. Much like how they agentively adopted

the uniform “poor Protestant Palatine” (Otterness 2006: 53) identity that was assigned to them to better appeal to the English as refugees, the Palatines adopted Georgian ideals when they saw fit, and when they held enough economic or social status to do so. The Palatines Georgianized their houses in ways that were practical to them and their mostly agrarian and work-centered lifeways, as well as in ways that allowed them to still function as Palatines while appearing more English in choice ways and maintaining their vernacular when desired. Creolizing their vernacular with Georgian ideals therefore allowed them to appear more in accordance with the hegemonic dominant while still maintaining a *Brauch* that made them proudly distinct.

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