



# Dutch Reformed churches in Colonial North America

## To ‘promote godliness in every way’

Jeroen van den Hurk

On 10 May 1638, Kiliaen van Rensselaer wrote a letter to Jacob Albertsz. Planck as part of his regular correspondence with his representatives in the New World.<sup>1</sup> Planck was in charge of running Van Rensselaer's patroonship, Rensselaerswyck, on the banks of the Hudson River near present-day Albany, New York. In the letter, Van Rensselaer mentions an earlier correspondence from Planck, in which Planck mentioned building a church, of which the loft could be used to store grain. However, Planck did not follow up on this matter in any of his further correspondence, and Van Rensselaer urges him to get it built in order ‘to promote godliness in every way’, and asks Planck to see if there would be any way to support a minister as well.<sup>2</sup> A little more than a year later, on 4 August 1639, Van Rensselaer sent a letter to Arent van Curler, who was now in charge of running the patroonship.<sup>3</sup> Van Rensselaer inquires after the status of the construction of some farmhouses as well as the payment of his employees in the patroonship and urges Van Curler to continue his correspondence with him so that he is kept abreast of developments in his patroonship. Van Rensselaer also mentions in his letter that it is accompanied by a box with a model of a small wooden church, and he presses Van Curler to erect the church at minimal cost, but only if its construction will not interfere with the construction of the farmhouses. Despite the patroonship being a money-making venture for Kiliaen van Rensselaer, the spiritual well-being of his employees played an important role in its operation.

Detail of fig. 3

North American scholars have often overlooked the history of New Netherland and the impact of its settlers on the material culture of the region. Some have argued that the initial settlers' focus on monetary gain prevented them from making an effort to continue the cultural traditions and institutions they had left behind.<sup>4</sup> Others suggested that by 1790 the contributions of the ‘Hudson Dutch’ had been ‘lost in a sea of alien culture’.<sup>5</sup> Although the Dutch West India Company (WIC) controlled the colony of New Netherland for less than half a century (1624-1664), the surviving seventeenth-century Dutch colonial manuscripts and other contemporary records from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries show that the settlers of New Netherland not only replicated several

Netherlandic cultural patterns during this time but also held onto these well into the eighteenth century. Whereas there are very few known survivors of the built environment from the period of New Netherland, the surviving seventeenth-century manuscripts related to the settlement form a vast source of information on the early colonial history of North America. They shed light on not only the social history of the colony but also its material culture. A close study of the documents that relate to the built environment, and a comparison with similar documents from the Dutch Republic, show that the settlers of New Netherland made a serious effort to replicate the traditions they had been familiar with in the Old World.<sup>6</sup> Focusing specifically on religious architecture, this paper will demonstrate that the settlers of New Netherland invested in their spiritual well-being, that the architecture associated with this was initially based on Netherlandic prototypes, and that parts of these traditions lasted into the eighteenth century, and in some cases even into the nineteenth century. Due to the lack of surviving buildings from this period, any analysis of the surviving documents and their interpretation, as well as potential reconstructions, rely on educated guesses. Thus, any interpretation of the surviving documents related to Dutch Reformed churches built in colonial North America requires an understanding of not only how church architecture had evolved in the Dutch Republic but also how the settlers in New Netherland translated these traditions in the New World.

### Religion and church architecture in the Dutch Republic after the Reformation

Religious architecture in the Low Countries had seen a change in its appearance following the Reformation. Unlike Catholic churches, Reformed churches were no longer sacred shrines but meeting places of believers, and, in principle, religious services could be held in any kind of space.<sup>7</sup> It was the Word of God that was important and not so much the building in which it was spoken.<sup>8</sup> After the Reformation, existing churches were adapted to accommodate the new way Protestants worshipped, where the focus was on the pulpit. New churches were sometimes designed with a centralized footprint, either in the shape of a Greek cross or with a polygonal plan.<sup>9</sup> The Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem was seen as one of the sources of inspiration. Polygonal-shaped religious structures were also being erected in Germany and France during the sixteenth century to accommodate Protestant religious services.<sup>10</sup> One of the new Protestant churches built in Ghent in 1566 was described by a contemporary, Marcus van Vaernewyck, as an octagonal structure, resembling a lantern or a horse mill (*eenen lampteerne, ofte een peerdemuelene*).<sup>11</sup> Van Vaernewyck mentioned that the building was predominantly constructed out of wood, similar to Muscovite churches (*moscovijtische keercken*), with brick infill between the posts and stained-glass windows with the Ten Commandments and other biblical texts.<sup>12</sup> Protestant refugees from these areas may have introduced these new shapes to the Dutch Republic.

The influence of classically inspired architecture disseminated in architectural treatises, by such authors as Sebastiano Serlio (1475-



1

Andries de Roy and Coenraad van Horenborch, *Reformed Church*, Willemstad, 1586-1600, photo: G.Th. Delemarre, Collectie Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 80.456

1554), Andrea Palladio (1508-1580), and Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548-1616), also popularized centralized church plans.<sup>13</sup> There was, however, not a wholesale shift toward new church designs. Existing churches could often easily be converted to accommodate Reformed church services. Furthermore, in some cases, communities resisted ‘modern’ designs; churches were expected to still look like churches.<sup>14</sup> New church buildings following centralized designs were often built in urban expansion areas or newly laid out garrison towns. The oldest surviving octagonal church in the Netherlands was built in Willemstad (1586-1600) (fig. 1). The building had been partially funded by Prince Maurits, who specifically requested that the new church be in a circular or octagonal shape.<sup>15</sup> Maurits’s keen interest in mathematics may have inspired him.<sup>16</sup> Whereas more octagonal churches would follow, as well as other centralized plans, such as the Greek cross within a square, the traditional basilica plan remained equally popular for new churches.<sup>17</sup>

### Religion and church architecture in New Netherland

New Netherland was the North American territory controlled by the WIC. The WIC was first and foremost a commercial enterprise, intent on providing a return for its investors.<sup>18</sup> It had received its charter from the States General in 1621 for parts of West Africa, South America, the Caribbean, and a section of North America, mainly to interfere with Spanish interests in those areas. It followed in the footsteps of the highly successful Dutch East India Company (VOC), which had received its charter in 1602. The directors of the WIC were never much interested in colonizing North America, and it remained a by-product of its charter. But in 1624 the Company made its first serious attempts to settle this part of its territory, which became known as New Netherland, to establish a permanent fur trade with the Native Americans in the region. As in the Dutch Republic, the Reformed religion played an important role within the Company. Roughly 45 percent of its directors also served in church functions and some even argued that the Company was founded first to honor God and spread his word on other continents.<sup>19</sup> However, combining commerce and religion proved to be complicated.<sup>20</sup>

The first hurdle to cross was finding qualified ministers to serve abroad. There were plenty of opportunities to serve in the Dutch Republic, and suitable ministers often had families to consider, making it even less desirable to move to one of the far-flung regions controlled by the WIC.<sup>21</sup> According to Gerald de Jong's research, approximately 13 Dutch Reformed ministers served in the colony between 1628 and 1664.<sup>22</sup> Between 1664 and 1714 these numbers increased to about 25 new ministers. Over the following half-century (1714-1776) the number of ministers tripled to 75.

The WIC kept extensive operational records that shed light on various aspects of life in the territories it controlled. Among the earliest of these documents that relate to the built environment in New Netherland are instructions intended for Willem Verhulst, the provisional director of the colony, covering a wide range of matters. Verhulst received his first set of instructions in January 1625.<sup>23</sup> He was the commissary on the voyage over from the Dutch Republic and would take on the role of the provisional director once in New Netherland. His first charge was to take care of the religious needs of the settlers, both on board and on land. For this, he had to make sure that Sebastiaen Janssz. Crol, as comforter of the sick (*ziekentrooster*), was able to perform all the duties assigned to him by the consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church in Amsterdam.<sup>24</sup>

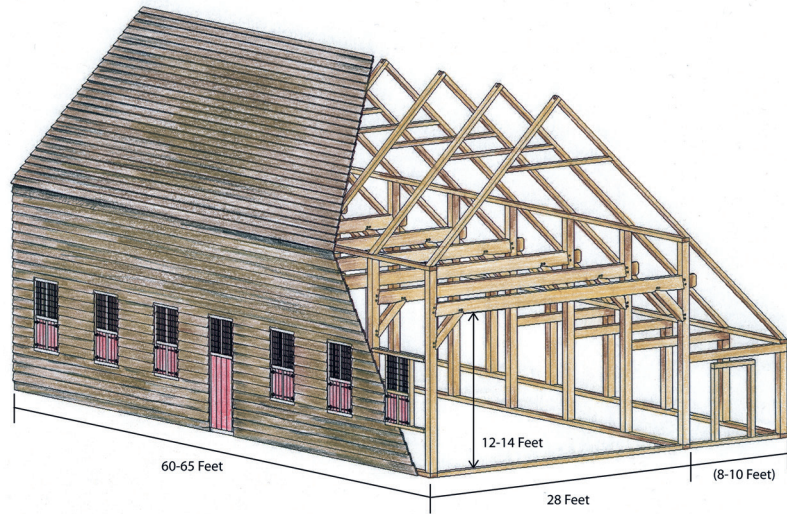
In April of 1625, Verhulst received a second set of instructions.<sup>25</sup> The Company had sent over three more ships to New Netherland with settlers, supplies, and livestock. Article 14 of the second set of instructions mentions a surveyor by the name of Cryn Fredericxsz. With the help of Verhulst, Fredericxsz was to locate an appropriate tract of land, between 800 and 1,000 *morgens*, and to stake out a fortification, with sufficient land for crops and pastures.<sup>26</sup> Cryn Fredericxsz carried with him his own set of instructions for the construction of fortifications and numerous buildings, for what was intended to become New Amsterdam.<sup>27</sup> Once the fortifications were completed, Fredericxsz would have to lay out the main

thoroughfare, the market square, and numerous streets inside the fort. Facing the market square was to be a building measuring 100 feet wide and 50 feet deep. One side, 25 feet wide by 50 feet deep, should function as a school; the other side, of equal dimension, would become the hospital (*gasthuys*), and the remaining central section would function as a church (*kercker*).<sup>28</sup> The building was to be two stories tall, with a ground floor height of 15 feet and the upper floor 9 feet. A 15-foot ceiling height, however, was considered too low for a church, and therefore the two floors of the central section were to be combined. If, over time, the population expansion required a larger church, the school and hospital sections could be annexed to increase the church to the full 100 by 50 feet. The instructions Fredericxsz carried with him referred to a 'model D' for the design of this building. The same model was used for the farmhouses for Company employees, as well as the other houses inside the fort, which were 25 feet square. It is not clear if the model referred to was an actual scale model of the building, a set of measured drawings, or simply written construction specifications (*bouwbestek*) that would have spelled out the important elements of the building. These were all common practices in the Dutch Republic at the time. The Dutch relied on a bent system for the structural integrity of their buildings. Tradition would have determined the types of joints to connect the structural members (posts, tie beams, and braces) and the spacing of the bents. The Dutch utilized three types of windows, known as *kruiskozijn*, *kloosterkozijn*, and *bolkozijn*. The *kruiskozijn*, or crossbar window, was the largest and consisted of two lower casement sections topped by two fixed-glass sections. The windows were modular in nature, with a *kloosterkozijn* being a *kruiskozijn* cut in half vertically, and a *bolkozijn* being a *kruiskozijn* cut horizontally. Although we do not exactly know what these buildings would have looked like, the versatility of their use does suggest that they were highly utilitarian and probably would not have resembled any churches built in the Dutch Republic at that time. It was not only the church that would be multifunctional but the dwelling houses as well. Fredericxsz's instructions suggest that they would have been built row-house style, with the gable ends connected.<sup>29</sup> The second floor of each house would initially be used for the storage of Company goods until more suitable locations could be found, after which they would be used as grain lofts. The commissary's house would occupy a double lot facing the central square, and he would have access to all of these upper floors from his residence.

The construction of a church and parsonage that was requested by the magistrates of the village of Midwout, on Long Island, in 1654, underscores the multifunctional nature of these buildings (fig. 2). An entry in the council minutes from 17 December of that year gives us an insight into these kinds of documents and also the utilitarian nature of some of the early churches that were built in New Netherland.<sup>30</sup> The records suggest that a temporary church was going to be built. It was going to be a side-gabled building (*dwarshuys*) between 60 and 65 feet long and 28 feet wide, with a 12-to-14-foot ceiling height on the ground floor. The carpenters would undoubtedly have utilized a structural bent system for its frame. There would be a side aisle running along the rear of the building that could function as

2

*Reconstruction drawing of the church at  
Midwout, drawing by author*



the parsonage, whereas the church services could take place in the main part of the building. The building's requirement of a single side aisle would have determined the shape of the roof. The width of the side aisle would have been determined by tradition. There is no mention of doors or windows, but we can assume that these would have been expected. Once the community had collected enough money and materials for a (proper) church, the aforementioned building could then be used as the parsonage in its entirety, or as a barn. The information contained within the petition is scarcely enough to construct more than a rectangular box. However, by filling in the blanks in the contract, the builders would have based their work on shared traditions. Catherine Bishir examined this phenomenon in colonial North America in building contracts from the eighteenth century and the use of so-called elaborated and restricted codes.<sup>31</sup> In the case of the use of restricted codes, only the bare minimum of information was required because the outcome would be predetermined based on shared traditions. Therefore, a contract that only called for a dwelling measuring 32 by 18 feet, with three pairs of braces, 9-foot ceiling height, windows with frames, one door, enclosed all around, and one mantelpiece would be sufficient to satisfy the client and guarantee him a house to his liking.<sup>32</sup> The use of elaborated codes would have meant spelling out features that were less common and could also refer to existing examples for comparison. Understanding building traditions in the Dutch Republic, combined with information gleaned from other building contracts from New Netherland, and extrapolating this information, allows us to reconstruct a building that no longer survives.

The surviving colonial manuscripts also make it clear that not everything was executed as stipulated in the documents. A deposition recorded by Cornelis van Tienhoven, secretary of the WIC in New Amsterdam on 22 March 1639, confirms that the church planned for inside the fort back in 1625 was never built.<sup>33</sup> At the request of the new director general, Willem Kieft, the WIC's master carpenter, Gillis Pietersen van der Gouw, reported on everything that had been built during the administration of the former director, Wouter van Twiller. Van der Gouw's deposition mentions a variety

of buildings outside the fort on Manhattan Island, including a church with a house and a stable in the rear. It is not clear from the surviving records if this was a single building, or two or three separate structures, but it was not the same building for which Cryn Fredericxsz had carried the instructions in 1625.

The historical records suggest that polygonal-shaped churches gained popularity in New Netherland as well, but they were not the only types of churches built during the Dutch period. Although the instructions Cryn Fredericxsz carried with him do not seem to have ever been fully executed, the first church in New Amsterdam would have probably more resembled a barn than a church. In Kiliaen van Rensselaer's letter to Arent van Curler in 1639 he mentions the shipment of a wooden model of a small church that was to be erected for the benefit of his employees.<sup>34</sup> The building was modeled after one of Van Rensselaer's farmhouses (*boerenhuys*) on his estate at Crailo (Craloo) in the Dutch Republic.<sup>35</sup> The farmhouse was 60 feet wide, but the church was only to be 48 feet wide, so that it would be less expensive. Van Curler would have to be conscious of its cost, and the construction of the farmhouses would take precedence. The church was to be erected opposite Castle Island, which is located in the Hudson River near present-day Albany, and which was part of Van Rensselaer's patroonship. The church would become the heart of the community, and Van Rensselaer urged his craftsmen, such as the blacksmith, the wainwright, and the carpenter, to build their houses in its vicinity to accomplish this. A letter also dated 4 August 1639, from Kiliaen van Rensselaer to another of his representatives, Cornelis Teunisz van Breuckelen, also refers to the model.<sup>36</sup> It specifies that the church had to be constructed on a hill near the river to the south of the farm De Laets Burch, which was one of Van Rensselaer's farms on the east side of the Hudson River. Van Breuckelen would have to find out from the carpenters how much it would cost, and they would also have to build a house for the minister and the sexton. If need be, a palisade should surround the complex for which the farmers would have to provide the lumber. Kiliaen van Rensselaer's correspondence highlights the complexity of communicating between the Dutch Republic and New Netherland. In a letter dated 26 June 1640, Van Rensselaer responds to an earlier undated letter from Jan Cornelisz, who was both a tobacco planter and a carpenter in his patroonship.<sup>37</sup> Van Rensselaer had been informed by Pieter Wyncoop that the gristmill was completed and operational.<sup>38</sup> Van Rensselaer once more urges that the necessary farmhouses be built, and mentions anew the model of the church he had sent the year before. The letter suggests that an earlier directive had been sent requiring Claes Jansen Ruijter to go to Manhattan to look for suitable lumber, which could be cut during the winter and then transported to the building site by the farmers.<sup>39</sup> He reminds Cornelisz that the church should not be too big and that he should use the dimensions indicated in the earlier memorandum. Not just the construction of the church was of concern to Van Rensselaer, but also finding a suitable minister. His letter suggests there were 'restless spirits in the colony who want to thwart my good work' and who objected to the implementation of tithes to pay for a minister.<sup>40</sup> It becomes obvious that

by 18 July 1641, the church was still not built. Van Rensselaer sent another letter to Arent van Curler covering a variety of topics. He urges Van Curler to bring suit against the farmers who employed their friends instead of the patroon's carpenters and workmen.<sup>41</sup> He insists that the people in the patroonship pay their tithes, and says that they did not realize how fortunate they were over those living on the war-torn borders of the Dutch Republic. Although Van Rensselaer had mentioned the wooden model of the church earlier, this is the first instance where we get a clear picture of its shape, as he describes it 'being mostly like that of an eight-cornered mill'.<sup>42</sup> It should not be more than 48 feet in diameter, even though he would have preferred three or four more feet across. He proposes that either Jan Cornelisz. Timmerman or Andries de Vos builds it.<sup>43</sup> Van Rensselaer also lets Van Curler know that he was still looking for a suitable minister. The first minister, Johannes Megapolensis, would not arrive until June 1642. Other records suggest that the church was never built, but that instead the patroon's storehouse near Fort Orange was adapted to become a church.<sup>44</sup>

Whereas Kiliaen van Rensselaer was only interested in the spiritual well-being of his employees in his patroonship, the WIC had to take care of the spiritual needs of its employees in the remainder of New Netherland. Although Cryn Fredericxsz's instructions mentioned the construction of a church back in 1625, there are no records to suggest that it was built. Almost two decades later, in 1642, the records of the provincial secretary mention the construction of a stone church at Fort Amsterdam, by John and Richard Ogden, two Englishmen from nearby Stamford, Connecticut.<sup>45</sup> The building was to be constructed of undressed stone (*clipsteen*), measuring 72 feet long, 54 feet wide, and 16 feet high. The Ogden brothers would deliver the stone to the waterfront (*strant*) by the fort, after which the churchmasters would have it transported to the construction site. The churchmasters would provide as much lime as was necessary for the construction, but the Ogdens had to do the rest at their own expense. Once the church was completed to the satisfaction of the churchmasters, the Ogdens would be paid 2,500 guilders, in money, beaver pelts, or merchandise. If the churchmasters deemed the work to have been worth every *stuiver*, they would give them a 100-guilder bonus. Based on the surviving colonial manuscripts, the church at Fort Amsterdam would remain an exception during the Dutch colonial period as far as the use of stone as a building material is concerned. Perhaps the most obvious reason is that stone was not an indigenous building material in the Dutch Republic at the time. Occasionally, large public buildings might be constructed of stone, but the stone would have had to be imported from abroad at additional cost, together with the expertise to put it together. Similar to the case with Kiliaen van Rensselaer, the records are insufficient to indicate whether or not the church was even built and/or completed to the specifications referred to in the contract. A letter from 14 November 1647 from Peter Stuyvesant, then the director general of New Netherland, suggests that the process was drawn out similarly to Van Rensselaer's experience. Stuyvesant reports that the fortress at New Amsterdam had fallen into disrepair and needed to be fixed to protect 'against all enemies from outside', and that the church was being completed.<sup>46</sup>



3

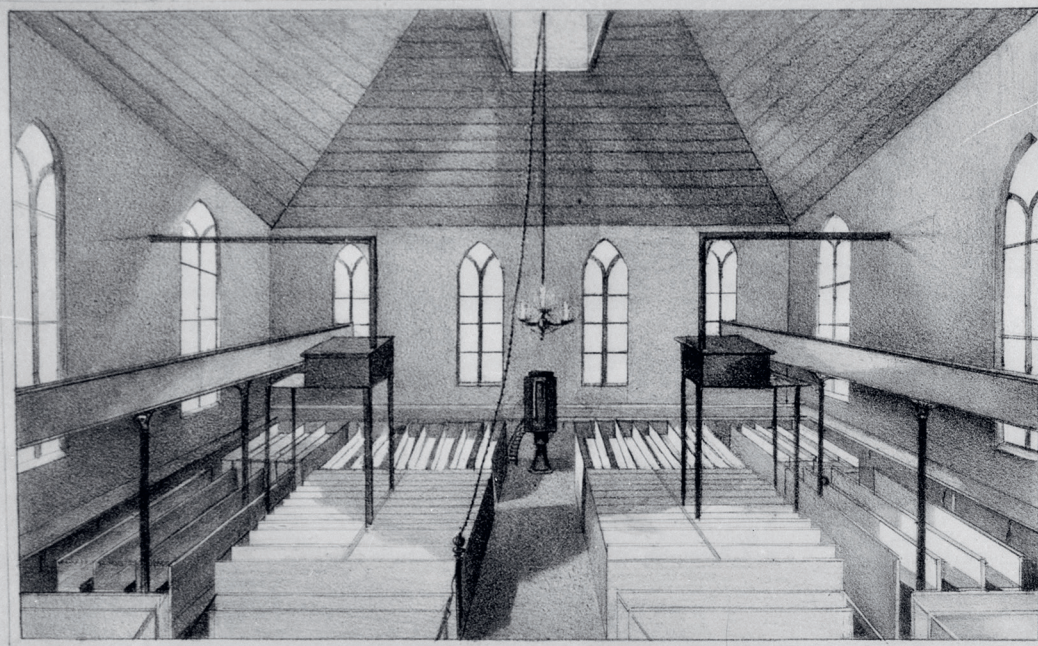
*A view of the Late Protestant Dutch Church in the City of Albany, 1806,*  
 New York, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach  
 Division of Art, Prints and Photographs:  
 Print Collection, New York Public Library  
 Digital Collections, 1640-1904.

The surviving colonial manuscripts paint an incomplete picture of the built environment in New Netherland but allow us to extrapolate some of the practices carried over from the Dutch Republic. One such practice was that of a public bid for the construction of a building. In some cases, the building specifications (*bouwbestek*) would be made public, and contractors could bid on them. The court minutes for Fort Orange record such a case in 1656. Stoffel Jansz and Jan Roelofs won a public bid to build a blockhouse church in the village of Beverwyck.<sup>47</sup> It replaced a wooden church built in 1643, which measured 34 feet in length and 19 feet in width.<sup>48</sup> The fact that the new building was described as a blockhouse also indicates that it likely would not have looked like a traditional church and would have been multifunctional. In the case of an attack, the building would function as a fort and a place of refuge to protect the settlers. A similar utilitarian nature of churches was also customary in the Dutch Republic, where churches belonged to the parish and not the Reformed Church, or its congregation, and could therefore be utilized in different ways.<sup>49</sup> Whereas no visual records survive of the blockhouse church, we do know what the building that replaced it in 1715 looked like (fig. 3). The new church was constructed around the existing church so as not to disrupt services, and after the new church was completed, the old church was dismantled.<sup>50</sup> The new church was a rectangular stone building with a centralized plan, a hip roof, and a small belfry -- a type of church that would not have been out of place in the Dutch Republic. Its tall lancet windows with basic tracery were reminiscent of Gothic churches, and were a feature also applied to new churches built in the Dutch Republic during the seventeenth century. Even new churches still had to be recognized as such by the citizens.<sup>51</sup>

A print from the second half of the nineteenth century shows the interior of the church, with its centrally placed pulpit, single chandelier, balcony, and elevated stoves (fig. 4). Important members of the congregation sat to the left and right of the pulpit, and the remaining seats on the ground floor of the church were for women. Men were assigned to the balcony. The austere interior of the church, however, may not be representative of what it looked like in 1715. In recalling what the old Dutch Church looked like, Joel Munsell mentioned that it was 'gaily painted and richly ornamented' and that it had stained-glass windows, adorned with the coats of arms of some of the families in the congregation.<sup>52</sup> Following the Reformation, churches in the Dutch Republic were stripped of all decorations, but some ultimately found their way back in, in the form of a variety of signs ranging from Bible texts, sometimes commissioned by the local guilds, to the Ten Commandments, hatchments, and lists of preachers. Stained-glass windows also made their return. Windows were often donated by the government, cities, guilds, or well-to-do parishioners.<sup>53</sup> Some of the stained-glass windows showed coats of arms, of either a city, guilds, or donors who paid for the windows.<sup>54</sup> In keeping with this tradition, the blockhouse church in Beverwyck had several stained-glass windows commemorating some of the local dignitaries. Some sources suggest that this practice also occurred in other churches and public buildings built in New Netherland.<sup>55</sup>

4

*Old Dutch Church, State, Market & Court Streets, Albany*, Historic American Buildings Survey, New York Albany County, 1933, Library of Congress



Stove Bell Rope Stove  
 INTERIOR OF THE OLD DUTCH CHURCH.  
 Erected 1715. Demolished 1806.  
 Lith. of Lewis & Updegraff, 812 Broadway, Albany.

## Perception of Dutchness

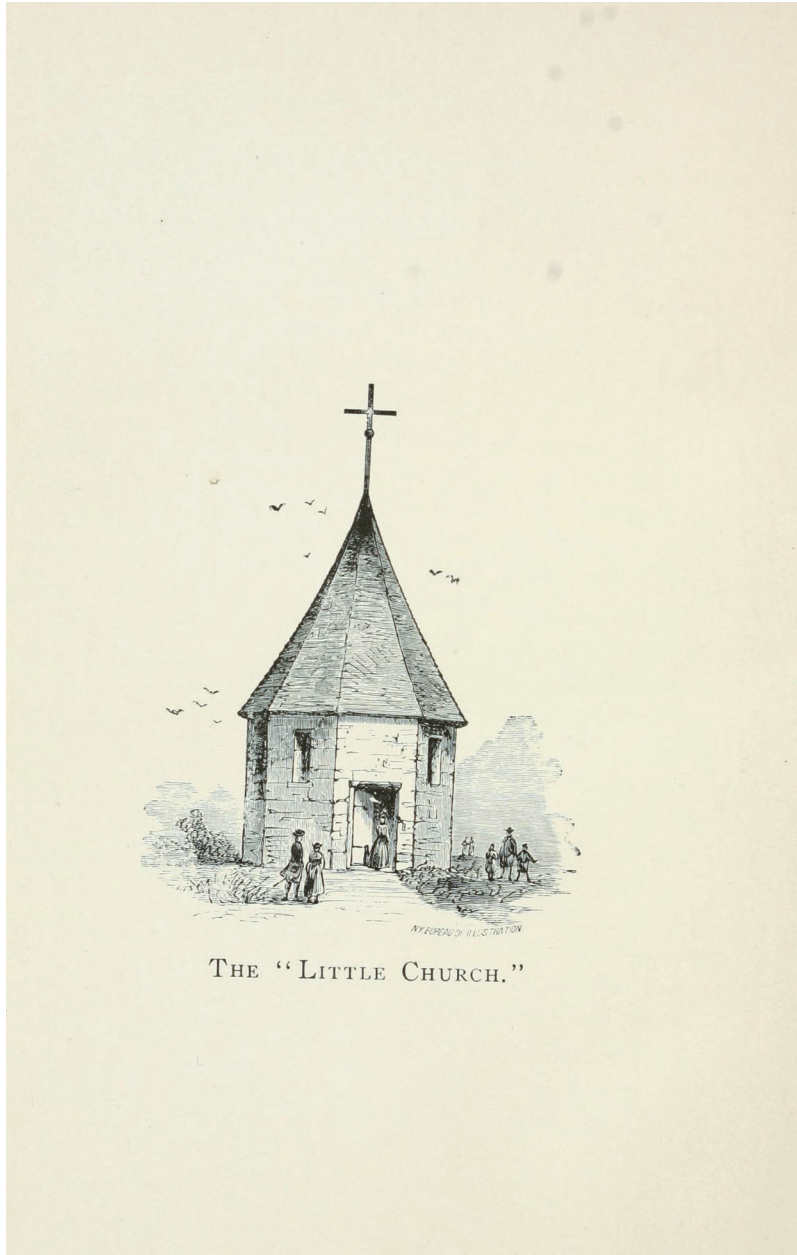
Fred Kniffen's suggestion that the cultural contributions of the 'Holland Dutch' were 'lost in a sea of alien culture' by the end of the eighteenth century is perhaps a fair assessment.<sup>56</sup> However, in the roughly 126 years after the British took control of the colony, the original European settlers of New Netherland and their descendants managed to leave their mark on the material culture of the region that has often been labeled 'Dutch'. After the English took over the colony on 8 September 1664, many of the European settlers stayed around and continued their lives as before. This included holding on to established traditions in church architecture. Several records survive that can give us insight into the appearance of some of these early churches and how they were perceived. The Dutch Reformed congregation in what is now Jersey City, New Jersey, directly across the Hudson River from Manhattan, constructed a small octagonal church out of sandstone between 1680 and 1681. Built by William Day, the building was only 20 feet in diameter and served the congregation until 1773 (fig. 5).<sup>57</sup>

A late seventeenth-century travel account also provides us with information about some of the early churches in New York City. In 1697 Dr. Benjamin Bullivant traveled from Boston to New York City. Governor Benjamin Fletcher entertained Bullivant while he was in the city and took him to the First Trinity Church, while it was under construction. Bullivant describes the church as 'of good brown square stone & brick exactly English fashion with a Large square steeple at the west end, not yet half carried up but the church is covered though not yet glazed or seated'.<sup>58</sup> The church would not be finished until the following spring, and in the meantime, the English held their services in what Bullivant describes as the 'New Dutch Church', although he did not specify what this building looked like. Bullivant's account of the architecture in New York City and its citizens does tell us that his observations were already 'colored by complex perceptions of ethnicity'.<sup>59</sup> Bullivant describes the old buildings in the city as 'very meane', but the 'new buildings are magnificent enough'.<sup>60</sup> Interestingly, what Bullivant describes as new were tall front-gabled buildings that would not have been out of place along the canals of Amsterdam in the Dutch Republic.

In *A history of Long Island*, written in 1845, Nathaniel Prime recalls the distinct shape of four Dutch Reformed churches. In his general description of Queens County, he comments on its 'Dutch character' and that a 'Dutch house, or a Dutch barn' was 'from time immemorial, a term that conveyed as definite an idea to the mind, as the most detailed description could have given'.<sup>61</sup> According to Prime, the same was true for a Dutch church during the eighteenth century, as it was 'invariably conceived to bear a strong resemblance to a Light-house, only occupying more ground at its base, and not extending to so great a height'.<sup>62</sup> Prime also remarks that other denominations sometimes built their houses of worship on the same plan, because it was readily recognizable as a church. The Dutch Reformed congregation at New Utrecht built a stone church 'in the usual octagonal form' in 1700.<sup>63</sup> During the Revolutionary War, the British used it as either a hospital or a prison, according to Prime. Around 1708 the congregation at

5

*Bergen Church, 1680-1681, H. Phillips Eaton, Jersey City and its historic sites, Jersey City, The Woman's Club, c. 1899, Washington D.C., Library of Congress*



Bushwick built a church 'in the usual form, an octagon, with a pyramidal roof, surmounted with a cupola' (fig. 6).<sup>64</sup> The church was initially sparsely furnished, lacking pews and a balcony. These were not furnished until the end of the century, and the church was ultimately demolished in 1829.

The Dutch Reformed Church in Jamaica was also in the shape of an octagon, 34 feet in diameter, and was erected in 1715 (fig. 7).<sup>65</sup> During the war, the British used it as a military storehouse, but the congregation restored it lovingly and used the church until a new one was built in 1833. In 1732 a Dutch Reformed church was built in Wolver Hollow 'in the orthodox form,



6

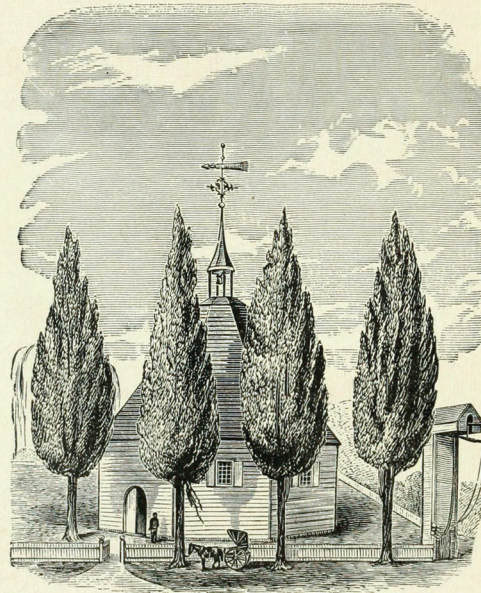
G. Hayward, *The Old Bushwick Church L.I., built in 1711, 1864*, lithograph, New York, Brooklyn Museum, Dick S. Ramsay Fund, 54.137.7 (photo: Brooklyn Museum, 54.137.7\_P52.jpg)

a regular octagon with a corresponding roof'.<sup>66</sup> This church was replaced in 1832.

In 1744 Dr. Alexander Hamilton, from Annapolis, Maryland, traveled along the East Coast and made similar observations to Bullivant's. His regard for the descendants of the original settlers of the former colony of New Netherland was perhaps typical for the period. The 'Dutch' were often seen as unnecessarily frugal and boorish, something that was reflected not only in their habits but also in their architecture. On Hamilton's arrival in New Castle, Delaware, the former Dutch town of Nieuw Amstel, he comments on how 'A great many of the houses are old and crazy' and that they were built after 'the Dutch model'.<sup>67</sup> Hamilton observed that many of the people living in the area still spoke Dutch, and at times only Dutch, much to his chagrin. Arriving in New York City, he comments on the front-gabled brick buildings 'after the Dutch model' with pantile roofs and date anchors and mentions that there were two Dutch churches on Broadway.<sup>68</sup> He later describes a 'new Dutch church' as a 'pretty large but heavy stone building' but that it is 'destitute of taste or elegance' as, according to Hamilton's opinion, was often the case with Dutch buildings.<sup>69</sup> The black walnut pulpit, however, was handsome enough and the pews were in 'a very regular order'.<sup>70</sup> The interior of the church was kept very clean, and the acoustics were good. Hamilton continued his travels up the Hudson River to Albany and Schenectady, both settled by the Dutch during the seventeenth century. He bemoaned the use of the Dutch language and wrote in his diary that 'one's ears [are] perpetually invaded and molested with volleys of rough-sounding Dutch, which is the language most in use here'.<sup>71</sup> Hamilton makes no mention of the Dutch Reformed Church in Albany but does describe the houses that the Dutch lived in. He appears to have appreciated the cleanliness in their houses and that they decorated the rooms with biblical pictures and Delft plates, but that 'they are in their persons slovenly and dirty'.<sup>72</sup> Hamilton furthermore describes the houses

7

*First Reformed Dutch Church, Jamaica, L.I., 1715*, H. Onderdonk Jr. & W.H. De Hart, *History of the First Reformed Dutch Church of Jamaica, L.I.* (Jamaica, The Consistory 1884), Library of Congress



FIRST REFORMED (DUTCH) CHURCH,  
Fronting on the Main Street, Jamaica; intended for the Congregation spread through all Queens County. Erected 1716; taken down 1833. It was of octagon shape. In front are poplar trees, and on the west an old-fashioned hay scales.

in Albany as prisons, with the occupants keeping the doors and windows shut. He attributes this to their lack of desire to have 'conversation and society' and that their main focus was on 'profit and gain', which made them live in a 'retired and frugal' manner.<sup>73</sup> Returning to New York City, Hamilton briefly recounts the history of the city, that it was originally settled by the Dutch, and that they still made up a majority of the members of the House of Assembly.<sup>74</sup> On his way to Boston, Hamilton passed through the settlement of Jamaica, on Long Island. There were a few houses in the settlement, and three churches -- a Presbyterian meetinghouse, an English

church, and a Dutch church. Hamilton does not describe the first two churches but describes the Dutch church as a frame octagonal building.<sup>75</sup> This was undoubtedly the church Nathaniel Prime also would describe in his history of Long Island in 1845. Henry Onderdonk, in his *History of the First Reformed Dutch Church of Jamaica, L.I.* of 1884, describes the church as 'eight sided or an octagon with a steep roof from the centre of which rose a cupola with a bell cast at Amsterdam'.<sup>76</sup> Interestingly enough, on his way back from Boston, Hamilton went through Fairfield, Connecticut, and he mentions that there was 'an octagonal church or meeting built of wood, like that of Jamaica upon Long Island'.<sup>77</sup> The meeting house in Fairfield was built around 1698 and was described by Joshua Hempstead, in 1749, as a 'Dutch 8 Squar[e] meetinghouse'.<sup>78</sup> Despite Hempstead's addition of the word 'Dutch', the building most likely belonged to a Congregationalist society and not a Dutch Reformed congregation.<sup>79</sup>

Several years after Dr. Hamilton traveled up the East Coast, the Swedish naturalist Pehr (Peter) Kalm followed in his footsteps.<sup>80</sup> Kalm was a pupil of the famous Swedish naturalist Carolus Linnaeus. The Swedish Academy of Sciences initiated this trip to discover plants and trees that could be beneficial to Sweden.<sup>81</sup> He observed not only the flora of North America but also its fauna, the people, the architecture, and some of the agricultural practices. He was, of course, also interested in the history of New Sweden, the Swedish colony established on the Delaware River in 1638, near present-day Wilmington, Delaware.<sup>82</sup> Kalm arrived in Philadelphia in September of 1748. While there, he made various excursions into the surrounding area and commented upon the local flora and fauna. By the end of October, Kalm traveled north toward New York City. He noticed the large barns used predominantly by Dutch and German settlers. His description is similar to types of barns still found in the upper Hudson Valley, and often labeled 'Dutch' barns:

The main building was very large almost the size of a small church; the roof was high, covered with wooden shingles, sloping on both sides, but not steep. The walls which supported it were not much higher than a full grown man; but on the other hand the breadth of the building was all the greater (...) and in both ends of the building were large doors, so that one could drive in with a cart and horses through one of them, and go out at the other end. Here under one roof therefore were the thrashing floor, the barn, the stables, the hay loft, the coach house, etc.<sup>83</sup>

Kalm also observed that many of the inhabitants of the region between Trenton and New York were of Dutch and German descent, and only a few were English. As he passed through New Brunswick, he comments on the fact that the façades of many of the houses were made of brick, whereas the builders constructed the side elevations of boards. Kalm considered this feature ostentatious and somewhat misleading.<sup>84</sup> Arriving in New York City in November 1748, Kalm comments on the Dutch history of the town and the colony. As for the architecture, he wrote that most of the houses were 'built of brick, and are generally strong and neat, and several stories high', and some of them were in the 'old style, turned the gable end toward the street; but the new houses were altered in this respect'.<sup>85</sup> Kalm also mentions several of the churches.<sup>86</sup> The English had built a stone church

at the west end of town in 1695 with a steeple and a bell.<sup>87</sup> There was a large new Dutch church, also constructed out of stone, with a steeple and a clock, which was the only one in town. The building had 'several doors and large, high windows on all sides'.<sup>88</sup> The interior walls were painted white, and it had a wooden vaulted ceiling. There was no altar in the church or a balcony, nor room for a vestry or sacristy. There was also an 'old' Dutch church, made out of stone, but smaller than the new Dutch church. Two pillars at the center of the church supported the wooden vaulted ceiling, and it had some stained-glass windows, which Kalm speculates could not have been that old since one was inscribed with the name 'New York City'. Unlike the new Dutch church, the old one was painted, but only with coats of arms and not figures. There were also two large balconies where, according to custom, the men would sit, as the women would sit in pews on the ground floor.<sup>89</sup> Kalm attended services in both churches but considered both of them a waste of his time. He furthermore mentions a Presbyterian church, a German Lutheran church, a German Reformed church, a French church, a Quaker meetinghouse, and a Jewish synagogue.<sup>90</sup>

Similarly to Hamilton, Kalm also traveled up to Albany. He mentions that Dutch was the predominant language in areas between New York City and Albany, and in Albany, where their manners were also predominantly Dutch, although they dressed like the English.<sup>91</sup> Kalm describes the Dutch church in Albany as a stone building with a small central steeple with a bell.<sup>92</sup> He also mentions a stone English church, but it did not have a steeple. There was, however, no English minister at the time, so no services were held at this church. This was not an issue according to Kalm, since all people except for the garrison understood Dutch, and the Dutch minister held two services every Sunday.

By the 1740s both Alexander Hamilton and Pehr Kalm still noticed the presence of a distinct Dutch essence in the culture of New York and other areas settled under the Dutch West India Company. However, both of them also noticed that some of this was starting to wane. Hamilton points out this decline in his travel diary, and Kalm writes that 'they were beginning however by degrees to change their manners and opinions, chiefly indeed in the town and in its neighborhood; for most of the young people now speak principally English, go only to the English church, and would even take it amiss if they were called Dutchmen and not Englishmen'.<sup>93</sup>

## Conclusion

The material culture of New Netherland and its colonial descendants is a complex construct. Similar to the Dutch Republic, New Netherland was a cultural melting pot. David Cohen has shown that little more than 50 percent of the population of New Netherland came from the Dutch Republic.<sup>94</sup> For the built environment this diversity not only pertained to the clients but also to the builders. The surviving building contracts list several clients and carpenters of non-Dutch origin. The architecture of New Netherland was therefore susceptible not only to regional differences from within the Dutch Republic but also to influences from outside its national borders. However, we must also recognize that cultural patterns

often extend beyond political or linguistic borders. Similar architectural traditions existed in what are now parts of the Netherlands, Belgium, and Germany. Furthermore, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there was at times a lively cultural and economic exchange taking place between these regions.

The number of craftsmen in the colony and their skill levels may also have had an impact on the architecture. Talented craftsmen would likely have been less inclined to emigrate from the Dutch Republic to an unknown frontier. The Dutch Republic was experiencing its Golden Age during the seventeenth century. Those who left probably had fewer skills and often supplemented their income by some other means. Having fewer skilled carpenters may have similarly necessitated a simplification of traditional framing techniques and the types of buildings that were built.<sup>95</sup>

Due to a variety of circumstances, the actual architecture in New Netherland may have started to diverge from pure Dutch traditions right from the beginning. The ethnically mixed group of settlers, dissimilar building materials, different environments, and smaller number of skilled carpenters undoubtedly affected the architecture that was built by the initial European settlers of New Netherland. However, as James Deetz puts it, the initial settlers probably 'brought with them a blueprint — in their minds — for recreating the culture they had left behind'.<sup>96</sup>

Despite their various cultural backgrounds, based on the information gleaned from the surviving building contracts and other colonial manuscripts, it appears that the earliest 'blueprint' they had in mind for their architecture likely resembled Dutch prototypes. The earliest surviving buildings, however, indicate patterns of cultural transformation. Because of a lack of surviving buildings from the period between 1624 and 1664, it is difficult to ascertain how early this transformation may have occurred. Based on the circumstances, it is likely that the initial European settlers of New Netherland invented a new cultural identity, based on several European prototypes, probably a fair share of resistance and accommodation, but dominated by a Dutch culture. Due to the considerable distances between the main settlements in New Netherland — Nieuw Amsterdam (New York City), Beverwyck (Albany), Wiltwyck (Kingston), and Nieuw Amstel (New Castle) — and the availability of specific building materials in these regions, regional variations must have occurred.

The architectural variety of the Dutch Reformed churches in the region likely developed along similar lines. Some buildings followed the newly developed ideas for religious buildings of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Dutch Republic. Others, however, were constructed with a more practical mindset and could serve multiple uses and be repurposed if necessary. According to Gerald de Jong's research, the colonists built 11 churches in New Netherland between 1628 and 1664 before the English took over.<sup>97</sup> Between 1664 and 1714 these numbers increased to about 35 churches. Over the following half-century (1714-1776) there were nearly 100 Dutch Reformed churches in North America. At some point, approximately 20 octagonal Dutch Reformed churches could be found along the Hudson River, Long Island, and in northern New Jersey, built between 1680 and

1750.<sup>98</sup> Whereas most of the congregations still exist, the early churches have long since been replaced by other structures.

It is probably true that by the third quarter of the eighteenth century, facing an increasing decline in their 'Dutchness', the descendants of the settlers of New Netherland gradually submitted to increasing external influences and blended into a more Anglo-American landscape.

As these changes occurred so did the architectural styles of the churches change. By the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, Dutch Reformed churches started to adhere to popular church designs in North America, often consisting of a simple rectangular block with a tower and steeple at the gable end, in a classically inspired or Gothic Revival style -- a type of church architecture that drew inspiration from the Anglican churches that Christopher Wren had started to design in London after the Great Fire of 1666. As the Greek Revival style gained popularity in the United States in the 1820s, this also became a popular style for new churches among Dutch Reformed congregations (fig. 8).

As the nineteenth century progressed, fewer and fewer ministers still preached in the Dutch language, and the congregations and their churches became in many ways indistinguishable from the other denominations and their churches that dotted the landscape. The expression is that history is written by the victors, and for a very long time history in North America has been viewed through an English lens, ignoring the contributions of non-Anglo-American groups. In the larger scope, the 40 years that the WIC controlled New Netherland seem insignificant, and there are few physical reminders of that period. Because the WIC was primarily a joint-stock venture intent upon providing a return for its investors, its ambitions were probably not focused on recreating an exact copy of the Dutch Republic, and the surviving records at times attest to this lack of commitment.



However, a close study of the surviving documents shows that the traditions and cultural patterns introduced by the original European settlers of New Netherland did not disappear on 8 September 1664, and, as Nathaniel Prime pointed out in 1845, certain features, such as the octagonal-shaped churches, are forever associated with the Dutch.

## Notes

- 1 Van Laer 1908, 411-416.
- 2 Van Laer 1908, 414.
- 3 Van Laer 1908, 452-456. Arent van Curler was also Kiliaen van Rensselaer's cousin.
- 4 Gowans 1964, 46-63.
- 5 Kniffen 1965, 557-558.
- 6 Van den Hurk 2008.
- 7 Von der Dunk 1990, 2.
- 8 Snaet 2007, 251.
- 9 Spicer 2007, 12.
- 10 Snaet 1999, 49-50.
- 11 Van Vaernewyck 1881, 108; Spicer 2007, 114-115.
- 12 In his 1999 article, Joris Snaet mentions that Van Vaernewyck's description suggests that the church would have been similar to a barn (*rurale schuur*). Snaet 1999, 48-49.
- 13 Ottenheim 2015.
- 14 Ottenheim 2015, 105-109.
- 15 Juten 1922, 15; Snaet 1999, 52.
- 16 Ottenheim 2015, 101.
- 17 Ottenheim 2015, 105. The Noorderkerk (1620-1622) in Amsterdam combines a Greek cross and an octagon. The Marekerk (1639-1648) in Leiden has an octagonal plan. The Nieuwe Kerk (1645) in Haarlem is a Greek cross within a square. The Oosterkerk (1648-1667) in Middelburg has an octagonal plan.
- 18 Den Heijer 2013.
- 19 Noorlander 2019, 43.
- 20 Rink 1994.
- 21 Noorlander 2019, 29-35.
- 22 De Jong 1991, 191.
- 23 Van Laer 1924, 36-79.
- 24 A comforter of the sick (*ziekentrooster*) was a non-ordained clergy with limited authority. They conducted common prayers, visited and comforted the sick, and read from the Bible. Rink 1994. His name is alternatively spelled Bastiaen Jansz. Krol.
- 25 Van Laer 1924, 82-129.
- 26 A *morgen* is the amount of land that could be plowed in a morning. It varies in size from region to region, as do a lot of these early measurements. A *Rijnlandse morgen* is 8,516 square meters, or 2.1 acres. This would mean that they were looking for a tract between 1,683 and 2,100 acres.
- 27 Van Laer 1924, 132-168; Van den Hurk 2015, 265-283.
- 28 Van Laer 1924, 160.
- 29 Van Laer 1924, 163-164.
- 30 Gehring 1983, 215.
- 31 Bishir 1991.
- 32 Van Laer 1974a, 217-219.
- 33 Van Laer 1974a, 108-110.
- 34 Van Laer 1908, 454.
- 35 Eekhof 1913, 104-105.
- 36 Van Laer 1908, 459.
- 37 Van Laer 1908, 504. Jan Cornelisz is also referred to as Jan Cornelisz Timmerman and was a master carpenter from the town of Leyden. He arrived in New Netherland in 1639. Van Laer 1908, 821.
- 38 Van Laer 1908, 670. The settlers of Rensselaerswyck, and New Netherland, often held multiple functions. It is therefore not clear who this Pieter Wyncoop is. Later correspondence suggests that there was a Pieter Pietersz. Wijncoop who was Van Rensselaer's supercargo on board the ship *het Wapen van Rensselaerswyck*.
- 39 Van Laer 1908, 816. Claes Jansen (Jansz.) Ruijter was a house carpenter by trade from the town of Naarden and arrived in New Netherland in 1637.
- 40 Van Laer 1908, 505.
- 41 Van Laer 1908, 560.
- 42 Van Laer 1908, 561.
- 43 Van Laer 1908, 825. Van Rensselaer describes Andries de Vos as both a farmer and a carpenter. He arrived in New Netherland in May 1641.
- 44 Van Laer 1908, 828.
- 45 Van Laer 1974b, 35-36.
- 46 Van Laer 1974c, 388-389.
- 47 Van Laer 1920, 263. Beverwyck would be renamed Albany in 1664.
- 48 Rogers 1858, 13.
- 49 Spicer 2007, 155.
- 50 Blackburn & Piwonka 1988, 51.
- 51 Ottenheim 2015, 105-106.
- 52 Munsell 1865, 384. On the stained-glass windows, see Margot Steurbaut's essay in this volume, 'The glazing of Beverwijck's First Dutch Reformed Church. Colonial power visualized'.
- 53 Van Swigchem *et al.* 1984.
- 54 Van Swigchem *et al.* 1984, 291.
- 55 Vail 1952.
- 56 Kniffen 1965.
- 57 New Jersey City University 2023.
- 58 Andrews 1956, 62.
- 59 Lanier 2005, 69.
- 60 Andrews 1956, 65.
- 61 Prime 1845, 69.
- 62 Prime 1845, 69.
- 63 Prime 1845, 341.
- 64 Prime 1845, 347.
- 65 Prime 1845, 308.
- 66 Prime 1845, 272. Wolver Hollow is now known as Brookville.
- 67 Hamilton 1907, 16.
- 68 Hamilton 1907, 34.
- 69 Hamilton 1907, 38.
- 70 Hamilton 1907, 38.
- 71 Hamilton 1907, 50.
- 72 Hamilton 1907, 52.
- 73 Hamilton 1907, 52.
- 74 Hamilton 1907, 61. But despite there still being a large number of Dutch speakers, Hamilton also observed that 'now their language and customs begin pretty much to wear out and would very soon die were it not for a parcel of Dutch domines here, who, in the education of their children, endeavor to preserve the Dutch customs as much as possible'.
- 75 Hamilton 1907, 61-62.
- 76 Onderdonk & De Hart 1884, 18.
- 77 Hamilton 1907, 108.
- 78 Benes 2016, 127; Hempstead 1901, 530.
- 79 Benes 2016, 128.
- 80 Kalm (1770) 1966.
- 81 Kalm (1770) 1966, vii-xiii.
- 82 The Swedish South Company established New Sweden in 1638. One of the key players was Peter Minuit, who had been one of the early directors of New Netherland but had been removed from his post in 1632. New Sweden's lifespan would be even shorter than that of New Netherland. The Dutch West India Company considered the Delaware River part of their territory. In 1651, Peter Stuyvesant established a new fort on the Delaware — Fort Casimir — in an effort to cut off Swedish trade. In 1654, the Swedes captured this fort, and in 1655 Stuyvesant returned to end once and for all Swedish control of the Delaware.
- 83 Kalm (1770) 1966, 188-189.
- 84 Kalm (1770) 1966, 121.

- 85 Kalm (1770) 1966, 132.  
 86 Kalm (1770) 1966, 132-133.  
 87 This was probably Trinity Church.  
 88 Kalm (1770) 1966, 623.  
 89 Kalm (1770) 1966, 624.
- 90 Kalm (1770) 1966, 133.  
 91 Kalm (1770) 1966, 343.  
 92 Kalm (1770) 1966, 341.  
 93 Kalm (1770) 1966, 141-142.  
 94 Cohen 1981.
- 95 Upton 1981.  
 96 Deetz 1996, 58.  
 97 De Jong 1991, 191.  
 98 Bannister 1945, 46; Schmidt 1958; Perrin 1963, 50.

## Bibliography

### Andrews 1956

W. Andrews, 'A glance at New York in 1697. The travel diary of Dr. Benjamin Bullivant', *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 11 (January 1956), no. 1, 55-73.

### Bannister 1945

T.C. Bannister, 'The architecture of the octagon in New York State', *New York History* 26 (1945), no. 1, 43-50.

### Benes 2016

P. Benes, 'The New England meetinghouse. An Atlantic perspective', in: D. Maudlin & B.L. Herman (eds.), *Building the British Atlantic world. Spaces, places, and material culture, 1600-1850*, Chapel Hill 2016, 119-411.

### Bishir 1991

C.W. Bishir, 'Good and sufficient language for building', in: T. Carter & B.L. Herman (eds.), *Perspectives in vernacular architecture*, vol. 4, Columbia & London 1991, 44-52.

### Blackburn & Piwonka 1988

R.H. Blackburn & R. Piwonka, *Remembrance of patria. Dutch arts and culture in North America, 1609-1776*, Albany 1988.

### Brief History of Old Bergen Church 1976

'Brief history of Old Bergen Church. From its beginnings to the present day', MS, 12 January 1976, Joan D. Lovero Collection, New Jersey Room, Jersey City Free Public Library, Jersey City, NJ.

### Cohen 1981

D.S. Cohen, 'How Dutch were the Dutch of New Netherland?', *New York History* 62 (January 1981), no. 1, 43-60.

### Deetz 1996

J. Deetz, *In small things forgotten. An archaeology of early American life* (1977), rev. ed., New York 1996.

### Von der Dunk 1990

T.H. von der Dunk, 'Tussen polygon en kruiskerk. Uitgangspunten voor de bestudering van de hervormde kerkbouw in de eerste helft van de negentiende eeuw in Nederland', *Kunstlicht* 11 (1990), no. 1, 2-13.

### Eekhof 1913

A. Eekhof, *De Hervormde Kerk in Noord-Amerika (1624-1664)*, The Hague 1913.

### Gehring 1983

C.T. Gehring (trans.), *Council minutes, 1652-1654*. Vol. 5 of *New York Historical Manuscripts. Dutch*. Baltimore 1983.

### Gehring 1995

C.T. Gehring (trans.), *Council minutes, 1655-1656*, Syracuse 1995.

### Gowans 1964

A. Gowans, *Images of American living. Four centuries of architecture and furniture as cultural expression*, Philadelphia 1964.

### Hamilton 1907

A. Hamilton, *Hamilton's itinerarium. Being a narrative of a journey from Annapolis, Maryland, through Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Hampshire from May to September, 1744* (A. Bushnell Hart, ed.), St. Louis 1907.

### Den Heijer 2013

H.J. den Heijer, *Geschiedenis van de WTC. Opkomst, bloei en ondergang*, Zutphen 2013.

### Hempstead 1901

J. Hempstead, *Diary of Joshua Hempstead of New London, Connecticut. Covering a period of forty-seven years, from September, 1711, to November, 1758. Containing valuable genealogical data relating to many New London families, references to the Colonial Wars, to the shipping and other matters of interest pertaining to the town and the times, with an account of a journey made by the writer from New London to Maryland*, New London 1901 (*Collections of the New London County Historical Society*, vol. 1).

### Van den Hurk 2008

J. van den Hurk, 'Building a house in New Netherland. Documentary sources for New Netherlandic architecture, 1624-64', in: M. Bruijn Lacy, C.T. Gehring & J. Oosterhoff (eds.), *From De Halve Maen to KLM. 400 years of Dutch-American exchange*, Münster 2008, 25-40.

### Van den Hurk 2015

J. van den Hurk, 'Plan versus execution. The "ideal city" of New Amsterdam. Seventeenth-century Netherlandic town planning in North America, with the *New York History* 96 (2015), nos. 3, 4, 265-283.

### De Jong 1991

G.F. de Jong, 'The education and training of Dutch ministers', in: N.A. McClure Zeller (ed.), C.T. Gehring (intro.), *A beautiful and fruitful place. Selected Rensselaerswijck seminar papers*, Albany 1991, 191-198.

### Juten 1922

G.C.A. Juten, 'De koepelkerk van Willemstad', *Taxandria. Tijdschrift voor Noordbrabantsche Geschiedenis en Volkskunde* (W.J.F. Juten & G.C.A. Juten, eds.), Jaargang 29 (1922), 11-32.

### Kalm (1770) 1966

P. Kalm, *The America of 1750. Peter Kalm's travels in North America. The English version of 1770* (A.B. Benson, ed.), New York 1966, 2 vols.

**Kniffen 1965**

F. Kniffen, 'Folk housing. Key to diffusion', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55 (December 1965), no. 4, 549-577.

**Van Laer 1908**

A.J.F. van Laer, *Van Rensselaer Bowier manuscripts, being the letters of Kiliaen van Rensselaer, 1630-1643, and other documents relating to the colony of Rensselaerswyck*, Albany 1908.

**Van Laer 1920**

A.J.F. van Laer (trans.), *Minutes of the court of Fort Orange and Beverwyck, 1652-1656*, Albany 1920.

**Van Laer 1924**

A.J.F. van Laer, *Documents relating to New Netherland, 1624-1626*. In *The Henry E. Huntington Library*, San Marino 1924.

**Van Laer 1974a**

A.J.F. van Laer (trans. & annotator), *New York historical manuscripts. Dutch*, vol. 1. *Register of the Provincial Secretary, 1638-1642* (K. Scott & K. Stryker-Rodda, eds.), Baltimore 1974.

**Van Laer 1974b**

A.J.F. van Laer, *New York historical manuscripts. Dutch*, vol. 2. *Register of the Provincial Secretary, 1642-1647* (K. Scott & K. Stryker-Rodda, eds.), Baltimore 1974.

**Van Laer 1974c**

A.J.F. van Laer, *New York historical manuscripts. Dutch*, vol. 4. *Council minutes, 1638-1649* (K. Scott & K. Stryker-Rodda, eds.), Baltimore 1974.

**Lanier 2005**

G. Lanier, *The Delaware Valley in the early Republic*, Baltimore 2005.

**Munsell 1865**

J. Munsell, *Collections on the history of Albany. From its discovery to the present time. With notices of its public institutions, and biographical sketches of citizens deceased*, Albany 1865.

**New Jersey City University 2023**

New Jersey City University, Jersey City past and present, 'Old Bergen Church', last modified 9 March 2023. <https://njcu.libguides.com/old-bergenchurch>.

**Noorlander 2019**

D.L. Noorlander, *Heaven's wrath. The Protestant Reformation and the Dutch West India Company in the Atlantic world*, Ithaca & London 2019.

**Onderdonk & De Hart 1884**

H. Onderdonk Jr. & W.H. De Hart, *History of the First Reformed Dutch Church of Jamaica, L.I., Jamaica*, NY 1884.

**Ottenheym 2015**

K. Ottenheym, 'The attractive flavour of the past. Combining new concepts for ecclesiastical buildings with references to tradition in seventeenth-century Holland', in: J. Harasimowicz (ed.), *Protestantischer Kirchenbau der Frühen Neuzeit in Europa. Grundlagen und neue Forschungskonzepte* Regensburg 2015, 99-114.

**Perrin 1963**

R.W.E. Perrin, 'Circle and polygon in Wisconsin architecture. Early structures of unconventional design, with the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 47 (1963), no. 1, 50-58.

**Prime 1845**

N.S. Prime, *A history of Long Island. From its first settlement by Europeans to the year 1845. With special reference to its ecclesiastical concerns*, New York 1845.

**Rink 1994**

O.A. Rink, 'Private interest and godly gain. The West India Company and the Dutch Reformed Church in New Netherland, 1624-1664', *New York History* 75 (1994), no. 3, 245-264.

**Rogers 1858**

E.P. Rogers, *A historical discourse on the Reformed Prot. Dutch Church of Albany. Delivered on Thanksgiving Day, November 26, 1857, in the North Dutch Church*, New York 1858.

**Schmidt 1958**

C.F. Schmidt, *The octagon fad*, Scottsville 1958.

**Snaet 1999**

J. Snaet, 'De eerste protestante tempels in de Nederlanden. Een onderzoek naar vorm and perceptie', *Bulletin Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond* 98 (1999), 45-58.

**Snaet 2007**

J. Snaet, 'For the greater glory of god. Religious architecture in the Low Countries, 1560-1700', in: K. de Jonge & K. Ottenheym, *Unity and discontinuity. Architectural relations between the southern and northern Low Countries, 1530-1700* Turnhout 2007, 251-298 (*Architecturam*, vol. 5).

**Spicer 2007**

A. Spicer, *Calvinist churches in early modern Europe*, Manchester 2007.

**Van Swigchem et al. 1984**

C.A. van Swigchem, T. Brouwer & W. van Os, *Een huis van het Woord. Het protestantse kerkinterieur in Nederland tot 1900*, The Hague 1984.

**Upton 1981**

D. Upton, 'Traditional timber framing', in: B. Hindle (ed.), *Material culture of the wooden age*, Tarrytown 1981, 35-93.

**Van Vaernewyck 1872-1881**

M. van Vaernewyck, *Van die beroerliche tijden in die Nederlanden en voornamelick in Ghendt 1566-1568* (F. Vanderhaeghen, ed.), Ghent 1872-1881, 5 vols.

**Vail 1952**

R.W.G. Vail, 'Storied windows richly dight', *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 36 (1952), 149-159.