NPS Form 10-900
(Oct. 1990)

OMB No. 1024-0018

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NAT. REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form* (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories listed in the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property:

historic name St. Paul's Lutheran Church Historic District

other names/site number Schoharie United Presbyterian Church

2. Location

street & number 312-314 Main St. and Cemetery Lane ☐ not for publication

city or town Schoharie ☒ vicinity

state New York code NY county Schoharie code 095 zip code 12157

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I certify that this ☒ nomination ☐ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ☒ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant ☐ nationally ☒ statewide ☐ locally. ☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.

Ruth A Pierpont DSHPO 7/11/14

Signature of certifying official/Title Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property ☐ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. ☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.

Signature of certifying official/Title Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

☑ entered in the National Register.
☐ See continuation sheet.

☐ determined eligible for the National Register.
☐ See continuation sheet.

☐ determined not eligible for the National Register.

☐ removed from the National Register.

☐ other, (explain:)

Signature of the Keeper: for Edson H. Beall

Date of Action: 9.10.14

St. Paul's Lutheran Church Historic Distrcit
Name of Property

Schoharie County, New York
County and State

5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(Check as many boxes as apply)

- [X] private
- [ ] public-local
- [ ] public-State
- [ ] public-Federal

Category of Property
(Check only one box)

- [ ] building(s)
- [X] district
- [ ] site
- [ ] structure
- [ ] object

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not include previously listed resources in the count.)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
3	1	buildings
1	0	sites
0	0	structures
0	0	objects
4	1	Total

Name of related multiple property listing
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.)

N/A

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

1 (Old Lutheran Parsonage)

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)

RELIGION: Religious Facility
FUNERARY: Cemetery
DOMESTIC: Single Dwelling
DOMESTIC: Single Dwelling

Current Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)

RELIGION: Religious Facility
FUNERARY: Cemetery
DOMESTIC: Single Dwelling
RECREATION & CULTURE: Museum

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions)

EARLY REPUBLIC: Federal (Church and Manse)
COLONIAL (Old Lutheran Parsonage)

Materials
(Enter categories from instructions)

foundation Stone (sanctuary, parsonage, manse).
walls Brick (sanctuary), Wood (parsonage, manse)
roof Slate (sanctuary), Wood (parsonage) Metal (manse)
other

Narrative Description
(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)
See continuation Sheet

8 Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria
(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

[X] **A** Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

[ ] **B** Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.

[X] **C** Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.

[ ] **D** Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria considerations
(mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

[X] **A** owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.

[ ] **B** removed from its original location.

[ ] **C** a birthplace or grave.

[X] **D** a cemetery.

[ ] **E** a reconstructed building, object or structure.

[ ] **F** a commemorative property.

[ ] **G** less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance
(Enter categories from instructions)

ARCHITECTURE
SETTLMENT/EXPLORATION
SOCIAL HISTORY
ART

Period of Significance
1743-1964

Significant Dates
1743, 1795, 1801, 1836, 1896, 1959

Significant Person
(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)

N/A

Cultural Affiliation
N/A

Architect/Builder
N/A

Narrative Statement of Significance
(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography
(cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- [ ] preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- [ ] previously listed in the National Register
- [ ] previously determined eligible by the National Register
- [ ] designated a National Historic Landmark
- [ ] recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- [ ] recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

Primary location of additional data

- [x] State Historic Preservation Office
- [ ] Other State agency
- [ ] Federal agency
- [ ] Local government
- [ ] University
- [ ] Other

Name of repository:

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of property 16.41 acres

UTM References
(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)

	Zone	Easting	Northing		Zone	Easting	Northing
1				3			
2				4			

[X] See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description
(Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

Boundary Justification
(Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Arlene Price & Travis Bowman (NYS OPRHP)

organization Ruling Elder, Schoharie United Presbyterian Church date March 18, 2014

street & number _____ telephone _____

city or town _____ state _____ zip code _____

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps

A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.

A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs

Representative **black and white photographs** of the property.

Additional items
(Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

(Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)

name Albany Presbytery

street & number 1915 5th Avenue telephone _____

city or town Troy state NY zip code 12180

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.470 *et seq.*)

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this from to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Projects (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

Narrative Description:

The St. Paul's Lutheran Church Historic District is composed of the former St. Paul's Lutheran Church, an 1801 manse, St. Paul's Lutheran Cemetery, a non-contributing educational center, and the old Lutheran Parsonage. Together, they make up a discontiguous historic district in the village of Schoharie, Schoharie County, New York. The sanctuary and manse occupy an irregularly shaped, 1.7 acre plot fronting Main Street (NY Route 30), aligned roughly northwest to southeast. The cemetery occupies a larger (13.6 acre) irregularly shaped lot, southeast of the church and manse, and the Old Lutheran Parsonage occupies a small (.57 acre), roughly pyramidal lot fronting Spring Street. The lot containing the sanctuary and manse is not geographically contiguous to the cemetery as the two were historically separate entities, and remain separate today. The lot containing the Old Lutheran parsonage is contiguous to the cemetery—at the latter's southwest corner.

The village of Schoharie is located in the valley of the Schoharie Creek, which makes a circuitous course roughly north almost a hundred miles from the western Catskills to the Mohawk River. The Schoharie valley is punctuated by several narrow east-west tributaries and has been noted through its history for intense flooding.

Sanctuary, 1796, contributing

The church itself is a two-story brick building, rectangular in plan, aligned roughly southwest to northeast, with a long axis (northwest) fronting Main St; a square, multistage entrance tower is centered on the southwest elevation. The nave and tower are constructed of red brick, laid in a cross bond pattern, all resting on a foundation of cut limestone blocks, laid in regular courses. The foundation stones are varied in their finishing—some are quarry faced, some are smooth faced and some are smooth faced with names inscribed in script. A projecting water table, capped by angled bricks, projects from the foundation of the nave and tower. The nave is covered by a gable roof, with its ridgeline paralleling main street, and the roof is clad in slate tiles. The tower rises to a hipped roof, capped by an octagonal belfry, which rises to a spire; the hipped portion is covered in slate tiles, the belfry is covered in asphalt shingles and the spire is wooden. At the roof-wall juncture is a wide cornice with bracket modillions, separated by a Greek fret, the whole terminating in returns on the gable ends; the pattern is repeated on the overhang of the tower and the belfry. Window openings on the long axis of the rear elevation (SE) are surmounted by jack arches on the lower story and round arches on the upper story, although the latter have been bricked in and fitted with rectangular windows. Windows are stained glass/colored lights, with wood sash set into moulded wooden surrounds; surrounds on the lower story are pinned together. Fenestration varies by elevation and bay. The long axis fronting Main Street (NW) has five window openings per story, regularly and symmetrically spaced across the elevation. The long axis of the rear elevation (SE) has symmetrical fenestration of five window openings on both stories, expect for the middle bay, upper story, which has no evidence of an opening. The gable end of the nave block, containing the tower (SW), has one round arch window on the upper story southeast of the tower. The window surmounts a pointed arch door opening on the lower floor; the entrance itself consists of a pair of outward swinging, painted and paneled wooden doors. On the gable end of the nave block of the church, southwest of the tower, is a single window opening, lighting the upper story; this window opening is surmounted by a jack arch, like those on the street elevation; there is an extant jack arch and evidence of a door opening on this wall, but it has been bricked in.

Facing the street is a door opening on the tower, which now serves as the main entrance to the church. The door opening is a large pointed arch; the door itself is a rectangular set of outward swinging double doors, painted and paneled. Ornamentation on the doors also includes a moulded, denticulated surround and trefoil and quatrefoil tracery in the arch above. The tower has three window openings on the southwest elevation, all aligned vertically; a

large clock surmounts the three windows on this elevation. There is an extant jack arch and evidence of a door opening on the southeast elevation of the tower, but it has been bricked in.

The interior of the sanctuary consists of an antechamber in the tower, a small hall or narthex containing the side staircases, and the nave. Finishes in on the interior of the sanctuary are varied and some suffered heavily from over five feet of mud and water during the 2011 floods. Most of the walls are lath and horsehair plaster, where it could be salvaged above flood stage. A vaulted plaster celling was installed in the 1890s to carry the weight of the slate tile and is still extant. The nave contains a large curved gallery with acanthus leaf ornamentation, recessed panels and a honeysuckle frieze is supported by fluted columns capped with Ionic order capitals. Floors on the lower story are non-historic replacements as they could not be salvaged from the flood; floors in the upper gallery are painted wooden planking. Doors vary throughout the interior and some earlier, 18th century doors and surrounds are extant. Pews on the lower story were all lost in the flood and have been replaced with early 20th century examples from the recently-demolished St. Patrick's Church in Watervliet, NY. Pews in the upper gallery are a mix of late 19th curved ones and some earlier, simple Greek Revival period examples. A large round window, surrounded by plaster ornamentation, lights the altar and dais.

Education Center, 1964, non-contributing.
To the rear of the church is a large, non-historic education center. It is a rectangular building constructed of painted concrete masonry units. It is covered by a low-pitched gable roof. Historic photographs show a wagon shed in this location as do Sanborn Insurance Co. maps from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

New Manse, 1801, contributing.
The new manse is a five bay, two-story, double pile form with a two-story rear ell. The main block is heavy timber framed, clad in wooden clapboards, resting on a cut limestone block foundation. It has a gable ridgeline, paralleling Main St.; the roof is covered in standing seam metal. The rear ell is non-historic; it is frame construction, clad in a combination of brick veneer and non-historic siding. Like the main block, the ell has a gable roof, clad in standing seam metal. Fenestration on the main block varies by elevation. On the entrance elevation (NW, fronting Main St), fenestration is regular and symmetrical—consisting of nine window openings and the main entrance. The windows are wood sash, double-hung, 12 over 9 lights, set into moulded wooden surrounds. The door is a non-historic replacement example, but the surround is a period shouldered example with heavy mouldings. The original plan appears to be intact, but interior finishes have been altered several times, including ones that were heavily affected by the 2011 flooding.

St. Paul's Cemetery, 18th century-current, contributing.
The cemetery is sited on a hillside, sloping roughly from the northwest to the southeast, with the lowest point towards the core of the village on Main Street. The 13.6 acre parcel is divided into twelve asymmetrical sections by seven pathways—the horizontally aligned paths take advantage of the natural slopes and terraces of the topography. The paths are not named, except for Cemetery Lane, which accesses the cemetery from Main St, just west-southwest of the nominated Lutheran Church; the paths are a mix of surfaces, including gravel, grass or dirt. The majority of the cemetery is grass with a variety of mature trees and flowering shrubs. There are no boundary fences or walls marking the property and no formal entrance gates.

There are several thousand graves in the cemetery and it is still actively used for burials. While the individual plots exhibit a great deal of variety in terms of grave placement and headstone style/age, etc., there are only a few that

contain ornamentation at the macro, plot, level. The earliest marked interment onsite occurred in 1778, but burials likely predate this (records were lost in the 2011 flood). Virtually every type of headstone style from the Early National period to the current day is represented in the cemetery.

Maintenance Shed, late 19th or early 20th century, contributing.
In the west corner of the cemetery, at the far end of Section I, is a small maintenance shed. It is a one-story frame building clad in novelty siding. It has a gable roof, covered in standing seam metal and a dry laid stone foundation.

Old Manse, 1743, contributing.
The old manse is individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places and will not be described separately.

Statement of Significance:

The St. Paul's Lutheran Church historic district is historically significant for its association with the eighteenth century migration of Palatine German settlers to the Schoharie Valley of New York and the transformation of their community from refugees of cultural outsiders to contributors in America's emerging national identity. Taken together, this assemblage constitutes a particularly rare and significant social and architectural district of pre- and post-Revolutionary War religious and public resources that are representative of the growth and development of what was once the frontier for European-Americans. Schoharie, originally known as Brunnen(s)dorf or Fountain(s) town, was one of the seven dorfs established by Palatine settlers of the Schoharie Valley in the first decades of the eighteenth century. This settlement pattern reflected Old World conceptions of village life, religious beliefs, and culture. Shortly after its settlement, the German community at Schoharie established a church and invited ministers to begin preaching, but, by the 1740s, religious tensions led to the establishment of separate Lutheran and Dutch Reformed congregations. The Lutheran congregation subsequently constructed the Old Lutheran Parsonage in 1743. The Old Lutheran Parsonage housed worship services until a stone edifice was constructed in 1750-1, but that church was demolished when the current brick edifice was constructed in 1796. The Old Lutheran Parsonage is individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places as one of the oldest remaining religious buildings in New York State and as a rare surviving architectural example of frame, two-room, Palatine construction and form. The nominated church is an excellent example of vernacular ecclesiastical architecture of the late 18th century in New York State, and includes features like a rectangular nave, rectangular, front facing square tower and a main entrance moved from the long wall to the tower. Although the congregation has changed from Lutheran to a Community Church to Presbyterian, the building has served as a house of worship since 1796 and is one of the oldest churches in the region. A "new" manse was constructed in 1801 for Reverend Augustus Wackerhagen (1774-1865), and has continuously served as the minister's residence until the present day. The manse was constructed in a form and type more typical than the earlier, more-traditional buildings—five bay, double pile with a symmetrically-composed entrance elevation. This established typology was then embellished with detailing and features related to the emerging Federal style, which increasingly emphasized the primary elevation's interrelationship with the adjacent road. St. Paul's Lutheran Cemetery was likely established in the early decades of the eighteenth century, although the earliest marked interment still extant dates to 1778. The cemetery remains active to this day and the collection of marked interments catalogs the collective social, religious and ethnic identity of Schoharie and its subsequent development as a community.

This rare surviving collection of resources has adapted and changed over almost three centuries of use and offers an extraordinary opportunity to study the transformation of a non-English immigrant community into a typical rural upstate New York village. For this reason, the complex is being nominated at the statewide level of significance.

The period of significance (1743-1964) has been framed to include the earliest extant resource (the Old Lutheran Parsonage) and brought to a fifty year cutoff to represent the longest period of burial activity in the cemetery.

The Palatine Families of New York

The term Palatine has come to generically define a group of European immigrants fleeing from war and religious persecution during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The majority of these immigrants originated from the Palatinate region of Germany (Alsace, Lorraine, Württemberg, Baden, Mainz and Treves), in what was then a strategically located Electorate State of the Holy Roman Empire. The inhabitants of the region endured almost constant warfare for thirty years, beginning with the Franco-Dutch War (especially its sub-conflict the 3rd Anglo-Dutch War: 1672-4). The region was particularly ravaged by Louis XIV's scorched earth campaigns during the War of the Grand Alliance (a.k.a. King William's War, a.k.a. the Nine Years War: 1688-97), and its inhabitants

faced raiding, potential starvation, and religious persecution once again during the War of Spanish Succession (Queen Anne's War: 1701-14). Shifting religious and political alliances, coupled with sympathy for the plight of the Palatines under the Protestant Queen Anne of England, led to the opening of England's borders to those wishing to flee from the worn-torn region. The response was immediate. An estimated 10,000-30,000 Palatines arrived outside London and other major British cites to seek the offered asylum, and the large numbers quickly overwhelmed the ability of crown officials to cope with the refugees. In the name of the queen herself, plans were put in motion to salvage the situation before disaster ensued—the exiles were to be transformed into English colonists. As colonists they could produce much needed income or war materiel, and if placed on the New York Colony frontier in Schoharie, they could serve as an effective buffer against French Canada.

Some 3,000 Palatines eventually accepted the offer of the British government to exchange provisions and passage to New York in return for labor in the production of naval stores (specifically pitch and tar) for the Royal Navy. After their debt to the Crown was repaid, each family would receive forty acres. Governor Robert Hunter (1664-1734, served as governor 1710-20) acquired suitable land from the powerful Robert Livingston (1654-1728), First Lord of the Livingston Manor. Livingston's lands stretched a massive 160,000 acres across the Upper Hudson Valley (approximately 1/3 of modern-day Columbia County); the 6,000 acres he sold to the Crown for the Palatines' use would aid him in attracting other settlers to his other lands. In addition, Hunter awarded his friend Livingston the contract for the provisioning of the new settlers. The venture, however, soon turned disastrous. A lack of hard cash to purchase supplies meant the settlers went without the beer and bread they had been promised. Compounding that, the pine trees in the selected area were not the correct type to produce large quantities of pitch. The settlers, who had been farmers or viticulturists in their homeland, lacked the knowledge to make pitch, and the inexperienced settlers received no useful technical assistance in the matter. Failing in the undertaking, Hunter told the Palatines to fend for themselves in 1712. Livingston offered favorable leases to any who wished the stay on his manor, but many of the settlers absolutely refused. Believing they had been cheated into virtual serfdom, their leaders attempted to assert claims to the lands promised to them along the Mohawk and Schoharie Valleys.[1] The lands of the Schoharie Valley were perfectly placed—just west of the Rensselaer Manor and just north of the Great Hardenburgh Patent and thus not in the hands of the landed aristocracy. By the winter of 1712-13, fifty families left Livingston Manor for the promised lands to the west. Despite warnings from Hunter that they were breaking the law, by spring about 500-700 people had settled in seven villages (dorfs), counting on their numbers and cohesiveness as a people to violently resist any attempt at expulsion from their lands. Issues surrounding the Palatines and their land claims were not resolved for several more years; although the Palatines believed they had secured title to the lands by purchasing directly from Native American headmen, their lack of written titles led to the Colonial New York Government considering them squatters. Competition from land speculators, procedural issues surrounding Indian title transfers, and obstinacy from Gov. Hunter (he actually sold the Schoharie lands to investors in 1714) made it virtually impossible for the Palatines to secure legal title to these lands until the 1720s when a new governor was installed. Governor William Burnet (1688-1729, served as governor 1720-8) initiated a series of Crown patents, granting the Palatines titles to the lands, and his successors continued this practice.[2]

Eighteenth Century history of the region

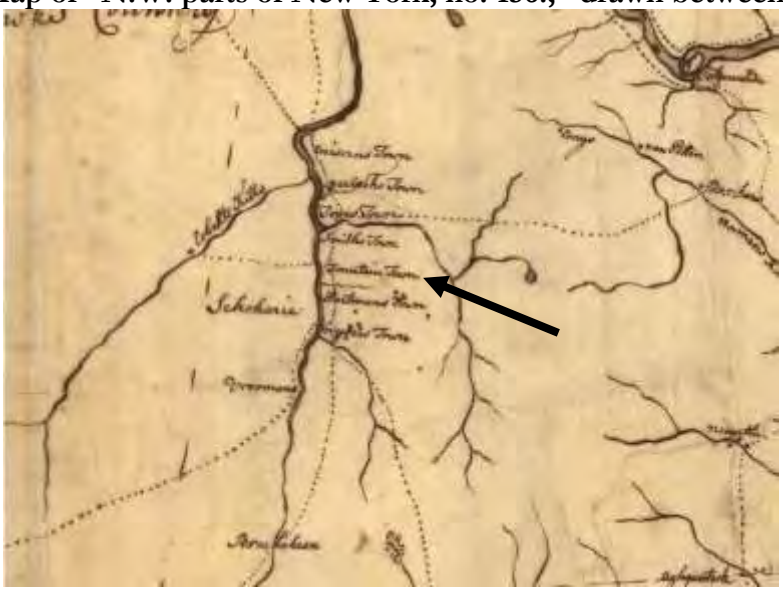
As noted, the Palatines settled in a series of seven villages (known as dorfs) beginning at the southern end of the Schoharie Creek (figure 1). Many of the dorfs were sited to take advantage of the junction of the Schoharie and

[1] There are many stories related to the veracity of these claims. Some sources refer to Conrad Wieser's diary entry, written decades after the fact, that noted the lands were promised to the Palatines by "Indian Chiefs" who were visiting Queen Anne's Court in 1709 and took pity on the refugees. Other sources assert Queen Anne herself promised the Schoharie lands to the Palatines so they could act as a buffer from Canadian and Huron raids on more populated settlements. A Board of Trade report from 1709 specifically mentions settling the Palatines along the Mohawk, but Hunter chose Livingston Manor instead.

[2] The Burnetsfield Patent, the Harrison Patent and the Van Slyke Patent are among the three largest.

other creek systems, but Schoharie itself was distinguished because of its natural springs emanating from the hillside ledge, hence the name Brunnen(s)dorf (German) or Fountain(s)town.

Figure 1. Map of "N.W. parts of New York, no. 156.," drawn between 1750-1768[3]



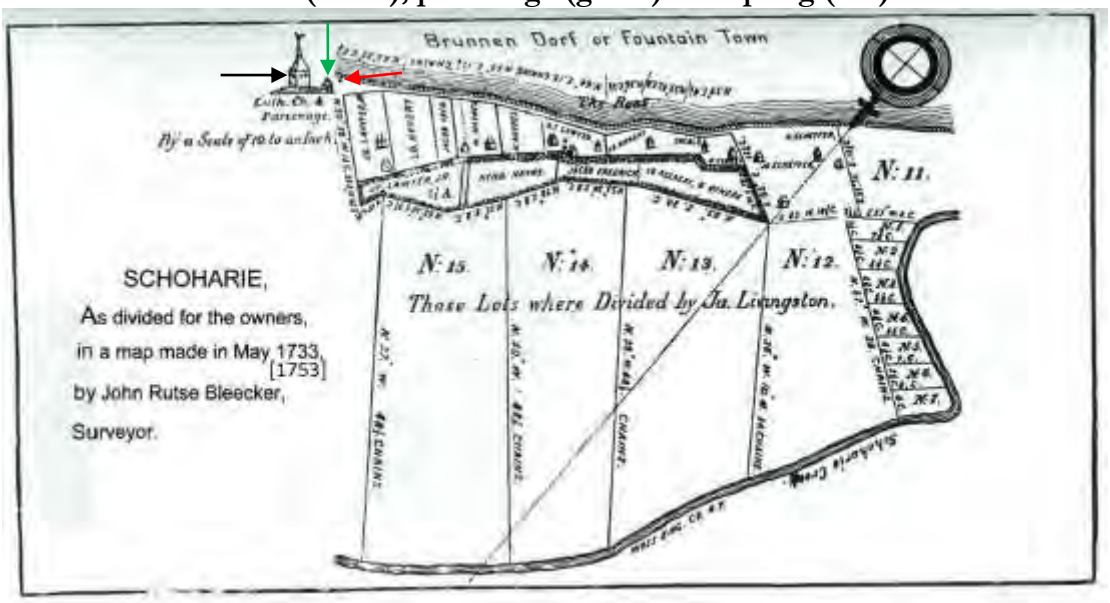
The positioning of the Old Lutheran Parsonage and the original, 1750s, stone church showed the importance of these public buildings to the community—they were sited adjacent to the largest spring at Fountain Town and thus at the literal and figurative heart of the community. In 1753, seven Palatine families at Schoharie made a general division of the lands, all settling west of the nominated parcel. The 1750-1 stone church and the extant parsonage appear on an early map of Schoharie (see figure 2); the parsonage is shown about midway between the church and spring. In 1758, a few years after the map was made, Livingston family heirs deeded the land of the 1750-1 stone church and the parsonage to the church, and the tract of land was described as "beginning at a large well [spring] near the said minister's house.[4] The land this church occupied is now within the nominated cemetery, as is the extant Old Lutheran Parsonage.

Schoharie and the other Palatine settlements were in a particularly dangerous position during the American Revolution. The valleys were home to large numbers of loyalists and patriots, interspersed across the territory, and a vicious civil war broke out across the region. Besides the partisans, the area had immense strategic importance to the regular armies on both sides because the fertile valleys' wheat production was paramount to the New York economy and beyond.[5] The maelstrom of civil warfare was not limited to the Europeans; the lands of valleys were in the traditional homeland of the Six Nations of the Haudenosaunee, many of whose warriors sided with England during the conflict. Pro-British sentiment, however, was not entirely universal among the Six Nations, and the resulting conflict tore apart the Great Peace of the Iroquois Confederacy (the League of the Iroquois), leading to open civil war among the Native Americans. With loyalists, patriots, pro-British Natives, pro-American Natives, regular British troops, American militia units and regular Continentals all fighting for control, the valleys were a

[3] "N.W. parts of New York, no. 156."(Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C.). http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3800.ar108100.
[4] R.W. Vosburgh, *trans*. *Records of St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Town of Schoharie, Schoharie County, N.Y.* (New-York Historical Society: New York, 1915) as quoted in, Paul Huey, "Archaeological Survey of the Old Lutheran Parsonage Site, Schoharie, New York." (New York State Historic Trust: unpublished report, New York State OPRHP archives, 1971), 7.
[5] Marion Noyes, *ed*. *A History of Schoharie County*. (Richmondville Phoenix: Richmondville, NY, 1957), 14.

powder keg. The failure of the British military to subdue and occupy upstate New York in the three-pronged attacks of 1777 led to a shift towards increased irregular activity along the New York, Canadian, Vermont and Pennsylvania frontiers. Partisan activity consisting of raids to intimidate, kill and burn-out the enemy became commonplace in the region, and raids predictably provoked counter-raids and reprisal killings.[6]

Figure 2. Map of Division of Schoharie as printed in Jeptha Simms [date corrected] with arrows showing church(black), parsonage (green) and spring (red)[7]



In the fall of 1780, Gov. Haldimand of Canada devised a major four-pronged attack on the frontier, three aimed at New York and the fourth at Vermont. Sir John Johnson led the largest of these raids, leaving Oswego in late fall with a reported 893 men and a few artillery pieces; among Johnson's raiders were 256 Indians led by Joseph Brant, Cornplanter and Sayenqueraghta, and 156 loyalists.[8] Johnson's raiding force reached the Upper Fort of the Schoharie Valley on October 17. The raid was spotted and the fort signaled the alarm down to the other two forts. Johnson's forces unlimbered the guns at the Middle and Lower Forts, but neither was invested by Johnson's forces; on the other hand, despite engaging in a series of skirmishes, the Patriot forces of the valley failed to put up an effective resistance against the raiders. Johnson and the other Native headmen sent their forces in all directions from the three forts, burning homes and farm buildings, especially targeting the barns full of a bumper wheat crop. The route of the raiders has been well established by historians; progressing northwards along the Schoharie Creek until nightfall, they made a 12 mile path of destruction in which they burned as much as possible in their path.

When Sir John Johnson made his official report to Haldimand, he claimed that the raid had destroyed over 1,000 homes and 1,000 barns full of 600,000 bushels of grain.[9] Militia Captain John M. Brown (1745-1838), who lived and fought through the destruction, noted in his 1816 history "that there were but few houses left within forty miles

[6] Author A.J. Berry has noted in *A Time of Terror* (2005 Trafford Publishing) the high percentage of the Revolutionary War fought in New York. Of the 302 documented battles of the Revolution, 92 were fought in New York, and a majority of those in Tyron County.
[7] Jeptha Simms, *Frontiersmen of New York*, (George C Riggs: Albany, NY, 1883), 285. As reprinted on http://threeriversshms.com/simmsschohairechur.htm.
[8] William Nester, *The Frontier War for American Independence,* (Stackpole Books: Mechanicsburg, 2004), 284-5.
[9] AJ Berry, *A Time of Terror: The Story of Colonel Jacob Klock's Regiment and the People they Protected* (Trafford Publishing: Victoria, BC, Canada, 2006), 19.

of Albany."[10] Neither the 1750-1 stone church nor the extant Old Lutheran Parsonage is mentioned in Jeptha Simms's works about the burning of the Schoharie Valley settlements, and the buildings are not specifically called out in Gavin Watt's work about the 1780 raid. Roscoe's 1882 *History of Schoharie County*, however, noted that:

> The invaders passing down, laid the houses in ashes, with the exception of the stone house of Johannes Lawyer, who had removed to a building near the fort for safety, and a wooden structure occupied by John I. Lawyer as an inn, also the old parsonage and Lutheran Church, which, tradition says, were spared by order of Johnson and Brant.[11]

Unfortunately, like many mid-nineteenth century histories, Roscoe was striving to give his readers a mental picture rather than a strict historiography; he does not cite his sources so the methodology of his historical research is indefinite at best and the story of Johnson and Brant's personal intervention may be apocryphal. The viciousness inherent in these raids, however, was the personal connections. The combatants, Native and European, knew one another, and more importantly they knew one another's loyalties. It may well be that the raiders respected the Rev. Peter Nicholas Sommers well enough to spare the church and parsonage. Few buildings associated with the patriot cause survived the raids, making the survival of the witness building, the Old Lutheran Parsonage, all the rarer.

The impact of the raids and destruction took its toll, and the frontier physically receded. Historian Charles Gehring wrote: "Of the estimated 10,000 inhabitants before the war… the decimated population amounted to a mere 3500."[12] Muster rolls for defending the region dropped precipitously dropped a third as well, from 2,500 in 1776 to only 800 in 1781. Unfortunately for the citizens of the Mohawk and Schoharie Valleys, 1,500 refugees of the Six Nations were still huddled at British-held Fort Niagara and the raids and war parties continued until the end of the war.[13]

The loss of the population and the building stock in the Schoharie Valley led to pressing need to rebuild after the war. As residents struggled to reconstruct their lives after the war, the limestone church and Lutheran Parsonage at Schoharie would have been very public symbols of the both the past and future. When the war ceased, prosperity returned to the valley and it was decided in 1796 to erect a new edifice. The 1750-1 stone church had apparently not fared well and was in disrepair; a description in church records reads: "the delapidated [sic] condition of our church forced us to pull it down as the prevent threatening accidents and to build a new one which was already commenced last year and which we hope to see finished at the end of this year."

St. Paul's Lutheran Church

The nominated, 1796, church represented a transition from earlier building traditions employed in Palatine churches. Extant churches serving Palatine communities are all stone, though frame examples were known to have existed at other locales like a 1750 example at Germantown (Columbia County, NY in the Hudson Valley) and Snell's Bush/Manheim in the Mohawk Valley. Five extant examples of Palatine community churches are listed on the National Register of Historic Places, and most represent an older mode of design and form. The 1767 Fort Herkimer church in the early Palatine settlement at German Flatts, for example, is a one-story stone building with massive 2.5' thick walls of coursed ashlar, massive corner abutments and symmetrical openings of elliptical arches.

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[10] John Brown, *Brief Sketch of the First Settlement of the County of Schoharie by the Germans*, 1816. Electronic text by Peter Ann Stenberg http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~nyschoha/brbook.html.

[11] William E. Roscoe, *History of Schoharie County New York, 1713-1882 with illustrations and biographical sketches of some of its prominent men and pioneers* (D. Mason & CO.,: Syracuse, NY, 1882), 375. www.books.google.com.

[12] Charles Gehring. "Agriculture and the Revolution in the Mohawk Valley," (Fort Klock Restoration: St. Johnsville, NY), 2006, 6.

[13] Watt, *The Burning of the Valleys*, 305.

The entrance to the church is on the long axis. It was National Register listed in 1972. The 1770 Palatine Church, on the Mohawk River at the 18th century Palatine settlement of Foxe's Mills is also constructed of massive stone walls laid in coursed rubble, the entrance is on the long side, and the one story structure is covered by a gambrel roof. It was listed on the National Register in 1972 as well. The 1772 Reformed Dutch Church of Schoharie, built by the congregation that split from the original Palatine settlers of Brunnen(s)dorf, is a rectangular, two story, gable roofed edifice. The builders of this church employed dressed stone on the entrance elevation—which is on the long axis—but random ashlar on the other elevations. It has arched window openings, a separate, square tower and a modillioned boxed cornice. The Reformed Dutch Church of Schoharie was NR listed in 2002. The 1786 Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. Peter, in the Hudson River valley Palatine settlement of Rhinebeck, Dutchess County, NY, is a meetinghouse plan, with a long wall entrance (later moved to the tower); the building was constructed of dressed stone with arched window openings and was NR listed 1975. Of the extant Palatine churches, the latter appears to be the most closely related to the nominated edifice. The 1792 Reformed Dutch Church of Stone Arabia is more Georgian in its design. Also built of coursed stone, but with fairly-sophisticated proportions, a Palladian window, stone beltcourses, arched lintels, a fanlight and a boxed cornice with detailed mouldings and modillions; it was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1977.

An article of agreement between Benjamin Miles and Brunnen(s)dorf patentees, David Sternburgh, John Schaeffer, Lawrence Lawyer and Lambert Sternburch, indicates that Miles was the principal builder of the church.[14] Little information could be found on Miles himself, and no other buildings by him are known at the time of this nomination. Research reveals at least one Benjamin Miles (1768-1819) living in Schoharie in the correct time period, but evidence suggests that Miles was a merchant, rather than a joiner or mason, so it is unknown if he is the same person. Regardless of the builder, the article of agreement specified the details of the edifice:

> …a modillion Cornice, the steeple shall me one and twenty feet high the arch shall be fitted for the mason…the windows shall be cased with a plane inside casing and an arcative casing on the outside…there shall be two benches round the wall of the church and an alley and Body seats as many as shall be convenient for such a church…the galleries shall consist of Benches raised from one to the other until the strike the wall…Behind the stairs shall be made with rails and banisters…the pulpit shall be made in a handsome manner and everything that Belongs to the joining of said church shall be completed…workman like…the pointing was to be plain, and the whole was to be completed by 1797.[15]

The edifice blended more fashionable forms with well-established traditions of vernacular craftsmanship among the Palatine German and Dutch population in the Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys. Stones from the foundation of the earlier stone church were used for the 1795 brick church, and many were inscribed with the names of members and supporters of the church who raised the $5,450.77 it cost to build the new edifice. Traditional cross-bond brickwork and heavy timber, hand-hewn, white oak roof framing members, joined with mortise and tenon made up the two story, five bay structure. More than an important example of its type and method of construction, the house is a period piece as well, reflecting decorative characteristics suggestive of a vernacular interpretation of the popular principles, vocabularies and aesthetics of the late Georgian/Federal period. These stylistic choices range from the overall form and massing, the symmetrical fenestration, to decorative elements like the modillioned box cornice and Greek fret ornamentation.

[14] As quoted in, Huey, "Archaeological Survey of the Old Lutheran Parsonage Site," 7.
[15] Ibid, 7.

Over the centuries the church was modified in response to changing tastes, again this process is illustrative of the Palatines' transformation. In 1836, the nave was redecorated in the popular Greek Revival style. A curved upper gallery was added, fully treated in Greek ornamentation like a honeysuckle frieze, acanthus leaves and fluted support columns with Ionic order capitals. The box pews with doors were retained on the lower floor, and simple wooden pews with curved armrests were installed in the gallery. The church originally had a wooden shingle roof, which was replaced by a slate roof when renovations and redecorating were done in 1896. The trusses were not designed to carry the heavy slate roof, and the roof structure had to be reconstructed around 1959. Although the octagonal belfry appears to be origianl, the steeple has been replaced on multiple occasions. The exterior brickwork shows evidence of some changes to doors and windows, including the infilling of the brickwork arches over the windows and the moving of the entrance. The current stained glass windows replaced the 12/12 windows in the 1896 rennovations. The interior arrangement of the sanctuary has been reoriented and changed several times; the pulpit has been situtated in the east, south and now north. Gallieries have existed on all four sides. The box pews were replaced with rounded pews in 1896, but these were destroyed in the 2011 flood and replaced in 2012 with pews from St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church in Watervliet (recently demolised). A new organ was installed in 1881 and it was electrified and expanded in 1956. A pointed arch, Gothic styled entrance was installed in the 1896. A Historic American Building Survey photo from the 1930s (Figure 5) shows the interior of the sanctuary as it looked after the 1896 renovations.

Figure 5. 1930s HABS image of interior[16]

The congregation of the Lutheran church was altered as a result of WWI. In 1918, Schoharie's Lutheran, Methodist, and Reformed churches formed a temporary federation in which each congregation would retain its identity, but the

[16] Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/pp.print.

services of a pastor would be shared. This federation, as planned, just lasted for the duration of the war.[17] In 1920, the Lutheran and Methodist congregations joined, forming the Community Church of Schoharie. Worship services were held in the Lutheran edifice, and the Methodist church building, razed in 1964, was used as a fellowship hall and Sunday School building. In 1960, the congregation voted to affiliate with the Presbyterian denomination, in part because there was some sentiment that becoming Methodist or Lutheran would have a divisive effect.

St. Paul's Lutheran Cemetery

As an early cemetery that grew over two centuries, St. Paul's reflects Schoharian's ideas and philosophies towards death in different eras. Virtually every style, shape and trend in tombstone design, sculpture, epitaphs and mourning furniture from the (late) eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries can be found in the cemetery because of its long history of use. In the area of art, funerary markers in the nominated cemetery present an opportunity to study changing styles of tombstone design and funeral art; from simple, rectangular stones to elaborate obelisks, the fine collection of grave markers includes several prominent examples and records changing tastes and practices through time. In terms of layout and landscaping, the cemetery chronicles a transition from a settlement-era churchyard to an incorporated rural cemetery and, finally, to a lawn-park example.

It appears the earliest marked interments onsite began as part of a churchyard or burying ground. Near the old Lutheran Parsonage and the spring is a memorial bronze plaque set into a large boulder, denoting the location of the original stone church; the inscription on the boulder reads:

> Site of First Lutheran Church/Erected in Fountaintown (Schoharie) 1750/Peter Nicholas Sommers, Pastor/This tablet is on line of west wall/ of square limestone structure/where pulpit stood. Razed in 1796/Some of the stones containing names/of original builders now appear/in the foundation of/St. Paul's Lutheran Church of Schoharie./Erected by New York State Education Department/and Schoharie County Historical Society-1937.

The monument marking the location of the old stone church is adjacent to the earliest markers extant in the cemetery. This section (labeled as Section 5 today) contains the graves of members of Schoharie's founding families, including those who were instrumental in its early social, political, economic and religious development like the Lawyers, Schaffers, Rickards (Rykerts), Dietzs, Borsts, Sternberghs, Boucks, and Sholtes; Dominie Sommers (1709-1795), the first minister of the church is buried here as well. Many of Schoharie's early families still have descendants in the immediate region and multiple families still use their ancestral burial plots, so it is not unusual to see styles from various eras adjacent to one another.

The earliest tombstones in St. Paul's represent lesser-adorned styles—mostly flat, rectangular forms of locally quarried stone, although there are a few examples with curved tops or shoulders. Some of the earliest stones have inscriptions in German, including that of Elizabeth Lawyer, whose inscription reads "Gestor'n [gestorben = deceased)/ 6. Mertz [März, Mehrz = March]/ An'o [year]: 1778. /Ist ald worden [roughly translated as aged] / 7. mon'h: 10. dag. [transcription incomplete due to illegibility of stone]. Interestingly, Lawyer's stone and another nearby stone, that of an Anna Elizabeth _____ (d1796), feature carvings of winged soul effigies; the latter also includes carved spirals on the shoulders. Other German inscriptions in this section include Elizabeth Sternberger (d1795) and Frederick Lawyer (d1795).[18]

[17] "Temporary Church Union is Planned," *Schoharie Republican and County Democrat*, (Schoharie, NY: Volume 99, No. 30. July 25, 1918), 1.
[18] Tim Krystopa, "Lawyer inscriptions and gravestone pictures," Schoharie Lutheran Cemetery - St. Paul's Lutheran or Schoharie Cemetery (2012), www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~nyschoha/cemstpauls.html.

Figure 4. Stones of Anna Elizabeth [illegible] and Elizabeth Lawyer

Later stones (1810s-1850s) have the same general shape and size, but frequently use more stylized bas-relief lettering, and exhibit neoclassical influences in their art—urns, mouldings, willow trees, swags and draperies; these motifs are emblematic for funerary art of the period. The shouldered marker of Peter Swart (1793-1821) features a particularly well-executed carving of a flowering plant with cordiform leaves and ivy spilling out of a neoclassical urn. Stones of this period often feature long verse epitaphs as well. By the mid-eighteenth century the verse epitaph was well established as a form of memorial tribute. The epitaph could take many forms depending on the period and the individual. Generally it included the name of the deceased, a familial relationship (wife of, son of, etc.), the date of death, the age, and ended with some form of verse.[19] The verse typically was done in the form of a quatrain or multiples of quatrains (i.e. 8 or 12 lines) and spoke to the living in the one of three voices—that of the deceased, that of a friend or family member or that of philosopher.[20] Subject matter for the verse varied greatly in terms of the individual wording, but can generally be grouped thematically and by period. Major themes of the epitaphs in St. Paul's Cemetery include orthodox Christian dogma, references to the future death of the reader, the innocence of children, and lines indicative of the period thought of death as a long, peaceful sleep.

As the community grew and developed during the nineteenth century, the space used for burials needed to expand. During this, the landscape of St. Paul's underwent a transformation to a more intentional design. In 1847 New York State passed legislation officially authorizing the establishment of rural cemeteries, and St. Paul's was established as a rural cemetery in 1861, by an act of the New York State Legislature:

> The lands belonging to the corporation of St. Paul's Lutheran church, of the town and county of Schoharie…containing about five acres of land, and now used as a cemetery for the interment of the dead,

[19] Ibid.
[20] Jessie Lie Farber, *Early American Gravestones: Introduction to the Farber Gravestone Collection* (American Antiquarian Society: Worcester, MA, 2003), http://www.davidrumsey.com/farber/Early%20American%20Gravestones.pdf.

shall be deemed and taken as a rural cemetery, within the meaning of the act authorizing the incorporation of rural cemetery associations.[21]

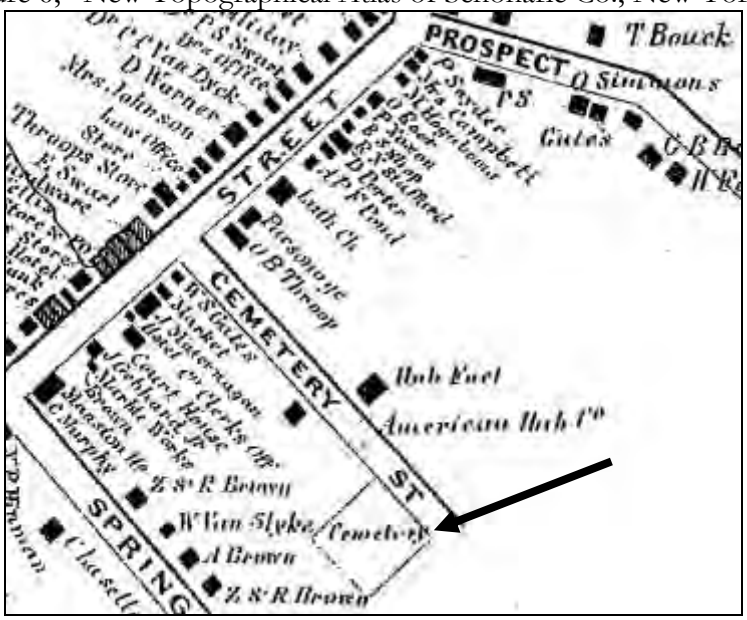
As an incorporated rural cemetery, St. Paul's had a Board of Trustees, which was authorized to map out and sell lots, lay out paths, plant vegetation, and create a perpetual maintenance fund. The act also allowed St. Paul's to purchase an additional five acres of land, but this was expanded to fifty acres in 1865. Sections added during the nineteenth century took advantage of natural terraces, hillocks and slopes and curved paths were added between the sections. The communal church with a pre-Revolutionary War burying yard was replaced by contoured terrain, natural plantings and a place with a sense of peacefulness surrounded by nature, where the landscape itself formed an integral part of the cemetery.[22] Vegetation was allowed to grow and today includes several large older deciduous trees, bushes, and plantings of cedars and large pines, providing a shade canopy and forming numerous glades and open spaces. As harsh, angular paths would have been deemed intrusive and imposed on the landscape, the cemetery was designed with flowing, circular and curvilinear drives that allowed access to plots in the rear of the cemetery and provided specific views in the cemetery for visitors and families. Many plots in the cemetery have views of the steeple of St. Paul's Church rising above the horizon. The movement towards a natural landscape and graves nestled into a park-like setting was considered more dignified and represented a change in attitudes towards death. The change in the structure and management of the cemetery is evident on maps of the village of Schoharie. On the 1856 map of the village (Figure 5), the cemetery is not marked or delineated in any way:

Figure 5, "Map of Schoharie Co., New York"[23]

[21] *Laws of the State of New York, Passed at the Eighty-Fourth Session of the Legislature* (Munsell & Rowland: Albany, NY, 1861), 130-133. www.books.google.com.
[22] Grant Peckenschneider, "The Story and Development of Greenwood Cemetery." http://www.uni.edu/connors/history.html.
[23] E. Wenig, "Map of Schoharie Co., New York" (R.P. Smith: Philadelphia, 1856). Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C. http://www.loc.gov/item/2008620859.

An 1866 map (Figure 6) showing the same area, however, clearly shows the cemetery's status as a separate entity:

Figure 6, "New Topographical Atlas of Schoharie Co., New York"[24]



Grave placement, tombstone furniture and form, funerary art and epitaphs all changed during this period as well. In the earliest section of St. Paul's, individuals were often buried in groups of family members, each with an distinct tombstone, which was highly personalized tombstone in terms of height, material, epitaph and iconography. These markers were often grouped in tight, linear emplacements.

By mid-nineteenth century, the family plot had evolved as a form at St. Paul's. These plots generally have a large central monument, like an obelisk, and smaller individual stones for the various family members. They were also grouped into a more formal plan, blended into the natural topography, and often sited to take advantage of the landscape. This new arrangement, along with the new attitudes towards dying and the dead, allowed for more variability and individual expression in grave furniture. The relatively consistent, flat, eighteenth century gravestones gave way to three-dimensional and sculptural forms that exhibited great variation in terms of height, size, epitaph and materials. The wealth and status of the family could be publically displayed in the richness and quality of the monument—expensive materials, the quantity and quality of the carvings, reliefs and sculptural forms and the epitaphs themselves would all signal one's standing in the community. Although many cemeteries of this period include plot-level landscaping or decoration like iron fencing or stone coping, St. Paul's has only a handful of examples of coping and no fencing.

In the area of funerary art, St. Paul's Cemetery is especially strong in its nineteenth century examples. Monuments vary greatly in style and ornamentation, and individual stones can be square, oval, round, ogee, splayed, checked, or shouldered, and in an array of combinations. The cemetery contains numerous examples of sculptural forms like obelisks, crosses, Gothic arches, lecterns, stelae, pedestals, and sarcophagi (as above-ground furniture only, i.e. without bodies inside) and architectural forms like columns and pillars, (including several draped, broken pillar

[24] S.N. & D.G. Beers and Assistants, "New Topographical Atlas of Schoharie Co., New York," (Stone and Stewart: Philadelphia, 1866), 53.

examples). There are several fine examples of detached sculptures in the cemetery. A Schoolcraft family plot has two markers shaped like felled trees; similar markers are associated with the fraternal organization the Woodmen of the World, but no Schoolcraft family members could be identified has having died during the period that the Woodmen provided markers (1890-1920s).

In addition to the great variety in terms of shape, the various stones feature an impressive variety of funerary art. Mostly allegorical in nature, a sampling of examples of funerary art from the stones of this period include waving flags, open books, clasped hands, flowers, upturned scrolls, heavenly arched gates, anchors & chains, crossed swords, cavalry swords, lambs, Masonic symbols, wreaths & garlands, acanthus leaves, sheaves of wheat, pedimented temples, scrollwork and angels; this list is by no means exclusive. Many stones have poetry, sentimental passages, biblical verses and lines indicative of the period thought of death as a long sleep. Epitaph and decorative motifs are incised or executed in bas relief and are consistent with the period of use. Limestone continued to be used for many stones, but other materials such as white marble, sandstone, schist, concrete and granite became commonplace.

Like most large cemeteries of the era, St. Paul's has multiple zinc examples. These monuments were produced and sold by the Monumental Bronze Company of Bridgeport, CT, via catalog orders and regional sales representatives.[25] The exclusive manufactures of "White Bronze" monuments, the company began experimentally producing zinc monuments in the 1870s in Chautauqua County, NY. In 1874 manufacturing rights were sold to a foundry in Bridgeport, CT and by 1886, the company had subsidiary foundries in Chicago, Des Moines, Canada and New Orleans.[26] The salesman relied on printed advertisements placed by the foundries, examples of work already erected in cemeteries and, perhaps most importantly, the illustrated company catalog. Every monument was made to order, though there were common, interchangeable designs, motifs and components. Price was highly variable, ranging from $2-$5,000, with a basic full name and date tombstone starting at $6.[27] The White Bronze monuments were marketed as a scientific breakthrough, and the company was even featured on the cover of the November, 1885 edition of Scientific American. Although widely distributed across the nation, the company ultimately failed to replace stone as the premier choice of grave furniture.[28] The St. Paul's monuments are representative of a technological achievement in the field of mortuary art and are an expression of the ultimate in Victorian consumerism—people were literally willing to order a headstone from a catalog. As promised by the sales literature, St. Paul's zinc monuments do actually remain readable and bright to this day; for example, this marker (Figure 7) commemorates the tragic loss of a young child and is replete with allegorical symbolism of tiny floral motifs, a lamb and a woman holding an anchor (hope); see Figure 7.

While zinc monuments are common to a certain extent, St. Paul's also contained a headstone that was made out of glass—a particularly remarkable and rare choice. The inch-thick, greenish plate glass marker of Daisy Schoolcraft (1883-1887) included a popular poetic verse inscription of the day; it reads:

In Memory of
Daisy Schoolcraft
Ere sin could harm or sorrow fade,
Death came with friendly care,

[25] Barbara Rotundo, *Cemeteries and gravemarkers: voices of American culture*, ed. R. E. Meyer. (UMI Research Press: Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1989). 263-291
[26] Samuel Orcott, *A History of the Old Town of Stratford and the City of Bridgeport, Connecticut*. Unknown: Fairfield County Historical Society, 1886. Vol. II, 814.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Carol Grissom and Ronald Harvey, "The Conservation of American War Memorials Made of Zinc" *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* Vol. 42, No. 1, Architecture Issue, 22.

The opening bud to heaven conveyed
And bade it blossom there.
Born March 25th 1883
Died September 17th 1887.

Although some glass inset tablets are known from other cemeteries, only two references to all-glass examples could be located, and both claimed to be the only of their kind. Besides the Schoolcraft monument, a glass monument was known to have existed in Pennsylvania—marking the grave of Elizabeth Pepper (1815-1892) in the Kittanning Cemetery. Interestingly, the Pepper example was recorded in a local Pittsburg paper and re-reported by several newspapers and trade publications nationwide, unlike the Daisy Schoolcraft monument, which predated the former by five years. Unfortunately, vandals smashed the Daisy Schoolcraft monument in August, 1960. The monument was removed to the nearby Old Schoharie Fort museum, where it is still on display (Figure 7).[29]

Figure 7. Zinc marker and Daisy Schoolcraft glass tombstone

At the turn of the twentieth century cemetery design began to transition from natural, picturesque settings to what is termed the "lawn-park" movement. Cemeteries of this type featured formal landscaping choices, made by an incorporated board of trustees and a professional cemetery manager. Management of the period generally regulated monument size and type—calling for more uniform, lower, and less sculptural markers and a more formal arrangement of graves. This professionalization of cemetery management coupled with changes in technology altered the look of cemeteries. Landscaping staff used power mowers to give the cemetery an uncluttered, close-cut lawn look, and maintaining flat, level grasslands with uniform markers proved to be considerably less expensive than rolling hilly terrain with less-regulated burial emplacements. [30] Simultaneously, advances in concrete and the introduction of powered machine carvers changed headstone designs in keeping with the new, more formalized

[29] The Elizabeth Pepper monument no longer appears to be extant either.
[30] Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, "Developmental History of Pennsylvania Cemeteries." www.portal.state.pa.us.

trends in cemetery aesthetics.[31] Most of St. Paul's essentially resisted this trend and continued to place emphasis on large, variably sized family plots with elaborate markers that reflected individual tastes. While plot layouts remained unchanged in most of the cemetery, the families of the community proved perfectly willing to incorporate new forms, new technologies and new materials in the monuments themselves. Several pre-WWII monuments are of polished granite or cast concrete, but in nineteenth century forms like obelisks, draped and undraped urns and large sculptural sarcophagi (again, without remains inside). These monuments often incorporated older ornamentation like vines, Greek frets, and classical columns that required mechanized, industrial granite polishing/cutting tools or advancements in concrete casting technologies. Other monuments took on completely new 3D forms, including cubes, cylinders, quarry faced rocks and monolithic compositions.

Grave furniture of post-World War II interments at St. Paul's has undergone a significant change; although not specifically imposed or regulated upon individuals by the cemetery, the nature of period aesthetics, cost, and the changing expertise of tombstone retailers dictate that more recent burials are marked differently than in the past. These monuments typically are upright or slanted three-dimensional markers, rectangular with flat or semi-circular tops, constructed of either polished granite or marble with minimal bas relief epitaphs and artwork. Although the monuments vary in size and color, they are generally low, and few feature custom shapes. Many families continue to subdivide their lots and choose to be buried alongside their ancestors, but the exception to this is the most-recent section of the cemetery (Section 12), which only includes burials from the twentieth century. In this section burials are organized in formal rows of individual burials, and all of the monuments are of a low, relatively uniform size.

Social History

The epitaphs and vital data (birth, death, familial relationships, etc.) included on the stones document the lives of the residents of the town from the late eighteenth century through the current day. More than two centuries of marked interments onsite has created a catalog of the collective social, religious and ethnic identity of the area and its development as a community. Not only is the cemetery an expression of the inhabitants' collective community identity, it provides a primary source of genealogical and biographical data that is not available in other sources—especially given the loss of many of the cemetery's records in the 2011 flooding; information about origins, immigration and settlement patterns, intermarriages, ethnicity, and religious affiliations are all preserved in the epitaphs of the tombstones. St. Paul's is the older of the two primary cemeteries in the village of Schoharie; as such, it contains the graves of individuals who were significant in determining the region's political and economic history and who had outstanding impacts on the area's nature and direction of development.

Prominent politicians interred at St. Paul's include five United States Congressmen. Stephen Lorenzo Mayhem (1826-1908) studied law in Ithaca and had a long career. He served as the district attorney of Schoharie County from 1859-1862 and as a county judge from 1883-1887; he ultimately served as a judge of the supreme court of New York from 1886-1896, afterward becoming presiding justice. In addition to his law career, Mayhem was superintendent of schools in Schoharie County from 1852 to 1857, county supervisor from 1857-1860 and served as a member of the New York State Assembly in 1863. He was twice elected to Congress as a Democrat—the Forty-first (March 4, 1869-March 3, 1871) and the Forty-fifth (March 4, 1877-March 3, 1879). John Gebhard (1782 - 1854) also practiced law, having served as the first Surrogate of Schoharie County from 1811-1813 and again from 1815-1822. Gebhard was elected as a Federalist to the Seventeenth Congress (March 4, 1821-March 3, 1823). Colonel William Dietz, was born into a prominent family at Foxesdorf, on the Schoharie. Dietz had a prominent political career, beginning with his election as town clerk in Schoharie in 1804. He went on to be town supervisor (1812),

[31] Peckenschneider, "The Story and Development of Greenwood Cemetery"; David Charles Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History*, (John Hopkins Press: Baltimore, MD, 1991).

county supervisor, County Superintendent of the Poor, and a New York State Assemblyman in 1814, 1815, and 1823. In the Assembly, Dietz was associated with the Albany Regency—a group of politicians who controlled New York State government through a political system. The Albany Regency was a powerful force in state and national politics in the 1820s and 1830s, and the Schoharie County historian, William Roscoe, noted that Dietz was "the leading politician the county." The Regency was associated with the Jacksonian Democrats, and Dietz was elected as a Jacksonian to the Nineteenth Congress (March 4, 1825-March 3, 1827). He was a member of the New York State Senate from 1830 to 1833 and a presidential elector in 1832—casting his vote for Jackson and Albany Regency founder Martin Van Buren. In the 1832 election, the Albany Regency endeavored to have a unanimous vote cast for the Democrats, but former Representative Alexander Boyd (1764-1857) refused to vote for Dietz.[32] Alexander Boyd (1764-1857) was elected as a Federalist to the Thirteenth Congress (March 4, 1813 to March 4, 1815) and is interred in the nominated cemetery like his rival, Dietz. Boyd opened a mill in Schoharie in 1800, and eventually operated a mill and wagon shop in nearby Cobleskill. Finally, Jacob Houck, Jr. (1801–1857) was a U.S. Representative from New York. Like others listed, Houck practiced law—he served as District Attorney for Schoharie County from 1831-1836. Houck was elected as a Democrat to the Twenty-seventh Congress (March 4, 1841 – March 3, 1843).

St. Paul's cemetery contains the remains of military personnel who have served the country throughout the ages, both in times of peace and war. Given the age of the cemetery veterans of practically every major US conflict are buried there, including the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the Civil War, World War I, World War II, the Korean conflict and Vietnam. A few of the American Revolution veterans include Joost Warner (15th NY), Lt. JJ Lawyer, George Rickard, Jacob Shaffer, M. Shaffer, and Capt. Seth Hartman of the Navy. A monument, now weathered and damaged, commemorates "8 Soldiers of the War of 1812." Among the Civil War burials is at least one known veteran of the US Colored Troops. Nineteen year old Thomas H. Smoke enlisted at Schenectady in March of 1864 as a substitute, and served in Co. E, 38th Regiment United States Colored Infantry until 1867. Smoke is buried in a separate section of the cemetery, set aside for persons of color. The markers, allegorical symbolism and epitaphs on the graves of Civil War veterans especially reflect a continuing conviction of the noble character and valor of war service through the ages and are a clear expression of cultural and patriotic values. This is in keeping with a change in the attitude towards death after the nation was exposed to the mechanized, large-scale violence that was the Civil War. Graves of Civil War soldiers became places of veneration and pilgrimage for post-war organizations like the Grand Army of the Republic. The political power of veteran's organizations like the GAR and of military descendant groups also often pressured various levels of government (local, county, state and federal) to take responsibility for the costs associated with burying veterans, and their widows. Newspaper records and county expenses reports illustrate that this was the case for many veterans—especially those from the Civil War, Spanish American War and WWI. Sp.4 Christopher S. Sigman, who was Schoharie County's first Vietnam fatality, is interred at the cemetery as well.

St. Paul's Cemetery contains the graves of two of the early pastors of the associated St. Paul's Lutheran Evangelical Church. The first Dominie of the church, Peter Nicholas Sommers, died in 1795 at age eighty-five; Sommers had served the congregation at Schoharie from 1743-1791, but he had also preached at many neighboring settlements (Stone Arabia, Little Falls, Canajoharie, Albany) and at other Palatine congregations in the lower Hudson Valley (Rhinebeck, East and West Camp, Claverack). George Lintner, D.D. (1796-1871) was pastor at St. Paul's for over thirty years, from 1818-1849. Lintner oversaw the Greek Revival changes to the nominated edifice in the 1830s, and he organized three new churches in the region—Breakabeen, Middleburg, and Central Bridge. Lintner was a

[32] Roscoe, *History of Schoharie County*, 214.

nationally important religious figure as well.[33] He helped organized the Hartwick Synod in 1830 and was chosen as its first president; he served as editor of the *Lutheran Magazine* from 1827-1831 and as president of General Synod of the United States in 1841 and again 1843. In 1832 he issued a liturgy of the Lutheran Church of America, published by order of the General Synod. Both of the pastor's monuments are in the older section of the cemetery, near the memorial boulder marking the location of the original church. Jacob Heck, pastor of St. Paul's Lutheran Church from 1868-1882 is also interred in the cemetery.

A sampling of other prominent Schoharians buried in St. Paul's includes county judges, county clerks, school superintendents, road inspectors, and county sheriffs, including Jacob Lawyer (1748-1827), who was the first Schoharie County Sheriff. Chester Lasell (1784-1864) came to Schoharie in 1806 from Windham CT and eventually purchased the 1795 "Fountain Town Tavern." Lasell operated the tavern, used as a residence for his family, which included fourteen children, and established a hat factory on an adjoining parcel. In 1913 the Lasell family donated the building to the Schoharie Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, for use as a meeting hall; it was individually listed on the National Registers of Historic Places in 2001. Josiah Lasell, Chester's son, is also interred in the family plot; Josiah donated Lasell Park to the village—an eight acre wooded parcel, adjacent to the nominated cemetery. The Lasell plot includes an obelisk embellished with particularly well-executed ornamentation, including an urn with heavy floral swags and draped tapestries, ivy that is carved in bas relief in some sections and incised in others, and large commemorative tablets on the shaft. Benjamin Farquer (1874-1939) was a leading merchant in the village of Schoharie, operating a retail establishment selling furniture and undertaking supplies. Ralph Brewster (1814-unknown) was chosen as the first Schoharie County Treasurer in 1846 and elected to the same position in 1848 when the New York State Constitution made it an elective office; he held the office for thirteen years in total. Brewster also held the offices of inspector of common schools, inspector of elections, Justice of the Peace for twenty years, and town supervisor for four terms. In addition, Brewster was considered one of the best lawyers in the county.[34] Cornelius Bailey (1836-1907) was a partner in the firm of Houck & Hinman at Schoharie, and was a successful lawyer and businessman in the village; he also served as Deputy County Clerk.[35] Duryea Beekman (1840-1924) is an archetypal example of a late 19th prominent businessman—he served on several major boards across multiple industries; he was president of the Middleburg & Schoharie Railroad, director of the Davenport, Middleburg & Durham Railroad Company, president of the First National Bank of Middleburg and director of Farmers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company. Beekman also served as a member of the New York State Assembly in 1878.

Minister's Housing

A compelling factor for the significance of the St. Paul's complex is the survival of original housing for the minister (1743) and the "new" manse (1801). Remarkably, for 271 years, pastors of St. Paul's have resided onsite, in the home of their predecessors, a rare occurrence in New York State. The 1743 parsonage represents Old World craftsmanship in construction, form, spatial organization, and detailing. The wattle and daub construction is currently clad in 18th century, wide, beaded clapboards and shingles (on the upper half story), but underneath is evidence of an even older practice—*fachwerkbau*, an Old World, late Medieval, Northern European technique of half-timbering and whitewash. In form and massing, the parsonage is rectangular in footprint, one and half stories in height, resting on a raised basement. There was no attempt made at symmetry in the openings or the plan; the structure was built for simple, open and functional rooms. The cellar includes a keeping room with an end wall

[33] "Lintner, George A, D.D." *Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature*, John McClintock and James Strong, Volume 12 (Harper & Brothers: New York, 1894), 672. www.books.google.com.
[34] Roscoe, *History of Schoharie County New York,* 111.
[35] *Biographical Review Volume XXXIII: Containing Life Sketches of Leading Citizens of Greene, Schoharie and Schenectady Counties, New York*, (Boston: Biographical Review Publishing Company, 1899). http://www.schenectadyhistory.org/people/brgss/bios/index.html.

jambed stone fireplace for cooking and a small rear room. The main floor is a traditional two room plan, with a center jambless fireplace in one room and likely housed a five plate stove in the other. Corbeled knee braces support the exposed ceiling beams, which have been finished by planing them smooth. The upper story loft is a single, unfinished, space. The sharply-pitched roof framing consists of eight bents and ten pairs of rafters; the end bents have rotated posts with double tenons, which hold both the purlin and a tie-beam joined to the rafters.[36] Hand forged HL and strap hinges with triangulated nails in the pad, paneled doors, and stairs without risers all denote the age of the building. There is some evidence that the parsonage was moved to its current location around 1790 or 1800. Evidence from a 1971 archaeological investigation of the area around the old parsonage did not indicate the current was site was occupied or inhabited steadily until about 1790. Paul Huey, the archaeologist who investigated the site, concluded the parsonage had most likely been moved to its current location around that time. Although direct documentary evidence was not found, the 1753 map and 1758 deed (both previously mentioned) indicate the parsonage was near the spring, just not in this exact location. Huey concluded a reasonable supposition for the original location was on the hillside, closer to the original church site; this fit with the tendency for colonial houses in the area to be built on the south face of a hillside. The building may have been moved even closer to the spring when the church was torn down in 1795-6, thus giving more room for burials. If the building had been moved in the 1790s, it may also reflect a shift in the geographical focus of the village as well.

In contrast, the new manse is noted for its refinement of design and stresses appearances alongside function. The 1801 building embodies design precepts of Classicism, as interpreted by the community during the Federal period. These stylistic choices range from the overall form and massing of the house's two-and-half story, five-bay, double-pile, center hall compositions to the builders' emphasis on symmetry through regular fenestration and a highlighted recessed entranceway. The form and design would have been familiar and recognizable across the United States, and particularly in areas that had long been settled, like the northeast.

Education Center

Although built within the period of significance the educational center is considered non-contributing. It does not contribute to architectural significance of the district, and is not related to the early settlement period due to age. In addition to building does not represent the collective social, religious and ethnic identity of Schoharie and its subsequent development as a community.

[36] Peter Sinclair, "A Selection from the Editor's Journal," *Hudson Valley Vernacular Architecture Newsletter*, November, 1999 Volume 1, Number 6. http://www.hvva.org/hvvanews1-7.htm.

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BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION:
As indicated by the heavy black line on the attached boundary map, the nominated property consists entirely of three non-contiguous tax parcels, which are lot numbers 72.13-12-1 (Cemetery), 72.17-2-16 (Old Lutheran Parsonage), and 72.13-7-2 (Church and 1801 manse) in the Village of Schoharie, Schoharie County, NY.

BOUNDARY JUSTIFICATION:
The boundary was drawn to include the significant assemblage of resources associated with the early immigration of Palatine Germans to Schoharie and their religious life—rare public buildings representing the settlement era in this small village. Thus the district takes in the church and manse, the cemetery and the Old Lutheran Parsonage. While in close proximity, these parcels are not adjacent nor were they historically—based on the 1866 map and the presence of a line of large trees that mark the visual boundary of the cemetery.

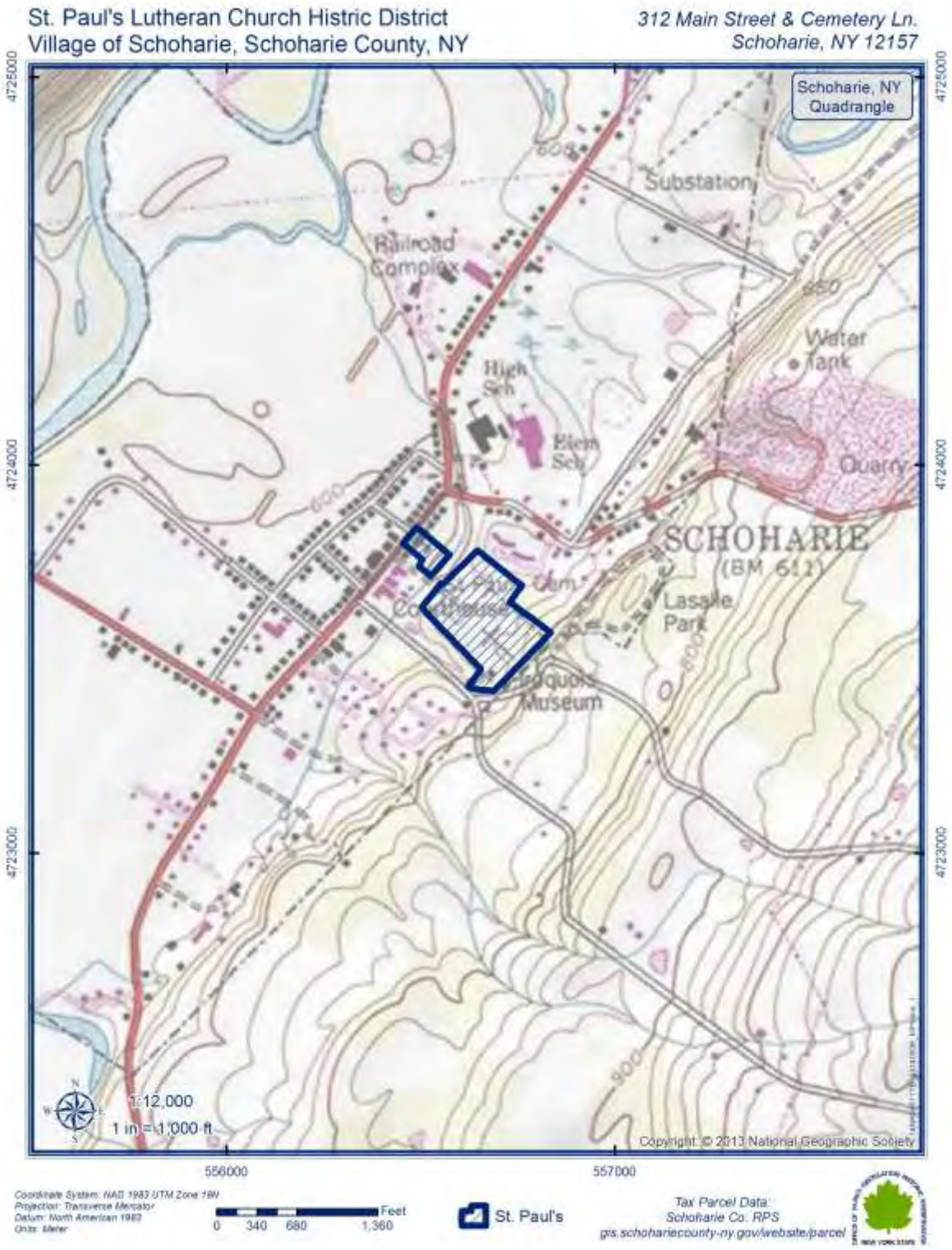
UTM References:

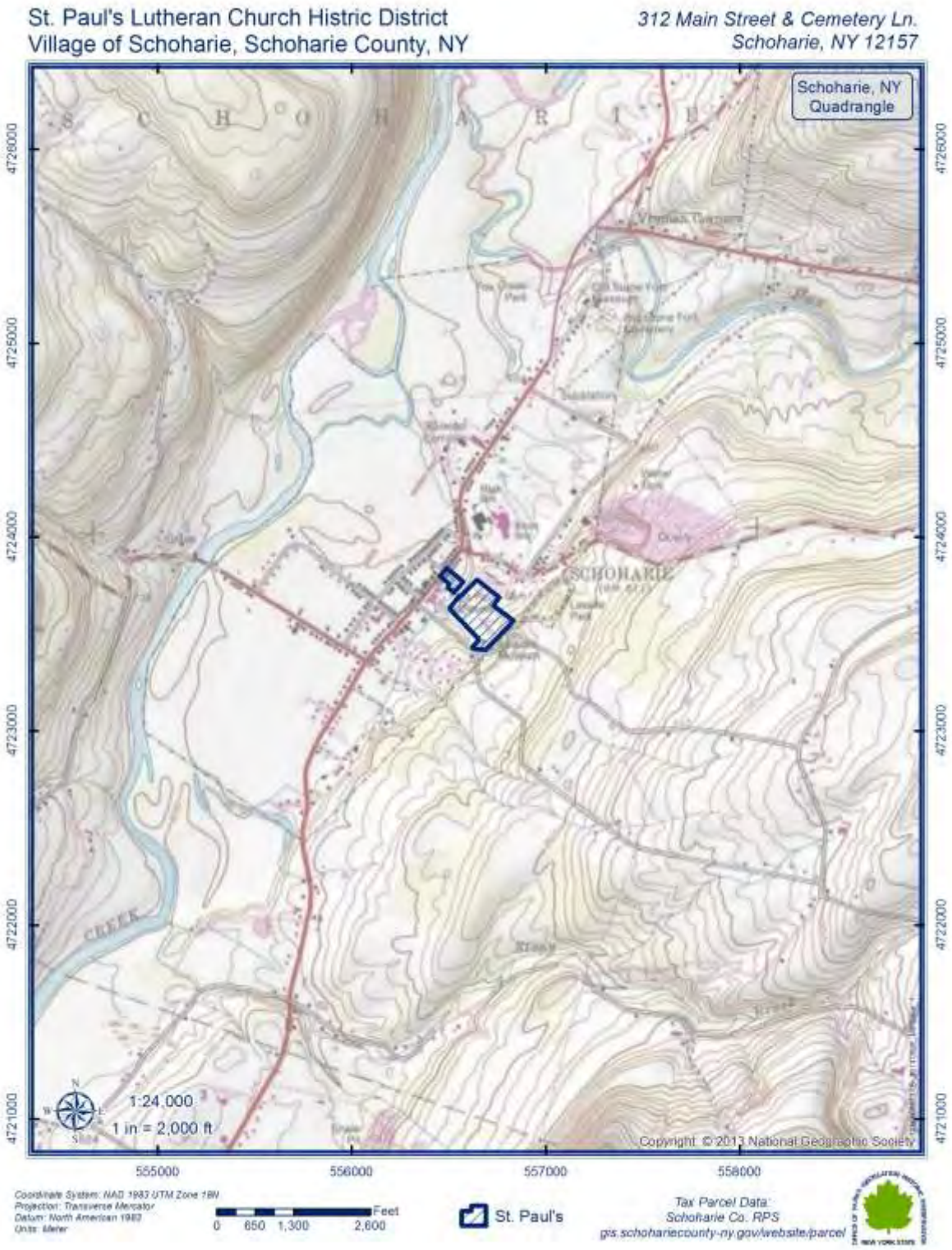
Church:

ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING
18	556647	4723779

Cemetery:

ZONE	POINT	EASTING	NORTHING
18	1	556647	4723779
18	2	556755	4723689
18	3	556832	4723567
18	4	556687	4723419
18	5	556621	4723430
18	6	556503	4723632


St. Paul's Lutheran Church Histric District
Village of Schoharie, Schoharie County, NY
312 Main Street & Cemetery Ln.
Schoharie, NY 12157
Schoharie, NY Quadrangle
Substation
Railroad Complex
Water Tank
High Sch
Elem Sch
Quarry
SCHOHARIE
(BM 611)
Lasalle Park
Iroquois Museum
4725000
4724000
4723000
556000
557000
1:12,000
1 in = 1,000 ft
Copyright: © 2013 National Geographic Society
Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 18N
Projection: Transverse Mercator
Datum: North American 1983
Units: Meter
Feet
0 340 680 1,360
St. Paul's
Tax Parcel Data:
Schoharie Co. RPS
gis.schohariecounty-ny.gov/website/parcel


St. Paul's Lutheran Church Histric District
Village of Schoharie, Schoharie County, NY
312 Main Street & Cemetery Ln.
Schoharie, NY 12157
Schoharie, NY
Quadrangle
SCHOHARIE
CREEK
4726000
4725000
4724000
4723000
4722000
4721000
555000
556000
557000
558000
1:24,000
1 in = 2,000 ft
Copyright © 2013 National Geographic Society
Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 18N
Projection: Transverse Mercator
Datum: North American 1983
Units: Meter
Feet
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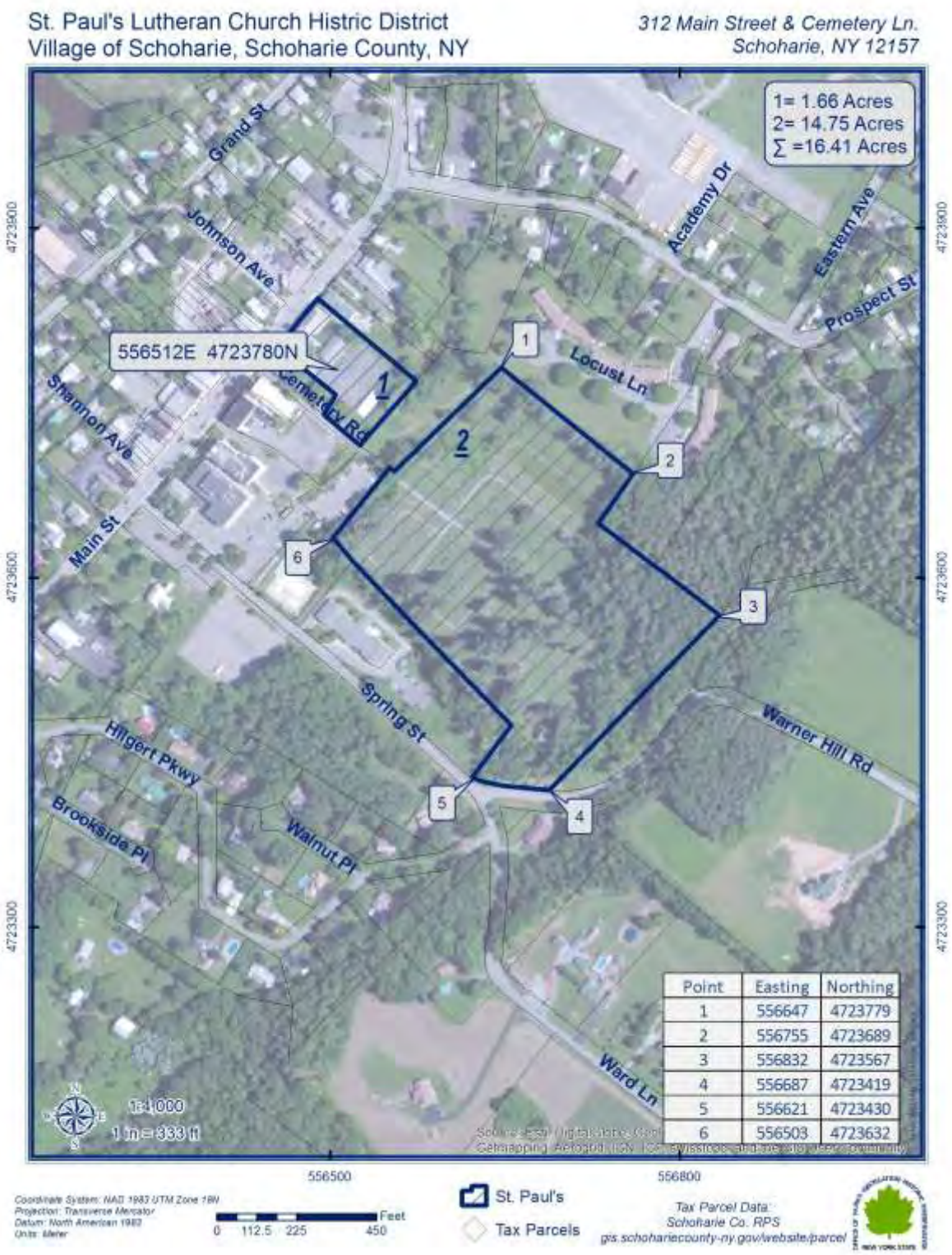
St. Paul's
Tax Parcel Data:
Schoharie Co. RPS
gis.schoharie county-ny.gov/website/parcel



Point	Easting	Northing
1	556647	4723779
2	556755	4723689
3	556832	4723567
4	556687	4723419
5	556621	4723430
6	556503	4723632

Photo Log (Prints from Digital Photos)

Name of Property: St. Paul's Lutheran Church Historic District

Location: Schoharie County, New York

Photographer: Travis Bowman

Date: April 18, 2014

Location of Negatives: CD-R Included

NY_SchoCo_StPlLC

PHOTO LOG

PHOTO	DESCRIPTION
0001	View NE; 1796 Sanctuary and tower
0002	Interior of Sanctuary showing curved gallery with Greek Revival detailing
0003	View NE along Main St.; Church and new Manse
0004	View SE; Old Lutheran Parsonage
0005	View S: Spring giving Brunnen(s)dorf its name
0006	View NW; Cemetery
0007	View S-SE; Cemetery

Welcome To
Schoharie Presbyterian Church
MAUNDY THURSDAY
FELLOWSHIP SUPPER
4/17 6:00 PM
EASTER WORSHIP 10:30

CHRISTINA
JAMES BOUCK
LODES
BORST