The Sisters of Charity and their Good Works: A History of Land Use and Ownership at 210-230 East Palace Avenue, Santa Fe, New Mexico

FINAL D R A F T

A Paper Prepared for DSW, Santa Fe

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INTRODUCTION

Archival research was conducted on land use, ownership and history of property located at 210-230 East Palace Avenue, Santa Fe, New Mexico for Drury Southwest, Inc. The project area, which includes Marian Hall and old St. Vincent Hospital, is scheduled for redevelopment following historical and archaeological investigations. The historical investigations include determination of property ownership and use through time and, more importantly, a determination of the location of the pre-Revolt parish church, or *parroquia*, in Santa Fe. Traditionally located in the area of the present Cathedral-Basilica of St. Frances, the precise location of the pre-Revolt parroquia is crucial to development of the area because prior to August 1680 when the church was in use, it was customary to bury the dead beneath church floors. In accordance with state law (Section 11.2 of the New Mexico Cultural Properties Act, 18-6-1 through 18-6-17, NMSA 1978) and the Archdiocese of Santa Fe Policy on Human Remains (1991) prohibits exhumation or removal of human burials on church property without a permit from the Historic Preservation Division.

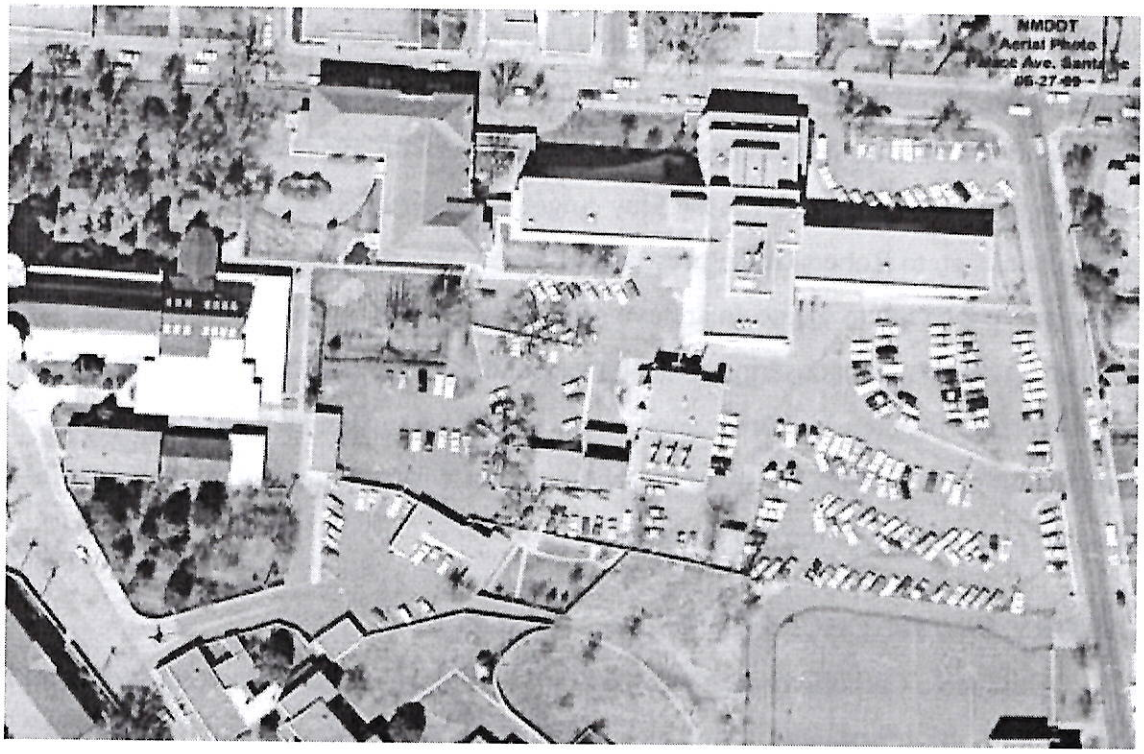

Fig. 1. Aerial view of the project area. New Mexico DOT photo taken June 27, 1969.

While tradition places the *parroquia*, or parish church, in the project area during the decades between the formal founding of the Villa de Santa Fe in 1610 and August 1680 when Spaniards and their Mexican and other Indian slaves and servants abandoned the villa as the result of the Pueblo Revolt. Without specific documents and maps to provide us with the actual length of the plaza and location of the parish church, we can only guess at the plan of the villa. For example, we will never know if how long the original plaza may have been, or if privately owned house and garden lots abutted church property prior to the Revolt, as was the case, based on extant archival evidence, during most, if not all, of the 18th and 19th centuries. Not until bishop, later archbishop, Jean Baptiste Lamy purchased the project area just a few years after his arrival in Santa Fe in 1851, did the property belong to the church and become part of the famed Bishop's Gardens. Lamy subsequently deeded the project area to The Sisters of Charity after they came to Santa Fe in 1865. An order devoted to healing, the Sisters of Charity operated hospitals throughout the eastern seaboard. In addition to a series of hospitals and sanatoriums in Santa Fe, the Sisters of Charity also operated an orphanage and an industrial school.

Archival research was undertaken at the State Records Center and Archives (SRCA), the Fray Angélico Chávez Library of the Palace of the Governors, the Santa Fe County Court House and Planning Department of the City of Santa Fe. The author is deeply grateful to Michelle Garcia and Minnie Murray, librarians at the Laboratory of Anthropology, and Tomas Jahn at the Fray Angélico Chávez Library for their assistance. Special thanks go to Robert Glick, president of the St. Vincent Hospital Foundation for his assistance it trying to locate an archive of materials set up by Dr. Marcus Smith, author of an 800-page manuscript on the history of the Sisters of Charity, their hospitals and sanatoria, orphanage and other good works in Santa Fe. Special thanks also go to Brian Nenninger and Scott Hayne of Drury Southwest who provided me with wonderful maps and photographs of the project area.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN NEW MEXICO

Although a Catholic church may be any one of dozens of architectural styles and although it can be constructed of any medium, whether adobe, stone, fired brick and/or

wood, according to Giffords (2007:43), a Catholic church must be permanent and must never be used for any other purpose. Further,

> ...It must have the following elements: a sanctuary area (in sight of, but separate from, the congregation) for an altar and celebrants, where services would be performed, a nave for the congregation, and a choir for the singers. If the church was a parochial church or was specially designated to provide baptisms (as were mission churches) then it would also have a baptismal font with suitable space around it, and a porch, portal, or some available space for use at the beginning of the baptismal rite. Both the height of the altar and the material used for its construction were prescribed. Whether mission or diocesan, the church had to be first consecrated, or sometimes merely blessed...and had to contain at least one consecrated altar or, in most cases, one *ara* [small, flat altar stone]" (Giffords 2007:43).

While a church could be located virtually anywhere, the Ordinances of 1573 promulgated by Philip II of Spain, later known as the Laws of the Indies, prescribed those churches away from coastal areas:

> No. 124. The temple in inland places shall not be placed on the square but at a distance and shall be separated from any other nearby buildings, or adjoining buildings, and ought to be seen from all sides so that it can be decorated better...efforts should be made that it be somewhat raised from the ground level in order that it be approached by steps, and near it next to the main plaza, the royal council and cabildo and customs houses shall be built...in a manner that would not embarrass the temple but add to its prestige...(Crouch, Garr and Mundigo 1982:115; C. T. Snow 1990:67).

In addition to the above requirements, canon law prescribed the church have a cemetery or *camposanto* (Giffords 2007:70; Will 2000; Will de Chaparro 2007). Traditionally, the camposanto was located in front of the church although it could also be located to either side or even behind the church. Regardless throughout the Spanish Colonial period in New Mexico and elsewhere throughout the Spanish Empire, cemetery notwithstanding, many burials took place inside churches with the most important individuals being interred closest to the altar (Giffords 2007:70; Will 2000; Will de Chaparro 2007). Although outlawed in New Mexico by official decree in 1787 and again in 1804 because it was unsanitary, according to Will (2000:5 fn.57), sub-floor burials within churches may have taken place in Las Trampas as late as 1905.

The first Catholic Church in New Mexico was built in August of 1598. Within weeks of the first permanent Spanish settlement in New Mexico, a small church dedicated to the Archangel San Miguel was constructed at San Gabriel del Yunque (Bloom and Scholes 1944:327; Hammond and Rey 1953). Because the church was intended for use by the Spaniards who settled at San Gabriel, it was the only parish church in the colony until the parroquia was constructed in the Villa de Santa Fe sometime during 1610. Shortly after the first parroquia was constructed at San Gabriel, Fray Lugo constructed the first of the mission churches in 1600 at San Diego de Guisewa, now Jemez State Monument in Jemez Springs (Bloom and Scholes 1944:328; Hammond and Rey 1953). Subsequently other missions were constructed at San Juan, San Ildefonso, Santo Domingo (which became the ecclesiastical center of the Province), and possibly San Felipe (Bloom and Scholes 1944:329-330).

With the ouster of Juan de Oñate and his son, Cristóbal after 1607 as sole proprietors of New Mexico, the focus of settlement in province changed from to an effort based on the missionization of the local natives. Fray Alonso de Peinado, the commissary or prelate for the missions arrived in New Mexico in the same wagon train as the new governor, Pedro de Peralta who moved the capital of the province to Santa Fe. Beginning with the second decade of the 17th century both Spanish missionization and colonization efforts flourished in New Mexico. It should be noted insofar as churches are concerned that, as with the small parish church at San Gabriel, so long as there was only one villa in New Mexico, there was only one parish church. Further, even though Franciscan commissaries and custodians may have lived part-time in Santa Fe, the ecclesiastical center of the Church was located at the Mission of Santo Domingo. As a result, the parroquia in Santa Fe was always secondary to the missions and the clash of wills between strong individuals on both sides frequently exacerbated an already uneasy situation between church and state.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Unfortunately, no 17th century maps of Santa Fe exist, and because there are few extant documents that pre-date the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, little is known of the appearance of 17th century Santa Fe. Equally unfortunate, much of what is believed to be known about the villa is based, willy-nilly, upon idealized stories of what could or should

have been rather than fact. This illusory version of the history of the villa has come about in part because Santa Fe *was* the northernmost settlement in New Spain during the seventeenth century and contemporary writers *did* complain about the remoteness of the colony. At the same time, the mythological history of Santa Fe is also due to the fact that late-19th century boosters of Santa Fe created a history of the town out of whole cloth when the Tertio Millenial was celebrated in 1883 (Chavez 1955; Snow 1992). Content for the most part with legend, only within the last twenty years have historians really begun to study extant Inquisition and other records for clues both to the appearance of the villa and its inhabitants (Esquibel 2006; Post 2006; Snow 2004).

The fact of the matter is, while Colonial New Mexico was distant from central Mexico, and even farther removed from Spain, the province did not exist in isolation and the settlers who came to the settlement did not leave their culture or Spanish heritage in El Paso del Norte on their way north. Thus, even though there was no mineral wealth to speak of, the colony exported other goods including livestock, hides, mantas, salt, piñon nuts and slaves to work the mines in the south in sufficient quantities to make it an economically viable operation. Even though it was remote, Santa Fe, as the only official villa in the province, was laid out in accordance with the Ordinances of 1573, or Laws of the Indies. The *casas reales*, or government buildings which included the Palace of the Governors and the *casa de cabildo,* or house of the cabildo analogous to city hall, were constructed around the main plaza of the villa, while the parish church was constructed in semi-isolated splendor at the east end of the plaza then twice as long as it is today. Still it is curious that the main plaza in the villa was laid out on the north side of the Santa Fe River in the midst of a cienega, a swamp or marsh, when land better suited for development lay on the south side of the river in what became the Barrio de Analco. It appears at this late date, 400 years after the villa was founded, we shall never know the answer to that question.

Exactly where the earliest church was located in relation to the present Cathedral-Basilica of Saint Francis is unknown and has been the source of conjecture and debate among historians for decades (Chavez 1949; Ellis 1976; Hordes 1990; Pratt 1990; Snow 1990; Snow 2004). However, because of the proposed development of the project area the location of the parroquia has become more than just a matter of historical curiosity, it

has become a necessity since it was customary to bury the dead beneath the floors of churches prior to the territorial period (Chávez and Chávez 2004:32; Giffords 2007:70; Will 2000; Will de Chaparro 2007). Moreover, because the Archdiocese of Santa Fe and State of New Mexico prohibit the disturbance of human remains, the location of the church must be determined so that it can be avoided or burials legally excavated and reburied prior to development of the area.

Without going into a lengthy discussion of when and by whom Santa Fe was founded, one of the first buildings constructed after Pedro de Peralta formally founded the villa in 1610 was the parish church (Scholes 1936:29). Although the parish church was one of three churches—the parroquia; a military chapel associated with the casas reales; and the *Ermita de San Miguel* in the Barrio de Analco—in the villa on the eve of

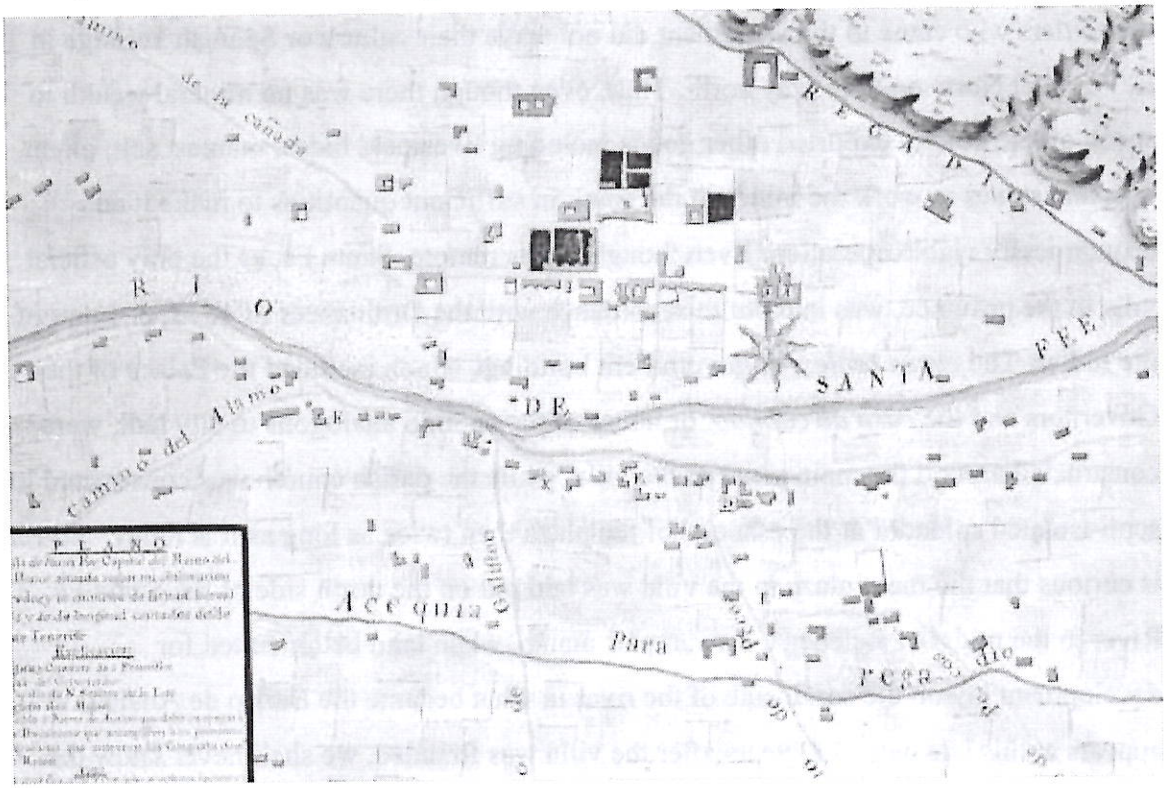

Fig. 2. The Urrutia Map of 1767 is the earliest extant map of Santa Fe. Drawn by Lt. José Urrutia more than 150 years after the founding of the villa, we can only suppose the map bears some resemblance to the villa prior to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

the Pueblo Revolt, the parroquia was the earliest, the most important, and the only church to serve the entire populace of the villa. While the earliest extant documents that refer to Santa Fe do not provide the location of the church, conventional wisdom and tradition

have placed that edifice at the east end of the plaza on the north side of the Santa Fe River (Twitchell 2007:46). Again, according to tradition, the plaza during the 17th century was twice as long as the present plaza and extended east to present-Cathedral Place. However, since there are no known maps of 17th century Santa Fe to provide us with a view of the villa or relationship of structures to the plaza, the eastern boundary of the plaza is based on nothing more than conjecture. It may well be the original plaza actually extended east beyond present Cathedral Place which would place the original parroquia even further east than traditionally supposed. At the same time, the pre-Revolt church could have been located north or south of the present Cathedral-Basilica. Regardless, we may be assured that the earliest parish church in Santa Fe, as well as all other 17th and 18th century churches in the villa were constructed on sites and in styles consistent with Franciscan architectural precepts of the age (Giffords 2007).

It is not surprising that the earliest mention of the parish church in Santa Fe comes from documents that detail the bitter fight between the Church and the State as to who was more important to the wellbeing and success of the colony. Pedro de Peralta, appointed by the viceroy in March 1609 to follow Juan de Oñate and Juan Martinez de Montoya as governor, was responsible for laying out the site of the new villa in Santa Fe. Almost from the beginning of the arrival of Fray Isidro Ordóñez in 1611, he and Governor Peralta were at cross-purposes with one another (Scholes 1936:30-47). By 1613, matters had reached such an impasse; Ordóñez threatened Peralta with excommunication (Scholes 1936:34). Subsequently on July 7, 1613, Peralta found his chair—a symbol of his civic authority—thrown into the street in front of the church in Santa Fe. Peralta "ordered the chair…*placed inside the door near the baptismal font, and there among the Indians he sat down*, the others, captains, alcaldes and cabildo being seated near the high altar" (Scholes 1936:38; my emphasis). In other words, Peralta took his seat in the rear of the church, possibly under the choir loft, near the main door where the baptismal font was located. The fact there were Indians at the service would indicate there was no other church in the villa to provide services for the slaves and servants of the Spaniards—as a result, it appears that San Miguel, known centuries later as the so-called "oldest church in Santa Fe," did not exist in1613. Unfortunately in any case,

although matters escalated between Ordóñez and Peralta, which culminated in the former holding the latter prisoner until 1614, there are no further descriptions of the church.

Using George Kubler (1990) and his own historic structures reports as the basis for his work, historian James Ivey (n.d.; see also1988; 1998) postulated a sequence for the architectural development of mission churches in New Mexico. According to Ivey (n.d: 11-14) there was a simple architectural progression from the "Temporary Church" through the "Interim Church" to the "Permanent Church." Ivey's "Temporary Church" (1598 to ca. 1609) "was a small, simple church with an attached convento of two or three rooms, effectively the same plan as used at visitas throughout the seventeenth century in New Mexico" (Ivey n.d:11). The "Interim Church (1609-1620)" was the

> ...standard church in New Mexico...all of the same general plan, with some variation: the sanctuary could be either shouldered or tapered, or a combination of the two. All were single-naved, and none had transepts (Ivey n.d:12).

Finally, the "Permanent Church," which first appeared in New Mexico around 1620, frequently included "Baroque stylistic concepts" such as transepts, transverse clerestory windows, and, as at Sandia, an *artesanado* or coffered ceiling (Ivey n.d: 13). If Ivey's architectural progression from temporary through interim to permanent were applied to the earliest parroquia in the Villa de Santa Fe, then the first parish church would fall into his 'interim' category. Accordingly, that church would be "relatively narrow, ranging from twenty to twenty-eight feet wide" (Ivey 1998:48). Based on other such churches, the length of the parish church would lie between "sixty-seven and one hundred fifteen feet with either polygonal or shouldered apses and flat, beam-supported roofs" (Ivey 1998:48-49). More than likely the church did not have a transverse clerestory window (Ivey 1998:49). Based on contemporary accounts, the church had an attached convento to house the resident friars (Scholes 1936:40).

Throughout New Spain the word *convento* referred to the living quarters for the priests associated with a given church or mission. The convento, occasionally two stories in height, consisted of a series of rooms or cells, storerooms, kitchen, dining room or refectory, often built around a patio or courtyard. Conventos were usually located on the south side of the church. In addition, to living quarters, a convento often contained classrooms, a *porteria*, or porch for travelers, gardens, orchards, and possibly a stable and

corral. Occasionally, the convento also had quarters for Indian servants and others (Chavez 1949:89; Giffords 2004:61, 409, note 22; Ivey n.d:14-18).

The next mention of the parish church in Santa Fe occurs in 1620 during Juan de Eulate's term of office (Bloom 1928: 357-380). In the document, Governor Eulate was cautioned to remain on cordial terms with the "father Custodian of those Provinces and with the *guardian* of the convent of that Villa of Sanct. Fee and [with] to other *definidores* [councilors] of the Order if there be such and if not with the Two Religious of longest service in the Custody, and with the *cabildo* [village council] of that Said Villa" (Bloom 1928:363-364). Eulate was also told, contrary to the wishes of the cabildo or town council, that it was not advisable to move the location of the villa "to a better site on a squared location with four Towers; and for this object to erect a church [and] government buildings" (Bloom 1928:369). The governor and cabildo were further admonished:

> "And as to the parochial church which is proposed to found in that said Villa of Sancta Fee and as to sending a curate vicar for it, inasmuch as there is already there a church and a convent of Sant. Francisco which seems sufficient for the number of residents that there now is, there is no occasion at present for it to be done" (Bloom 1928:370).

Even though the viceroy denied the request of the cabildo to move the villa, he sent a quantity of tools, nails, and other materials to repair buildings already constructed there (Bloom 1928: 370).

The viceroy's counsel notwithstanding, within a matter of years the parroquia was either remodeled extensively, or rebuilt entirely because the church described in 1626 had a transept unlike the church of 1613 (Hodge, Hammond and Rey 1945:129). As we will see, the remodeled or rebuilt church was constructed along the lines of Ivey's permanent churches, which were larger and more impressive than 'interim' structures.

In 1623, Fray Alonso de Benavides became the Custodian or head of the Franciscans in New Mexico although he did not arrive in the province until late in 1625 (Hodge, Hammond and Rey 1945:2). A reception celebrating Benavides' arrival was held in January 1626 (Hodge, Hammond and Rey 1945:3). There is no question that Benavides was aware of the remodeling/rebuilding of the parroquia for he brought with him a wooden tabernacle "2 ½ yards [varas] high by 1 ¾ wide, octagonal in shape, its interior

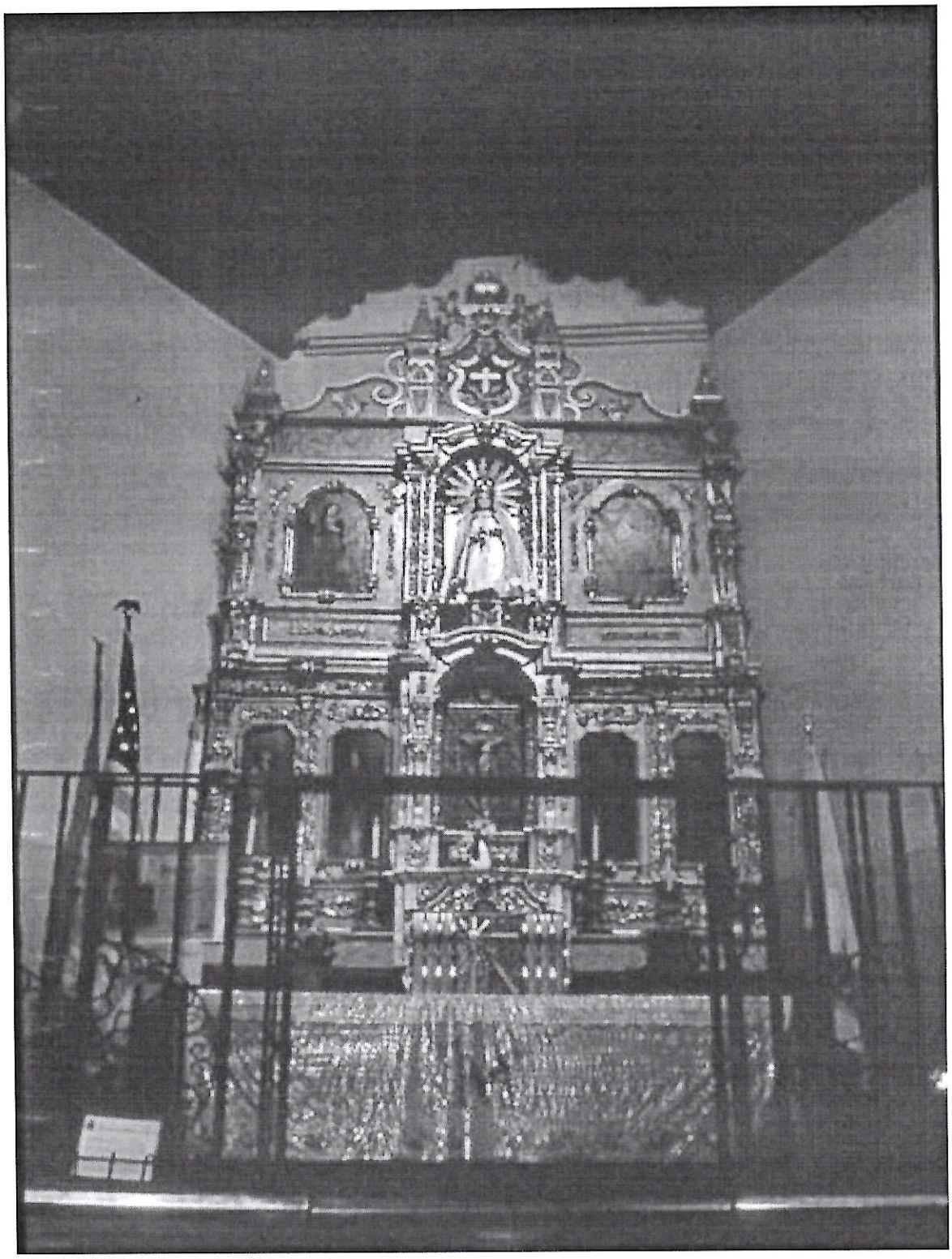

Fig. 3. La Conquistadora, Our Lady of Peace is the oldest Marian figure in the United States. She is shown here in a late 18th century retablo, or altar screen placed in the chapel dedicated to her located on the north side of the present cathedral-basilica in Santa Fe.

and appurtenances all gilt and laterals and panels adorned with oil paintings, all of it ornamented" valued at 210 pesos (Hodge, Hammond and Rey 1945:114). Benavides was also responsible for overseeing the shipping of a three-piece retablo or altar screen,[1] for the new church along with a *bulto* or statue of the Virgin (Fig. 3). That figure known today as *La Conquistadora*, Our Lady of Peace is the oldest Marian bulto in the United States (Fig. 3; Chávez 1948; Hodge, Hammond and Rey 1945:120-121; Sheehan 1998: xix).

When Benavides entered Santa Fe on January 24, 1626, Fray Pedro de Hortega and all the Franciscans in the province, along with the governor, alcaldes, cabildo, and residents of the villa (Hodge, Hammond and Rey 1945:128), greeted him. After being escorted "through the principal streets" of the villa, he was led to his cell in the convento attached to the parroquia (Hodge, Hammond and Rey 1945:138). The following day a high mass was held in the parish church to celebrate the arrival of the new custodian:

> ...The said governor, alcaldes, cabildo and all the other people and the harquebusiers came to the cell of the said father commissary to accompany him to the church. This they did, the banner of our holy Catholic faith being carried before them in the hands of the said sargento mayor, accompanied by the captains. Behind him came the alguacil mayor, accompanied by the friars and I, the said notary [Hortega], with the most prominent friars of this custodia...In this order we entered the church up to the place of the father commissary, which was on the side of the gospel [to the left of the altar; the epistle side refers to the right] at the main altar. He had a kneeling chair with a cushion, and opposite him, on the other side, a platform covered with a carpet where I, the present notary [Hortega], sat and also the alguacil mayor and the sargento mayor, who carried the banner. *The said governor* [Felipe de Sotelo Osorio] *took his seat at the transept of the church* and high mass began (Hodge, Hammond and Rey 1945:128-129; my emphasis).

The fact that the parroquia had a transept in January 1625 would make it one of the earliest transepted churches in New Mexico, and characteristic of Ivey's "permanent" churches (Ivey 1998; Ivey, personal communication May 2004).

Fray Alonso de Benavides remained in Santa Fe until 1629 and upon his return to Mexico wrote two memorials of his stay in New Mexico: *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides 1630* (Ayer, Hodge and Lummis 1965) and the *Revised Memorial of 1634*

[1] Frequently referred to by the French word *reredo* or *reredos*, the correct word in Spanish for altar screen is *retablo.*

(Hodge, Hammond and Rey 1945). Actually, upon close reading there are significant differences in the descriptions of Santa Fe between the two Benavides' *Memorials* and the annotations made by the various editors. In the *Memorial of 1630*, Benavides noted that while about 1,000 people lived in Santa Fe there were only 250 Spaniards, at best, with no more than fifty men capable of carrying arms (Ayer et al. 1965:22-23). Benavides went on to say,

> ...They must have in service seven hundred souls; so that between Spaniards, half-breeds [*mestizos*], and Indians there must be a thousand souls [in Santa Fe]...There lacked only the principal [thing], which was the church. The one they had was a poor hut, for the religious attended first to building the churches for the Indians they were converting and with who they were ministering and living. And so, as soon as I came in as Custodian [1622, sic, 1623], I commenced to build the church and monastery – and to the honor and glory of God our Lord, it would shine in whatsoever place. There already the Religious teach Spaniards and Indians to read and write, to play [instruments] and sing, and all the trades of civilization...(Ayer et al. 1965:23).

Contrast this with Benavides' description of the villa from his *1634 Memorial*:

> ...There is the villa of Santa Fe, where reside the governors and the Spaniards, who may number up to two hundred and fifty. Most of them are married to Spanish or Indian women or to their descendents. With their servants they number almost one thousand persons. This city was founded by the Adelantado, Don Juan de Oñate [sic, meaning the villa was founded during the time Juan de Oñate was governor], when he entered [New Mexico] with seven hundred married Spaniards, but the majority returned to Mexico. The houses are not costly, but adequate as living quarters. They lacked a church, as their first one had collapsed. I built a very fine church for them, at which they, their wives and children, personally aided me considerably by carrying the materials and helping to build the walls with their own hands. We have them well instructed, and they set a good example. The most important Spanish women pride themselves on coming to sweep the church and wash the altar linen, caring for it with great neatness, cleanliness, and devotion, and very often they come to partake of the holy sacraments (Hodge, Hammond and Rey 1945:68).

In other words, it would appear from the *1630 Memorial*, Benavides built a new parish church and convento for the residents, both Spaniard and Indian, of the villa; however, the *1634 Memorial* introduces some uncertainty to the matter.

Since, as we have already pointed out, it was unlikely that the earliest parish church in Santa Fe had a transept, and since there is no evidence the Ermita de San Miguel ever had a transept, the fact that Governor Sotelo de Osorio sat at the transept of the church during high mass on January 25, 1626, suggests the parroquia had been remodeled prior to Benavides' arrival in Santa Fe. The fact that Benavides brought a wooden tabernacle, new altar screen and bultos with him lends credence to the suggestion the furnishings were for the remodeled church rather than for one that was not yet constructed. More important, perhaps, is that the only church mentioned in all of Santa Fe prior to Benavides arrival is the parroquia. Thus the church Benavides mentions building during his term as custodian appears to have been San Miguel (see also Hodge, Hammond and Rey, 1945: 274; Kubler 1990:80).

If, as Kubler (1990:80) believed, the Ermita of San Miguel was not constructed until1628, two years after Benavides came to Santa Fe that would explain why Indian slaves and servants who lived in the Barrio de Analco had worshiped at the parroquia. It would also explain why Benavides distinguished between the women and children who helped build a "very fine church...by helping to build the walls with their own hands" and the "important Spanish women who sweep the church and wash the altar linen" (Hodge, Hammond and Rey 1935:68). The latter chores are characteristic of duties performed by members of a *cofradia*, or confraternity, a local religious society whose members cared for the patron saint(s) of a church and assisted with parish affairs (Adams and Chavez 1975:353). The former are much more characteristic of local and other Native American groups where the women and children were actually responsible for adobe construction.

The remaining references to the parish church in Santa Fe before the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 are essentially anecdotal. One of the more curious of those references mentioned that, while the villa had a "very good church [and] a fair convento" the villa only had some 200 Indians under its administration. That figure is reminiscent of the number of Indian slaves and servants in Santa Fe in 1613 and considerably less than the 700 Indians mentioned in the Benavides' *Memorials* of 1630 and 1634. The difference in numbers cannot be explained. An undated document that requests the services of five friars, four priests and one lay brother for the parish church (Scholes 1929:52) actually, possibly inadvertently, provides more unexpected information about the villa than the

church. The author of the document noted that the reason additional religious personnel were needed was that the church in Santa Fe ministered to three visitas in addition to several estancias. Presumably, one of those visitas was San Miguel since that hermitage was located in the Barrio de Analco on the south side of the Santa Fe River opposite the Spanish plaza. The other two visitas are unknown although one could conceivably be the military chapel in the Palace of Governors. The location of the estancias or livestock and farming operations is also unknown; although, at least one of these operations may have been located on irrigated lands that included the *milpas de San Miguel* within and surrounding the Barrio de Analco, but that is pure speculation on the part of the author.

Bernardo López de Mendizábal, governor of New Mexico between 1659 and 1661, noted upon his arrival in Santa Fe that

> ...the church was without an organ, which seemed to him very improper, and so he said to Fray Juan Ramírez, Custodian, and to Fray Miguel Sacristán, guardian of the villa, that an organ ought to be brought there, and if it was too expensive to do so [he], the accused, would pay half the cost, and if the expense was moderate, he would bear it all (Hackett 1937:213).

Further, according to research conducted by historian José Esquibel (2005), during the López administration a religious procession led by a friar carrying a "a large crucifix of Jesus Christ elevated" made its way through the plaza every Monday, Wednesday and Friday.

Unfortunately, except for the fact that the pre-Revolt parish church in Santa Fe was cruciform in plan, we know nothing else of its appearance. However, we do have a contemporary 17th century description of the construction details and plan of the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe in El Paso de Norte, modern Cuidad Juárez. Although N. S. de Guadalupe was a mission and not a parish church, and although it was dedicated in 1668, some 40 years after the parish church in Santa Fe, the church was cruciform in plan and may have resembled the earlier structure in New Mexico.

> ...The nave is ninety-nine feet long and thirty-three feet wide; the transept measures twenty-eight feet by forty-five feet; and the chancel is twenty feet long and twenty-one feet wide on the side of the transept. The altar steps are very beautiful...
>
> The temple has a handsome choir loft, so spacious that the services of fifty clerics...could easily be celebrated there...

> The baptistry has its door under the choir-loft, and is fifteen feet long and of the same width. The sacristy has its door at the transept, and is twenty-four feet long and eighteen feet wide; (it has) a very suitable closet for sacristy utensils...
>
> The convent which has been built in this conversion has a good porter's lodge, a spacious cloister, and seven cells—one with a rear cell and little office, two with rear cells, and three, like the rest, spacious, well lighted, and nicely finished off in wood. In addition to these there is a little hall *de profundis*, a refectory with an office for the *intento*, a kitchen, and closets, all so spacious and orderly that it would be a pleasure to come to see them. Everything is finished with doors, windows, and keys.
>
> In front of the church there is a garden, and the fruits of the orchard are already being enjoyed grapes, apples, quinces, plums, peaches and figs (Scholes 1929:198-199).[2]

The fact there was a garden in front of the church instead of a cementerio is interesting as the area in front of the church was usually reserved for a *camposanto* (Giffords 2007:70). As noted elsewhere, while burial inside churches was common practice in New Mexico, and throughout the Spanish world in the 17th and 18th centuries, it was eventually banned for sanitary reasons (Giffords 2007:70).

CONSTRUCTION METHODS

Given the abundance of suitable soils and plentiful water found in the Santa Fe area, prior to the third quarter of the 19th century when Archbishop Jean Lamy directed the construction of the Cathedral of St. Francis of coursed stone masonry, all churches in the villa were constructed of adobe bricks.[3] Whether any of the adobe bricks were fired prior to construction as at San Diego de Guisewa in the Jemez remains to be seen. It is likely the floor of the parroquia consisted of adobe bricks laid in herringbone or other patterns that may have been covered with a thin layer of poured adobe similar to floors uncovered in the portions of the 17th century Palace of the Governors (Snow 1974). As with all Spanish Colonial adobe structures two stories in height the foundations for the church would have been approximately one meter in width. At the same time, even though the friars at each mission received "one box of loza de Puebla, majolica, every three years, it was highly unlikely churches or conventos in New Mexico were decorated

[2] The 17th century mission church of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe still stands in Ciudad Juárez. It was the last of the missions built in New Mexico prior to the Pueblo Revolt.

[3] To the best of our knowledge the first church to be constructed of coursed stone masonry in Santa Fe was the Cathedral of St. Francis build under the aegis of Archbishop Jean B. Lamy and dedicated in 1886.

with lead-glazed majolica tiles due to the excessive weight and prohibitive cost of shipping those tiles over the Camino Real into the province (Hodge, Hammond and Rey, 1945:101; Snow 2004). More likely, all decorations on the interior of the church would be painted on the walls, probably by local Indian artisans using local pigments. Whether the church had a transverse clearstory window is unknown; however, if it did, the widow likely glazed with selenite rather than glass. Finally, the ceiling of the pre-Revolt parroquia in Santa Fe was probably no different from the ceilings of most of the mission churches in the province. In other words, with the exception of the mission church at Sandia Pueblo which had an *artesanado* or coffered ceiling (Adams and Chavez 1975:139; see also Gifford 2007:124, 128), all other missions had carved and painted *vigas* or roof timbers rested on carved and painted *corbels* and the spaces between were filled with *latillas* or small branches. The ceilings would be covered by a foot or more of mud to provide a weather-proof roof.

Although the majority of construction materials were produced locally, metal for tools and building supplies had to be transported to the colony over the Camino Real (Bloom1928:370; Hodge, Hammond and Rey 1945; Ivey 1988:39) Tools and building materials sent by the viceroy in 1620 included:

> ...Six hundred-weight of crude iron and two of steel; two hundred picks, one hundred axes, thirty adzes, twelve doublebladed axes, two hundredweight of nails, ten hundredweight of powder, thirty of lead; eighty gratings [rajas were barred frames used to defend windows], and five hundred reaping hooks (Bloom 1928:370).

Each Franciscan friar sent to New Mexico received the following basic items with which to build a church:

> 10 axes for cutting trees for beams and other wooden items:
> 3 adzes for trimming beams, lintels and other wooden items;
> 10 hoes for the preparation and maintenance of the convento garden and for digging foundation trenches;
> 1 medium-sized saw for cutting boards;
> 1 chisel with collar and handle for detailed shaping of beams, lintels, and boards;
> 2 augers for drilling holes for pegs, the usual way of fastening the components of doors;
> One box plane for planing board and beam surfaces flat (Hodge, Hammond and Rey 1945; Ivey 1988:39).

Ivey also included a list of construction materials received by each friar:

> Six hundred tinned nails for decorating the church door;
> Sixty nails about 4 inches long;
> Sixty nails about 7 inches long;
> One hundred nails *de a quinientos en suma*;[4]
> Four hundred nails *de a mil en suma*;[5]
> Eighteen hundred roofing nails;
> Twelve hundred nails *de medio almud*;[6]
> Eight hundred tacks;
> Other Items included:
> Ten pounds of steel for making other needed items and tools;
> One large latch for the church door;
> One pair of braces for double doors, probably the church doors;
> Two small locks;
> Twelve hinges for doors and windows;
> Twelve hook and eye latches (Hodge, Hammond and Rey 1945:103-104; Ivey 1988:39-40).

Each friar would direct the work of crews of local and Mexican Indians, including as Benavides noted, women and children, in the construction of a church. Although we have no records for the earliest decades of Spanish settlement in the villa, we do know that by 1660 during the term of López de Mendizábal, at least one *albañil maestro*, or master mason, a native of the Valley of Mexico by the name of Juan Chamico or Chamiso, lived and worked in Santa Fe (Esquibel 2005).[7] Since Chamiso was responsible for work done on the Palace during the López administration, it seems likely that he and his crews probably worked on the parroquia and elsewhere in the villa too.

As mentioned previously, there were three churches in the Villa de Santa Fe on the eve of the Pueblo Revolt in August of 1680: the parroquia located on the east end of the main plaza; a military chapel in the casas reales or royal buildings, also on the north side of the river; and the Ermita de San Miguel in the Barrio de Analco on the south side of the Santa Fe River opposite the plaza.

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[4] Unknown Spanish weight and/or measure.
[5] Unknown Spanish weight or measure.
[6] An almud is a Spanish dry measure that varies by locality, "it can be from 3 to 23 liters," Adams and Chavez, *Missions 1776*, page 350.
[7] According to a muster roll in Hackett and Shelby, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians*, (vol 1: 157) "Juan Chamico, Mexican Indian, passed muster [on October 1, 1680] with a horse and two jacks [mules], no arms and with twenty persons, including wife, children, grandchildren, and *servants*. He did not sign because of not knowing how." Juan Chamico's status can be determined from the fact that he had personal servants and was one of only several other Mexican Indians mentioned in the muster rolls.

THE PUEBLO REVOLT, AUGUST 1680

On August 9, 1680, Governor Don Antonio de Otermín

> "...received three messages, one from the reverend father visitador, Fray Juan Bernal, another from the father preacher, Fray Fernando de Velasco and the third from Captain Marcos de Dehezas, alcalde mayor and war captain of the jurisdiction of Los Taos, all of which messages notify his lordship that the Christian Indians of this kingdom are convoked, allied, and confederated for the purpose of rebelling, forsaking obedience to his Majesty, and apostatizing from the holy faith; and that they desire to kill the ecclesiastical ministers and all the Spaniards, women, and children, destroying the whole population of this kingdom. They are to execute this treason and uprising on the thirteenth of the current month, as they have disposed and planned among themselves (Hackett and Shelby 1970:3).

On August 13, 1680, after receiving reports of fighting at Los Cerrillos and of the deaths of a number of Franciscans in addition to colonists, Otermín directed Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena "to consume the most holy sacrament, and take the images,[8] sacred vessels, and things appertaining to divine worship, close the church and convent, and bring everything to the Palace, accompanied by Father Fray Francisco Farfán (Hackett and Shelby 1970:11). Otermín then ordered the casas reales to be fortified with watches set and harquebusiers stationed on the roofs. The next day Otermín received a report that more than 500 Indians from the Pueblos of Pecos, San Cristóbal, San Lázaro, San Marcos, Galisteo and La Cienega were one league [between 2.5 and 3 miles] from the villa and were intent upon reclaiming the villa and all of New Mexico for their own (Hackett and Shelby 1970:13). On the morning of August 15, a Puebloan army was seen in "the maize fields of San Miguel and in the houses of the Mexicans, which they sacked shamelessly and in which they lodged in order to lay siege to the villa" (Hackett and Shelby 1970:13, 99-100). After negotiations failed, "they derided and ridiculed this reply. . .ringing the bells of the hermitage of San Miguel, spreading destruction among the houses of the district, and setting fire to the hermitage of San Miguel" (Hackett and Shelby 1970:14, 100), the Barrio de Analco became the focus

[8] The images included the bulto known today as La Conquistadora, Our Lady of Peace that had been brought to New Mexico by Fray Alonso Benavides in 1626.

of a pitched battle. When the Puebloan army on the south was joined by Puebloan forces from unspecified Tewa Pueblos, Taos, Picuris and Jemez, the Spaniards in the casas reales found themselves besieged (Hackett and Shelby 1970:13-14, 100). Fields and houses on the north side of the river were sacked and the parish church burned while the Spaniards were held captive for nine days, two of which were without water after the ditches to the casas reales were cut (Hackett and Shelby 1970:15, 100-101). Although the attackers even set fire to the military chapel in the casas reales, the siege was broken after hand-to-hand combat, and with that, Otermín and the surviving colonists and Franciscans prepared to leave Santa Fe, their homes and belongings (Hackett and Shelby 1970:103-105). The Spaniards would not return to Santa Fe until 1692. More important, the parroquia, or parish church that had been set on fire and burned during the uprising essentially disappears from the historic record.

THE AFTERMATH OF THE PUEBLO REVOLT, 1692-1694

Although Otermín attempted to retake the Province in 1681, he was not successful (Hackett and Shelby 1970). Meanwhile, Tanoan and other Puebloan peoples who had attacked Santa Fe moved into the former Spanish villa, remodeled, and rebuilt structures around the plaza into a multi-storied pueblo with a single entrance that apparently faced south towards the Barrio de Analco and San Miguel.

In 1692 when Diego de Vargas Zapata Luján Ponce de León reconnoitered and reclaimed the Province of New Mexico and Villa de Santa Fe for the Spanish Crown, he described the site of the former villa and suggested it be moved:

> ..."During the time I was in the villa of Santa Fe, I paid attention to and considered its terrain...I think the only place to found the villa is the very place where it is, making its very foundation on this side [south side] of the arroyo [Santa Fe River], which is high. From it, one dominates the area and the fortress-pueblo the Tewas and Tano nations have in the villa. The greater part of it was the palace and the casas reales of the governor and the houses of the settlers of the villa who left because of the rebellion. The Indians expanded and extended it, raising the walls and fortifying the ones it had, so that it is a walled pueblo. They found themselves in a swamp and on low ground that makes the waters from the sierras and surrounding mesas collect. Because the fortress is next to these hills, it is shady and for that reason the sun is late in shining on it in the morning. One would imagine that the sun does not favor it with its rays in the afternoon. According to the climate and temperature of that kingdom, so very cold with abundant snow and rain and such heavy frost and freezes,

> because of the shade, the fogs and vapors must be excessive, of known detriment, noxious and an obvious reason to reject that miserable outpost…
>
> The favor conceded to the Indians, as I promised them at the time of their conquest, is not to the detriment of the settlers, rather it is directed at settling them where I set up my company and camp on the day of the entrada, which is a musket shot away… (Kessell, Hendricks and Dodge 1995:110-111).

Vargas's camp was "on the llano beyond the milpas and within sight of the fortress" (Kessell and Hendricks 1992:391), which we assume to be the plain south of the fields of San Miguel. At the same time Vargas made a specific promise to "build the church and holy temple, placing in it the patron saint of that kingdom and the villa, Our Lady of the Conquest" which is the one they freed from the ferocity of those barbarians" (Kessell, Hendricks and Dodge 1995:112).

Subsequently Vargas returned to Santa Fe in December 1693 accompanied by the cabildo and about 1,000 people intent upon recolonizing New Mexico (Kessell, Hendricks and Dodge 1995:33). After he settled the colonists "in the place they call Camino de Cuma…about two musket shots from the villa," a camp traditionally believed to have been located in the area of present-Rosario Chapel and National Cemetery (Kessell, Hendricks and Dodge 1995:495; Twitchell 2007:122), Vargas reconnoitered the area surrounding the former villa (Kessell, Hendricks and Dodge 1995:476-477).

Aside from a brief mention that the church and all the houses belonging to the Spaniards had been torn down to the foundations (Kessell, Hendricks and Dodge 1995:495), Vargas does not mention the parroquia in either 1692 or 1693. At the same time, however, Vargas inspected the former "hermitage that served as the parish church for the Indians from Mexico City who lived in the villa. Its title was the advocation of their patron saint, the Archangel St. Michael" (Kessell, Hendricks and Dodge 1995:477). Vargas reported that he found San Miguel to be "a small church and not large enough for all the people", but because he needed a church "in which to celebrate the divine offices and the holy sacrament of the mass, and so that "Our Lady of the Conquest might have a decent place," he ordered San Miguel rebuilt (Kessell, Hendricks and Dodge 1995:477; Kessell Hendricks and Dodge 1998:68). However, the Indians who were ordered to rebuild the church refused due to the weather and difficulty in obtaining the necessary building material. Subsequently after ordering that a kiva be remodeled into a chapel—a

chapel/kiva Fray José Díaz refused to use because it was not suitable—Vargas was forced to find another structure to use as a church (Kessell, Hendricks and Dodge 1998:68). Eventually Vargas found a small house about a musket shot away from the villa that could be remodeled into a church (Kessell, Hendricks and Dodge 1988:68). Presumably, it was in this latter church that Vargas was buried after his death in Bernalillo in 1704 (Kessell, Hendricks, Dodge, and Miller 2002:227).

DISCUSSION

Based on the foregoing, there was a simple parish church in the Villa of Santa Fe as early as 1613. It appears the church was either remodeled or rebuilt to include a transept sometime before 1626 when Fray Alonso de Benavides assumed the custody of the Franciscan mission effort in the Spanish Province of New Mexico. Aside from a few brief mentions of the parroquia in the succeeding decades, the church is not discussed again until the Pueblo Revolt of August 1680 when Puebloan dissidents attacked and besieged the villa and its residents, set fire to the church and burned it to the ground. After the church was razed, the Tano and other Puebloan occupants of the former villa apparently used the area where the church had been for planting crops. It should be noted the wholesale demolition of the church and convento in Santa Fe was not without precedence for the great Suárez church at Pecos, once described as a "most splendid temple," was also razed and demolished during the Revolt (Ivey 2005:278-279). Twelve years after Otermín and the surviving colonists fled the villa in 1680, when Diego de Vargas entered Santa Fe he mentioned briefly that the parroquia had been razed to the ground but then never mentioned the church again. Instead, when Vargas returned a year later accompanied by nearly 1,000 would-be settlers he brought with him the bulto of La Conquistadora, which was eventually placed in a temporary church located about a musket shot from the villa.

REBUILDING SANTA FE, 1694-1720

After the reconquest of Santa Fe in December 1693, in addition to overcrowded living conditions the residents of the villa faced a drought and famine. To exacerbate those problems, the Pueblo Indians rebelled again in 1696. To make matters even worse to some minds, Pedro Rodríquez Cubero replaced Vargas as governor; however, one of

Cubero's first acts as governor was to donate land and begin construction of a convento for the Franciscans who served Santa Fe (Chavez 1949).

> "...Said Lord Governor and Captain-General had the convent begun which is now being built, which is situated in front of the ancient church and convent which borders on the north side with the water ditch that passes in front of this Villa. And on the south side, all that once was a street which forms a front before the convent and church which existed in olden times. And on the west side with the former plaza of this Villa...he made and has made Grant of said ground together with all the rest of the land which should be needed both for building the church as well as [that needed] if said Reverend Father Custos should wish to extend said Convent further, and likewise a piece of land for a Garden which is situated and extends along the east side and reaches up to said church..." (Chavez 1949:86-87).

Some years later John Kessell et al. translated the same passage as follows:

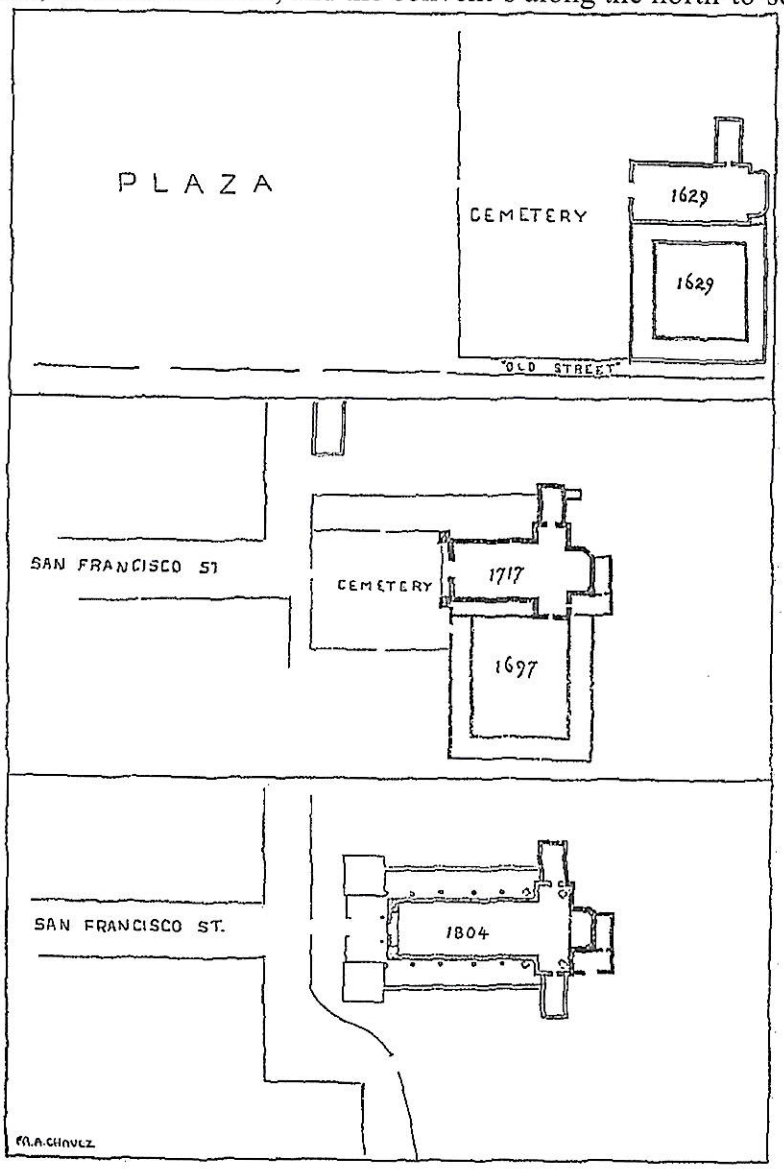
> ...It [the convento] is opposite the church and the old convento, which on the north borders the acequia that crosses in front of the villa. On the south it borders all of what was the street that passes in front of the church and the old convento. On the west it borders the former plaza of the villa (Kessell, Hendricks, Dodge and Miller 2000:403).

DISCUSSION

Looking at the descriptive sketch prepared by Fray Angélico Chávez (Fig. 4), one can see that Fray Angélico placed the pre-Revolt parroquia some distance behind, or east of the 1717 parish church and convento. Chávez based his location on the fact that "the 1697 convent, built as a quadrangle with inner cloister, touched this church [the 1717 church] at the front south corner and at the southwest corner of the sacristy" (Chávez 1949:92). Fray Angélico continued: "...therefore, the Santa Fe Plaza in its original form, from 1610 to 1680, ran clear up to the middle of the present Cathedral (Chávez 1949:92). If constructed as depicted by Chávez then the Cubero convento, and subsequently the 1717 church were built in part within the confines of the pre-Revolt cemetery (Fig. 4). It should also be noted that according to research compiled by Chávez (1992:342) this old cemetery was still in use as late as 1696.

> ...These church-convent foundations stood east of the 1697 convent, and with enough space left between them for a small garden. North of it ran a ditch, its water drawn from a marsh above; south of it was a street 'that had been' before 1680, and directly on it was built the south flank of the

convent. This would place the Benavides church of 1629 [the church built during Benavides time, but see above] almost directly behind the present Cathedral, its front entrance, and the convent's along the north-to-south



Descriptive but not accurate sketch showing relative position of the Plaza and Church-Convent before 1680 (top); the post-Reconquest Church-Convent (center) with San Francisco Street emerging between groups of houses built on the upper Plaza after 1693; and (bottom) the present Cathedral built around the 1804 Church, shown by shaded lines. Black outlines show 1717 sections still in use.

Fig. 4. Chávez sketch of relative positions of the parroquia and conventos before and after the Pueblo Revolt. From NMHR XXIV(2):84, 1949.

line now occupied by the hospital's two-story brick quarters [Marian Hall] to the rear of the Cathedral—and not on the front lawn of St. Vincent's facing the Post Office [present location of the I. A. I. A. Museum], as commonly believed. The space between it and the original

upper limits of the plaza would have been the logical place for the pre-Revolt cemetery in front of the Benavides Church (Chávez 1949:93; see also Snow 2002).

THE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURIES

By 1714, some ten years after the death of Diego de Vargas, members of the Franciscan order in Santa Fe decided to replace the temporary church constructed in 1694 with a new parish church located at the east end of the plaza (Fig. 4). Based on the information provided in the Cubero donation of land for the 1697 convento, Chávez placed the 1717 church west of the pre-Revolt church. The south façade of the 1717 church abutted the north side of the 1697 convento (Chávez 1949:93; Fig 4). Had Chávez used an overlay, the pre-Revolt structures would have been directly east, but in line with the 1717 church and earlier convento (Fig. 4). Because the 1717 church and all subsequent churches on that site are west of the present project area, they will not be discussed in the same detail as the pre-Revolt parish church.

Although Vargas had died in 1704, his wish to honor the bulto of Our Lady who had been brought to Santa Fe by Fray Alonso Benavides in 1626 was finally fulfilled with the construction of a small side chapel on the north side of the church dedicated to La Conquistadora, now also known as Our Lady of Peace (Fig. 3). This side chapel, although greatly altered, is the only remaining portion of the 1717 parish church.

The 1717 church is mentioned briefly in one of the most fascinating documents to survive in the colonial archives of New Mexico. In 1715 Diego Arias de Quiros, who owned land east of the Palace of the Governors on the edge of the cienega, decided to develop a spring to construct a tanque or pond for irrigation (SANM I:8; SANM I:169). However, the governor and others believed construction of the tanque would endanger the rest of the cienega and cause it to dry up. As a result, the governor called upon the cabildo who, aided by Roque and Lorenzo Madrid, vecinos of pre-Revolt Santa Fe, inspected the tanque and after consultation, ordered it closed. After taking care of the matter of the tanque, the investigators toured the Barrio de San Francisco, the settlement of Spaniards on the north side of the river, to inspect the entrances and exits of the villa. As the inspectors stood on the edge of the cienega and looked toward the church that was

under construction, they noted that the houses of Nicolas Ortiz and Miguel Carrillo both obscured the street in front of the new parroquia (SANM I:169).

Eventually, in 1746, then Governor don Joachin Codallos y Rubal [aka Rabal, or Roybal] purchased the former Ortiz house for the express purposed of demolishing it because it obstructed " the entrance to the church" (SANM I:181).

> A low house, this is very close to the church cemetery of the parish of this villa, and has its main door to the street that goes therefrom to the parish church, and which house is composed of four rooms, one story high, a kitchen and a hallway, all in poor condition, being constructed of adobe and having been built many years ago; and its boundaries are: On the north by the same house that was left after the death of Don Alfonso Rael de Aguilar; on the South by the public street [present San Francisco St.]; on the east by the cemetery; and on the West by a lot which is said to belong to the Parish residence (SANM I:181)

In other words, the house of Nicolas Ortiz must have been located in close proximity to the present Museum of the Institute of American Indian Art.

In 1767, the Bishop of Durango recommended that the parish churches in Santa Fe, Santa Cruz de la Cañada, Albuquerque and El Paso be turned over to secular priests instead of remaining with Franciscans (Martinez y Alíre 1998:331). Thus, when Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínquez was ordered in 1775 to make a detailed report on the "spiritual and economic status of the New Mexico missions," as part of an expedition led by Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante to investigate a route from New Mexico to California, he became the last Franciscan from the Archbishopric of Durango to visit the Spanish colony (Adams and Chavez 1975:xiv-xv).

Upon his arrival in Santa Fe on March 22, 1776, Fray Domínquez described, in his usual acerbic fashion, the parish church that had been constructed in 1717 (Adams and Chavez 1975:xv, 12-29). He noted, among other things, the walls of the church were more than a vara, or in excess of 33 inches, thick and that the nave was 44 varas [121 feet] long from the door to the high altar (Adams and Chavez 1975:12). He also noted the church had a transept and a transverse clerestory window, and that a cemetery or camposanto was located on the Epistle, or left side of the church as one faced it, while the convento and convento garden lay on the Gospel or right side of the church (Adams and Chavez 1975:12). Finally, Domínquez reported that while more or less useable, portions of the old 1697 convento were generally neglected and in ruins.

SECULARIZATION AND THE SANTA FE TRAIL

After Fray Domínquez's visit to New Mexico, there was little change in the number of Franciscans who served in New Mexico until 1782 when their numbers began to drop (Wright:1998:221). By 1796, the only two Franciscans left in the colony prepared a report of the condition of the old parish church and that portion of the 1697 convento not in ruins for Governor Fernando Chacón (Ellis 1985:60-61). In 1798, the first secular priests arrived in New Mexico: while the priest assigned to Santa Cruz left shortly after he arrived, the second priest remained in Santa Fe until 1803 (Chavez 1987:14; Wright 1998:226).

As with all adobe buildings, the 1717 parish church was refurbished numerous times, but the most extensive repairs appear to have been undertaken and funded by Antonio José Ortiz in the last decade of the 18th and first decade of the 19th century (Ellis 1985: 59-63). Ortiz was a direct descendent of the Nicolás Ortiz who came to New Mexico in 1693 with Diego de Vargas (Chavez 1992:237) and who, in 1715, lived opposite the new church under construction (SANM 1:169), now the site of the Museum of the Institute of American Indian Art. Among other things, Ortiz was responsible for paying the construction costs of the San José Chapel on the south side of the parroquia, opposite the Conquistadora Chapel on the north and for the reconstruction of the walls of the nave and replacement of the roof after the church was hit by lightning (Ellis 1985:61-62). According to Ellis (1985:63) though, Antonio José Ortiz did somewhat more than simply rebuild the church as Ellis reports that Ortiz not only widened the transept by nearly 8 feet, but also "lengthened" the nave by almost 27 feet! At the same, Ortiz may not have rebuilt as many walls as he had stated (Ellis 1985:63). Additional remodeling and reconstruction was undertaken in 1814, 1817 and 1826 (Ellis 1985:65-81).

Meanwhile, in 1821 Mexico won independence from Spain and, as a result, Spanish rule in New Mexico came to an abrupt end after nearly 225 years. At the same time with the end of Spanish dominion, trade opened between the eastern United States and Mexico via the Santa Fe Trail. Soon traders and their goods flooded into New Mexico.

Although secularization had started in 1767, according to Ellis, the parroquia was not really affected until 1824 when the Mexican government decreed the mendicant

orders could no longer own church property (Ellis 1985:83-84). About the same time native New Mexicans Antonio José Martínez, José Manuel Gallegos, and Juan Felipe Ortiz went to Durango to train for the secular priesthood (Chávez and Chávez 2004:26). Ortiz, the grandson of José Antonio Ortiz, was appointed pastor in Santa Fe in 1828 and then in 1831was named Vicar Forane, the Bishop's "rural dean," the first New Mexican appointed to that post since Santiago Royal in 1730 (Chávez and Chávez 2004:26; Ellis 1985: 84). Shortly thereafter, Ortiz purchased the convento associated with the parroquia (Chávez and Chávez 2004:28; Ellis 1985: 84-85). The purchase of other lands belonging to the old parroquia followed.

Aside from buying land surrounding the parroquia, in 1833 Vicar Ortiz issued "an Episcopal edict" that banned burials inside churches "for sanitary reasons" (Chávez and Chávez 2004:32; Will 2000; Will de Chaparro 2007:137-167). Initially banned in 1804 by King Carlos IV of Spain, New Mexicans had generally ignored the edict in favor of burying selected individuals beneath the floor of the local churches as they had done for two centuries (Will 2000:2; Will de Chaparro 2007:137-167). While the ban may have been of limited effect in some areas, requests for sub-floor burial in churches continued at least until the 1850s, and possibly, in rare instances, into the early 20th century (Will 2000: 2-5, fn. 57; Will de Chaparro 2007:137-167). Throughout the period, of course, those who could not afford burial inside churches continued to be buried in the camposanto associated with a given structure. At the same time, anyone who committed suicide or was convicted of a crime such as murder was denied burial in sanctified ground; however, there are no records to indicate where such burial ground was located in Santa Fe.

Ironically, just as the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 occurred in the month of August, U. S. military troops under Brigadier General Stephen Watts Kearny invaded Santa Fe in August of 1846. Both events brought lasting change to Santa Fe. When Governor Manuel Armijo announced the capitulation of his government in Santa Fe, Vicar Juan Felipe Ortiz fled Santa Fe (Chávez and Chávez 2004:63). Within a matter of years, Ortiz was replaced as vicar by Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy.

ACEQUIAS AND ROADS

Before embarking on a discussion of Lamy and the American Period in Santa Fe, it seems best at this point to review the acequias, roads and other colonial features besides the succession of churches and the cienega found in the project area. Prior to the first decades of the eighteenth century, there were no wells in Santa Fe and all domestic water was provided through a series of acequias or irrigation ditches. Because the acequias were free flowing and required nearly constant maintenance, they were usually bordered by roads to provide ease of access. One of the earliest mentions of an acequia within the project area was in 1696 when Cubero donated land for the construction of a convento for the Franciscans who had accompanied Diego de Vargas to Santa Fe (Chavez 1949:93). This ditch appears to be analogous with the Casas Reales Acequia that flowed from east to west along present Palace Avenue (D. H. Snow 1988:8; Twitchell 1912:52). That same ditch also appeared as the north boundary of property purchased by Bishop Lamy from José Baca y Terrus discussed in greater detail below (SFCO C:17; SFCO N:413-422). Traces of The Bishop's Garden ditch (Snow's Ditch 12) are found along the present south boundary of the project area (Snow 1988:38). Whether this ditch was once paralleled by the road that ran along the south side of property Cubero donated to the Church for the construction of the convento of 1696 is unknown.

Although San Francisco Street and a road analogous to modern Palace Avenue are mentioned frequently in the documents (see also Fig. 2, the Urrutia Map of 1767), with the exception of a road analogous to modern Cathedral Place, few roads that bisected the project area from north to south were mentioned. However, there is one modern road in the area, Otero Street, which appears to be a remnant of a 17th century feature. If one were to project Otero Street from its present terminus on Palace Avenue, through the project area, the street would run behind, or east of the sanctuary for the modern cathedral-basilica and intersect modern Alameda Street at the intersection of that thoroughfare with Cathedral Place and the modern Brother's Path to San Miguel and the Barrio de Analco (Snow 2004).

LAMY AND THE AMERICAN PERIOD

Jean Baptiste Lamy was born in Lempdes, France in 1814, and was ordained in 1838. Lamy and his childhood friend, Joseph Priest Machebeuf, arrived in Cincinnati,

Ohio in 1836 and were ordained in 1838. Both Lamy and Machebeuf were assigned parishes of their own upon their ordinations. Lamy was elevated to Bishop in 1850 and shortly thereafter, in 1851, he and Machebeuf received orders to leave for Santa Fe in the Territory of New Mexico (Horgan1975). Upon the arrival of Lamy and Machebeuf as representatives of a synod of bishops and archbishops from Baltimore, Maryland, the clash between the newcomers, both former citizens of France, on the one hand, with Ortiz, a descendent of Nicolas Ortiz who once owned property opposite the 1717 church, and who had been appointed to his position by the Bishop of Durango, Mexico, was immediate and beyond reconciliation.

Although the initial meeting between the Bishop of Santa Fe, Jean Baptiste Lamy, and the Vicar of Santa Fe, Juan Felipe Ortiz was said to have been cordial, even to the point of the vicar preparing a gala reception for the bishop (Chávez and Chávez 2004:85), that cordiality quickly turned to mistrust and resentment on the part of Lamy, and even more so on the part of Machebeuf (Ellis 1985:86-87). Denied the use of the parroquia for services, Lamy insisted upon the return of La Castrense, the old military chapel located on the south side of the plaza, for English-language services (Horgan 1975). To add insult to injury, Lamy was even more horrified to find that Ortiz, in fact, owned the convento, the traditional residence of the Franciscans who served Santa Fe, in addition to numerous other pieces of property that belonged to the parroquia (Ellis 1985:85). However, before Lamy could set about buying back property he believed belonged to the church, he had to build a new rectory because he could not move into the convento.

Carlos Brun constructed Lamy's first rectory in 1853 (Fig. 5; Fig. 6; Sherman 1983:65). A single story building, the residence and sometime seminary or boys' school was located in the southeast quadrant of present Cathedral Park, north and east of the Conquistadora Chapel. Identified on occasion as "the Bishop's Palace (Segale 1948:86), the building extended into the present parking lot south and west of Marian Hall. Once Lamy was able to arrange for living quarters, he set about raising funds to buy back land he believed belonged to the diocese and for construction of new buildings, especially a new parish church. In order to raise funds the first thing Lamy did was sell the former military chapel on the plaza, La Castrense as well as property around San Miguel, to Simon Delgado (SFCO C:105).

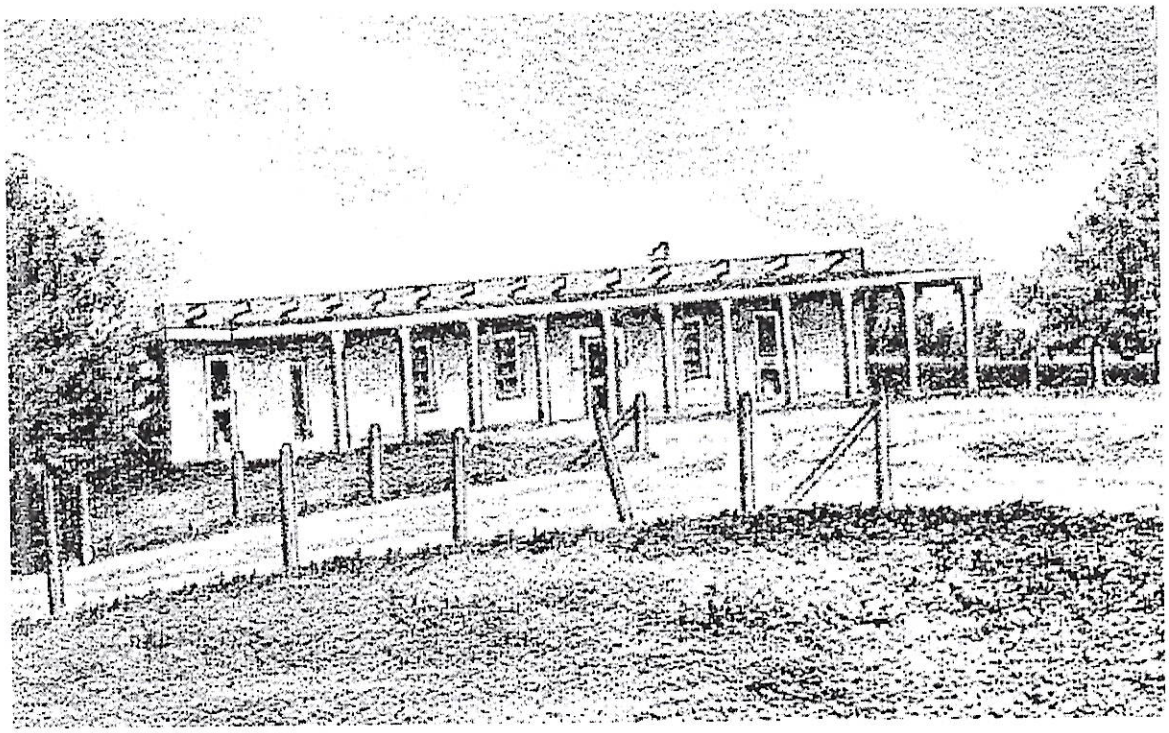


Fig. 5. The building later known as the Old Seminary, Lamy's rectory and boy's school constructed in 1853 by Carlos Brun. Figure from Kimball and Smith 1977.

Then in 1855, Lamy began to purchase property that had once belonged to the parish church. Oddly enough, one of the earliest of Lamy's purchases, if not the very first purchase he made, was a small parcel, which may have been the location of the pre-Revolt parroquia (Chavez 1949; Snow 2004). The small plot of land bought from Juan Felipe Ortiz measured approximately "100 varas [ca 275'] in length and 50 varas [ca 138'] in width" and lay immediately east of the parroquia (SFCO C:16-17; N:413-422), south of present Marian Hall. We do not know if Lamy purchased the lot because he was aware the old parish church might have been located there, or if the property was purchased for another reason entirely, but in any, case this parcel, which has never been built upon, became the core of Lamy's gardens.

Lamy followed that purchase with purchase of "a house lot and land" that belonged to José Franciso Baca y Terrus (SFCO C:17; SFCO N:413-422), that is now the site of Cathedral Park and Marian Hall. In both cases, the properties were bounded on the east by the cienega. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to trace the Baca y Terrus property back in time, so we do not know how or when Baca obtained the land.

Juan Felipe Ortiz died January 20, 1858 (Chávez and Chávez 2004:201), unlamented by Lamy. Ironically, in direct opposition to his "Episcopal edict" of 25 years before, it appears that Ortiz was buried in the parroquia beneath the floor of San José Chapel that had been built by his grandfather more than 50 years earlier (Chávez and Chávez 2004:2003). Juan Felipe's death did not deter Lamy from buying back lands he believed belonged to "his" parish church (SFCO C:57-60; N:413-422), until he owned almost everything between present Palace Avenue and Alameda Streets, and from present Paseo de Peralta on the east, west to present Cathedral Place. The only land Lamy was not immediately successful in obtaining was the house and lot owned by Ana Maria Ortiz, half-sister of the old vicar (Snow 2004:51-52). Even then, Lamy had obtained the bulk of Ana Maria Ortiz's property by 1866 (SFCO F1:136; H:522; N:274-276; N:412-422; SRCA Avery Papers #17).

Even while Lamy continued to buy property surrounding the parroquia and elsewhere in New Mexico, he also was deeply involved in other matters such as education. Between 1852 and 1853, the Sisters of Loretto founded a school for girls in Santa Fe, and in 1859, the Christian Brothers, an order dedicated to teaching, founded St. Michael's College, a school for boys (Hanks 1998:388). Education taken care of, in 1865 Lamy invited the Sisters of Charity, an order located in Cincinnati, Ohio, to Santa Fe and New Mexico to provide hospital care and open an orphanage and industrial school for girls (Hanks 1998:389). Thus begins one of the more fascinating chapters of the history of land use and ownership of the project area.

THE SISTERS OF CHARITY AND THEIR GOOD WORKS

Sister Blandina Segale was not among the first of the Sisters of Charity to arrive in the Territory of New Mexico, but may have been among the most remarkable and influential members of that order to live in Santa Fe. Rosa Maria Segale was born in Cicagna Italy, near Genoa, on January 23, 1850 (Fig. 7; Segale 1948:1-2). Four years later, Rosa Maria's family immigrated to the United States where they settled in Cincinnati, Ohio. In 1866, both Rosa Maria and her sister, Maria Maddelena entered the Sisters of Charity motherhouse in Cincinnati. Blandina, as Rosa Maria became known, and her

Fig. 6. The Old Seminary. Constructed in 1853 by Carlos Brun as a single story building for use as a rectory and boys school for Bishop Lamy (see Fig. 4). The second story with porches was added by the Sisters of Charity after 1865 when they used the building as a hospital. Sleeping porches on Marian Hall can be seen in the left. The Old Seminary was demolished in 1954. Photograph from Kimball and Smith 1977.

sister, Justina, the former Maria Maddelena, pronounced their holy vows in 1868 (Segale 1948:3). Sister Blandina was sent to New Mexico in 1877 where she remained until 1894 when she returned to Ohio. Blandina's journal, which she kept throughout her life, was first published in 1932 and reissued in 1948 (Segale 1948:3).

When Sister Blandina Segale arrived in Santa Fe in 1877, she found that Bishop Lamy had designed his new cathedral and laid the cornerstone, but that no further work had been done due to lack of funds. She also found that Lamy had sold his old rectory, the Old Seminary, with the exception of two rooms reserved for his use, to the Sisters of Charity for a hospital in 1865 (Fig. 5; Fig. 6; SFCO D:438-441).

> Imagine the surprise of persons coming from places where houses are built with every convenience and sanitary device, suddenly to find themselves introduced into several oblong walls of adobes, looking like piled brick ready to burn, to enter which, instead of stepping up, you step down onto a

> mud floor, rafters supporting roof made of the trunks of trees, the roof itself of earth which they were told had to be carefully attended, else the rain would pour in, door openings covered with blankets, the whole giving you a prison feeling; a few chairs, handmade and painted red; a large quantity of wood which they were assured was clean and for their use; no stoves, square openings in corners where fires could be built—all those things were to constitute their future home (Segale 1948:86).

Described by Lamy as having "no architectural character," the sisters added a second story and two-story sleeping porches on all sides of the building (Fig. 6; Kimball and Smith 1977:2, 6; Sherman 1983:65; Snow 2002:26). Other improvements included pine floors in the kitchen and refectories and puncheons, or rough-hewn lumber floors, in the schoolroom (Smith 1990:272). At the same time, there is no indication the Old Seminary ever had even a partial basement dug after the fact, nor is there any indication any burials were disturbed at the time the building was constructed or later remodeled. Used as an orphanage in addition to a hospital, the Old Seminary remained standing until 1954 when it was demolished after being condemned as a firetrap (*Santa Fe New Mexican*, Sunday May 9, 1954). It should be noted that adjacent to the Old Seminary, close to Lamy's cathedral was an old adobe building that became part of the property owned by the Sisters (Kimball and Smith 1977:72, 73; Smith n.d. 400). This building, which obviously pre-dates Sister Blandina's brickyard (see below), served as the orphanage, Sister's dormitory and classroom and general all-purpose structure for decades, but when and by whom it was built remains a mystery.

Frustrated at not being able to obtain fired brick for her construction projects, in 1877, Sister Blandina started her own brickyard. After much trial and error, the brickyard became a reality in 1878 and revolutionized the face of Santa Fe architecture (Ellis 1985:3-5; Segale 1948:108-110, 114-115). In 1879, the Sisters of Charity initiated construction of an Industrial School for Girls and Sister Blandina was put in charge of raising the necessary funds for construction of the trade school. Although Sister Blandina had no funds with which to begin construction, she asked Father Augustine Truchard, the rector of the parroquia, to request volunteers to dig the foundation (Segale 1948:108). Accordingly, 12 men appeared the next day with picks and shovels to begin work (Segale 1948:108). There are no reports in the local newspaper or in the Segale journal that human remains were encountered during the excavation for the foundations of the

building, so we must assume none was uncovered. Two weeks later Sister Blandina reported in her journal, "part of the land excavated makes a natural foundation[9], so we are ready for masonry work" (Segale 1948:108). Once again, Sister Blandina requested that volunteers supply teams and wagons to haul quarried stone for the foundation and once again volunteers materialized and the foundations were laid (Segale 1948:109). One

Fig. 7. Sister Blandina Segale, Sisters of Charity.
Photo from Segale 1948.

volunteer was local businessman Antonio Ortiz y Salazar who sent a team of mules with a wagon. Another individual donated a team of horses, which was sold for $200. In a somewhat convoluted deal, Blandina paid the owner of the horses $150, donated $40 to a poor family, and retained $10 to pay for lime for mortar (Segale 1948:109). Looking to the future, Sister Blandina saw that pipes were installed for both gas and water, even though at the time there was neither gas nor waterworks in Santa Fe (Segale 1948:110).

[9] What Sister Blandina meant by a "natural foundation" is unknown.

According to her autobiography, at the same time she begged and borrowed to arrange funds and in-kind donations to build her trade school for girls, Sister Blandina was not above stealing produce from Bishop Lamy's famed gardens for the orphans and students in her charge (Segale 1948 144). Finally, Sister Blandina arranged with the Santa Fe County Commissioners—the City of Santa Fe would not be incorporated until 1891—to see that indigents who died at the Sister's hospital would be buried in a "long strip of land" in one of the cemeteries at the rear of San Miguel College at a minimal cost (Segale 1948:151-152).

As construction slowly proceeded, brick by brick on the new school, Archbishop Lamy announced in 1880 the need for hospital beds had become overwhelming and with that, Sister Blandina's Industrial School for Girls became, overnight, the St. Vincent

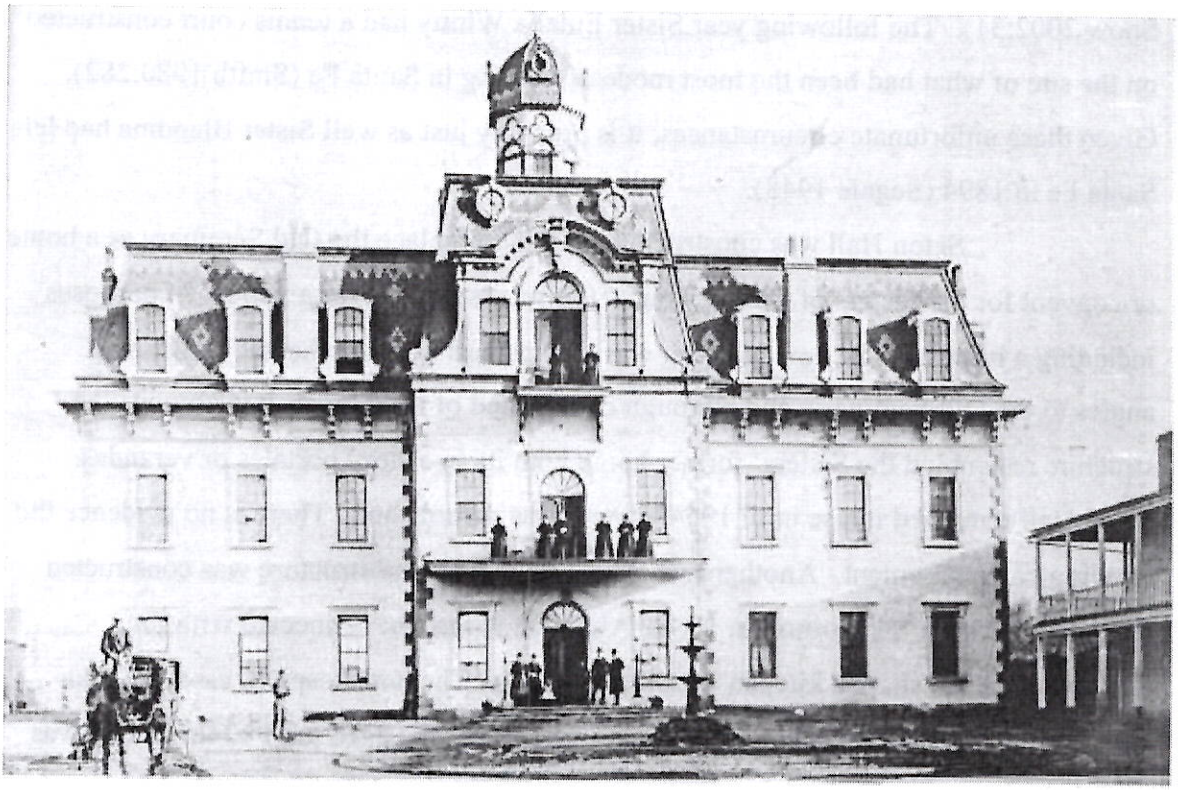


Fig. 8, St. Vincent Sanatorium was originally planned to be an industrial school for girls; however, because there was a desperate need for a larger hospital in Santa Fe, the original purpose changed. The building opened in 1883 and burned to the ground in 1896. The two story porches of the Old Seminary can be seen at the right.

Sanatorium (Fig. 8). The new sanatorium, the "tallest building in the city, 60 feet high with a cupola on top," opened in 1883 (Fig. 8; Kimball and Smith 1977:11; Hanks 1998; Segale 1948; 189; Snow 2002:29). The new sanatorium was also the most stylish building in Santa Fe with its symmetrical Second Empire features of a Mansard roof, bracketed cornices, and quoins, and entrance via an allee, or formal walk, lined with horse chestnut trees donated by the Archbishop (Smith 1980; Snow 2002:29). By 1890 the steam heating system was operational. Ironically, aside from Sister Blandina's "natural foundation" mentioned previously, the new sanatorium does not appear to have had a basement, at least I can find no contemporary references to a basement in the building. It may be, since Blandina arranged to have the kitchen, laundry room and boilers for the steam heat in another building, no basement was necessary. These safety features aside, St. Vincent Sanatorium burned to the ground in 1896 (Smith 1980:273; Snow 2002:31). The following year Sister Eulalia Whitty had a tennis court constructed on the site of what had been the most modern building in Santa Fe (Smith 1980:282). Given these unfortunate circumstances, it is probably just as well Sister Blandina had left Santa Fe in 1894 (Segale 1948).

Seton Hall was constructed in 1886 to replace the Old Seminary as a home or convent for the Sisters of Charity (Fig. 9). It was later used for a variety of purposes including a hospital. The new building was located east of the cathedral and at right angles to the Old Seminary, and although constructed of fired brick, it is obvious the structure resembled the Sisters' former home with its two story portales or verandas. Seton Hall remained in use until 1954 when it was demolished. There is no evidence the building had a basement. Another two-story brick and stone structure was constructed east of St. Vincent Sanatorium in 1886. Although it was not connected with the sanatorium, it did share a kitchen with that building. The new hospital, essentially an annex to the sanatorium, eventually became a home for the aged until 1948 when it was demolished to make way for the construction of the new St. Vincent Hospital designed by John Gaw Meem.

A large brick and frame orphanage was also constructed in 1890 (Fig. 10). It was located on the south side of the Sisters property, and according to Kimball and Smith (1977:13); funds for the construction of the orphanage had been raised by Father Thomas

Fig. 9. Seton Hall. Photo from Kimball and Smith 1978.

A. Hayes, a Catholic priest stationed in Bernalillo. Initially planned as a home where orphaned girls aged 3 to 19, could receive a basic education through grade 6 and learn "all kinds of house work, for instance cooking, washing, ironing cleaning and arranging rooms, sweeping, dusting...in addition to hygiene, domestic work, ballroom dancing, dramatics, tennis and gardening (Smith 1980:238). They are taught plain sewing [and] many of the girls twelve years old make their own dresses and aprons" (Smith 1980:351). The new orphanage had five dormitories for as many as 90 girls and each dormitory had an alcove for a member of the Sisters of Charity. There were also classrooms, a library and reception room; there were five showers and three indoor toilets along with six outdoor privies (Smith 1980:237-238). The new building was arranged around a large playground and the aforementioned tennis courts (Smith 1980:238). Since the orphanage lacked an infirmary, seriously ill children were admitted to and treated in the new St. Vincent Hospital east of the new sanatorium.

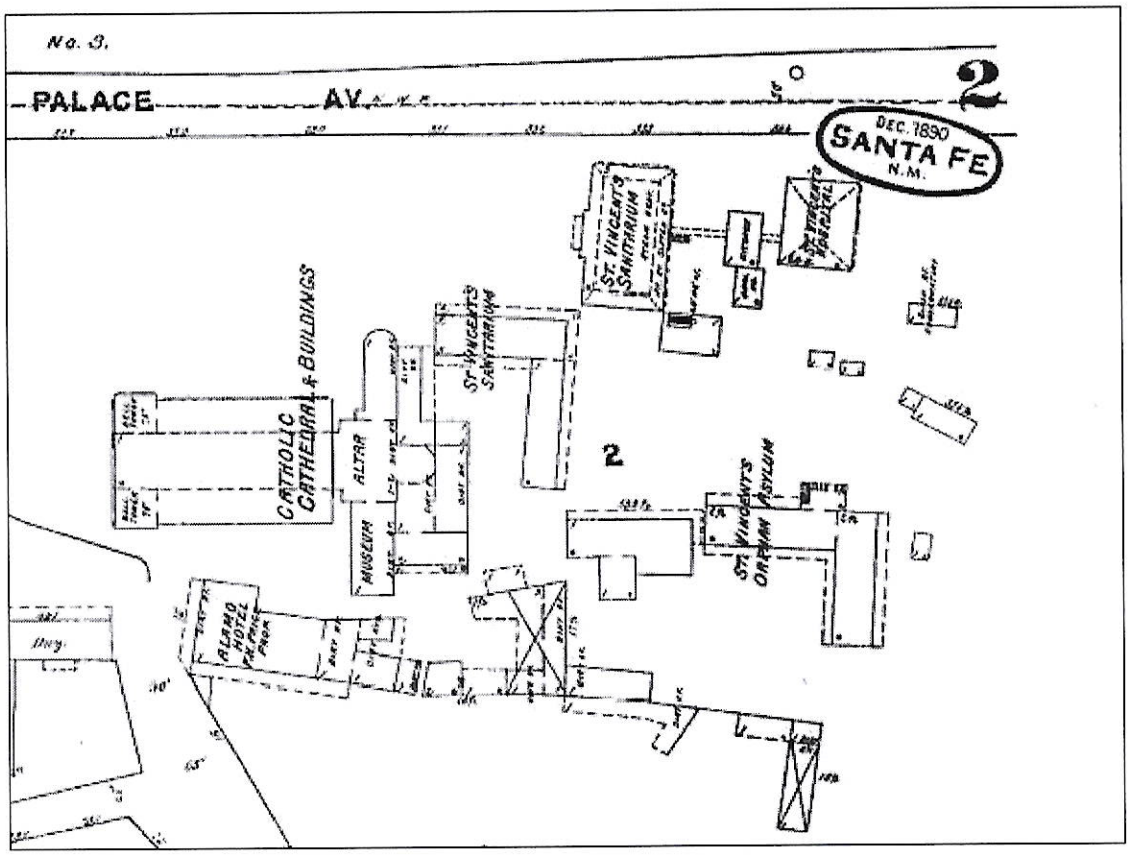


Fig. 10. 1890 Sanborn Insurance Map showing all structures built by the Sisters of Charity by that date. Clockwise from the 1883 Sanatorium, the structures are a kitchen shared with the 1886 hospital and a coalhouse. One of the small service buildings is a conservatory. The orphanage is the L-shaped building at 4:00 o'clock. An adobe schoolroom is west of the orphanage. Seton Hall is northwest of Seton Hall. The Old Seminary abuts Seton Hall. Both buildings are show with the title "St. Vincent's Sanatorium." The Alamo Hotel and other structures along the lower part of the map did not belong to the Sisters of Charity.

According to Dr. Marcus Smith (1980:328), during the summer of 1903, the Sisters began to raise funds to build another hospital to replace St. Vincent Sanatorium. Because they dealt with patients who had tuberculosis, the sisters realized the construction of a laundry facility was of the utmost importance (Smith 1980:228-229). As a result, a boiler room and laundry, "located near the orphanage," were under construction by May 1904 and were completed June 22 (Smith 1980:229). This indicates the earliest construction at the present power plant south of old St. Vincent Hospital dates from 1904 instead of circa 1908-1910 as previously thought.

In actuality, the Sisters of Charity were not able to begin construction of a replacement for the St. Vincent Sanatorium until 1908 when work started on the building

now known as Marian Hall (Fig. 11). Designed by Isaac Hamilton Rapp of the firm, Rapp and Rapp, Architects, who would later design the Fine Arts Museum on West Palace Avenue, the second St. Vincent Sanatorium encompassed not only the footprint of the ill fated earlier sanatorium, but also included a part of the circular turnabout and fountain at the east end of the former allee or entrance (Fig 11; Sheppard 1988:56; Smith 1980:365). The new sanatorium resembled some ways the annex to St. Anthony's Sanatorium the Rapp firm designed for the Sisters of Charity in Las Vegas, New Mexico (Sheppard 1988:56). Designed to have the primary entrance on the east side of the building, the new St. Vincent Sanatorium in the only Rapp building that remains in Santa Fe that was not built in the Rapp's Santa Fe Style (Sheppard 1988:56). Unfortunately, design and construction of the later John Gaw Meem St. Vincent Hospital almost completely obscured the original entrance to the sanatorium (Sheppard 1988:154).

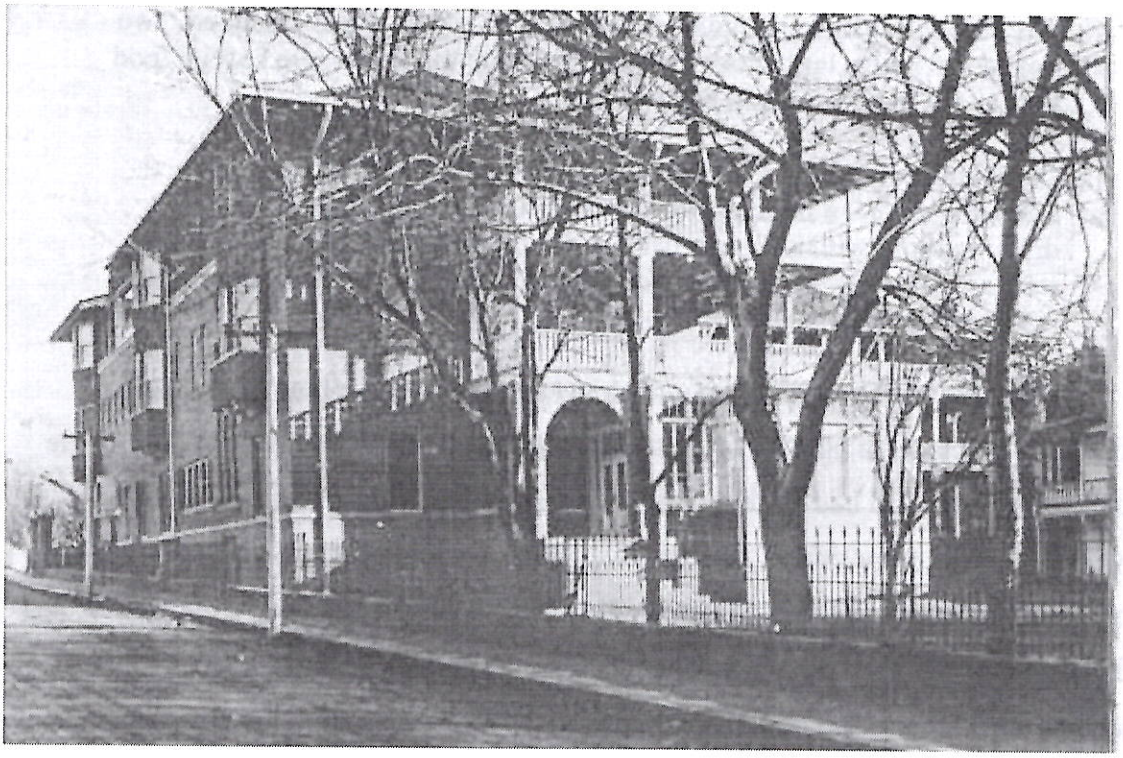


Fig. 11, Marian Hall looking east from Palace Avenue, ca. 1910. The two-story portales of the Old Seminary can be seen on the extreme right.

> SISTERS OF CHARITY AIDING GROWTH AND PROSPERITY OF SANTA FE, said the New Mexican. The New and Modern Sanitarium would "absolutely surpass anything heretofore attempted in the West."

> Costs were expected to exceed $75,000. The Sanitarium would have 6,600 square feet, and the addition 7000 feet. Hard burned penitentiary bricks would be used except in the front of the building where unglazed vitrified dark red and brown vitrified bricks would be placed. Red tile of the latest style would adorn the roof. White tile would cover the kitchen floor and siding; corridors and bathrooms would also be tiled. Bedrooms would have hardwood floors (Smith 1980:375; Fig. 9; Fig. 10).

Additionally,

> Plans for the first floor included the lobby, a reception area, guest's waiting room, office, housekeeper's room, dining room, physician's consulting room, library, billiard room, five bedrooms for guests, a serving room, cooling room, storage room, toilet and bathrooms, and a large convenient kitchen on a concrete foundation. Beneath the [wood] range and oven, a concrete pit would receive ashes; thus employees would no longer haul ashes out of the kitchen. Three stairways would connect the three floors, and an electrical elevator would be large enough to accommodate a cot with a patient.
>
> The second floor would house the chapel and sacristy, bed chambers, two toilets and baths, large linen closets, and a diet kitchen where special food for very ill patients would be prepared.
>
> On the third floor there would be private rooms and suits, and the operating suite—a large operating room, a surgeon's room, a surgeon's dressing room with a shower bath, and separate anesthetic and sterilizing rooms. [The new sanatorium would be] Comparable to the best hospitals in the country (Smith 1980:376).

In an interesting aside, Dr. Smith noted that the Rapp's plans for the new sanatorium "included a number of shutes [sic, chutes] to run from the third floor to the kitchen, for linens and bed clothing, room sweepings and ashes from rooms with fireplaces to a pit in the cellar" (Smith 1980:376). At the same time, he also noted that, "In 1899, shutes [sic, chutes] or flues for dirty linen were condemned," although he never said by whom. Besides the ash and laundry pits, the cellar also had a large storeroom, coal bins and "other compartments" (Smith 1980:377). Aside from the basement beneath the Meem-designed St. Vincent Hospital, the cellar beneath present Marian Hall is the only one described for any of the buildings constructed by the Sisters of Charity.

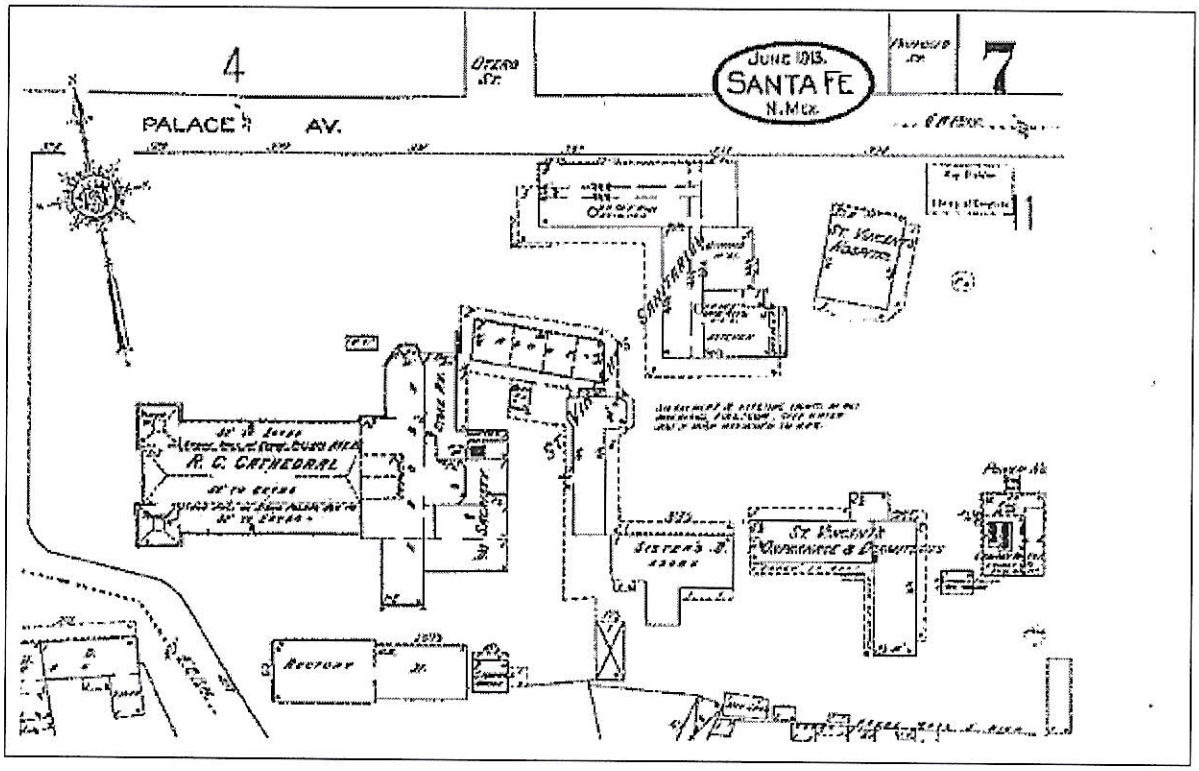


Fig. 12. Sanborn Insurance Map of 1913. The map shows the relationship of the holdings of the Sisters of Charity to St. Francis Cathedral. The Old Seminary is north and east of the cathedral, while the new sanatorium was located on the site of the former sanatorium. The hospital was located east of the new sanatorium. The Sisters' lodge, the orphanage and the powerplant were located on the south side of the property. The area due east of Seton Hall, between present Marian Hall and the orphanage has never been built upon.

Because fresh air and sunshine were considered the best cure for tuberculosis, the most noticeable architectural feature of the new sanatorium was the verandas or sunrooms that opened into the rooms of the patients. Ten-foot wide verandas were located on the south and west sides of the building, while the sunroom, encased in glass was located in the southwest corner of the building. Fire-stairs connected the verandas to ground level. Some years later after the construction of Marian Hall, John Gaw Meem added covered ambulatories that connected his new hospital to the east façade of the Rapp-designed St. Vincent Sanatorium (Sheppard 1988:54-56; Smith 1980:377). Carl Sheppard (1988:54) was very critical of these ambulatories saying they almost completely hid the Rapp façade.

The new St. Vincent Sanatorium opened December 13, 1910 (Smith 1980:399).

The opening was celebrated with an evening of music by the military band from Fort Marcy Military Reservation, a "Spanish supper," and a bazaar (Smith 1980:399). With the opening of the new facility, the Sisters of Charity were responsible for the Old Seminary used for classrooms for nurses, Seton Hall, the orphanage, a hospital, and a boiler room and laundry (Smith 1980:400; Fig. 9; Fig. 12). All of the structures were situated around the north, west, and south sides of the property owned by the Sisters, all of which was bounded on the east by the cienega.

While the Sisters undertook no large-scale construction projects within the project area for nearly 40 years until after World War II that is not to say the Sanatorium or home for the aged were neglected: an emergency room was constructed, and numerous interior changes were made to the structures. In 1937, the driveway to the hospital was paved with concrete and a canopy placed over the main entrance (Smith 1980: 558). After WWII, however, the Sisters began first to contemplate, and then plan in earnest construction of a new, modern hospital to replace St. Vincent Sanatorium.

John Gaw Meem's architectural firm was hired to design the new St. Vincent Hospital, which would be located east of St. Vincent Sanatorium. According to Meem,

> 'In plan, this building is roughly in the shape of a cross, symbolic of the spirit of love and sacrifice of the Divine Master whom the Sisters of Charity serve in devoting their lives in hospital work.' Three elevators in the center of the cross arm would provide communication with each wing of the five floors. Most of the rooms would face south, toward the archbishop's garden. The rooms facing north would be recessed from the street, and would be protected by trees and landscaping. 'The rooms,' he said, would have soft, pleasant colors.'
>
> A public lobby, administrative areas, a gift shop, medical library, 57 medical beds, and a 14-bed psychiatric unit would occupy the ground floor. Laboratories, the X-ray department, seven operating rooms and cystoscopy room, and 57 surgical beds would fill the second floor. There would be two delivery and four labor room, a 39-bed maternity unit and a 17 bed pediatric nursing section on the third floor. The fourth floor would accommodate a 16-bed contagious section, a small oratory, and a sun deck. Outpatient services such as the emergency room, pharmacy, a coffee shop and cafeteria, would be located on the ground floor, and so too were the kitchens, central sterilizing, central supply, and storage areas, and a physical therapy department for poliomyelitis victims.

> Mr. Meem hoped that the building would reflect 'the technical and scientific aspects of the completely modern hospital by the simplicity and the clean functional quality of its masses... (and) recall the traditional architecture of our region of which Santa Fe is so proud. The building would harmonize with the territorial style...' The brick and reinforced concrete walls would have a pink sand finish, and the parapet would be finished with red brick (Smith 1980:655-656; Fig. 12).

According to Dr. Marcus Smith, "trees were cut down and bulldozers churned up the ground. In the process of excavation, the contractor struck the old river bed, the old cienga [sic], and in the years to follow, the basement of the future hospital was often flooded (Smith 1980:650). The cornerstone was laid July 24, 1951 (Kimball and Smith 1977:121).

Given the tenor of the times with the Korean War and the "Cold" War when the new hospital was under construction, it is not surprising the new structure included a disaster shelter with an emergency kitchen, first aid, and waste facilities (Smith 1980:656). In addition, there were a special ambulance entrance to the sub-basement; a standby electrical system with generator; and the heating system could be switched from oil to gas at a moments' notice (Smith 1980:664). Finally, the old laundry and boiler rooms were remodeled to provide for a modern facility (Smith 1980:656). The new hospital was opened in 1953 (Kimball and Smith 1977:123).

In order to provide room for the new hospital, a number of the surrounding structures used by the Sisters were razed. These buildings included the Old Seminary, described in 1954 as a firetrap (*Santa Fe New Mexican*, Sunday, May 9, 1954; Fig. 9; Fig. 10), Seton Hall, and the former hospital or Old Folks Home.[10] The orphanage was also eventually closed and razed. Subsequently ambulance bays, now maintenance buildings, were constructed south and west of the 1904 power plant.

At the same time that many of the original structures constructed under the direction of the Sisters were being demolished, the former sanatorium was remodeled into a residence and convento for the Sisters with offices and classrooms, library and chapel for the nurses (Smith 1980:670). The remodeled structure was renamed Marian

[10] According to Marcus Smith (1980: 670), local architect John McHugh, salvaged the second floor railing at the "ancient hospital" and used it at his home where it is still located. McHugh also salvaged lilacs from the former Bishop's Garden which he planted in his own garden where they are said to thrive.

Hall in honor of the Year of Mary or Marian Year of the Catholic Church (Smith 1980:671).

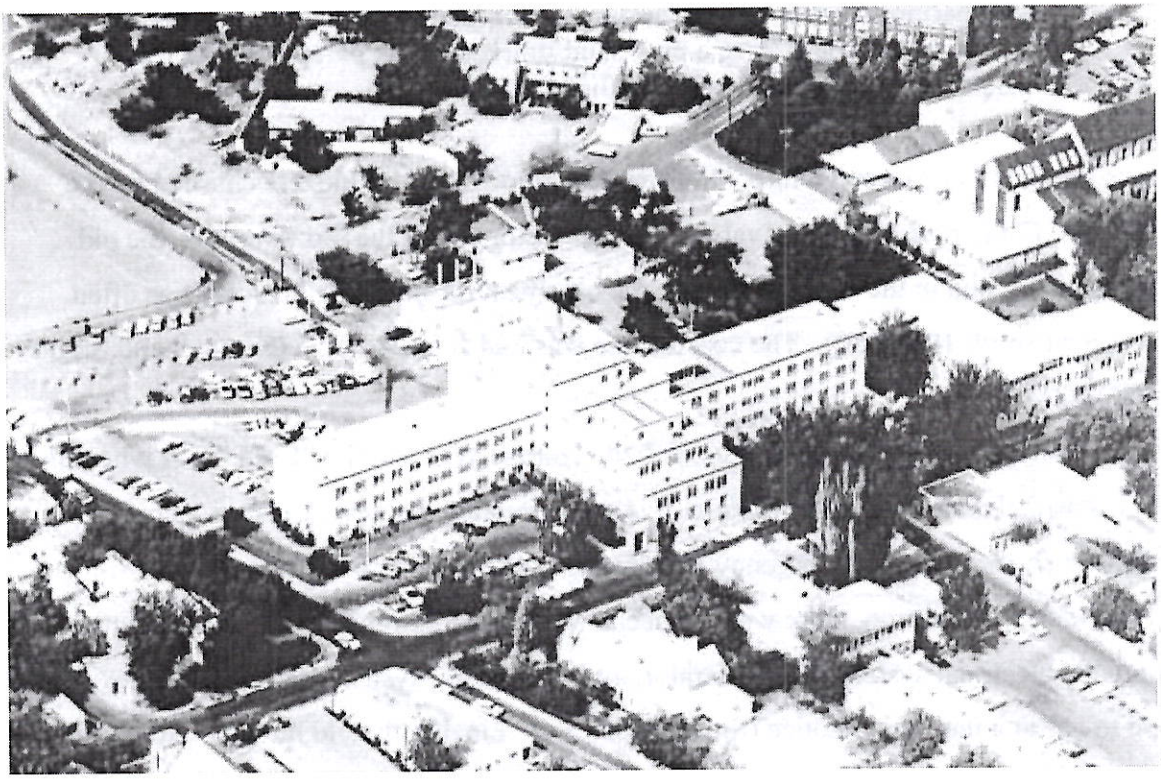


Fig. 12, the Meem-designed St. Vincent Hospital circa 1955. Note Marian Hall, former St. Vincent Sanatorium to the east of the west wing of the hospital.

Ironically, by the early 1960s, little more than ten years after the new hospital was opened major renovations and improvements became necessary. In addition to wide-spread interior remodeling, significant changes were made to the exterior including an annex to the waiting area and port for two ambulances on the south side of the building. Less than 25 years after the opening of the new St. Vincent Hospital in 1953, the facility was deemed "inefficient and outmoded" (Smith 1980:767). According to staff:

> the 23-year old building was sturdy but inflexible and inefficient, and outmoded as a medical facility. Eighty percent remodeled since its opening. Related services scattered randomly. Nowhere to add new services our equipment without sacrificing patient rooms. Landlocked on a five acre site unable to expand up, or out, or down. Deplorable parking space. Located in the congested downtown area with poor access, especially for ambulances…at least 35,000 square feet of additional space were needed for diagnostic and service departments (Smith 1980:767).

Staff also pointed out:

> Maximal use of the downtown property could be obtained with a two story addition south of the hospital to house several service departments and the surgical suite, and a five level nursing unit to provide additional beds. Disadvantages were the costly land, no additional parking areas, and the increasing traffic problems created by additions to the hospital (Smith 1980:768).

Santa Fe needed a new hospital. The Sisters of Charity and the trustees of the hospital decided finally to build a new hospital in a new location, well away from downtown Santa Fe (Smith 1980:768).

Construction of the new hospital on St. Michael's Drive started in 1975 and was completed in 1977 (Kimball and Smith 1977:133). During construction of the new hospital, Sister Mary Joaquin Bitler, who had been administrator of St. Vincent since 1960, resigned her position (Kimball and Smith 1977:124). With Sister Mary Joaquin's resignation, the responsibilities of administration of the hospital were assumed by a board of trustees. The Sisters of Charity relinquished all rights and title to their property east of St. Francis Cathedral that had been deeded to them more than 100 years before by Archbishop Jean Baptiste Lamy. An era had ended.

> Before the hospital and Marian Hall were abandoned by the Sisters:
>
> most of the religious articles and relics in the Marian Hall Chapel and in a small interdenominational chapel would be sold or given away. These included many statues: St. Gerard, the patron saint of expectant mothers, a bust of St. Elizabeth Seton, Our Lady of Guadalupe, St. Vincent de Paul accompanied by a child, and St. Anthony holding a child. The 14 Stations of the Cross were for sale, and so were some of the stained glass windows—a few would be placed in the interdenominational chapel planned for the new hospital. The big altar was donated to St. Catherine's Indian School, and a tabernacle was given to church in Albuquerque. The other tabernacle and the bust of St. Elizabeth Seton were to be placed in the new chapel [in the new hospital]...(Smith 1980:805-806).

In 1978 after the new St. Vincent Hospital opened on St. Michael's Drive, the State of New Mexico purchased both Marian Hall and "old" St. Vincent Hospital for $2,000,000 (Kimball and Smith 1977:133; *Santa Fe New Mexican* December 29, 2007). Renamed La Villa Rivera Building after remodeling, all but the east wing of old St. Vincent Hospital housed five different state agencies until 2006 when the agencies moved and the property was purchased by Drury Hotels, a subsidiary of DSW Santa Fe

LLC (*Santa Fe New Mexican,* December 26, 2007). Between 1983 and 2003, the east wing of the former hospital housed La Residencia Nursing Home that was run by Presbyterian Medical Services (*Santa Fe New Mexican*, December 26, 2007). Both Marian Hall and old St. Vincent Hospital are scheduled for restoration and renovation by DSW Santa Fe LLC as a hotel complex.

DISCUSSION

Beginning in 1865, the Sisters of Charity, a healing organization, owned property along Palace Avenue and present Paseo de Peralta in Santa Fe. The property had been deeded to the Sisters by then Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy to be used for construction of a series of sanatoria, hospitals, and orphanages, in addition to residences for the Sisters. Throughout the time the Sisters owned the property, in fact even to the present day, the various buildings used by the Sisters surrounded an area used by Lamy for his gardens. This parcel, purchased by Lamy from Vicar Juan Felipe Ortiz in 1855, has never been built upon and may well contain the archaeological remains of the pre-Revolt parroquia of Santa Fe.

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