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National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

X New Submission ___ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

RELIGIOUS PROPERTIES OF NEW MEXICO

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

History of the Development of Religious Properties in New Mexico, 1598-1945.

C. Form Prepared by

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organization Research Services of Santa Fe date August 1995

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D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

[signature], SHPO — 10/26/95

Signature and title of certifying official — Date

New Mexico SHPO

State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

for Edson H. Beall — 12/14/95

Signature of the Keeper — Date of Action

E. Statement of Historic Context

HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS PROPERTIES IN NEW MEXICO, 1598-1945

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INTRODUCTION

This statement of Historic Context is based on a report by Boyd Pratt entitled "Religious Structures of New Mexico: A Historic Overview," completed for the Historic Preservation Division in 1993. Pratt's work covered a broad range of resources including buildings, structures, and sites whose purpose is to help people practice their religions. Because of time and money constraints his study, and the surveys that preceded it, were limited to resources associated with the practice of Euro-American religions. Native American religious structures are as significant and worthy of study in and of themselves and would merit an equal effort. The influence of Eastern religions in New Mexico is for the most part a modern development that can be considered in the future when potentially eligible properties have been identified.

Thus, like the Pratt report, this statement is intended to provide a historic context for the identification, evaluation, and treatment of primarily Euro-American historic religious structures in New Mexico. It is divided into two large sections, the first of which describes chronologically the religious history of New Mexico from the first Spanish settlement (1598) to the end of World War II (1945), when demographic changes as well as the introduction of new architectural styles and building materials radically altered the religious landscape of the state. This history begins with the introduction and development of Roman Catholicism during the Spanish Colonial (1598-1821) and Mexican periods (1821-1846). Beginning with the American Occupation in 1846 and continuing through the Territorial Period (1846-1912), Judaism, mainstream Protestant denominations, and other denomination new in the nineteenth-century were brought into New Mexico. Their development is followed as well as the transformation of Roman Catholicism under French priests. Finally the context traces the subsequent development of these religious groups, as well as the introduction and growth of new denominations during the Statehood Period (1912-present).

The second major section of the context statement details the architectural and physical background of various types of resources associated with religious groups in New Mexico and discusses regional revivalism in architectural styles as well as architects associated with religious buildings in New Mexico.

Summary

From the beginning of the European intrusion into the lands that became New Mexico, a primary motive for exploration and settlement was the propagation of religion; and throughout the long history of the province, territory, and state, religion has remained a primary focus of individual and community life for the many groups who have come here. Roman Catholic Franciscan friars accompanied expeditions of exploration and settlement and when no fabled wealth was found, conversion of the indigenous populations became a primary justification for colonization. The first colonizing expedition, led by Juan de Oñate in 1598 included ten Franciscan priests sent to convert the native peoples to Christianity.

The Franciscans erected a network of ecclesiastical complexes as missions to the American Indian inhabitants of New Mexico. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680, which temporarily drove the Spanish out of New Mexico, resulted in the deaths of most of the Franciscan missionaries and the destruction of their churches. After the Reconquest of 1692, many of these buildings were rebuilt, and several new ones constructed in new or resettled pueblos. At the same time, an increasing emphasis was placed upon churches for the growing Hispanic population who founded small settlements primarily along the Rio Grande and its tributaries.

Throughout the Spanish and Mexican periods, Roman Catholicism was the only religion openly practiced in New Mexico. The true role and significance of the Church is illustrated by the folk Roman Catholicism practiced by lay brotherhoods that grew to importance in the late eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century when New Mexico suffered a shortage of priests and general neglect from the church leaders in Mexico. The members of the Brotherhood of Our Father Jesus the Nazarene, also known as the Penitentes, provided not only religious ritual but mutual aid and social support to a people who had been nearly abandoned by distant spiritual authority.

After 1846 a new form of Catholicism came in with French priests sent by the Church hierarchy. In addition the Jewish faith was openly brought to new Mexico as well as the various Protestant denominations of American and European immigrants and missionaries who came establish to schools and to convert the Spanish and Indian populations. Like the Roman Catholic religion, the Protestantism and Judaism served as a cultural focus for immigrants from different places and backgrounds in a new and strange land long inhabited by peoples with well established, religion-based cultures of their own.

Thus religion in whatever form has always served a major cultural role for the settlers and immigrants of many and varied origins who came to what was throughout its history a remote frontier. Many resources remain which manifest the importance of religion in the history and cultural development of New Mexico. This statement intends to establish their broad historic context.

Geographic Background

The rich and varied landscape of New Mexico has in part helped determine settlement patterns that in turn affected the religious landscape. Physical geography, particularly through the factors of soil and water, as conditioned by climate, has formed the basis for the settlement of various cultures in the region. These peoples, in turn, brought with them cultural concepts, one of which was the practice of religion. Therefore, an examination of the physical basis of settlement in New Mexico can help in the understanding of the development of religion in the state.

New Mexico is the fifth largest state in the Union in area but has the lowest proportion of surface water to surface land of any state.[1] Located at the base of the Rocky Mountains, New Mexico is bounded by Colorado on the north, Texas and the narrow edge of the Oklahoma panhandle on the east, Texas and the Mexican state of Chihuahua on the south, and Arizona on the west. The northwest corner meets the corners of three other states, the only place in the country where four state boundaries touch, giving rise to the name Four Corners for the northwest region of the state.

New Mexico's landscape includes high mountain ranges, a major river, and a section of the Great Plains. Two splinters of the Rocky Mountains extend down into central northern New Mexico, the San Juan and Jemez Mountains on the west and the Sangre de Cristo Mountains on the east. West of the San Juan and Jemez mountains, in the northwest corner of the state is a portion of the Colorado Plateau, an area of broad mesas and valleys bounded on the south by the Zuni and Cebolleta mountains. To the south are the North Plains and the Plains of San Augustin. Between these are the Gallo and Datil mountains and on the south, the Mogollon Mountains and the Black Range.[2] (Map 2)

1. Paul L. Hain, F. Cris Garcia, and Gilbert K. St. Clair, eds., *New Mexico Government* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994) 2.

2. Warren A. Beck and Ynez D. Haase, *Historical Atlas of New Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969) Map 2.

The Rio Grande enters New Mexico between the San Juan and Jemez ranges and flows south to bisect the state dividing plateau, lava and canyon lands to the west from plains on the east. East of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains are two concentric escarpments, the Trinidad and the Canadian. South of the Canadian Escarpment the Llano Estacado (Staked Plains) which is a continuation of the Great Plains, extends into New Mexico from Texas, ending at the valley of the Pecos River which flows south and east through the state from the eastern foothills of the Sangre de Cristos into Texas where it meets the Rio Grande. West of the Pecos River Valley are the Guadalupe and Sacramento mountains and the Sierra Blanca. The eastern third of the state including the Pecos Valley geographically and to a certain extent culturally can be regarded as an extension of Texas.[3] (Map 2)

Most of the state is high plateau with 85 percent over four thousand feet in elevation. However, elevations range from less than 3,000 feet above sea level on the Pecos River in the southeastern part of the state to the 13,160-foot Wheeler Peak in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains in the north central region.

Because New Mexico covers only six degrees of latitude (from 31-37 degrees North), altitude is a more significant factor in regard to temperature, frost-free days, and precipitation. Temperature usually varies three degrees F for every 1,000 feet elevation above sea level. Although extreme temperatures range from a record low of minus 50 degrees F to a high of 116 degrees F, most fall well within that range. In addition to elevation, factors affecting temperature are exposure (higher on south-facing slopes and west sides of north-south ridges) and season (the second half of the year is warmer than the corresponding months of the first half, i.e., July is warmer than June, August than May, etc.). The frost-free season, or period during which plants are not susceptible to a "killer frost," also varies according to altitude, and can range from over 200 days in the southeastern part of the state to less than 100 in the north central region.[4]

Although New Mexico is considered a desert area, several parts of the state, most notably the Sangre de Cristo and Jemez mountain ranges, receive from 30-45 inches of annual precipitation. However, the average rainfall in the state is 15 inches. Moderate rainfall (12-17 inches) occurs in the Plains of San Agustin in the west central region and the plains of the eastern third of the state. The northwest plateau, including the San Juan River basin; the Rio Grande Valley, including the area in the south known as *Jornada del Muerto* (Journey of Death) and dreaded by early travelers up the Rio Grande; and the entire southern portion of

3. Beck and Haase, Maps 1 and 2.

4. Jerry L. Williams, ed., *New Mexico in Maps* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986) 34-39, 46-47.

the state receive only slight precipitation and approach true desert conditions. Furthermore, most of the rainfall in the state is irregular and unpredictable. It is often in the form of local, short but heavy storms that can damage crops. Droughts are also frequent.[5]

Rivers are the major source of water in New Mexico. In addition to the Rio Grande and Pecos, other major rivers include the Cimarron, Canadian, San Juan, Chama, and the Gila. Three quarters of annual stream flow originates in the regions above 8,000 feet where snowfall is more than half the annual precipitation. The amount of snow in the mountains largely determines the available water for irrigation.

The largest and most influential river historically is the Rio Grande; 470 miles of its 1,885 total length flow within the state boundaries. Both the Rio Grande and the Pecos served as routes for Spanish exploration. The arable alluvial plain of the Rio Grande ranges in width from a few feet in the northern part of the state to one to five miles on either side of the river in the south. Most settlement in the Spanish and Mexican Periods was limited to the valleys of the Rio Grande and its tributaries in the north half of the state. In the northwest the San Juan River and in the southwest the Gila both drain to the west. In the north central region the Chama River flows south and east to the Rio Grande. On the eastern plains, the Cimarron to the north and the Canadian in the east central area both flow to the east.[6] (Map 3)

There are six life zones of native vegetation in New Mexico based largely on elevation, temperature, precipitation, and soil type. In order from the warmest to the coldest, from the driest to the wettest, and from the lowest to the highest in altitude, these are the Lower Sonoran, Upper Sonoran, Transition, Canadian, Hudsonian, and Arctic-Alpine. The Lower Sonoran, a zone of mesquite and black grama grass, is found in most of the southeastern part of the state. The Upper Sonoran, a zone of blue grama, buffalo grass, piñon, and juniper, covers three-quarters of the area of the state including most of the plains, foothills, and valleys lying about 4,500 feet. The Transition zone is found on the middle mountain slopes and characterized by ponderosa pines. The Canadian is located between 8,500 and 9,500 feet and is the most humid area of the state. Its rain and snow fall supply streams that bring water to the more arid regions. The Hudsonian is found above 9,500 feet and the Arctic Alpine is the treeless zone that caps the very highest peeks.[7]

There are five soil orders in New Mexico: Alfisols, Aridisols, Entisols, Inceptisols, and Mollisols. Aridisols, which generally do not support vegetative growth without irrigation, are predominant throughout the lower elevations of the southern two-thirds of the state; mollisols,

5. Williams 42-43. Beck and Haase, Map 3.
6. Williams 55-57. Beck and Haase, Maps 3 and 5.
7. Beck and Haase, Map 4.

good for both dryland and irrigation farming, occupy the higher elevations. Entisols, which can also support plant growth, are found in the Rio Grande Valley from Santa Fe to the southern border. Alfisols, which can also be farmed but present problems of compaction and cultivation, as well as entisols and mollisols dominate the northern one-third of the state.

These soils, as well as the vegetative growth they support, not only provided the basis for agriculture in the region but also native materials for construction. Adobe, a mixture of clay, sand, and loam, as well as ledge stone (both limestone and sandstone) were the basic construction material at lower elevations; sod (*terron*) was also extensively used in marshy areas. In the higher elevations, logs were used for both *jacal* (vertical) and *fuerte* (horizontal) construction, as well as *vigas* (roof beams) and other structural members. Common trees were aspen, cottonwood, fir, juniper, piñon, ponderosa pine, and spruce. In addition, the numerous vegetative zones supported a large variety of plant and animal species that were a source of food and medicine for a series of human inhabitants who settled in the region.[8]

Prehistoric Settlement

The earliest major permanent cultures were the Mogollon, in the upper Gila River area in the southwest section of the state near the New Mexico-Arizona border, and the Anasazi, centered in the San Juan Basin of the Colorado Plateau in the Four Corners region. Reaching their apogee in the 1100s AD, these cultures were forced by drought conditions to move first to upland areas to the north (in the case of the Mogollon) and the east (for the Anasazi). After a another period of drought in the 1300s, they eventually established settlements along the Rio Grande, Rio San Jose (Acoma area), Rio Chama, and the Gila and Zuni rivers.

These peoples were the ancestors of the Pueblo Indians encountered by the Spanish explorers in the sixteenth century: the Piros who lived along the Rio Grande from San Marcial north to Los Lunas; the Tompiros to the east of the Manzano Mountains; Tiwas (later Isleta and Sandia) from south of Albuquerque to Bernalillo; and Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa groups to the north, in addition to Keresan (Acoma-Laguna) and Zunian speakers to the west. (Map 4) Just prior to European contact, Athabaskan-speaking groups (Navajos and Apaches) had migrated into New Mexico; later, Comanches and Utes would also begin appearing on the fringes of Spanish-Pueblo settlement. Having evolved from pithouses to multistory structures constructed of adobe or ledge stone, the more sedentary groups were called Pueblos by the European newcomers for their settlements resembling Spanish towns, while the more nomadic groups that were thought to require settlement before missionization, were at first classified categorically as "Apaches." (Map 5)

8. Williams 64-72.

Old World Background

Religious structures in New Mexico have their origins in the development of Judeo-Christianity in the Old World. Judaism had evolved in the Near East for several millennia before the full-fledged monotheism of the eighth-century prophets. By the time of Jesus, worship had shifted from the Temple in Jerusalem, which had been destroyed in 586 BC, to synagogues (in Hebrew *Keneseth* or *Beth hak-Keneseth*, House of Assembly). After the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 AD, synagogues became the main centers of Judaic worship. In fact, Paul and several of the Christian Apostles actively proselytized in synagogues throughout the Mediterranean world. Under the Roman Empire, Christianity (as well as Judaism) suffered through periods of persecution and tolerance until the time of the Emperor Constantine, who converted and in 313 declared that Christianity could be openly practiced as a religion. When the Church eventually split between East and West (1054), the Western Church, centered in Rome, evolved into what has come to be called the Roman Catholic Church. During the early period of the Church, worship was conducted in either circular of polygonal buildings or in basilicas. The latter took the name and form of ancient Roman public halls that were often oblong with side aisles and galleries separated from the central hall by a colonnade and with a raised dais at one end, opposite the entrance, sometimes in a semicircular apse.[9]

The political structure of the Church eventually evolved into a hierarchical system, in which the Pope, highest among bishops, became the supreme leader along with a College of Cardinals. Under him were two types of priests: seculars and regulars. The seculars or diocesan (i.e., parish) priests, were led by a bishop, who oversaw their diocese, and by an archbishop, the head of an archdiocese. The regulars (derived from the Latin word *regula*, or rule) belonged to monastic orders, such as the Augustinians, Dominicans, and Franciscans, which consisted of generals, provincials, abbots, and then friars and lay brothers. With its emphasis on the priest as focus of community worship implemented through the seven sacraments (baptism, confirmation, Eucharist, matrimony, ordination, penance, and extreme unction), Roman Catholic architecture in general evolved into churches whose plans, based on a synthesis of early axial and basilican plans, consisted of a long nave terminated by an area for the altar (and sometimes a chancel with choir). In effect, the physical architecture of the churches reflected the political hierarchy of church social structure.[10]

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9. Andre Bieler, *Architecture in Worship: The Christian Place of Worship* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1965): 4-32. James F. White, *Protestant Worship and Church Architecture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964) 56-68.

10. Bieler 33-46. White 68-77.

During the sixteenth century, a series of events led to a reaction against the Roman Catholic Church that became known as the Protestant Reformation. This was initiated independently by several religious leaders, most notably Martin Luther (1483-1546) in Germany and John Calvin (1509-1564) in the free city of Geneva (in what is now Switzerland). As prophetic figures, both espoused a return to the Word of God, and thus emphasized preaching and reading the Bible as opposed to the elaborate ceremony that had evolved within the medieval Roman Catholic Church. The consequences of this new theology were reflected in an architecture that stripped away religious images and symbolism and placed the pulpit and lectern in prominent positions rivalling that of the altar. Although the Continental Reformation ultimately produced many denominations, principle among them are the Lutheran and Reform churches, which, because of their emphasis on preaching and worshipping in the vernacular, most often were named for the countries (or languages) where they originated.[11]

In England, the Reformation was initiated through the actions of Henry VIII (1509-1547), who in response to the Pope's refusal to grant him a divorce upon the grounds of lack of male issue, passed a law through Parliament establishing the Church of England. The Anglicans, as they came to be called, although rejecting the authority of the Pope, still favored many of the practices of the Roman Church. The Anglican religion, as developed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603), exhibited a tolerance for religious diversity while maintaining a uniformity of basic creed, enumerated in the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion (1563), and ritual, as expressed in The Book of Common Prayer.

However, some religious groups thought that the Anglican reforms had not gone far enough. The Puritans sought to purify the church through separation from the Church of England (Separatists) or through reform from within (Non-Separatists). Furthermore, the Separatists were divided into groups who advocated the self-governance of each congregation (Congregationalists) and others who maintained the relation of congregations to larger organizational bodies called presbyteries and synods (Presbyterians). Other, more radical Separatist groups included the Baptists, who opposed infant baptism, stressing instead the adult decision to surrender oneself to God, and the Quakers, who believed that God was in everyone and held meetings for worship where all were welcome to speak as the Spirit moved them. Therefore, while Anglican architecture tended to reflect the tradition of the Roman Church, Puritan "meetinghouses" stressed austerity and emphasized the pulpit that figured so prominently in the churches of the Continental Reformers.[12]

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11. Catherine L. Albanese, *American: Religions and Religion* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1981) 86-90.

12. Albanese 90-92.

The reaction of the Roman Catholic Church to these developments culminated in the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Several doctrines questioned by the Reformation were clarified and a platform established for the subsequent Counter Reformation. However, the hierarchical nature of the Church was not altered. In contrast to Northern Europe, where Protestantism established strongholds, the southern European countries remained predominantly Roman Catholic; Spain, in particular, took on the role of defender of the Church. It was within this larger context that Roman Catholicism was introduced to the New World by the Spanish.

Coincident with the fall of Granada, the last Moorish stronghold on the Iberian Peninsula, in 1492 the Roman Catholic monarchs Catherine of Aragon and Ferdinand of Castile authorized Christopher Columbus's expedition to the New World and the forced expulsion of Jews and Moors from the newly formed state of Spain. In return for proclaiming and defending the Roman Catholic faith, and guaranteeing the conversion of heathens in newly conquered territory, the Catholic Monarchs, as they were known, had gained the *real patronato*, or royal patronage, through a series of papal bulls that allowed them to establish ecclesiastical institutions and diocesan boundaries, collect and reapportion church revenues, and, in general, function as vicar of the church in their realm. Therefore, the colonial policies of the Spanish Crown, as codified in the Laws of the Indies, called for the conquest and conversion of native populations of the New World; the 1573 Ordinances of Discovery, which discouraged the use of the term "conquest" substituting the term "discovery," reemphasized the central importance of conversion.

HISTORY OF RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT FROM THE SPANISH COLONIAL TO THE STATEHOOD PERIODS (1945)

Spanish Colonial Period (1598-1821)

One of the primary motivations for the Spanish exploration and colonization of New Mexico was the conversion of native peoples to Christianity. The spiritual conquest of the New World had begun with the introduction by Hernando Cortés of the twelve Franciscan "Apostles" to Mexico City in 1524. By 1572, however, the missionaries' *doctrinas*, or teaching parishes, within the Valley of Mexico were being converted to episcopal dioceses. The religious orders were then faced with the choice of settling into conventual life or pursuing new mission fields. Several eventually opted for the latter, dividing Mexico among themselves. The Franciscans, who had been the first to establish a foothold in Mexico City and Puebla, expanded into the present-day states of Hidalgo, Morelos, and Michoacan, and farther north into Nuevo Galicia and the Gran Chichimeca; the newly-introduced order of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) energetically launched themselves into the Sierra Madre Occidental, most notably through the efforts of Father Kino; and the Dominicans and Augustinians divided what little was left between them.

Despite some efforts to include either members of other religious orders or secular (i.e., diocesan) priests, members of the Franciscan Order nearly exclusively not only accompanied all of the major expeditions into New Mexico exploring for both converts and riches, but also initiated and led several. Fray Marcos de Niza was chosen by the Viceroy to investigate reports of New Mexico in 1539; members of his party accompanied Francisco de Coronado during his explorations the year after. After a hiatus of about 50 years, it was again Franciscan friars who pursued the exploration of New Mexico, led in 1581 by Fray Agustin Rodríguez with Captain Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado. The following year Father Bernardo Beltran co-led an expedition to determine the fate of those Franciscans (Juan de Padilla, Juan de la Cruz, and Luis Escalona) who had been left behind, only to discover their martyrdom.

To a large part it was the glowing reports of the Franciscan friars that led the Spanish Crown to initiate the colonization of New Mexico, and to remain after no riches were discovered. Don Juan de Oñate, who financed and led the expedition, requested twelve friars to accompany him, in imitation of both Christ's Apostles and the conquest of Mexico. When Oñate brought his colonists to San Juan/San Gabriel in 1598, one of the first tasks was the construction of a church and the assignment of seven ecclesiastical districts to the eight priests and two brothers who had actually accompanied him. By 1601, however, it was noted that

> ...there were about six friar priests -- two in the camp [i.e., in San Gabriel and San Juan], where there are churches and convents; one at the pueblo of San Ildefonzo, three leagues from the camp, accompanied by two or three Spaniards; one at Santa Clara, one league away, accompanied by a Spaniard; and two others at a pueblo called San Francisco del Monte, four leagues beyond [the camp].[13]

Dissension among the Spanish colonists eventually led to the removal of Oñate as governor and the appointment of Don Pedro de Peralta in 1609, with orders to establish a new *villa* (city), which he did the following year by founding of Santa Fe. This signaled the assumption by the Crown of the cost of sustaining the mission field in New Mexico. If it had not been for glowing reports by two friars in 1608-1609 of conversions among the Pueblo Indians, New Mexico might well have been abandoned.

Under the supervision of the nine friars Peralta brought with him, as well as the two or three who had remained and the nine more who arrived in 1612, work was begun on a church complex in the capital city. The church headquarters for New Mexico were established at Santa Domingo, and friars once again assigned to various pueblos. The church had become so firmly established by 1613 that Fray Isidro Ordonez, who had had himself declared Father Commissary, excommunicated Governor Peralta and had him incarcerated. Although Ordonez' reign ended with the arrival of the next supply caravan in 1616-1617, it set the precedent for continuing church-civil conflicts throughout the seventeenth century.[14]

In 1616-1617, the missions, which had formerly been under the control of Mexico City, were placed under the administration of a newly-created *custodia*, the Custody of the Conversion of St. Paul, with Esteban de Perea elected as the *custos*. In the same year the supply caravan from Mexico brought seven more Franciscans. The Franciscan presence in New Mexico grew rapidly. In 1617, eleven churches serving forty-six "Christian" pueblos had been constructed; by 1629 when Fray Alonso de Benavides (elected *custos* in 1626) left office, there were thirty-three *conventos* (churches with priest's residences) and 150 churches and chapels.[15] (Map 4)

The missions were supplied through a caravan that brought goods (as well as new friars) from Mexico City. In 1631, a Viceregal decree established a contract that regularized the interval for the supply service at three years and fixed the number of friars in New Mexico

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13. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate: Colonizer of New Mexico*, 1595-1628 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953) 630-631.

14. France V. Scholes, *Church and State in New Mexico*, 1610-1650, Historical Society of New Mexico Publications in History 7 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1937).

15. Scholes, *Church and State*.

at sixty-six. This number was not always maintained, however, for during the period from 1654-1657, only forty-six friars served in New Mexico. To amend this situation, the supply of 1657-1660 provided for seventy friars (forty-six existing, twenty-four new), although as many as ten deserted en route. Shortages arose from changes in the administration of the supply service whereby laymen rather than Franciscans were placed in charge of the transportation. These compounded by famine in the late 1660s and early 1670s, which in turn led to increased Apache raiding, exacerbated the conditions that would eventually lead to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Although some administrative changes, such as the payment of a lump sum per friar in 1671, helped, but by the time reinforcements in both religious and military personnel were recommended in the late 1670s, it was too late.[16]

In 1616-1617, New Mexico's mission field had been placed under the administration of a provincial, or chief, administrator directed by the Council of the Province of Santo Evangelio of Tampico and New Mexico in Mexico City. It was referred to as the "Holy Custodia of the Conversion of San Pablo of New Mexico," under whose *custodio* (*custos* in Latin), or supervisor, were four members of a governing committee (*difinitorio*), elected annually. The ecclesiastical (and thus, after 1616-1617, the *custodia*) headquarters were established at Santo Domingo Pueblo around 1610 and remained there throughout the seventeenth century.[17]

The *custodia* chapters determined the distribution and assignments of friars among the missions, and selected the missions themselves and their status as *conversiones*, *reducciones*, or *visitas*. The first referred to those pueblos converted as a unit, while the *reducción* was one to which Indians were gathered, or "reduced," from different locations. With the completion of a church at the pueblo, the status changed to that of *doctrina*. This depended on two things: 1) the pueblo should be self-governing, and 2) the population should achieve a certain level of training in Hispanic culture and the Catholic faith. Because all pueblos were well-organized villages, they quickly moved from the status of *conversion* to that of *doctrina*. The *misión* was the general unit of administration in the field, and was characterized by the church and attached *convento*, the Pueblo inhabitants and the resident priest, or priests and selected assistants. It might also have a *visita*, or lesser pueblo with a small church, under its administrative control.

16. France V. Scholes, "The Supply Service on the New Mexico Missions in the Seventeenth Century," *New Mexico Historical Review* 5 (1930): 93-116; 186-210; 368-404.

17. France V. Scholes, "Problems in the Early Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 7.1 (1932): 34-61.

Establishment of a mission began with the decision of the *custodia* and the *difinitor* to place a brother - usually newly arrived from Mexico--at a particular pueblo. The friar, accompanied by a guard of soldiers, travelled there along with supplies assigned to him for the establishment of the mission, usually also recently sent from Mexico. The religious would customarily purchase several rooms from a Pueblo family and, with the permission of local authorities, select a site for a church. The Pueblo people were then organized into work crews and construction begun.

Daily life in the mission consisted of a standardized calendar of ritual, based on the religious observances of the Roman Catholic Church. A sense of the daily routine at the mission can be gained from a description by Fray Alonso de Benavides.

> Most of the convents have only one religious each, and he ministers to four, six, or more neighboring pueblos...More than twenty Indians, devoted to the service of the church, live with him in the convent. They take turns in relieving one another as porters, sextons, cooks, bell-ringers, gardeners, refectioners, and in other tasks...
>
> In every pueblo where a friar resides, he has schools for the teaching of praying, singing, playing musical instruments, and other interesting things. Promptly at dawn, one of the Indian singers, whose turn it is that week, goes to ring the bell for the Prime, at the sound of which those who go to school assemble and sweep the rooms thoroughly...When everything is neat and clean, they again ring the bell and each one goes to learn his particular specialty; the friar oversees it all...At this time those who plan to get married come and notify him, so that he may prepare and instruct them according to our holy council; if there are any, either sick or healthy persons, who wish to confess in order to receive communion at mass, or who wish anything else, they come to tell him...the friar says mass and administers the sacraments...
>
> After mealtime, it always happens that the friar has to go to some neighboring pueblo to hear a confession or to see if they are careless in the boys' school...On feast days he says mass in the pueblo very early, and administers the sacraments, and preaches. Then he goes to say a second mass in another pueblo...One of the week days which is not so busy is devoted to baptism...One of the greatest task of the friars is to adjust the disputes of the Indians among themselves... If it is a question of land and property, he must go with them and mark their boundaries, and thus pacify them.[18]

18. Frederick Webb Hodge, George P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey, *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1954) 100-102.

In addition to ecclesiastical service, the church complex was also viewed as the center of economic activities, which were considered part of the overall mission program of conversion and civilization of the native populations. The Pueblo people were taught how to farm and ranch in the European manner, as well as spin, weave, work wood, etc.

The Franciscan friars did not encounter a people without religion, of course. Traditional Pueblo religion, a complex set of beliefs and practices, permeated every aspect of their lives. For the individual, the basic concern was maintaining a continued harmonious relationship with the world, or universe, through ritual and ceremony. The interrelationship between the individual villager and village and their deities - a number of formless, anthropomorphic gods and kachinas - was primarily one of reciprocity. This was expressed through rituals, such as oratories, prayers, songs, dances, pilgrimages, sacrificial retreats, and other expressions, performed individually or communally by multiple religious societies, rain-making societies, the kachina cult, and curing societies. Sacred space was not isolable to one or several buildings: a series of increasing concentric zones, centering on an emergence spot (in Tewa *nan-sipu*, literally "belly-root of the earth") at the heart of the pueblo (*bu-ping-geh*), signified the sacred relationship of the village and its people with the whole universe. Shrines in turn marked the edges of the village, the nearby hills, and the four sacred mountains in the cardinal directions - the limits of the Pueblo world. However, like the kivas, which function as places for the ceremonials of religious societies, shrines did not necessarily convey sacred space architecturally.[19]

The interaction between the Franciscan friars and the native Pueblos was resultingly complex. Although the Roman Catholic priests clearly strove to suppress customs they regarded as heathen, such as dancing; idol (kachina) worship; sexual conduct other than monogamy (bigamy, sodomy, etc.); and nakedness, they also accepted certain customs and symbols that benefitted their mission, such as the worship of the cross as a prayer stick, the symbolism of the stepped cloud, the representation of Mary as a corn mother. Furthermore, there may even be evidence that native workers were allowed to influence the architecture of the churches they built. First of all, the friars adapted to the Pueblo division of labor in construction: women did most of the masonry and plastering; men provided materials and roof timbers. Secondly, despite several scholars' claims of superposition (the siting of churches over kivas as an act of conquest), kivas may have been deliberately constructed as interim churches. Finally, there are a number of features of mission churches, such as stepped

19. Rina Swentzell, "An Understated Sacredness," *Mass* 3 (1985): 24-25.

parapets imitative of sacred clouds, parapet "horns" suggestive of sacred mountains, and murals denoting symbols sacred to the Pueblos, which imply an active incorporation of Pueblo religious elements.[20]

From the beginning of Oñate's colony through the decade preceding the Pueblo Revolt, church and civil authorities, at the local level as well as in Mexico, were in almost constant conflict over control of the newly converted Pueblos. The seventeenth-century mission period and its administrative conflicts contributed to a culminating event: the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. This resulted from a number of factors: the exacting labor required under the *encomienda* system, wherein church (as well as civil) officials required tribute from their subjects; a period of famine in the 1670s, leading to starvation as well as increased raiding of Rio Grande settlements (both Pueblo and Spanish) by nomadic Indians; and increased suppression of native religion, culminating in the public flogging of forty-seven Pueblo priests in 1676. As a result of the uprising by most of the Pueblos, eighteen priests and brothers, as well as hundreds of Spanish citizens, were killed, and the survivors driven south towards Mexico.

For twelve years, the Spanish resided at Guadalupe del Norte (present Ciudad Juarez), where they founded New Mexico's second *villa*, El Paso. Although Otermín, the governor who led the retreat from Santa Fe, made several attempts at reconquering the territory, the Spanish were not successful until Don Diego de Vargas was appointed governor. Vargas first made a relatively peaceful reconnaissance in 1692, during which he determined the feasibility of reconquering the region from the Pueblos, who had suffered several years of famine and whose alliance had disintegrated. Returning with seventy families and eighteen priests in 1693, Vargas encountered stiff resistance from the Indians who had barricaded themselves in the former *villa* of Santa Fe, which they had transformed into a fortified pueblo. Vargas

20. Mrs. Edward B. Ayer, *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides 1630* (n.p.: privately printed, 1916) 33. Ramon Gutierrez, *When Jesus Came, The Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991). James E. Ivey, "In the Midst of a Loneliness: The Architectural History of the Salinas Missions," Southwest Cultural Resources Center Professional Papers 15 (Santa Fe: National Park Service, Southwest Regional Office, 1988) 48, 415-421. Suzanne G. Kenagy, "Stepped Cloud and Cross: The Intersection of Pueblo and European Symbolic Systems," *New Mexico Historical Review* 64.3 (1989): 325-340. George Kubler, *The Religious Architecture of New Mexico in the Colonial Period and Since the American Occupation* (1940; Albuquerque: School of American Research/University of New Mexico Press, 1972) 7, 26, 38. Ross Gordon Montgomery, Watson Smith, and John Otis Brew, "Franciscan Awatovi: The Excavation and Conjectural Restoration of a 17th-Century Spanish Mission Establishment at a Hopi Indian Town in Northeastern Arizona," Reports of the Awatovi Expedition 3, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology 36 (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, 1949). Vincent Scully, *Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance* (New York: Viking Press, 1975).

found it necessary to lay siege to the town, which he took after several days of intense combat followed by the execution of seventy "leaders" of the rebellion. One of Vargas' first acts had been to convert a kiva into a chapel, and he vowed to rebuild the former *Parroquia* (parish church) of the capital. The fulfillment of this task, however, was left to his successor, Pedro Rodríguez Cubero, who had the *convento* rebuilt in 1697; the church was not completed until 1717.

After Vargas reconquered Santa Fe, he first resettled the capital, and then determined the allegiance of the various pueblos which were by no means universally subdued. Periodic revolts against the Spanish occurred throughout the early eighteenth century. One of the methods of control during the eighteenth century was the *reducción*, in which pueblos were consolidated for easier religious and civic administration. After a particularly strong uprising - the Pueblo Revolt of 1696, during which several priests and brothers were killed - Vargas established Santa Cruz de La Canada as a northern buffer, the third *villa* founded in New Mexico after Santa Fe and El Paso. The fourth and final *villa* in New Mexico was Albuquerque, founded in 1706. (Map 5)

The eighteenth century witnessed a rapid growth in the Spanish population of New Mexico, from several hundred in 1700 to 3,402 by midcentury and almost 25,000 in 1800. In contrast, over the same period of time the Pueblo population, consolidated in 20 villages, barely rose from 8,790 to just under 9,000. As opposed to the seventeenth-century settlement pattern of capital (Santa Fe), missions, and scattered *ranchos*, during the eighteenth century the Spanish population gradually spread out from the core settlements along the Rio Grande in a series of plaza towns. After the Comanche Peace of 1786 trade increased and settlement expanded to the east, north, and northwest. Several *genízaro* (detribalized Indian) settlements were established as frontier buffers--San Juan, San José, and San Miguel del Vado along the Pecos River to the east; Belen and Tomé to the south; and Abiquiu to the north. Many of these *genízaros* were either *ciboleros* (buffalo hunters) or *comancheros* (Indian traders), who became familiar with the plains of eastern New Mexico, and later pioneered settlement in that region. (Map 5)

Like the more formal *villas*, most of these smaller towns and villages were loosely based on the requirements for town planning, outlined in the official compilation of Spanish Colonial administration policies, the Laws of the Indies, which called for locating defensive structures around a central plaza. The church occupied a central position in the community, both architecturally and socially. The building was usually located either in the center of a plaza or incorporated into the house blocks that surrounded the defensive compounds. The churches were served by the Franciscan friars who resided in the mission complexes in the pueblos, or, at the end of the eighteenth century, by diocesan priests in the larger parishes in the *villas* (Albuquerque, El Paso, Santa Cruz de la Canada, and Santa Fe).

In addition to the parish churches, there were often *capillas*, or chapels, that were built for worship by either a family or a particular *cofradía* (religious society). Private chapels, which could be either freestanding or incorporated as one room of several in a residential complex, were restricted to families rich enough to afford the cost of building such a structure. In addition, *santuarios*, or shrines, were constructed for worship either at a place marking a significant religious act (the apparition of a saint or a miraculous event) or a convenient geographical location (along a well-travelled route or at a hot spring).

Capillas for religious societies were more common. As with several religious orders, the Franciscans consisted of three groups: the First Order of St. Francis, for men; the Poor Clares, for women; and the Tertiary or Third Order, for lay people. It was fashionable for members of the Spanish ruling class to belong to the Third Order, and this was likely the case in New Mexico, although evidence of its presence does not appear until 1776, with the mention of a chapel in the south transept of the Church in Santa Cruz. Apparently a chapel for the Third Order was also constructed at the *Parroquia* at Santa Fe ca. 1804-1829.[21]

It was also in Santa Cruz that *La Cofradía de Nuestra Señora del Carmel* (The Confraternity of Our Lady of Carmel) was founded on April 3, 1710 under Fray Juan Mengues, with proper license from Fray Miguel de Santa Teresa, Father Provincial of the Carmelites of New Spain. By 1776, when Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez visited Santa Cruz, the Carmel Chapel on the north transept was in existence. On his episcopal visit in 1760, Bishop Pedro Tamarón y Romeral took the opportunity to relicense the confraternity, emphasizing the graces and indulgences available to membership.[22]

During Bishop Tamarón's visit, he also witnessed the establishment of the Confraternity of *Nuestra Señora de la Luz* (Our Lady of Light) on June 3, 1760, with Governor Marin del Valle elected *hermano mayor* at its first meeting two days later. The preceding year Governor del Valle had begun construction of a special chapel, La Castrense, on the south side of the Santa Fe plaza, and it was in this chapel that the famous *reredos* (altar screen) of Our Lady of Light were installed.[23]

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21. E. Boyd, *Popular Arts of Spanish New Mexico* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1974): 440-451.

22. Boyd 442.

23. Eleanor B. Adams, "The Chapel and *Cofradía* of Our Lady of Light in Santa Fe," *New Mexico Historical Review* 22.4 (1947): 327-341. A. von Wurthenau, "The Spanish Military Chapels in Santa Fe and the *Reredos* of Our Lady of Light," *New Mexico Historical Review* 10.3 (1935): 175-194.

The beginnings of secularization (i.e., the use of diocesan priests ["seculars"], rather than those of the religious orders ["regulars"]) in New Mexico go back to efforts by the Franciscans, in particular Fray Alonso de Benavides, to have the province made a bishopric in the 1630s. The bishopric of Durango had been created as early as 1620 in recognition of the vast expanse of the northern frontier. Although the rather vague description of the new bishopric indicated that the boundaries reached to the "North Sea," it was not clear whether this included the province of New Mexico, and if so, whether the Franciscans could exercise their right to ecclesiastical governance in absence of a secular authority in the region. This administrative contention between the Bishop of Durango and the Franciscans continued throughout the seventeenth century and, after the Pueblo Revolt, into the eighteenth century. Bishop Benito Crespo made an episcopal visit to New Mexico in 1730, appointing Don Santiago Roybal, a native of Santa Fe who had been ordained as a secular priest in Mexico, vicar and ecclesiastical judge. Despite the revocation of this action by viceregal decree, Roybal continued to serve in this position for many years. Martin de Elizacoechea, Bishop of Durango from 1736-1747, also visited New Mexico, although little is known about his trip.[24]

In 1760, Dr. Pedro Tamarón y Romeral (1695-1768), Bishop of Durango from 1758 until his death, paid an episcopal visit to New Mexico. As a result of his inspection, Tamarón recommended the secularization of the missions to the four *villas* in New Mexico: Albuquerque, El Paso, Santa Cruz de la Canada, and Santa Fe. Aided by reports from the Marqués de Rubí's visitation of 1766, as recorded by Nicolás de Lafora, the Viceroy, Teodoro de Croix, ordered New Mexico Governor Mendinueta to institute the secularization. This marks the beginning of a trend that would be accelerated during the nineteenth century.[25]

Several Franciscans also wrote reports on religious (and civil) conditions among the Pueblos and Hispanic communities in New Mexico. Notable among these were Fray Atanasio Domínguez, whose report on the condition of the churches in 1776 is one of the few primary documents from the period, and Fray Juan Agustin Morfi, whose *Account of Disorders in New Mexico* was issued in 1778. Domínguez, along with fellow cleric Syvestre Veles de Escalante, also searched for a route to California in 1776.

The end of the Spanish Colonial Period can be characterized as a general decline in the availability of church services to the people of New Mexico, primarily due to the shortage of priests and general neglect of the region by the church administration. As Pedro Bautista Pino, the New Mexican delegate appointed to the 1812 Spanish *Cortés*, remarked, "I, an old

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24. Eleanor B. Adams, ed., *Bishop Tamarón's Visitation of New Mexico, 1760* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1954) 1-19.

25. Adams, *Bishop Tamarón's Visitation*, 19-33. Lawrence Kinnaird and Lucia Kinnaird, "Secularization of Four New Mexico Missions," *New Mexico Historical Review* 54.1 (1979): 35-41.

man, did not know how a bishop dressed."[26] This neglect, which would become exacerbated during the Mexican Period, eventually led to the development of a folk version of Roman Catholicism in New Mexico, which in turn affected the religious landscape of the region.

Mexican Period (1821-1846)

After 1821, when the Treaty of Cordova recognized the Independence of Mexico from Spain, resident Spanish-born citizens were required to declare allegiance to the new Mexican government or leave the country; because many Franciscan friars were Spaniards, a significant number departed, and many parishes were left without pastors. Twenty-three Franciscans served the missions of New Mexico in 1821; five years later the number had dropped to nine, and in 1832 it was down to five. By 1840 there were no surviving friars, and despite efforts to reintroduce the order in 1845 through the appointment of Fray Mariano de Jesús López by Bishop Zubiría, Franciscan ministry ended with his death at Isleta three years later.[27]

Secular (i.e., diocesan) priests (*curas*) were also in short supply, in part because the Church hierarchy did not recognize Mexico's independence until 1836. As previously mentioned, as early as 1767 Viceroy Teodoro de Croix had secularized four of New Mexico's twenty-eight missions: the *villas* of Santa Fe, Santa Cruz de la Cañada, Albuquerque, and El Paso. However, this took years to accomplish, and a fifth, Tomé, was only added on the eve of Mexican Independence. In 1824, prompted by the request of Antonio José Martínez to secularize the Taos mission, the legislature proposed four more: San Juan and the genízaro communities of Abiquiu, Belen, and San Miguel del Bado; this was accomplished two years later by a special representative of the bishop, Agustín Fernández de San Vicente. On April 14, 1834, the Mexican government officially secularized all missions, although New Mexico seems to have been neglected. The number of secular priests there grew slowly from five at independence in 1821, to eight in 1828, and by the time the Americans occupied New Mexico in 1846, reached only eleven - nowhere near the number required by a rapidly expanding resident population.[28]

This shortage of priests was compounded by the lack of funds available for church activities. Although tithing was obligatory in New Mexico prior to 1833, when it was abolished by edict of the Mexican government, it was rarely enforced. Priests were allowed to charge *aranceles*, so-called stole fees, for church rites such as baptism, marriage, and extreme

26. David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982): 71.

27. Weber 57, 59.

28. Weber 59.

unction. Despite foreigners' observations that this privilege was much abused, leading to apostasy, concubinage, and burial in non-sacred ground, many priests, such as Cura Antonio José Martínez, did not require it.[29]

Around the turn of the nineteenth century a lay brotherhood was formed that provided spiritual leadership within the Hispanic communities to compensate for the dwindling presence of the Church in New Mexico. *La Hermanidad* (also *La Fraternidad* or *La Cofradía*) *Piadosa de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno* (the Pious Brotherhood [Fraternity or Confraternity] of Our Father Jesus the Nazarene) was a society of devout Catholics dedicated to leading their lives in imitation of Christ's example. Known also as the Penitente Brotherhood or simply the Penitentes, for annual penitential ceremonies performed to commemorate the passion and death of Christ, they organized into village chapters called *moradas* with meeting houses of the same name. The Penitentes organized religious observances and processions surrounding saints' feast days for the community; they arranged funerals, offered support for widows and orphans, and in general provided mutual aid and social support for their fellow brothers and their families.[30]

The Penitentes were only one manifestation of a growing New Mexican folk Roman Catholicism that had its origins in the late eighteenth century. New Mexican *santeros* developed their own artistic tradition of *santos* (saint's images, both *retablos* [two-dimensional paintings] and *bultos* [three-dimensional statues]). Furthermore, the development of folk religious ceremonies, as expressed in musical forms such as the *entriega de novios* (delivery of the newlyweds), indicated a growing reliance on avenues outside of the institutionalized church that would become stronger in opposition to the influence of Archbishop Lamy and his French priests during the latter half of the nineteenth century.[31]

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29. Weber 75.

30. Richard E. Ahlborn, *The Penitente Moradas of Abiquiu* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1968). Bainbridge Bunting, Thomas R. Lyons, and Margil Lyons, "Penitente Brotherhood *Moradas* and Their Architecture," *Hispanic Arts and Ethnohistory in the Southwest*, ed. Marta Weigle (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1983) 31-80. Fray Angelico Chavez, "The Penitentes of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 29.2 (1954): 97-123. Marta Weigle, *Brothers of Light, Brothers of Blood: The Penitentes of the Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976).

31. Enrique R. Lamadrid, "*Las Entriegas*: Ceremonial Music and Cultural Resistance on the Upper Rio Grande: Research Notes and Catalog of the Cipriano Vigil Collection, 1985-1987," *New Mexico Historical Review* 65.1 (1990): 1-19. Thomas J. Steele, *Santos and Saints: The Religious Folk Art of Hispanic New Mexico* (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1982).

Many pueblos, also left without resident priests, began to practice their traditional religion more openly. Dances and other ceremonies were conducted in pueblo plazas, open to observation by non-Indians. However, the particular synthesis of traditional Pueblo religion and Roman Catholicism that had developed through the several centuries of Franciscan presence was manifest in both the use of paraphernalia and symbolism as well as the time of observance, such as saints' days.[32]

Although the Spanish *Cortés* had endorsed the idea of a Santa Fe bishopric in 1812, New Mexico remained under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Durango throughout the Spanish Colonial and Mexican periods. During the eighteenth century, New Mexico had only been visited three times by a bishop, prompting Don Pedro Pino, representative to the Spanish *Cortés*, to lament "I, an old man, did not know how bishops dressed." In contrast, José Antonio Laureano de Zubiría, appointed bishop in 1831, visited New Mexico three times: in 1833, 1845, and 1850. During his first visit, Zubiría issued an official condemnation of the Penitentes, whom he considered too zealous in their practice of penitential rites; the situation had changed little by the time of his next visit, prompting him to request a rereading in all the parishes of his pastoral letter on the subject.[33]

In the Mexican period, the lack of priests as well as political turmoil in Mexico that prompted the development of a folk religion also contributed to the development of strong local leaders. One of the more prominent public and religious figures of this period was Antonio José Martínez (1793-1867). Born in Abiquiu to a wealthy family, Martínez studied for the priesthood in Durango, after the death of his wife, and was ordained in 1822. He returned to Taos was given the local parish. There he established a school, where he prepared over thirty students for later pursuit of the priesthood; of only seven native-born priests in New Mexico from 1856 to 1912, four (Manuel Chávez, Ramón Medina, José Tafoya, and José Vigil) were trained by Martínez. With the first printing press in New Mexico, he issued educational religious books and possibly a newspaper. Martínez also was actively involved in politics, serving in the Departmental Assembly of New Mexico under the Mexican government in 1830, 1831, and 1836, as well as the Council of the Legislative Assembly under the American government in 1851 (as president), 1852, and 1853.[34]

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32. Gutierrez. Kenagy.

33. Weber 71.

34. Fray Angelico Chavez, *But Time and Chance: The Story of Padre Martínez of Taos, 1793-1867* (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 1981). John Ray de Aragon, *Padre Martínez and Bishop Lamy* (Las Vegas, NM: Pan-American Publishing Company) 1978. Nancy Nell Hanks, "Not of this Earth: An Historical Geography of French Secular Clergy in the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, 1850-1912," diss., University of Oklahoma, 1993, 208. Pedro Sánchez, *Memorias sobre la Vida del Presbítero Don Antonio José Martínez* (Santa Fe: The Lightning Tree, 1978).

However, Martínez is most well known for his relation to Jean Baptiste Lamy, who was sent first as bishop and later became archbishop as a result of the American conquest of New Mexico. Unfortunately, Martínez's accomplishments in regard to the culture, education, and religion of the New Mexican people, as well as those of the Mexican Period in general, have been eclipsed by the impact of the American occupation.

Territorial Period (1846-1912)

The Territorial Period in the New Mexico lasted from the American Occupation of 1846 to Statehood in 1912. This is among the longest durations of all United States territories and naturally divides into two subperiods: the time prior to the arrival of the railroad in 1879, and that after. The initial, slower-paced changes wrought by the introduction of a new form of government and the culture of the Anglo-American newcomers, contrast markedly with the rapid and enormous economic, social, and technological changes brought about by the railroad system itself as well as the goods, markets, and peoples it introduced to New Mexico. Each of these subperiods an effect on the religious and cultural development of the territory.

During the Mexican War of 1846, Brigadier General Stephen Watts Kearny entered New Mexico with the Army of the West and claimed it for the United States of America. The Territory of New Mexico, which was subsequently established by the Congressional Organic Act of 1850, contained portions of present-day Arizona, Colorado, and Nevada. In 1853, the Gadsden Purchase added a strip of land along New Mexico's southwest border with Mexico and in so doing annexed for a second time the land of many citizens who had moved across the Rio Grande from Doña Ana to Mesilla in order to remain within Mexico. In 1861, a portion of northern New Mexico, including the Hispanic communities in the San Luis Valley, became part of the Colorado Territory. Arizona Territory was created in 1863, and a small, far-western portion became part of Nevada in 1866.

Prior to the arrival of the railroad in 1879, the population rose gradually, from 61,547 in 1850 to 93,516 in 1860. Although the figure fell to 91,874 in the 1870 census, the fact that there was a loss of over half of the territory through the creation of Arizona suggests that the population rose in the remaining portion during this decade. Nevertheless, the percentage of Anglo-Americans (immigrants from the rest of North America and non-Spanish Europe) remained small prior to the advent of the railroad: people born in other parts of the United States rose from 772 in 1850 to 1,168 in 1860 and 2,780 in 1870, or from 1 to 3 percent of the overall population. In general, most newcomers were Southerners prior to the Civil War, after which many more Northerners arrived, although significant numbers of ex-Confederates

settled in the ranching areas of the territory. Low numbers of Protestant newcomers is one of the reasons for the slow growth of denominations other than the Roman Catholic church prior to the arrival of the railroad.

During this period, both the Hispanic and the Anglo-American populations expanded geographically. The Hispanic frontier grew in all directions: to the northeast, from the communities of Las Vegas and Mora to Anton Chico, Puerto de Luna, La Junta (Watrous), Santa Clara (Wagon Mound), Bueyeros, and Moses; to the north to the San Luis Valley of Colorado and the Tierra Amarilla communities; to the northwest into the San Juan River Valley (Cañon Blanco and Rosa); to the west along the Rio Puerco of the East and the Rio Puerco of the West (Cebolleta, San Rafael, Atarque, Quemado, and Mangas); to the southwest along the Rio San Francisco (Lower Plaza, Middle Plaza [Frisco], and Upper Plaza [Reserve]) and around the mine at Santa Rita; to the south at Dona Ana, Las Cruces, and Mesilla; and to the southeast as far as Lincoln on the Rio Hondo. Wherever they settled, Hispanics built churches, which were ministered to by the nearest Roman Catholic priest.

Anglo-Americans, in addition to settling in the major towns such as Albuquerque, Las Vegas, and Santa Fe, also established several new settlements in the territory. Many of these consisted of camps founded on mining booms, such as those located near Elizabethtown in the northeast; the gold and coal mining camps in the Ortiz and Cerrillos mountains in the north central region; the communities of Pinos Altos and later Silver City in the southwestern region; and the settlements of the San Juan Valley to the northwest. After the Civil War, discharged soldiers entered the New Mexican economy in large numbers, engaging in agriculture, mining, and trade. Notable among these were the large ranches established in the periphery of the Rio Grande core region; namely, the high plains of the northeast, the Pecos Valley in the southeast, the San Juan Valley to the northwest, and the San Agustin plains to the southwest.

The religious development of New Mexico was influenced by developments in other parts of the United States where the first half of the nineteenth century had witnessed a great revival in so-called "democratic" Protestant denominations. By the time of the 1850 census, Methodists (34.2%), Baptists (20.5%), and Presbyterians (11.6%), along with Roman Catholics (13.9%), outnumbered the more traditional Congregationalists (20.4% in 1776; 4% in 1850) and Episcopalians (15.7% in 1776; 3.5% in 1850) to become the most populous sects. Within these church organizations there arose the general phenomenon of national societies organized for the conversion and education of both domestic and foreign populations.

Included among these were the American Education Society (1815), which subsidized young men preparing for ministry; American Bible Society (1816); Sunday School Union (1824); American Tract Society (1825); and American Society for Promoting Temperance (1826).[35]

The national spirit of Manifest Destiny - the idea that it was the destiny of the United States of America to reign across the continent from east to west - was associated in the minds of many newcomers with notions of the superiority of the Anglo-American ethical, political, and religious customs, in particular Protestantism. Most major denominations had established mission boards or societies within their church organizations, and most of these included home as well as foreign fields. Within this context, the native Hispanic and Indian populations of New Mexico were viewed as a "mongrelized, backward race" that had further "degenerated" through centuries of ministry by a "corrupt" Roman Catholic Church. Under these circumstances, it was considered necessary to treat this home field as a foreign mission, wherein not only the tenets of Protestantism, but also fundamental values of citizenship, education, and health care were to be inculcated. In particular, Protestant newcomers placed a heavy emphasis on the ability and freedom to read the Bible, as well as the value of education in general in a territory where legislation establishing public schooling was not passed until 1891 and not fully implemented until much later.[36]

Nor was the phenomenon of the home mission limited to Protestants. The Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, also known as the *Propaganda Fide*, which was founded in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV to regulate Roman Catholic affairs in mission districts, recommended the establishment of the Vicariate Apostolic, or mission district, of New Mexico in 1850. The Society for the Propagation of the Faith, a lay organization established within the Roman Catholic Church in Lyons, France in 1822, to finance missionary activities, also worked in the United States. One of the most active American centers for the Society's work was Cincinnati, Ohio, from whence the Vicar Apostolic and future Archbishop of Santa Fe, Jean Baptiste Lamy - himself a native of southern France active in missionary work in Ohio and Kentucky - was recruited. Furthermore, Lamy and his successors continued to receive considerable financial assistance from the Society throughout the Territorial Period. With this background, it becomes obvious that the various reforms of the native New Mexican church upon which Lamy embarked must be viewed within the context of home missionary work.[37]

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35. Colin Goodykoontz, *Home Missions on the American Frontier* (Idaho: Caxton Publishers, 1939) 165-172. Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992) 153.

36. Randi Jones Walker, *Protestantism in the Sangre de Cristos, 1850-1920* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991) 13-33.

37. Hanks, 80-81, 102-103.

The overall impact of the introduction of both Protestant and Roman Catholic missionary efforts upon the religious landscape of New Mexico is obvious from an examination of the Census of the United States for the years 1850, 1860, and 1870. In 1850, there was a total of 73 churches reported, all of which were Roman Catholic; by 1860, this number had risen to 97, with the additional presence of 3 Baptist churches - the only other denomination recorded. However, by the time of the 1870 census, the number of Roman Catholic "organizations" had almost doubled to 152 (despite the organization of Arizona Territory), and the Protestant presence had expanded to include 3 Protestant Episcopal congregations as well as one each of the Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian denominations. Unfortunately, because no data on religious organizations were taken in the next (1880) census, it is hard to establish a "baseline" against which to assess the full impact of the arrival of railroad on the religious landscape of New Mexico.

In 1879, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway (AT&SF) entered New Mexico, thus ushering the territory into the Railroad Era. The railroad expanded rapidly: from 643 miles in 1880, trackage grew to 1,284 by 1890, and reached over 3,000 miles by the time of Statehood in 1912; the maximum, 3,124, would be attained only two years later. This rapid growth resulted in a network of railroad lines throughout the territory which brought in large numbers of immigrants and linked small New Mexican towns with a vast market of goods and services.[38]

The original AT&SF line (1879-1881) entered New Mexico near Raton, running southwest to form a new town near Las Vegas. Bypassing Santa Fe, the line continued south to create "new town" in Albuquerque, and journeyed on to Belen, Socorro, San Marcial, and El Paso. Meanwhile, the Southern Pacific, entering New Mexico from the southwest, established the towns of Lordsburg and Deming in 1880. In the same year, the St. Louis and San Francisco acquired the bankrupt Atlantic and Pacific's huge land grant and began construction of a line from Isleta west to Gallup which was later (1897) acquired by the AT&SF. In the Pecos River Valley in southeastern New Mexico, the AT&SF/Pecos Valley and Northeastern line (1890-1899) either established or bolstered the towns of Carlsbad (originally Eddy), Artesia, Roswell, Portales, and Clovis. At the turn of the century, the El Paso and Southwestern connected via Alamogordo with the Rock Island line in Santa Rosa. A major east-west linkage was created by the Belen Cutoff in 1903-1907, which connected the main line of the AT&SF at Belen via Mountainair, Willard, and Vaughn, to Clovis. In addition, a number of small "feeder" lines, such as the New Mexico Central, in the Estancia

38. Williams 123-125.

Valley, and the Denver, Texas and Fort Worth, in the far northeastern corner, were created for the purpose of freighting agricultural produce. Along many of these lines, smaller towns were platted. Some of these survived and grew; others were abandoned.[39] (Map 6)

The advent of the railroad had a significant impact on the religious geography of New Mexico in several ways. Wherever a line passed near an existing settlement, a "new town" was usually established in an orthagonal grid plan with real estate lots to be sold for speculation. In addition, at regular intervals the railroad required facilities to operate, such as water tanks, stations, and roundhouses. At these locations land was purchased and subdivided into town lots and new communities were established. In both cases, prominently situated town lots were generally offered free to religious groups for the purpose of erecting churches whose congregations consisted of newcomers drawn by the railroad. In the new town of Albuquerque, for example, the Congregational (1881), First Presbyterian (1881), and Baptist (1887) churches were constructed shortly after the arrival of the railroad.[40]

In addition to supplying the urban context for the construction of churches in new towns, the railroad also introduced a new breed of professional architects and new building materials by whom and with which to build them. New building materials included frame lumber, bricks, cast stone, gypsum plaster, cast-iron columns, glass, and pressed metal roofing materials, cornices, and window elements. New structural materials allowed for faster, more efficient construction of churches, while manufactured decorative details, such as pressed metal cornices and window hoods, gave the designer an opportunity to imitate historic styles such as Gothic and Romanesque. Cast stone, a concrete masonry unit cast in a mold to resemble finished stone, was particularly popular as a substitute for hand-worked stone masonry. However, Anglo-Americans and Hispanics trained to work on masonry structures also disseminated their skills throughout the territory, particularly in the northeast.

Finally, the rail transport affected not only the urban geography of New Mexico, but its rural settlement as well. As part of the railroad's promotional efforts, immigrants were encouraged to travel by rail to homestead land in the unoccupied regions of the territory, thus providing the railroad a market for freighting supplies (imports) as well as crops (exports). This phenomenon was particularly widespread in the eastern part of New Mexico, where dryland farming and ranching were practiced on land that had not already been settled by Hispanics. Acreage under cultivation rose from 788,000 in 1890 to 5,000,000 at the turn of the century, reaching a peak of 11,000,000 in 1910. After the agricultural depression of the 1920s and the Great Depression that followed, these numbers would never be attained again.[41]

39. Williams 123-125.
40. Marc Simmons, *Albuquerque* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982) 303-305.
41. Williams 126-128.

An interesting study comparing homesteader's churches in Union County with three other counties in the West, conducted ten years after Statehood, serves as an illustration of the religious aspect of this phenomenon.[42] Hispanics had been the first to settle the area, particularly along the stream courses. Their predominantly Roman Catholic communities were ministered to by Sacred Heart in Bueyeros, with thirteen dependent churches. In addition, there were at least five groups of Penitentes, with an average of twenty-five members each. Reflecting the rapid homesteading of the region by Anglo-Americans beginning in the 1880s and swelling with the construction of the Denver, Texas and Fort Worth Railroad in 1888, Protestant church membership grew rapidly; in the period from 1906-1916, it exceeded that of the Roman Catholics. Thirty-nine Protestant churches were founded. Clayton (pop. 2500), the county seat, had four churches and the rest of the county one church for every 280 square miles, or about 525 persons. While all of the town churches (which averaged 66 members in Clayton and 33 in other settlements) had buildings, many of the rural congregations (which averaged only 16 members) used schools or homes for worship. Furthermore, the trend towards the gradual abandonment of rural churches and the aggregation of urban congregations was already apparent.[43]

The 1890 census, conducted some ten years after the arrival of the railroad in New Mexico, offers a relatively comprehensive picture of the overall religious landscape of the territory at the time. (Unfortunately, the 1880 census, which could have served as a comparison, did not record religious bodies.) Of a total of 463 "organizations," the Roman Catholic Church still constituted a large majority of 317, or 68 percent of the total. Of the Protestant groups, the Methodist denominations combined - Methodist Episcopal (32), Methodist Episcopal [South] (25), and African Methodist Episcopal (3) - held the largest share: 60 or 13 percent. They were followed by Presbyterian church (39) at 8 percent and the Protestant Episcopalians (16) and Baptists [North] (15), both at about 3 percent. Other Protestant groups included the Congregationalists (4), Disciples of Christ (4), and Lutherans [General Synod] (3). The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) had five organizations, while there was one Jewish congregation.[44]

Given this general background on the development of religion in the territorial period, an examination of specific denominational histories is instructive.

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42. Helen Olive Belknap, *The Church on the Changing Frontier: A Study of the Homesteader and his Church* (New York: Doubleday Doran, 1922).

43. Belknap 56-70, 98-100.

44. Miscellaneous Documents of the House of Representatives 1895.

Religious and Denominational Histories (Territorial Period)

Roman Catholicism

On July 19, 1850, the Roman Catholic church, recognizing the civil reorganization of New Mexico, created the new Vicariate Apostolic of New Mexico; four days later Pope Pius IX appointed Jean Baptiste Lamy (1814-1888) Vicar Apostolic, with the title of Bishop of Agathonica. By papal decree the vicariate, which included the territories of Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico, was raised on July 29, 1853 to the rank of episcopal see. At Lamy's request, the Vicariate of Tucson, Arizona, was created on September 25, 1868, with Jean Baptiste Salpointe as Vicar Apostolic; in addition to the Territory of Arizona, it also included Doña Ana County, which at that time stretched all the way across the southern portion of New Mexico. On July 29, 1875, Santa Fe was made a metropolitan see, with Lamy as archbishop.

Lamy was probably the single most important influence on the Roman Catholic Church in New Mexico in modern times. He was born at Lempdes, France, in 1814. After receiving his religious schooling at Clermont and Mont Ferrand, where he was raised to the priesthood in 1838, he moved to Cincinnati, from whence he conducted missionary work in Kentucky and Ohio. Upon his arrival in New Mexico in 1851, one of Lamy's first duties was an official visit to the Bishop of Durango, because the New Mexican clergy would not recognize his appointment. Upon his return, he, together with his Vicar-General, Joseph-Projectus Machebeuf, initiated broad changes within the structure of the Roman Catholic Church.[45]

Lamy's first task was to strengthen the clergy and promote schooling. In order to accomplish this, he made several trips to the eastern and midwestern United States and to Europe in order to recruit clergy and members of various religious orders. French clergy, mainly recruited from Lamy's seminary in Clermont-Ferrand and financed through the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Lyon, came to dominate the religious landscape of New Mexico: of 174 secular priests who served during the Territorial Period, 115 were French. Many of the others were foreign-born, as well as regulars such as Italian Jesuits and, later, German Franciscans recruited by Lamy.[46]

Several religious orders imported by Lamy provided basic schooling for the territory's predominantly Hispanic children, often in competition with schools organized by newly arrived Protestants. In 1852 the Sisters of Loretto established the Loretto Academy, a boarding school for girls in Santa Fe; this was followed by additional Loretto Academies in

45. Hanks 49, 80-81.
46. Hanks xvii, 109-127.

Albuquerque (1866), Bernalillo (1875), Las Cruces (1870), Las Vegas (1869), Mora (1864), Socorro (1879), and Taos (1863). The Christian Brothers opened St. Michael's College, a similar institution for boys, in Santa Fe in 1859. They also established a boys school, St. Mary's College, in Mora in 1867. In Albuquerque, the Jesuits began Holy Family College, an elementary and grammar school, in 1870; Our Lady of Angels was established there by the Sisters of Charity in 1881. The Sisters of Mercy, recruited by Bishop Salpointe of Tucson, Arizona, for the southern part of New Mexico, arrived from Ireland in 1880 to establish a convent and school in Mesilla; they later established schools in Los Alamos (1881) and Sapello (1883).[47]

For a number of reasons, Lamy seems to have paid less attention to the educational needs of the estimated 9,000 Roman Catholic Pueblos; one historian has noted that although "as late as the end of the century when the church counted a [Roman] Catholic membership of 18,000 Indians, mostly Pueblos, only two day schools and two boarding schools were maintained for the native population."[48] In 1886, Archbishop Salpointe travelled to Washington, DC, to solicit government support for day schools for Indians. He was able to obtain contracts for eight: Acoma, Isleta, Jemez, Laguna, Paguate, San Juan, Santo Domingo, and Taos. In the same year, Catherine Drexel established St. Catherine's School for Indian Girls in Santa Fe; after being administered in turn by the Sisters of Loretto (1886) and Benedictine Fathers (1889), it was given to the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored People, which had been founded by Mother Catherine Drexel in 1891. In 1896, Mother Catherine also purchased land in Arizona near the Navajo Reservation and persuaded the Franciscan Fathers at Cincinnati to establish Saint Michael's Mission in 1898; four years later, Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament were also brought out to teach in the school there. The Sisters of Loretto established a short-lived boarding school for Indian boys in Bernalillo. Day schools were also founded in the Pueblos of Cochiti, San Felipe, Santa Clara, and Zia, but they did not last long.[49]

Lamy, as part of his program to help the citizens of New Mexico, also brought in the Sisters of Charity in 1865 to establish a hospital and orphanage. They used an existing adobe building behind the church until a new, Second Empire Style hospital - St. Vincent Sanatorium - was constructed in 1883. The Sisters of Charity were also invited to establish a tuberculosis

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47. Monsignor Henry Granjon, *Along the Rio Grande: A Pastoral Visit to Southwest New Mexico in 1902* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986) 134fn45. Hanks 184-190. Jean Baptiste Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross* (1898; Albuquerque: Calvin Horn, 1967) 284-285.

48. Marc Simmons, "History of the Pueblos Since 1821," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 9, ed. Alfonso Ortiz (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1979) 213.

49. Hanks 153-156, 193-194. Elizabeth Kelley. *Diocese of Gallup Golden Jubilee,1939-1989* (Albuquerque: Starline Printing, 1989) 8, 26.

sanitarium in Las Vegas, resulting in the opening of Saint Anthony's in 1897. They also established a school in San Miguel in 1866, an "industrial school" for orphan girls in Santa Fe (1880), and three institutions in Albuquerque: Saint Vincent's Academy (1885), Sacred Heart Elementary School (1885), and St. Mary's parochial school (1892). The Sisters of Mercy, from their base in Mesilla, first established a convent in Silver City, and then founded a hospital for the New Mexican poor, which was supported in part by the Territory.[50]

The Society of Jesus (Jesuits) was introduced by Lamy into New Mexico in 1867; at that time, two expatriate Italian priests, Donato Gasparri and Rafael Biachi, were assigned to Bernalillo. In 1868, they were moved by Lamy to Albuquerque, where they established a residence at the rectory on the plaza in Old Town, planted extensive gardens, founded a school, and remodelled the church, San Felipe de Neri. There they brought a press, the *Imprenta de Rio Grande*, in 1872 to publish religious tracts and schoolbooks; it was later moved to Las Vegas, where a religious newspaper, *La Revista Catolica* (Catholic Review) was begun in 1875. The Jesuits eventually turned over their school in Albuquerque to the Sisters of Charity and established a college in Las Vegas in 1877. On January 18, 1878, the Territorial Assembly, despite the governor's veto, passed an act incorporating the Society of Jesuit Fathers of New Mexico; however, this was later annulled by Congress as unconstitutional. The Jesuits moved their school from Las Vegas to form Regis College in Denver in 1888.[51]

Ironically, one of the last orders that came to the area in the Territorial Period was the Franciscan; although now the brothers were German rather than Spanish. They took over the parishes of Jemez and Peña Blanca in 1902, and Clovis in 1903. The Franciscan Sisters came to teach at Peña Blanca in 1904, and established a school in Jemez around 1905. By the time of Statehood, the Franciscans had expanded to the parishes of Gallup, Roswell, and San Juan Pueblo.[52]

Thus Lamy brought to New Mexico many members of the clergy and various religious orders from Europe and from the eastern United States. In striking contrast were his differences with both native-born priests and parishioners and his perception of the lax morality of the local clergy eventually led to the suspension of several priests. Of the eighteen

50. Hanks 187, 194-195. Sytha Motto, "The Sisters of Charity and St. Vincent's Hospital: An Amplification of Sister Mallon's Journal," *New Mexico Historical Review* 52.3 (1977). Salpointe 284-285.

51. Hanks 190-191. Gerald, McKevitt, "Italian Jesuits in New Mexico: A Report by Donato M. Gasparri, 1867-1869," *New Mexico Historical Review* 67.4 (1992): 357-392. Mary Lilliana Owens, *Jesuit Beginnings in New Mexico, 1867-1882* (El Paso: Revista Catolica Press, 1950). E. R. Vollmar, "First Jesuit School in New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 27.4 (1962): 296-299.

52. Hanks 123, 195.

secular clergy (all native born) in New Mexico at the time of his arrival, one died and seven were suspended (two of whom were later reinstated) within the first three years. Perhaps the most well-known suspensions (and possibly excommunications) were those of José Manuel Gallegos of Albuquerque and Antonio José Martinez of Taos. Although Lamy's charges of concubinage and involvement in business and politics were apparently true, it is important to note that these practices had long become accepted as custom by the local parishioners, and therefore disproved, on a local level at least, Lamy and Machebeuf's accusations that they caused scandal. More to the point, perhaps, is the fact that both men were strong political leaders and advocates for the native population, which may explain in part the friction between them and the new, imported ecclesiastical administration.[53]

In addition, Lamy and his successors were insistent upon the suppression or co-option of the Penitente Brotherhood. Although the first condemnations of the group had been issued by Bishop Zubiría of Durango during this visitation of 1833 and restated upon his return in 1845, Lamy and his fellow French priests were particularly appalled by some of the sect's practices. Not only did they actively seek to dissuade Hispanic New Mexicans from these practices, but sometimes threatened excommunication for membership in the confraternity. Lamy's own attitude towards the group changed through time, from initial outright condemnation to an attempt at appropriation through prescribed rules (thought to be first authored in 1853, and revised in 1856 and 1857); later he issued Lenten Pastoral Letters in 1879 and 1885 once again condemning the Penitentes. This approach, pressed further by Lamy's successor, Salpointe, led to threats of denial of sacraments and refusal of Mass to *hermanos*. These tactics, in addition to the prurient interest of Anglo-American immigrants and visitors in the more bloody services of the brotherhood, led to the removal of Penitente *moradas* (meeting houses) and rites to more remote locations.[54]

Nevertheless, clearly the most striking legacy of Jean Baptiste Lamy is expressed in the built environment. Lamy and his fellow French priests disliked the traditional materials (adobe and ledge stone) and styles (Spanish-Pueblo and its derivatives) of the churches of New Mexico. He encouraged the use of ecclesiastical styles modelled on the great cathedrals of Europe: the Romanesque and Gothic, most prominently expressed in two major buildings in Santa Fe, the Cathedral of St. Francis, begun in 1869 (but not completed until 1894), and the Loretto Chapel (1873-1878). These styles were also used for new community churches in other parts of the territory and in the frequent remodeling of traditional buildings. In order to produce the buildings he admired, Lamy imported a number of French and Italian stone masons, who were to have a large impact on the buildings in New Mexico. He also brought in

53. Chavez, *But Time and Chance*. Aragon. Hanks 109-112. Sanchez.

54. Ahlborn. Chavez, "The Penitentes of New Mexico," 97-123. Hanks 200-207. Marta Weigle, *Brothers of Light*.

some of the first professional architects to New Mexico. (Lamy's influence on Roman Catholic Church architecture is discussed in more detail below under "Architectural and Physical Background.")

Lamy resigned in 1885, and died in 1888 during the reign of his successor, Jean Baptiste Salpointe. The latter, in turn, was succeeded by Placid Louis Chapelle (1895-1897), Pierre Bourgade (1899-1908), and Jean Baptiste Pitaval (1909-1918). In general, the archbishops who followed Lamy during the Territorial Period - all of them Frenchmen - followed his direction he had set so forcefully in New Mexico. Ironically, the erection of a statue of Lamy in front of St. Francis Cathedral in Santa Fe in 1915 marks the end of the era initiated by him, for following World War I the dominance of French priests gradually gave way to other groups.[55]

Judaism

As mentioned earlier, the edict for expulsion of Jews and Moors from Spain was issued in 1492, the same year that Christopher Columbus was authorized to undertake his voyage of discovery of the New World. Those Jews that wished to remain were required to convert to Roman Catholicism, and were termed *Marranos* or *conversos*. Despite ostensible conversion, many were still tried by the Spanish Inquisition for allegedly continuing the practice of Judaism, and therefore some sought refuge in the colonies of New Spain. After the establishment of the Inquisition in Mexico City in early 1500s, many *conversos* fled to the more remote provinces of the Empire. There is some conjecture that the unauthorized and ill-fated *entrada* of Castano de Sosa in 1590 consisted in part of an attempt by crypto-Jews to escape the overweening authority of the Inquisition in Nuevo Leon. Despite some evidence of the practice of crypto-Judaism in New Mexico during the Spanish Colonial and Mexican periods, it was only after the influx of German Jewish merchants following the American Occupation that Judaism was openly practiced in the region, and even then it was not until the coming of the railroad in the latter part of the nineteenth century that buildings for worship were constructed.

The first Jews in the eastern United States were Sephardim, who originally came from Spain and Portugal via the Netherlands and Brazil, where they were not persecuted. German Jews, who were called Ashkenazim, began emigrating to the United States starting in the 1820s and continuing throughout the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s. They were motivated in part by the depression in Europe in 1836 and subsequent political repressions, especially that which followed the failed Revolution of 1848. The American Jewish community grew from 15,000

55. Hanks 210.

in 1840 to 50,000 in 1850; ten years later it reached 160,000, and 250,000 by 1880. Many of these immigrants first became established as merchants in the eastern United States and then began moving westward.[56]

In the context of the Enlightenment in Europe, the Ashkenazim were apt to be more assimilated with gentile society. This, in turn, led to a deemphasis on the distinctive aspects of Judaism, such as chanting, the use of Hebrew, and prayer shawls, with more emphasis on forms of religious worship closer to Christian practice, such as the exclusive use of English, sermons, the abolition of segregated seating of women, and a focus on the rabbi as a minister, with the congregation taking less part in the service than it had in the past. Eventually these changes led to a general questioning of the Talmud (the amplification of Jewish law) and resulted in the establishment of Reform Judaism, under the guidance of Isaac M. Wise (1819-1900) who arrived in the United States in 1846. In 1885, a meeting of Reform rabbis in Pittsburgh resulted in the so-called Pittsburgh Platform, which repudiated most of the Mosaic and rabbinic law while still embracing the principles of the Torah and advocating a commitment to moral social redemption. In 1889 the Central Conference of Rabbis was organized; five years later they published the Union Prayer Book, outlining the new synagogue service. Prior to World War I, only congregations practicing Reform Judaism were in New Mexico.[57]

Judaism was introduced to New Mexico by Jewish merchants moving west with the general Anglo-American migration of the mid nineteenth century. In addition to Eugene Leitsendorfer, who opened his store on the Santa Fe Plaza in 1844, one of the first to enter New Mexico was Solomon Jacob Spiegelberg, who came with Kearny's Army of the West, remained with Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan as chief procurer of supplies, and later returned to Santa Fe to be appointed sutler for Fort Marcy. Spiegelberg established a business in Santa Fe in 1848, and Solomon Beuthner arrived in Taos soon thereafter. They were joined by among others Jacob Amberg and Gustav Elsberg; Simon, Bernard, and Adolph Seligman; Jacob Nussbaum; Nathan Jaffa; Louis and Aaron Zeckendorf; and Nathan and Simon Bibo.[58]

One of the distinguishing characteristics of this phenomenon was the propensity for established merchants to encourage family members and relatives to come and set up shop. Spiegelberg eventually attracted his brothers Bernard, Elias, Willi, Emmanuel, Levi, and Lehman, as well as his cousins, the Zeckendorfs. Beuthner summoned his brothers Bernard

56. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972) 574.

57. Albanese 39-59.

58. Henry J. Tobias, *A History of the Jews of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990).

and Adolph, while Elsberg and Amberg invited their brothers as well as their cousins, the Ilfelds. Although Jewish families spread throughout the territory, the largest groups congregated in the more populous towns of Albuquerque, Las Vegas, and Santa Fe. There they established institutions similar to those of other Jewish communities throughout the West: cemetery societies, which offered burial plots; the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Aid Society, which provided health and death benefits, as well as business loans; B'nai B'rith, a fraternal organization; and synagogues, centers of learning and worship.[59]

The first formal Jewish gathering in New Mexico met in 1844 Las Vegas. By the time the railroad arrived in 1879, Las Vegas had a substantial population of Jews, many of whom were involved in the mercantile business in both the original plaza (Old Town) and the commercial area developing around the depot (New Town). In 1884, the Jewish community organized the Congregation Montefiore, whose name commemorated the hundredth birthday of Sir Moses Haim Montefiore (1784-1885), a British philanthropist. That year, a fund for constructing a Temple was begun, with an active appeal initiated in 1886, when a lot was purchased. The contract to build a synagogue designed by architect and engineer S. O. Wood was let to the local builders W. T. Treveaton and Wallace Hesselden, and the building was completed later that year. It was later moved and remodelled in 1925.[60]

Although Albuquerque did not have as early a Jewish population as Las Vegas and Santa Fe, the New Town boasted several prominent families in 1881, soon after the arrival of the railroad. By 1883, there were enough Jews (twelve founders, with 36 charter members) to establish a local lodge (No. 336) of the Jewish fraternal organization, B'nai B'rith. In 1889, the lodge organized the Jewish Cemetery Association, which acquired two acres of land from Fairview Cemetery, and in 1902 was merged with Congregation Albert in 1902. At this time the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Aid Society, a charitable organization, was also founded.[61]

Fifty families constituting Albuquerque's Jewish community gathered together in 1897 to form a congregation, with Henry N. Jaffa (the first mayor of Albuquerque) as president, and make plans for a synagogue. The cornerstone of the building was laid in 1899 with Masonic ceremonies; Dr. William H. Greenberg, the congregation's Rabbi, also spoke. The completed structure was named Temple Albert after one of the original founding family's patriarch, Albert Grunsfeld, a privilege won through auction. The new synagogue was

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59. William Toll, "Judaism as a Civic Religion in the American West," *Religion and Society in the American West*, ed. Carl Guarneri and David Alverez (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1987) 197-220.

60. Betty Harvie, "The First Jewish House of Worship in the Territory of New Mexico," research paper, Bainbridge Bunting Collection, Special Collections, University of New Mexico, 1979.

61. Tobias 106-112.

dedicated on September 15, 1900, and a new rabbi, Pizer Jacobs, was installed. Located at the corner of Seventh and Gold, the building itself was square in plan, with a Moorish Style domed roof, several large rose windows with the Star of David, and a corner entrance with two stairs. This building was remodelled in 1911, sold in 1950, and demolished in 1958.[62]

In Santa Fe, although several Jewish families gathered together for Yom Kippur as early as 1860, and the first formal bar mitzvah occurred in 1876. Temple Beth Shalom was not incorporated until 1946 and its building completed seven years later.

Baptists

The fundamental beliefs of most Baptists is that "(1) the only proper subjects of Christian baptism are those who have been converted and profess personal faith in Christ, and that (2) the only Scriptural baptism is immersion."[63] Beginning in 1523 in Switzerland, the Baptist religion soon spread to Germany, Holland, and England, where its adherents were called Anabaptists, for their emphasis on the rebaptism of adults. The denomination was introduced to America by Roger Williams, who secured the charter for the colony of Rhode Island. Eventually the Baptists evolved into several denominations, the most numerous of whom are the Regular Baptists, who are Calvinistic in doctrine, and the Freewill and General Baptists, who are Arminian (i.e., not believing in total predestination, as the Calvinists do). Baptist churches are congregational in structure, and join in associations or other organizations, such as state conventions, for their general interests, but not ecclesiastical power.

The Baptists first organized a General Missionary Convention in 1814. Initially their missionary work was limited to the foreign field, but in 1817 home missions were begun. However, these were abandoned three years later, in part because of theological arguments about the proper role of mission work. In 1832 the American Baptist Home Mission Society was organized to reinstitute the work. In dissention over issue of slavery, the Southern Baptist Convention split off in 1845, and soon created their own Home Mission Board, which became very active. However, the Civil War and subsequent Reconstruction disrupted mission efforts. In the period from 1882-1892, however, more work was accomplished than in the previous 37 years, including a substantial amount in New Mexico.[64]

62. Gunther Rothenberg, *Congregation Albert: 1897-1972* (Albuquerque: Congregation Albert, 1972) 13-18.

63. Miscellaneous Documents of the House of Representatives 1895, 145.

64. Goodykoontz 200, 358.

The Baptists were the first Protestant group to send a missionary to New Mexico. In 1849, the Reverend Hiram Walker Read was appointed to the New Mexico Mission by the American Baptist Home Mission Society (Northern Division); he was soon joined by other Baptists, such as Lewis Smith, Samuel Gorman, and John Milton Shaw. Smith and Gorman concentrated on missions to the Indians - Gorman even started a school at Laguna Pueblo. Shaw, sponsored by the Baptist Foreign Mission Board, focused his work on the Albuquerque and Socorro region. In 1853 a Baptist Church was formed in Albuquerque, which included among its members Blas Chavez and John Sena, the first Hispanic and Indian converts, respectively. The following year, an adobe church was constructed in Santa Fe; other churches were later built at Socorro (1857) and Laguna (1859).[65]

Although there was a respite in activity during the Civil War, the Baptists returned in force thereafter. Between 1880 and 1900 some 53 missionaries were sent to New Mexico, resulting in churches throughout the Territory. In 1880, a church was formed in Las Vegas under H. Newberry, and another appeared in Raton two years later. An emphasis on work in the Sacramento Mountain area resulted in the formation in 1887 of the Lincoln County Association of six churches. This was followed by a second association, comprised of Albuquerque, Las Vegas, and El Paso. By 1900 the Santa Fe Association was formed, and the Portales Association in 1902. In response to further growth among homesteaders in the eastern part of New Mexico, in 1909 the Pecos Valley Association split off from the Lincoln County Association, and Southeastern and Central associations were formed. Prior to Statehood, the Territorial Convention, which had first met with 27 churches in Las Cruces in 1900, boasted 130 churches with 5,000 members.[66]

Presbyterians

Presbyterianism began as a Separatist movement against the Church of England. The denomination is Calvinistic in doctrine and believes that the bishops and presbyters, or elders, mentioned in the Bible are terms for the same office; i.e., bishops are presbyters in charge of congregations. The structure of the church consists of the session, or court of the congregation, which is composed of the pastor and ruling elders; the presbytery, which includes all ministers and one elder from each church; the synod, with ministerial and lay delegates elected by the presbyteries; and the yearly general assembly, the supreme legislative

65. Betty Danielson, "One Hundred Forty Years of Baptist Associations in New Mexico 1852 to 1992," unpublished manuscript, office of the author, Albuquerque, 1992. Betty Danielson, "What Our Associations Have Done for Us Baptists in New Mexico", unpublished manuscript, office of the author, Albuquerque, 1992.

66. *Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in New Mexico, 1940* (Albuquerque: The New Mexico Historical Records Survey, 1940).

and judicial court composed of ministerial and lay commissioners elected by the presbyteries. Presbyterianism was brought to America in the first half of the seventeenth century by English Puritans and Scotch/Irish immigrants. By 1716 the first Synod had been formed.[67]

The General Assembly of Presbyterians had a Committee of Missions as early as 1802; it was enlarged into a more permanent Board of Missions in 1816. In addition, many Presbyterians cooperated with the Congregationalists and Dutch and Associate Reformed Churches in the formation of the American Home Missionary Society in 1826. However, due to differences in opinion as to the relationship between church and mission, by 1838 the Presbyterians had split into two groups: the conservative "Old School," which believed that the church should have complete control of its missions, and therefore supported the Board of Missions solely; and the liberal "New School," which believed in voluntary mission societies, which supported the American Home Missionary Society.[68]

As a result of differences over the issue of slavery, the Presbyterian church further split into North and South groups. After the experience of the Civil War, the Old and New School Presbyterians, South felt enough in common to reunite in 1864. When the New School Presbyterians withdrew from the American Home Missionary Society in 1861, there was less difference between the two groups in the north, and so they reunited as the Presbyterian Church, North in 1870.[69]

The Presbyterian church sent its first missionary, Reverend W. T. Kephart, to New Mexico in 1849, a few months after the Baptists. Although the Presbyterian efforts were disrupted by the Civil War, work resumed under Reverend David W. McFarland, who arrived in Santa Fe in 1866, sent by the Board of Domestic Missions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, Old School. McFarland formed a school in the building formerly occupied by the Baptists, and soon established the First Presbyterian Church of Santa Fe. He was assisted by a Mrs. Palmer, a Bible reader who was supported by the Ladies' New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado Missionary Association. By 1868 the Presbytery of Santa Fe had been organized under the Synod of Kansas; in 1871 it was shifted to the Synod of Colorado. The Synod of New Mexico, with two presbyteries, Santa Fe and Rio Grande, was formed in 1889.

Jose Ynez Perea (1837-1910) played a significant role in the Presbyterian mission effort, particularly in light of the church's work among the Hispanic communities of New Mexico. Born to a rich ranching family from Peralta, Perea was sent to school in New York City, where he converted to Protestantism. Returning to New Mexico, he became alienated

67. Miscellaneous Documents of the House of Representatives 1895, 631-633.
68. Goodykoontz 173, 238.
69. Goodykoontz 301, 354-355.

from his Roman Catholic family and eventually removed to a ranch in the northeastern part of the territory. When the Presbyterian minister John A. Annin arrived in Las Vegas in 1869, Perea met him and helped to form a congregation; together they built the Greek Revival Style Presbyterian Church and School in Las Vegas (1871-1873). From this point on he labored to proselytize, spending most of his time and money in the cause of the church. Perea later became a full-time lay evangelist, ultimately being ordained as a minister of the church in 1880. Although he was assigned to a number of missions, including brief stints at Zuni and Laguna, Perea spent most of his ministry in Corrales and later Pajarito south of Albuquerque. By the time he retired in 1905, he had become a strong example for both Hispanic converts to Protestantism and the small but growing numbers of Hispanic ministers in the Presbyterian Church.[70]

In addition to establishing schools in Santa Fe, the Presbyterian church became known for its "plaza schools" in northern New Mexico Hispanic communities. These were grammar schools, often taught by a single Anglo-American woman. The Presbyterians also had two high schools - one for boys and one for girls. The Presbyterian College of the Southwest in Del Norte, Colorado, which graduated its first class in theology in 1893, provided a significant number of Hispanic pastors trained to do church work throughout the region.

An exemplary Presbyterian missionary was Alice Alta Blake (1867-1950). She began her work in 1889 in Rociada, teaching there for five years, and later moved to Buena Vista, where she stayed until the mission was closed in 1897. She then took up teaching at El Aguila, from whence she moved, along with most of the villagers, to found the town of Trementina in 1901. There she helped residents establish a community well and school, as well as a hospital. As she became more involved in nursing, she spent her "vacations" attending classes, ultimately attaining a diploma from the Public Health Service. Although the mission at Trementina was closed in 1933, three years after her retirement, and the town was abandoned soon thereafter, Blake remained a fond presence for former residents. Her life's work exemplifies the strong influence that Anglo Protestant women missionaries had on the lives of their Hispanic parishioners, particularly in the fields of education and medicine.[71]

The Presbyterians were also concerned about schooling for Native Americans. In 1881 the Reverend Sheldon Jackson, regional head of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, founded the United States Indian Training School (known as the Albuquerque Indian School)

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70. Mark Banker, "Missionary to His Own People: Jose Ynes Perea and Hispanic Presbyterianism in New Mexico." *Religion and Society in the American West*, ed. Carl Guarneri and David Alvarez, (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1987) 79-104.

71. Cheryl J. Foote, "Alice Blake of Trementina: Mission Teacher of the Southwest," *Journal of Presbyterian History*, 60.3 (1982): 228242.

in Los Duranes; after establishing a new campus east of this site the following year, the Presbyterians successfully ran the school for five years before they turned it over to the United States government in 1886. In the same year on a different site near Albuquerque, they established the Presbyterian Industrial School which floundered due to competition from the government school. After closing in 1891, it was resurrected in 1896 as a boarding school for boys and girls, replacing an institution that was transferred from Las Vegas, where it had faced competition (and opposition) from the Jesuit school; this was called Menaul School after Reverend James A. Menaul, who had served 16 years as a missionary in the region.

Presbyterians also proselytized among the Navajos at Ft. Defiance, Arizona, and Jewett, New Mexico. Dr. John Menaul and his wife, Charity Gaston, were known for their work at Laguna Pueblo west of Albuquerque, where they brought a printing press and produced an English-Laguna reader. In 1871, the Presbyterians established a school at the Pueblo.

Methodists

Methodism had its origins in the work of John and Charles Wesley, who began preaching at Oxford University, England, in 1729; the term, which was originally applied derisively to their "methodical" habits, was later adopted by them. Although the Wesleys were ministers of the Church of England, eventually in 1784 members of their following separated to form their own denomination, the Methodist Episcopal Church, which subscribed to Articles of Religion derived from the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglicans.

The institutions of the new church, which spring from the methods of John Wesley, included a circuit system of preaching; itinerancy of ministers, whereby a pastoral term is limited to a number of years; and conferences, or gatherings of church members. Travelling preachers rode circuits consisting of local units called classes; several circuits, in turn, made up a district, presided over by an elder; and districts were governed by a bishop or superintendent. Local officials were to meet in quarterly conferences four times a year; all itinerant preachers and representatives of churches in annual conferences; and finally representatives of the annual conferences were to gather every four years.[72]

In an era of Protestant growth nationally - one of out seven belonged to a Protestant church in 1850, in contrast to one in fifteen in 1790 - Methodism grew particularly rapidly in the United States during the nineteenth century. By 1850, there were over one million church members. The Missionary and Bible Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America

72. Albanese 99. Miscellaneous Documents of the House of Representatives 1895, 501-502.

was organized in 1819. When the Methodist Church split over the issue of slavery in 1844, the southern branch began the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.[73]

In 1850 Methodism was introduced to New Mexico under the auspices of the Missionary Society by Reverend E. G. Nicholson and Benigno Cardenas, an excommunicated Franciscan who became the first Spanish-American Protestant missionary in the region.[74] After a respite, the effort was resumed under the Colorado Conference in 1868 by Reverend John L. Dyer. Missionary work in New Mexico received renewed emphasis in 1869 with the arrival of Reverend Thomas Harwood, with the following instructions:

> Get your pony shod, then start out northward via Fort Union, Ocate, Elizabethtown, Cimarron, Vermejo and Red River until you meet a Methodist preacher coming this way, then come back on some other road and rest up a little; thence go south via Las Vegas, etc. until you meet another Methodist preacher coming this way; thence home again and rest a little; thence westward and eastward until you meet other Methodist preachers coming this way. All this will be your work.[75]

Harwood and his wife Emily settled at La Junta (later called Watrous) where they built a school. He dedicated the first Methodist church in New Mexico in Elizabethtown in 1870; the next year he organized a church in Peralta, where Benigno Cardenas had been active. In 1872 the work was withdrawn from the Colorado Conference and made a Domestic Mission, although pastors remained members of the former. Two years later the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, designated New Mexico as part of their Denver Conference.[76]

By 1880, there were 13 preachers and 364 members of the Methodist Episcopal Church (North) in New Mexico. In 1884 work in the territory was separated into two groups along language lines, the Spanish Mission and the Anglo-American. In 1892 the former became the New Mexico Spanish Methodist Conference. By 1890, the Methodist Episcopal Church had 32 churches in New Mexico, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South had 25.[77]

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73. Albanese 98-99. Goodykoontz 206,302.

74. Fray Angelico Chavez, "A Nineteenth-Century New Mexico Schism," *New Mexico Historical Review* 58.1 (1983): 35-54.

75. Thomas Harwood, *History of the New Mexico Spanish and English Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, vol. 1 (Albuquerque: El Abogado Press, 1910) 59-60.

76. Joyce Laumbach, *History of Early Religions and Methodism in Northeastern New Mexico* (Roy, New Mexico: privately printed, n.d.) 1-13.

77. Laumbach 10.

Like other Protestant groups, the Methodists placed a heavy emphasis on education, especially under the tutelage of the Harwoods who by 1886 had established six elementary schools and two academies (Socorro and Taos). In 1887 Emily Harwood established a girl's school in Albuquerque, and two years later founded the Albuquerque College. However, the latter institution which closed by 1891 was relatively short lived.[78]

The Methodists also proselytized among Native Americans in the territory. After a period of inactivity on the part of Protestant missionaries, the Methodists returned to the Navajos in 1890 and remained the principal missionaries there until 1897. After Statehood in 1912, however, activity declined. Their most prominent presence was Navajo Methodist Mission, a school originally founded in 1896 in Jewett and later (1912) moved to the opposite side of the San Juan River near Farmington.

In 1816, the African Methodist Episcopal Church was organized by the Rev. Richard Allen (its first bishop) and other African American Methodists in order to gain greater autonomy and freedom of action within the church. This denomination held the same doctrines as and adopted a similar organization to the parent church. Although the number of African Americans in the territory of New Mexico remained small (starting at 23 and 64 in 1850 and 1860 respectively, the number rose to 1,015 by 1880 and almost doubled to 1,956 by 1890), the A.M.E. Church; apparently it had its beginnings in the territory in 1851. among their number were several who belonged to. The Grant African Methodist Episcopal Church opened in Albuquerque's New Town in 1882, under the direction of Reverend Spotwood Rice; a chapel was built in 1892. In addition, there were small congregations in Las Vegas and Santa Fe.

Episcopalians

The beliefs and practices of the Church of England were brought to America by the English subjects who settled the colonies. After the American Revolution, many of the clergy who were loyalists returned to England or went north to Canada. The Protestant Episcopal Church was subsequently organized during the period from 1785-1789, with the doctrine consisting of the Apostles' and Nicene creeds along with a modified version of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England. The church organization features a triennial general convention, which consists of a house of bishops and a house of clerical and lay deputies. On the diocesan scale, there is also a convention comprised of the clergy and representatives of the laity. Dioceses are made up of parishes, which have a rector (the presiding priest), church

78. Laumbach 9. Simmons, *Albuquerque*, 308.

wardens (who administer the church), vestrymen (trustees who can hold property), and the congregation. The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church was established in 1821.[79]

Although the Right Reverend Joseph Cruikshank Talbot, a missionary bishop, held services in Santa Fe as early as 1863, an Episcopal congregation was not established in New Mexico until the 1880s. Military services were conducted by the Revs. John Woart at Fort Union and J. A. W. LaTourette at Fort Garland in the late 1860s. In 1867, the territory was placed under the charge of Bishop George M. Randall of Colorado and Wyoming by the House of Bishops; he visited Santa Fe the following year. Santa Fe was organized as a parish in 1868 and called Church of the Good Shepherd; this name was changed later in the year to St. Thomas' Church after an anonymous donor from a parish by that name in New York City gave $1,000. In 1871 Randall appointed Rev. John Cornell as the first resident minister; he was later elected rector of the Santa Fe parish. Cornell had first tried, albeit unsuccessfully, to establish a congregation in Socorro, with the assistance of Judge Hezekiah S. Johnson. He first gave services in the Good Templar's Hall on the plaza, and later in government offices on Lincoln in Santa Fe.[80]

Bishop Randall died soon thereafter, and Bishop John F. Spalding was appointed to his place in 1873. The missionary jurisdiction of New Mexico and Arizona was created at the General Convention of 1874 by separating New Mexico from Colorado and Arizona from Nevada. Although Rev. William F. Adams of New Orleans was appointed bishop, he fell ill shortly after touring the territory with Rev. Henry Forrester. After a hiatus of several years, in 1878 the jurisdiction was transferred back to Bishop Spalding, who visited Las Vegas the following year and dedicated the St. John's chapel, moved Rev. Forrester there. Forrester had served in Santa Fe, which had become a mission in 1876.[81]

At the General Convention of 1880, Rev. George Kelly Dunlop (1830-1888) of Kirkwood, Missouri, was elected to the vacant episcopate. He occupied his jurisdiction the following year, and, during his short tenure of seven years, proceeded to build up the presence of the church throughout the territory, expanding from a chapel in Las Vegas, a mission house in Mesilla, and a lot in Santa Fe to solid stone churches in Albuquerque, Las Vegas, and Santa Fe, a rectory in Silver City, and building lots in several towns including Cerrillos, Raton, and Springer.[82]

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79. Miscellaneous Documents of the House of Representatives 1895, 708-709.

80. George B. Anderson, *History of New Mexico: Its Resources and People*, vol. 1 (Los Angeles: Pacific States Publishing Company, 1907) 486-487.

81. Anderson, vol. 1, 487-488.

82. Anderson, vol. 1, 488-490.

The first of the large stone Episcopalian churches was constructed in Albuquerque in 1882. Judge Johnson, who had been ordained to the restricted deaconate in 1875, had previously conducted lay services in the dining room of the Exchange Hotel in Old Town, where a separate room was furnished as a chapel in 1880. Two years later St. John's Episcopal Church was constructed in New Town, with Rev. Forrester as minister.[83]

St. Thomas Church in Santa Fe had raised enough money by 1879 to purchase a lot on Palace Avenue. In 1880, L. Bradford Prince was instrumental in changing the name of the church to Holy Faith, the English translation of Santa Fe. A new church, built in the Gothic Revival Style by the English mason Levi Ackroyd, was begun in 1881 and completed the following year. A Queen Anne Style rectory was constructed nearby in 1893. However, it was not until 1911 that Holy Faith once more became a parish with a vestry of its own.[84]

Although the first Anglican chapel in New Mexico, a Territorial Style adobe building called St. Paul's Episcopal Church, had been constructed in Las Vegas in 1879, a new cathedral for the missionary district was needed by the mid 1880s. The new St. Paul's, constructed of reddish-brown sandstone in the Gothic Revival Style, was begun near the old chapel (which became the Guild Hall) in 1886 and completed by 1888.[85]

Upon Bishop Dunlop's death in 1889, the House of Bishops appointed the Rt. Rev. John Mills Kendrick to succeed him. He first lived in Las Vegas and then moved in 1891 to Albuquerque. During his residency Arizona was made a separate missionary district, and several counties in western Texas were added to New Mexico to form the Missionary District of New Mexico and Western Texas. Because of this shift in jurisdiction, St. Clement's in El Paso became the diocesan seat. In 1920, during the lengthy residency (1914-1940) of Kendrick's successor, Rt. Rev. Frederick Bingham Howden, St. John's in Albuquerque was voted the cathedral of the district.

Other Episcopalian churches were constructed in the territory during the last decade of nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. Grace Episcopal Church, a cruciform stone structure, was built in the new town of Eddy in 1890 on lots donated by Charles B. Eddy. St. Andrew's was built in Roswell in 1891 by "the well known stone mason and contractor" A. A. LaBrie, who had come from Carlsbad. A folk Gothic Revival brick-on-

83. Simmons, *Albuquerque*, 304-305.

84. Beatrice Chauvenet, *Holy Faith in Santa Fe: The Story of a Pioneer Parish* (Santa Fe: Episcopal Church of the Holy Faith, 1977).

85. Christopher Wilson, *Architecture and Preservation in Las Vegas*, vol 2 (Las Vegas, New Mexico: Citizens' Committee for Historic Preservation, 1982) 67.

stone-foundations church, the Good Shepherd, was built by brick mason William Grabe in 1892 in Silver City. St. John's Episcopalian Church, constructed in Farmington in 1908, was also in the Gothic Revival Style. Several of these churches were later modified by the architect John Gaw Meem. (See below under "Statehood Period.")

Congregationalists

Congregationalism developed as a Separatist movement in England that emphasized the complete autonomy of each congregation. The denomination was introduced to America in 1620 with the arrival of the Mayflower at Plymouth Rock. In general, the Congregationalists held the same doctrines as the Presbyterians, and a Plan of Union was adopted in 1801 whereby Congregationalists travelling west of New England would join Presbyterian churches. However, this was not abrogated until 1852. In keeping with their belief in autonomous congregations, each Congregationalist church manages its own affairs; however, representatives of the various churches do gather periodically in local and state associations called conferences.[86]

The Congregationalists originally worked under the auspices of the American Home Missionary Society, which had been organized jointly with the Presbyterians and the Dutch and Associate Reformed Churches in 1826. After the split of the Presbyterians into Old and New Schools (see above), the Congregationalists continued to work with the New School Presbyterians in the Society. At the beginning of the Civil War, the New School withdrew from the Society; the name, however, was not changed to Congregational Home Missionary Society until 1893.[87]

The Congregationalists were relatively late among the Protestant groups in New Mexico. Two types of missions were organized, preaching circuits and schools, which often overlapped. Congregationalists first proselytized under the superintendency of the New Mexico and Arizona department of the American Home Missionary Society; this was later organized into the General Association of New Mexico and Arizona in 1884.

One of the first Congregational churches in New Mexico was established in Albuquerque by Reverend Jacob Mills Ashley. As early as 1879, Ashley had preached in various quarters in Old Town, but facing enmity from the local Jesuit priests, he accepted a lot donated by Franz Huning in the newly platted Highlands subdivision and constructed the First Congregational Church of Albuquerque there in 1881. The Congregationalists' missionary

86. Miscellaneous Documents of the House of Representatives 1895, 335.
87. Goodykoontz 173, 238, 301.

activities among the rural Hispanic population in the territory centered on communities in the Mt. Taylor area (Cabezon, Cubero, San Mateo, and San Rafael), where they established schools as early as 1884; churches were also established near Española (St. John's) and the Canadian River.[88]

The Congregationalists targeted New Mexicans, particularly of Hispanics and Indians, for schooling through the New West Education Commission, established in Chicago in 1880 to foster educational work in the Southwest. They founded academies in Santa Fe (1878), Albuquerque (Old Town, 1879; New Town, 1881), and Las Vegas (1880). In 1908, the Rio Grande Industrial School was established as a Hispanic boarding school. Its beginning enrollment of 20 pupils had doubled by 1914 and the school lasted until 1932. The New West Education Commission merged with the Congregational Education Society in 1894.[89]

Congregationalists, along with other Protestant groups, were particularly active in the fight for prohibition. An Albuquerque chapter of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), which had been founded nationally in 1874, was organized in 1885 by Frances E. Willard, the national president. The first territorial president was Mrs. Evelyn B. Snyder, a Congregationalist who during her three-year tenure helped build the Union's membership from 15 to 75, forming chapters in Cerrillos, Las Vegas, and Santa Fe. She was succeeded by Reverend Mary J. Borden, a Congregationalist minister, who served for the next thirty years.

Lutherans

The Lutheran Church evolved out of the reforms proposed by Martin Luther in Germany in the 16th century. Although Lutherans came to the Dutch Colony at Manhattan as early as the 1620s, the church in America was organized the Rev. Henry M. Muhlenburg when he formed the first Synod, or Ministerium, of Pennsylvania in 1748. While the sovereignty of each congregation is recognized, some executive and judicial authority is conferred upon the synods. Congregations in the territory of New Mexico were affiliated with the General Synod, the largest Lutheran groups in the United States.[90]

88. Margaret Connell Szasz, "Albuquerque Congregationalists and Southwestern Social Reform: 1900-1917," *New Mexico Historical Review* 55.3 (1980): 245-247. Walker, *Protestantism in the Sangre de Cristos, 1850-1920*, 44-47, 67-68.

89. Goodykoontz 401-402. Szasz 243-248.

90. Miscellaneous Documents of the House of Representatives, 1895, 435.

During the nineteenth century, the majority of members of the Lutheran Church in America were German immigrants or their descendants. St. Paul's Church was established in Albuquerque's New Town by German immigrants in 1891. After the turn of the century, Reverend Paul Kretzschmar of the Evangelical Lutheran Church came to Albuquerque as a healthseeker and eventually settled in Optimo, a farming community in Mora County. Soon thereafter a church was built in Albuquerque, and other congregations formed and built churches in the major cities and towns in New Mexico (Carlsbad, Clovis, Las Vegas, Raton, Roswell and Santa Fe).[91]

Mormons (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints)

The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints was founded in 1830 by Joseph Smith (1805-1844), who claimed to have had a vision in which Moroni, a heavenly messenger, revealed the existence of a record engraved on golden plates. These Smith later retrieved and translated as the Book of Mormon (so-named because it was authored and compiled by the prophet Mormon, the father of Moroni). After suffering persecution in their settlements in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, culminating in the martyrdom of Joseph Smith in 1844, the Mormons followed Brigham Young (1801-1877), one of the Church's Twelve Apostles, on an exodus to the valley of the Great Salt Lake, where they established the Provisional State of Deseret. From this base, which was recognized as the considerably smaller Territory of Utah in 1850, the Mormons expanded into the surrounding regions of present-day Idaho, Wyoming, Nevada, and Arizona.[92]

As a result of a number of factors, including a rapidly growing population and increasing federal prosecution of their practice of polygamy in Utah, Mormons began to establish colonies in western New Mexico during the later part of the nineteenth century. Generally, members of the church ("Saints," in opposition to the unconverted, who were designated "Gentiles") were "called" by the church to establish a mission or colony ("branch") in a new territory. Once this settlement reached a certain number of Mormon families, it was designated a "ward" of a larger ecclesiastical unit called a "stake." A "bishop" was appointed by the church as the head of a ward, while a "president" presided over a stake. The higher ecclesiastical administration consisted of the president ("Prophet, Seer, and Revelator") and the "Quorum (or Council) of Twelve Apostles".

91. *Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in New Mexico*. Simmons, *Albuquerque*, 305.
92. Miscellaneous Documents of the House of Representatives 1895, 421.

The first Mormon settlement in New Mexico was established at Savoya, east of Zuni, in 1874. After abandonment, in 1879 a group settled nearby Navajo, which was renamed Ramah. Along with St. John's in Arizona and Bluff in Utah, Ramah served as one of the sources for other Mormon settlements in the region. Mormon settlers first came to the San Juan Valley in 1878. In 1883, the settlement was organized as a ward of the San Juan Stake and named Burnham after its first bishop; the name was later changed to Fruitland. The community of Kirtland, a few miles to the east, was established in 1899 through expansion upriver from the original settlement. In 1883-1884, several families bought land in the La Plata area, and eventually in 1889 a settlement called Jackson was established. One more Mormon settlement was attempted at Hammond, located on the southeast side of the San Juan River near Blanco, after the failure of Jackson around 1898. In 1894 the community of Bluewater was established near Grants, with the official settlement, called Mormontown, platted in 1896. To the southwest, Mormons first settled in Williams Valley (1881-1882) and Pleasonton (1880s). In 1883, Luna was settled on land claimed by the Luna family. The Mormon community of Carson, located in north central region, was later founded by W. K. Shupe in 1909.[93]

Mormons had originally settled in several colonies in northern Mexico during the 1880s in response to persecution under the US anti-bigamy laws. With the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution, they were forced to leave their homes and possessions and flee to the United States in 1912 and 1914. As a result, the number of Mormons in New Mexico rose from five congregations of 684 members in 1906 to seven with 1,484 members in 1916 (this number had fallen back to five with only 367 members by 1926). While the majority of the refugees were sheltered in El Paso, others sought refuge in towns in southwestern New Mexico, including Las Cruces, Deming, and Columbus. One of their settlements was at Edmund Richardson's Corner Ranch in the boot heel.[94]

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93. Carolyn Bennett, "Kirtland, New Mexico - A Mormon Community of the 19th Century," manuscript, Bainbridge Bunting Collective, John Gaw Meem Archive of Southwestern Architecture, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, n.d. H. Mannie Foster, "History of Mormon Settlements in Mexico and New Mexico," M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1937. John Franklin Palmer, "Mormon Settlements in the San Juan Basin of Colorado and New Mexico," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1967. Irving Telling, "Ramah, New Mexico, 1876-1900: An Historical Episode with Some Value Analysis," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 21 (1953): 117-136. Gary Tietjen, *Encounter with the Frontier* (Los Alamos: privately printed, 1969). Gary Tietjen, *Mormon Pioneers in New Mexico* (Los Alamos: privately printed, 1980). The Luna Ward, *Do You Remember Luna: 100 Years of Pioneer History 1883-1983* (Albuquerque: Adobe Press, 1983).

94. Eva Jane Robeson, "The Mormon Exodus from Mexico in 1912 and the Subsequent Settlement in Southern New Mexico," M.A. thesis, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, 1960, 35.

The principal focus of settlement, however, was the community of Virden (originally called Richmond), located on the Gila River near the Arizona border. In 1901, a group of land speculators had formed the Gila Ranch Company, with Ernest Virden as president. After constructing a dam on the Gila, the group dug the Sunset Canal to irrigate land on the south and southwest mesas. In 1914, a group of Mormon exiles, who had located in the Rio Grande Valley, looked over the land and offered to buy it from Virden. The subsequent growth of the Mormon community in the area led to the creation of the Virden Branch of the Franklin Ward by John F. Nash, president of the St. Joseph Stake, in 1915; a year later the Virden Ward was established with Willard E. Jones as Bishop. By 1927, a ward chapel, starting with a recreation hall, was completed. The town, which had been named Virden after the president of the company, was incorporated in 1930.[95]

United Brethren In Christ

The United Brethren In Christ was organized in Maryland in 1800 under the leadership of Philip William Otterbein (1726-1813) and Martin Boehm (1725-1812), who were chosen as its first bishops or superintendents. The articles of the church are derived from those of the Methodist Church, which in turn are based on the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England. The church is composed of a general conference which elects the church officers every four years and has final authority in all church matters.[96]

The United Brethren, under the direction of their Home Mission Board, established missions in New Mexico relatively late. In 1906, a Congregationalist minister named Wannamaker came to New Mexico for his health and established on the eastern plains the town of Amistad, which he envisioned as a community of like-minded religious homesteaders. Two years later Reverend Clarence Schletterbeck, United Brethren Mission Superintendent for the Southwest, came to organize the church in Amistad, and from this base, which also served Clapham and Sedan, he established another mission circuit out of Wagon Mound that served surrounding communities such as Las Vegas and Onava. He later explored the region of New Mexico beyond the Sangre de Cristos, settling on the Española Valley as a favorable area for proselytizing.

In 1912, the McCurdy School was inaugurated in Santa Cruz by Mellie Perkins, who had been the Conference Deaconess of the North Texas Conference. In addition to running the school, she also preached. In 1916, T. Z. Salazar, a Hispanic pastor, was appointed to the

95. Robeson 46-54, 64-68. Tietjen, *Mormon Pioneers*, 88-89.
96. Census of Religious Bodies 1936, III, 1632-1633.

Santa Cruz area. Under the guidance of Perkins and Salazar, schools and congregations were also established in Alcalde and Velarde. The United Brethren presence, which began as part of the North Texas Conference in 1908, became the New Mexico Mission Conference in 1914.

Protestant Missions to the Navajo Indians

Although early attempts were made by Protestants to proselytize among the Pueblos, most notably in the work of the Presbyterians John and Charity Gaston Menaul at Laguna (see above), the Navajos, one of the largest Native American tribes in the Southwest, became a central focus of missionary efforts. As part of a systematic effort to solve "the Indian Problem," during the late nineteenth century a number of reservations were established to "settle" - and therefore theoretically "civilize" - Native American tribes. A protracted war against the Navajos during the 1860s had resulted in their confinement at Bosque Redondo Reservation at Fort Sumner. Roman Catholics established a mission there in 1865. In 1868, a peace treaty was signed by several Navajo headmen and the U.S. government, establishing a reservation that straddled the Arizona-New Mexico border and included a portion of the former Navajo traditional use area.

As part of the treaty, the U.S. government agreed to provide a schoolhouse and teacher for every 30 Navajo children of school age; however, fulfillment of this provision was long in coming. After an initial attempt at supporting a missionary school (1869) and later boarding school (1882) at Ft. Defiance, Arizona, the federal government tried to meet its responsibility for providing education to the Navajos by establishing a series of large, off-reservation, boarding schools. However, it soon began contracting again with various missionary groups for schools on the reservation: the resulting institutions were called "contract" schools. The first mission school in the region was established in Jewett in 1896; it later became Navajo Methodist Mission School.[97]

Missionaries continued to operate on the reservation, furthering their work through schools and hospitals. Early attempts were made in the region by the Women's National Indian Association near Two Grey Hills in 1890 and the Ladies' Home Missionary Society of New York in the San Juan Valley in 1891. The Baptists assumed responsibility for the work at Two Grey Hills from 1901 to 1906, when they turned it over to the Christian Reformed Church.[98]

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97. Garrick Bailey and Roberta Glenn Bailey, *A History of the Navajos* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1986) 63-66, 168.

98. Bailey and Bailey 171. Michael James Warner, "Protestant Missionary Activity Among the Navajo, 1890-1912," *New Mexico Historical Review* 45.3 (1970): 215-216.

Around 1911, the Massachusetts Indian Rights Association was operating a small medical mission to the Navajos in Blanco Canyon. The Episcopalian Church established the San Juan Mission as a hospital near Farmington in 1917. Despite all these missionary efforts, few Navajos converted to Christianity, although one noted covert, J. C. Morgan (who later served as tribal chairman from 1938-1942) established a Christian Reformed Church in Farmington during the 1920s along with Reverend L. P. Brink.[99]

Christian Reformed

The Christian Reformed Church developed from colonists who arrived in Michigan from Holland in 1846-1847. Although they began as members of the Dutch Reformed Church (1849), some later separated to form the Holland Reformed Church (1859). Several name changes followed, including True Dutch Reformed (1861), Holland Christian Reformed Church in America (1880), Christian Reformed Church in America (1890), and eventually the Christian Reformed Church (1904). In general the church follows the doctrine of the Reformed Churches, and congregations are organized into a classis, or jurisdictional group composed of pastors and elders; delegates from the classis meet annually in synods. The Christian Reformed Board of Missions has placed a particular emphasis on work among the American Indians.[100]

As noted earlier, the Christian Reformed church took over Methodist land on the Navajo Reservation in 1891, first establishing a mission at Ft. Defiance, Arizona. In 1897, Andrew Vander Wagen, who had worked at Ft. Defiance, moved to Zuni, where he was joined by his co-worker Rev. Henry Fryling in 1906. There they established a school, and translated portions of the Bible and other religious material into the Zuni language. James E. DeGroot established a mission at Tohatchi in 1898. In 1903 the church moved from Ft. Defiance to Rehoboth outside of Gallup, where Father L. P. Brink and Nellie Noordhof established a boarding school, which was administered by the Christian Reformed Board of Missions with headquarters at Grand Rapids, Michigan. Seven years later a hospital was established there. A mission was established in Two Grey Hills in 1910; this was later moved to Toadalena in 1914. Later churches were built at Gallup (1917) and Farmington (1925)[101]

99. Bailey and Bailey 172.
100. Census of Religious Bodies 1936, III, 1515-1517
101. *Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in New Mexico.*

Reformed Church in America

The Reformed Church in America evolved from settlers who came to the New York area through the Dutch West India Company. After the English conquest of the colony in 1664, the colonists were allowed to continue their church, with its allegiance to their homeland. However, after the American Revolutionary War, the church became wholly independent through its constitution of 1784-1792. In 1867 the name was changed from the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church to the Reformed Church in America.

Like the Navajo Reservation in 1868, the Mescalero (1873) and Jicarilla (1885) reservations were created to confine essentially nomadic Native American tribes to a defined area in order to assure that they did not pose a threat to Anglo-American and Hispanic settlers. In 1907, the Reformed Church in America sent Dr. Walter C. Roe, superintendent in charge of their Indian missionary work, to find a suitable location for a tuberculosis sanatorium; he ultimately chose the Mescalero Indian Reservation. When the Chiricahua Apaches were transferred there from their confinement at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, where the church had also been working, many Chiricahuas were encouraged to find the church in their new location. In 1914, work was begun among the Jicarilla, centered in Dulce in northern New Mexico.[102]

Statehood Period (1912-1945)

New Mexico statehood, achieved in 1912 after one of the longest periods of territorial status in the history of the United States, ushered in a number of significant changes as well as a new era of political self-determination. In the sphere of religion, the already-established Protestant denominations realized the futility of competing and sought comity agreements over "territories" within the state. At the same time, new, evangelistic groups gained ground, particularly in the eastern and southern parts of New Mexico recently settled by Anglo-Texans.

On January 6, 1912, President William Howard Taft signed the bill admitting New Mexico as the 47th state of the Union, signifying the culmination of a long struggle by the people of New Mexico to gain statehood. Attempts to join the Union had been made as early as 1850, and continued in 1867, throughout the 1870s, and in 1889. A concerted effort was initiated in 1900, with the election of "Statehood Rodey" as delegate to Congress. However, the House omnibus bill favoring statehood for Oklahoma, Arizona, and New Mexico was held up by the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories, Albert J. Beveridge, who believed that the Spanish-Speaking population of the southwestern territories were at best second-class citizens and unworthy of statehood. Ironically, the issue was confused by

102. *Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in New Mexico.*

national concern with the Spanish American War of 1898, in which many Hispanic New Mexicans had served with distinction. Faced with an imperialist policy of gaining economic colonies, some persons in the United States justified their opposition to statehood with arguments about "inferior" races, arguments in turn applied to New Mexico and Arizona. In 1906, a "Jointure Bill" was passed by Congress, admitting, if approved by referendum, New Mexico and Arizona as a single state. While the referendum passed in New Mexico, it failed in Arizona. Finally, in 1910 the bill for separate admission passed Congress, and New Mexico held a Constitutional Convention, which drafted a State constitution that was ratified by the voters in January of 1911.

The overall population of the state more than doubled in the first half of the twentieth century, growing from about 200,000 in 1900 to over 500,000 by 1940. A significant feature of this growth was the gain in the ratio of urban to rural population, which increased with the growth of cities and towns: the urban population, as a percentage of the overall population, rose steadily from 15 percent just prior to Statehood to almost 35 percent in 1940. By the turn of the century, Albuquerque had become the most populous city in New Mexico, followed by Las Vegas and Santa Fe. In the years to follow, while Albuquerque maintained its lead - at double the population of Santa Fe, the next most populous - Las Vegas gradually slipped in place, yielding to newer towns such as Las Cruces and Roswell.

Denominational Changes

Around the time of Statehood, several of the Protestant denominations began to meet together to discuss a united approach to mission work among the Spanish-speaking population of the Southwest. The "Permanent Interdenominational Council on Spanish-speaking Work in the Southwest" was established in 1913 and met annually for several years. Several plans, such as the publication of a Spanish language newspaper and the establishment of a theological educational facility in Albuquerque, were discussed but apparently not implemented. Nevertheless, the most significant results of the council's efforts were the comity agreements negotiated among the Methodists, Presbyterians, and United Brethren. These established general geographical areas of proselytizing in order to avoid duplication of effort by basically similar religious groups. The result of these agreements was the consolidation of the presence of the Presbyterians in the Sangre de Cristos, the United Brethren in the Española Valley, and the Methodists in the lower Rio Grande region.

Other denominations also either established new jurisdictions or merged. Roman Catholics in southern New Mexico, (that is, from Grant County south) who had originally been ministered to from Tucson, Arizona, were brought under the Diocese of El Paso in 1914. Franciscan friars from Cincinnati had already established a foothold in the western part of New

Mexico from their base at St. Michael's Mission, Arizona, that had been founded in 1898. In 1909, the Franciscan Province of Saint John the Baptist took charge of the Gallup parish. By 1921, four missions had been established on the Navajo Reservation: at Chinle, Fort Defiance, and Lukachukai, all in eastern Arizona, and at Tohatchi in New Mexico. The Franciscans also eventually took over parishes in the area such as San Rafael. After a visitation by Cardinal Pacelli (later to become Pope Pius XII) in 1936, it was determined that a separate diocese be established in northwestern New Mexico and northern Arizona. This was accomplished by the formation of the Gallup Diocese in 1939, with a Franciscan, Father Bernard T. Espelage, appointed Bishop in the following year.[103]

Around the time of World War I, Orthodox Jews in Albuquerque, many of whom were originally from eastern Europe, began to meet for prayer in homes, rented halls, and temporary locations; in 1919, for instance, Yom Kippur was observed in the Knights of Pythias Hall. The congregation of B'nai Israel was founded in 1921, consisting of 17 members and Isodor M. Freed serving as teacher and *shochet* (ritual slaughterer). By 1934, the group had achieved enough stability to rent quarters on Central Avenue and establish a Ladies Auxiliary. Three years later, they purchased land on the corner of Cedar and Coal for a synagogue, which was constructed in 1941. At this time the congregation of about 40 defined itself as Conservative rather than Orthodox.[104]

African Americans have maintained a distinctive religious presence in New Mexico as early as the establishment of an African Methodist Episcopal congregation in Albuquerque in 1882, if not earlier (see above). The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, like the African Methodist Episcopal Church, had its origins in the nineteenth century as movement within the main body of the Methodist Episcopal Church enabling African Americans to have a greater role in their religious worship. By 1906, congregations had been established in three of the major urban centers in New Mexico.

African American Baptists also grew in numbers during the twentieth century. One of their efforts was the foundation of Blackdom, a Baptist "negro colony," on land that was near Roswell in the Pecos Valley. Papers were filed in 1903 incorporating the community that was to be run by a thirteen-member board of directors. The actual town was not properly established until 1908 and the townsite plat was filed in May 28, 1920. In addition to owning lots in town, the inhabitants of Blackdom homesteaded quarter sections on about 15,000 acres of land. A school was constructed which doubled as a church until a Baptist Church was built. Unfortunately, the land proved to be too remote from irrigation, and although the residents did grow some dryland crops (such as grain sorghum) and constructed windmills, the community

103. Elizabeth Kelley 8-9.
104. Tobias 144-145.

eventually disbanded in the 1920s. Many of the original settlers and their descendants moved to Vado, on the Rio Grande south of Las Cruces, where they also established a church and school.

In 1911, the Mount Olive Baptist State Association was formed as an affiliate of the National Baptist Convention. By 1940 it had 10 churches with five mission stations. In addition to the Baptists, other Black fundamentalist groups organized churches in the state, such as the Church of God in Christ (Mt. Zion, in Carlsbad, was the first in the state) and the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. All of the African American churches were located at or near the major cities and towns in New Mexico - Alamogordo, Albuquerque, Carlsbad, Clovis, Gallup, Hobbs, Raton, Roswell, and Tucumcari.[105]

Another group that congregated principally in urban areas is the Church of Christ, Scientist. Christian Science was developed by Mary Baker Eddy, who in turn was influenced by the faith healer Phineas Quimby. As outlined in her publication *Science and Health* (first published in 1875), Eddy advocated an idealist religion in which man was created as God's spiritual image and is therefore good. Sickness, sin, sorrow, and death arise from illusion, which can be dispelled through practice of Christian Science. Although there is a "Mother Church" in Boston, local churches function denominationally with their own leaders and "readers." The latter read from the Bible and from *Science and Health* as part of the worship service; in addition, healing is performed through practitioners. As a result, both Christian Science churches and "reading rooms" spread throughout the nation and began to appear in New Mexico by the time of the 1926 census.[106]

Social Activism

The early twentieth century also witnessed the advent of several religious organizations that offered support to people affected by the growing urbanization of New Mexico. The Salvation Army began in 1865 with the work of the Methodist minister William Booth in London's slums. The Salvation Army (the name was not coined until 1878) is organized along military lines: the basic unit is a "corps" in which "recruits" are "sworn in" as "soldiers" with a statement of faith called the "Articles of War," and are superintended by "captains" over whom there is the "general." The group's ultimate mission, the spiritual regeneration of mankind, is achieved through social work such as providing food for the hungry, housing for

105. *Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in New Mexico.*
106. Vergilius Ferm, *An Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1945) 160-161.

the homeless, and work for the unemployed. Local organization of the Salvation Army began in New Mexico as early as 1890; Albuquerque and Roswell were the first posts, and others were formed later in Clovis, Hobbs, Las Cruces, and Raton.[107]

The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) was organized in England in 1844; the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) followed in 1855. The next year, the first YMCA was established in New York. The mission of these organizations was to serve young, single people who had become displaced by moving to the city for work. Through its four-fold program - educational, physical, religious, and social, the "Y" provided an important religious alternative to the lures of the city. A branch of the YMCA was incorporated on January 11, 1915 in Albuquerque; both the YWCA and the Children's Weekly Day Bible Association were affiliated with it.[108]

The early work of Protestant groups, particularly the Congregationalists, in the realm of social reform (the "Social Gospel") focused on the issue of prohibition after the turn of the century. The formation of local chapters of the WCTU under Congregationalist leadership was abetted by the establishment in 1905 of the Southwest Anti-Saloon League, encompassing both Arizona and New Mexico. Reverend James I. Seder, a Methodist minister, became superintendent when New Mexico established its own League in 1909. Several pockets of prohibitionist fervor soon developed, including Southern Baptist strongholds in the Pecos Valley and in the San Juan Valley. Mountainair, settled by Midwestern homesteaders in the late nineteenth century, became the "cradle of Prohibition," largely through the leadership of Reverend R. E. Farley, a Methodist missionary who became the superintendent of the Mountainair Chatauqua, a religious camp and summer school. In 1915 the New Mexico Submission Federation was founded at the Mountainair Chatauqua for the purpose of submitting constitutional statewide prohibition to vote. State prohibition was passed two years later, preempting national ratification of the eighteenth amendment to the United States Constitution, through a coalition of several forces including Governor Washington E. Lindsey from Portales, Bronson Cutting (owner of the *Santa Fe New Mexican* and later United States Senator), and, of course, several religious groups, notable among them the Roman Catholic Church.[109]

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107. Census of Religious Bodies 1936, III, 1562-1565. *Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in New Mexico.*

108. Ahlstrom 742-743. *Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in New Mexico.*

109. Margaret Connell Szasz 240-243.

Christian Fundamentalism

A final phenomenon, originating in the nineteenth century but manifesting itself in New Mexico in the twentieth, is the rise of Christian fundamentalism. Although the term itself is imprecisely applied to a wide variety of religious groups with varying beliefs, there are several broad currents encompassed by it including the overall movement toward Christian revivalism, dispensational premillenialism, and pentecostalism.

In part, fundamentalism is derived from a renewed perception during the height of the supremacy of the mainstream Protestant churches - especially the Methodists - in the nineteenth century that the Christian world was falling into apostasy and heresy to such an extent that it signalled the arrival of the Last Days predicted by the Bible. This, in turn, led some to study the Bible in light of dispensational premillenialism, or the overall pattern of dispensations granted by God through the ages, leading to the Final Judgement. One of the originators of "Advent movement" (the personal and premillenial second advent of Christ) was William Miller (1782-1849), who calculated, on the basis of the literal interpretation of some passages of the Bible, that the second advent would occur between 1843-1844. Among his followers were James Bates, James White, and his wife, Ellen G. White who, based on scriptural precedent, in 1844 began observing the seventh day (Saturday, rather than the first, Sunday). This led to the formation at a conference in 1860 of the "Seventh Day Adventist Denomination," which believed in "scripture as law, baptism only by immersion, expulsion for the use of tobacco or intoxicants, and an unrevealed, but immanent date of the Advent."[110]

The term fundamentalism itself is derived from a series of twelve booklets, called *The Fundamentals: A Testimony of the Truth*, which were published from 1910-1912 by the laymen Lyman and Milton Stewart of Los Angeles. These essays, which were written by prominent conservative Protestant theologians and widely distributed throughout the United States, contributed to the spread of dispensational premillenialist beliefs. Among the doctrines listed as "fundamental" were "the Virgin birth of Christ; the physical resurrection; the inerrancy of the Scripture in every detail; the substitutionary theory of atonement; and finally the imminent, physical coming of Christ."[111]

Meanwhile, a movement called the "Holiness Revival" had swept the Methodist Church during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Eventually forming into separate churches, the advocates of this movement favored an evangelistic approach to preaching and conversion, as evidenced in some cases by phenomena described in the "Acts of the Apostles" of the New Testament, such as the "speaking in tongues" witnessed during Pentecost. The more moderate

110. Ahlstrom 808-809. Census of Religious Bodies 1936, II, 27-31. Ferm 6.
111. Ahlstrom 815-816. Ferm 291.

tendency within this movement, termed "Holiness," is exemplified by the Church of the Nazarene, which was organized in 1908 at Pilot Point Texas, from several distinct groups, such as the Association of Pentecostal Churches from the northeast, the Church of the Nazarene from Southern California, and the Holiness Church of Christ from the rural south. Pentecostalism, the more radical form of the movement, began to receive nationwide attention at the turn of the century through several episodes of speaking in tongues and faith healing at Bethel Bible College, which had been founded by the Holiness evangelist Charles F. Parham in Topeka, Kansas. Eventually delegates from a wide variety of Pentecostal groups met in 1914 at Hot Springs, Arkansas, to form the Assemblies of God. Finally, the Churches of Christ, another "fundamentalist" group, requested that they be counted separately in the federal religious census of 1906, thus marking a final break from the Disciples of Christ, which had been formed a century earlier by Thomas and Alexander Campbell as the only true New Testament Church.[112]

The growth of fundamentalist denominations in New Mexico, particularly in the eastern and southern portions of the state, is evident from an examination of the religious censuses of 1906, 1916, 1926, and 1936, Appendices 1, 2, Section E.[113] The (Pentecostal) Church of the Nazarene, which is not listed in the 1906 census, grew from three congregations with 69 members in 1916 to 23 with 450 in 1926, and 26 with 832 by 1936. Over the same period, the Disciples of Christ went from 11 congregations of 963 members in 1906 to 33 with 2,284 in 1916, consolidating, and then falling; in subsequent years to 19 with 2,662 (1926) and 14 with 2,249 (1936). After its separate listing in 1906 (five congregations with 129 members), the Churches of Christ rapidly rose to 51 congregations with 1,333 members in 1926, and then declined in the number of congregations (44), while gaining in membership (2,032). Finally, the Assemblies of God, first appearing in New Mexico in the 1916 census (four congregations with 135 members), had grown to 28 with 989 by 1936. In their periods of growth, all of these denominations also show a larger number of congregations than church edifices; however, with consolidation (more members per congregation), the ratio of congregations to structures tends to fall from as high as even 4:1 to closer to parity, or 1:1 (i.e., each congregation has a church building).

The general phenomenon of the rapid rise of fundamentalist denominations is coupled with the predominance of the southern, conservative groups within the more traditional religious denominations. For instance, although the census of 1906 lists 57 congregations of Northern Baptists with 2,331 members, as opposed to four congregations of Southern Baptists with 61 members, the next (1916) census records none of the former, but lists 135 Southern

112. Ahlstrom 819-823. Census of Religious Bodies 1936, II, 71-72, 458-461, 469-470, 541-544.

113. From Boyd C. Pratt, "Religious Structures of New Mexico," manuscript, New Mexico Historic Preservation Division, Tables 2 and 3, 60-61.

Southern Baptists and the particular entry of Southern homesteaders into New Mexico. Beginning in 1907, a movement to change to the Southern Baptist Convention was spearheaded by Eugene Perry Alldredge of Tucumcari, who was in turn influenced by the work of the Dallas, Texas resident J. F. Love, author of the book *The Mission of Our Nation*, which advocated the expansion of Southern Baptism across the nation. Eventually some congregations seceded and others divided. The New Mexico Baptist Convention voted down realignment in 1909 and 1910, but split in 1911. The issue was eventually decided at the national Baptist assembly in 1912, which declared the state exclusive Southern Baptist territory.[114]

The rise of southern denominations is also seen in the changing membership of the two divisions of the Methodist Episcopal Church prior to their union in 1939. From 1906 to 1916, the Methodist Episcopal Church [North] grew from 62 congregations with 3,513 members to 77 with 4,385, and then fell from 45 with 3,914 in 1926 to 24 with 2,363 in 1936. During the same period, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South rose from 48 with 2,882 (1906) to 114 with 7,120 (1916), and then consolidated, while still growing, from 101 with 8,848 (1926) to 80 with 10,225 (1936).[115]

The ascendancy of both fundamentalist and southern factions can in part be attributed to the proximity of the eastern and southern portions of the state to Texas, from whence many of the new church members came. For instance, the Disciples of Christ, which began in 1893 in Roswell, spread to Albuquerque and Carlsbad by 1903, followed by Portales (1910) and Las Cruces (1914). The Churches of Christ was introduced to New Mexico through the efforts of Brother S. W. Smith, who, beginning in the town of Bethel in the Pecos Valley, proselytized throughout the region and then the rest of the state. The prevalence of these denominations among the homesteading communities of the early twentieth century is also significant, to the extent that several communities - in particular, Gavilan/Lindrith, Mountainair, and Fence Lake/Pie Town - took on a role of seedbeds of fundamentalist religion. Both Gavilan and Lindrith figure in the roles of several denominations. Mountainair has been cited previously as a center for the temperance movement in New Mexico, while the Fence Lake/Pie Town area was the focus of several denominations as well as an independent grouping of Baptists, the Mountainview Association.[116]

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114. Census of Religious Bodies 1906, 1916, 1926, 1936. Danielson, "One Hundred Forty Years of Baptist Associations," and "What Our Associations Have Done for Us Baptists."

115. Census of Religious Bodies 1906, 1916, 1926, 1936.

116. *Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in New Mexico.*

Church Membership in 1940

A review of the 1936 Census of Religious Bodies, combined with data from the Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in New Mexico, gathered by the New Mexico Historical Records Survey in 1940, offers an overview of the religious landscape of New Mexico in the early years of World War II. Adherents of the Roman Catholic Church still constituted the majority of the 1,030 churches, with 503 or almost 50 percent. The combined Methodist bodies (African Methodist Episcopal, Colored Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, and Methodist Episcopal [South]) came next with 119 or 11.5 percent, followed by the Baptists (Southern Baptist Convention and Negro Baptists) at 84 or 8 percent and the Presbyterians at 61 or 6 percent. In addition to the 48 churches of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which had a long history in the region, several newer denominations exhibited significant numbers, such as the Churches of Christ (43 or 4 percent), Assemblies of God (28 or 2.7 percent), and Church of the Nazarene (26 or 2.5 percent). Other denominations included the Church of Christ, Scientist; Disciples of Christ; and the United Brethren. The Church of the Latter Day Saints (Mormons) and the Jewish congregations still maintained their historic presence, with 9 and 4 congregations respectively.[117]

Albuquerque, the largest city in the state and the only one with a population over 25,000 (28,196 in 1930; 38,042 in 1940), had a wide variety of denominations, reflecting both the historical churches as well as the introduction of newer faiths. Roman Catholics, for instance, were still the most numerous, with seven churches, followed by the Methodists with four. The Baptists, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Lutherans, and Presbyterians, as well as the Jews and Mormons, had two congregations each. However, denominations newer to the state were also present: Assemblies of God; Church of Christ Scientist; Church of the Nazarene; Churches of Christ; Pentecostal Church; Plymouth Brethren (3 distinct groups); Salvation Army; and Seventh-Day Adventists.[118]

An examination of the membership of specific churches, broken down by county, reveals the strong influence of southern and fundamentalist groups on the eastern and southern parts of the state (Appendix 2, Section E). The Southern Baptists, for instance, had developed a very strong presence in the southern and eastern New Mexico: Roosevelt (1,295); Eddy (925); Quay (850); Curry (815); and Lea (568) counties. This was also true of the Churches of Christ (with concentrations in Chaves, Eddy, Lea, Otero, and Roosevelt counties) and Disciples of Christ (Chaves, Curry, and Eddy counties). A distinction between members of the Methodist Episcopal Church [North] and Methodist Episcopal Church, South, reveal

117. Census of Religious Bodies 1936, II, 252-253.
118. Census of Religious Bodies 1936, II, 442-443.

geographic disparity: while the Northern group had almost equal numbers in Bernalillo, Chaves, and San Miguel counties, the Southern group had larger numbers of adherents in Curry, Dona Ana, Eddy, Quay, and Roosevelt, as well as Bernalillo, counties.[119]

Modern Developments (1945-present)

Protestant denominations have continued to evolve in the years following World War II. In 1931 the Congregationalist Church merged with three smaller churches to form the Congregationalist Christian Church. This church then merged with the Evangelical and Reformed Churches to form the United Churches of Christ in 1957. The Methodist Episcopal Church and Methodist Episcopal Church, South merged in 1939 to form the United Methodist Church. In 1946, the United Brethren in Christ merged with the Evangelical Church to form the Evangelical United Brethren Church; this church, in turn, merged with the Methodists in 1968 as part of the United Methodist Church. The work of the United Brethren at the McCurdy School as well as other locations in the area has continued under the direction of the Española Valley Group Ministry of the United Methodist Church.

Beginning in the 1930s, Miguel Archibeque of Santa Fe and M. Santos Melendez of Mora worked toward recognition of the Penitente Brotherhood by the Roman Catholic Church, through the formation of a *Concilio Supremo* (Supreme Council). This goal was eventually achieved in 1947, with Archibeque as the *Hermano Supremo Arzobispal* (Chief Episcopal Brother). In 1982 the Roman Catholic Church formed the Diocese of Las Cruces, with the Most Reverend Ricardo Espinoza Ramirez installed as Archbishop.

One phenomenon of recent times is the rise of religions of eastern origin within the United States. Perhaps the first were the Bahai's, who follow the precepts that Baha'u'llah (1817-1892) developed in Persia beginning in 1844. As the result of an appeal from the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahai's of the United States and Canada, four members came to New Mexico in 1936; they were joined by several others over the next few years until a Local Spiritual Assembly was formed by nine members in Albuquerque in 1939. Cedar Grove, founded in 1962, rebuilt a ghost town into a Ba'hai community. A small ashram was founded south of Santa Fe in 1969. Although it closed in 1971, members of the group moved to a site near Española to form the Ashram Hacienda de Guru Ram Das, the spiritual homeland of US members of Sikh Darma. The international Moslem community helped fund Dar-al-Islam (1980) near Abiquiu, where Egyptian architect Hassan Fathy (author of *Architecture for the Poor* [1973]) laid out an adobe community surrounding a mosque.

119. Census of Religious Bodies 1936, II, 789.

ARCHITECTURAL AND PHYSICAL BACKGROUND

Resources Associated with Roman Catholicism in New Mexico

Roman Catholic Mission Churches (Spanish Colonial)

Beginning at the time of the earliest Spanish colonization of New Mexico, Roman Catholic Franciscans erected a network of ecclesiastical complexes as missions to the native inhabitants. These edifices, which usually consisted of a church and accompanying *convento* (living quarters for the resident priest), served as the base of the mission program. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680, which temporarily drove the Spanish out of New Mexico, resulted in the deaths of most of the Franciscan missionaries and destruction of their churches. After the Reconquest of 1692, many of these buildings were rebuilt, and several new ones constructed in new or resettled pueblos, but an increasing emphasis was placed upon churches for the burgeoning Hispanic population. Therefore the exemplary missions date from the seventeenth century.

Little is known about the planning and construction of the seventeenth-century mission churches; much must be gleaned from the buildings themselves. Although the friars began with standard plans developed from sixteenth-century Mexican mission churches - which, in turn, were derived from the Medieval fortress churches of southwestern France, they modified them to fit the particular sites and needs of their missions.

The buildings were probably designed by means of sketching on a flat board and then laid out on the ground in plan before their construction. The principal means of measurement was the *vara* (approximately 33 inches), as determined by standard measuring instruments (the *vara* stick, as well as the *cordel*, which was a string 50 *varas* in length, or approximately 140 feet). The friars designed their buildings originally in plan, and with the use of these units of measurement they were apt to proportion various parts of the structure to one another. James E. Ivey described the proportions of one church thus:

> ...the friars constructed the church of Quarai so that the major divisions of the length, width, and height of the nave are in multiples of nine *varas* and ratios of eighths. Width and height are nine eighths or nine *varas*; the total length of the church on the interior is four times nine *varas*; the nave is 2.5 times nine *varas* long, and five eighths of the total length of the church; the nave and transept are 3.5 times nine *varas* long and seven eighths of the total length of the church, and so on.[120]

120. Ivey 41n15.

In plan, the mission complex was composed of three major parts: the church and the two principal parts of the *convento* - the friary (commonly referred to as the *casa* in the documents) and the "second courtyard," which consisted of animal pens and food storage structures. (Plans 1-2)[121] The primary parts of the church were the nave, transept (when present), chancel, and sanctuary; the secondary parts consisted of the narthex (only in some churches), *antecoro* (room before the choir), *coro* (choir), baptistry, sacristy, and *atrio* (forecourt). (Plans 3-5) Although the single nave, straight church seems to predominate in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in the case of the seventeenth century Salinas Province churches, side rooms formed small transepts. (Plan 1) The sanctuary was generally square, trapezoidal, or apsoidal, and always distinguished from the main mass of the nave. The choir loft, above the main entry, was a defining element of these churches. The exterior balcony, which is known to have been used in the sixteenth century in Mexico as an open-air chapel for preaching to the masses in the *atrio*, is presumed to have existed at Pecos and Giusewa, and possibly also at Zia and Zuni.[122]

The location of the friary usually lay to the south of the church if the latter was oriented east-west and to the east if oriented north-south (although an important exception is San Estevan del Rey at Acoma, where it lies to the north). There are no known contemporary descriptions of seventeenth century *conventos* in the north central region; however, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of El Paso del Norte (now Juarez, Mexico) was described in 1688 as having

> 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 . . . a kitchen, and closets . . . everything is finished with doors, windows, and keys.[123]

The friary can be generally described as consisting of a central patio (*claustro*) with encircling walk (*ambulatorio*); a reception room (*porteria*), located near the front facade of the church; a dining room (*refectorio*); kitchen (*cochina*); storerooms (*officinas*); pantry (*despensa*); infirmary (*infirmario*); and several residences, or cells (*celdas*), often with rear rooms with

121. Plans are from Pratt. "Religious Structures of New Mexico."

122. George Kubler, *Religious Architecture of New Mexico,* 76. Gustavo E. Navarro, "*El Bancon Exterior del Coro en las Iglesias Coloniales Espanoles de Nuevo Mexico y su Prevalencia en la Arquitectura neo-Mexicana,*" *New Mexico Studies in the Fine Arts* 10 (1985): 32-33.

123. France V. Scholes. "Documents for the History of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century," *New Mexico Historical Review* 4.2(1929): 199.

sleeping alcoves (*alcobas*, also called *trasceldas*).[124] Usually, only one member of the Franciscan order was assigned per mission; the exceptions were perhaps Acoma and Giusewa, which had two friars. Thus the rest of the *convento* was used by Indian converts (some of whom lived there), ranging from six to twelve in number: "a bell ringer, a cook, two or three sacristans, a porter, two boys for service of the friars' cells, two or three women to grind corn, and occasionally a gardener."[125]

Based on research on a contract of 1631, France V. Scholes determined that a sort of "standard package" of tools was issued from the triennial supply caravan to each friar for the construction of the churches and their attendant structures, including

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.
1 box plane for planing board and beam surfaces flat.[126]

It has been conjectured that experienced carpenters, who no doubt had their own sets of tools, were present at the building site to direct work crews.

In addition, each friar was given certain materials for construction.

600 tinned nails for decorating the church door.
60 nails about 4 inches long.
60 nails about 7 inches long.
100 nails *de quintientos en suma* [unknown measure].
400 nails *de a mil en suma* [unknown measure].
1800 roofing nails.
1200 nails *de medio almud* [unknown measure].
800 tacks.
10 pounds of steel for making other needed items and tools.

124. Ivey 42.

125. Kubler, *Religious Architecture of New Mexico*, 73.

126. Pratt, "Religious Structures of New Mexico," Table 8, 104, quoted from Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexico Missions," 103-104.

1 large latch for the church door.
1 pair of braces for double doors, probably the church doors.
2 small locks.
12 hinges for doors and windows.
12 hook and eyes latches.[127]

It is generally assumed that the friars used the local materials at hand (adobe, ledge stone, and wood) for building.

The friars who directed the construction of the mission church complexes employed methods with which the Spanish had long been familiar. They generally used wall-and-beam construction, although in some areas they had to resort to post-and-beam construction, such as the *ambulatorio* and choir lofts. In the case of the former, massive walls constructed of adobe bricks or ledge stone set in adobe mortar supported the roof beams, which in turn bore the weight of a roof of adobe mud on top of saplings and brush material. (Plans 6, 8) (An important exception is Abo, where a series of buttresses served as the main structural support, while the interstices were filled with thin "curtain" walls.) In the case of post-and-beam construction, the load was transferred by means of beams and corbels to upright posts set at regular intervals. In both instances, the length of the tree trunk determined the length of the unsupported span. While the longest known beam, discovered at Acoma, was 42 ft., the longest unsupported span was 30 ft., at Humanas. These facts are possibly substantiated by evidence of stone assemblies, which were conjectured to be footings for a row of columns placed to support the mid-point of 33-foot long beams at Giusewa; however, this interpretation has been contested.[128]

Basically, construction consisted of stone set in adobe mortar or adobes themselves. The walls rested on foundations consisting of trenches dug down to firm ground (with the depth depending on the site) and filled with river cobble stones or rough field or quarried stones. The main bearing walls of the church were 4 to 4 1/2 ft. thick; main bearing walls in the *convento* were 3 to 3 1/2 ft. thick; secondary bearing walls were 2 1/2 ft. thick; and non-bearing partitions were generally 1 1/2 ft. thick. The structures were then roofed with beams, ranging from 10 to 15 ft. for a small, one-story room to 33 ft. for the main nave of the church. On top of the roof beams, *tablas* (flat boards), *rejas* (split sticks), or *latillas* (small sticks) were laid, topped by either brush or a mat of woven leaves, and finally by about 3 to 6

127. Pratt, "Religious Structures of New Mexico," Table 9, 104, quoted from Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexico Missions," 103-104.

128. Robin Elizabeth Farwell, "An Architectural History of the Seventeenth-Century Mission Church of San Jose de Giusewa, Jemez State Monument, N.M.," M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1991, 45. Kubler, *Religious Architecture of New Mexico*, 39-41, 43, 68.

inches of adobe mud. The walls were built up several feet above the roof line; *canales* were cut into the parapet to allow for runoff. In some cases, the parapets were crenelated, which added to their militaristic appearance.[129]

Secondary features included doors, staircases, bell towers, balconies, choir lofts, and windows, including the distinctive transverse clerestory window. The door openings were usually splayed in the direction of swing, in order to avoid the intrusion of the door into the hallway. Although scarce, metal hardware was available for hinges; doors and window shutters were often constructed of an upright stile set as a tenon in mortises in the lintels and sills. Such doors are called pintle (*zambullos*). Staircases could be constructed of either boards set in the walls or of masonry. The usual emplacement of staircases provided access to the choir loft. Bell towers were constructed of masonry as a projection of the mass of the wall, defining an *atrio* and sometimes balcony in the space between them, or as articulated tower elements. Choir lofts consisted of post-and-beam construction, extended the full width of the nave, and projected out about half the width of the main facade. Choir loft floor construction was essentially the same as that of the roof; however, the finished floor was of packed adobe. Finally, as indicated above, there is evidence of an exterior balcony in several seventeenth century churches. It is conjectured that the framing for the choir loft extended through the walls of the main facade to support the balcony; however, support for the exterior balcony could also be achieved by spanning the distance between two flanking towers.[130]

Lighting of the church interior was provided principally by a transverse clerestory window, as well as (occasionally) a few windows in the nave and one in the choir loft. The clerestory window of New Mexico churches is a translation of the European transept dome lighting scheme into the local flat-roofed construction tradition. As a general rule, the orientation of churches was changed from the standard western-facing, with the altar to the east, or Orient, to that of east or south in order to take advantage of the sun's position. The nave roof would be stepped up about three feet just before the sanctuary, creating a transverse clerestory wall, into which a window is inserted to bring light directly onto the altar. (Photo 1 and Plan 9)[131] It has been suggested that the friar architects of the mission churches were so precise in their design calculations as to manipulate the resulting beam of light so as to range from the base of the altar at summer solstice (the highest elevation of the sun) to its height at winter solstice (the lowest elevation of the sun).[132]

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129. Ivey 47.
130. Kubler, *Religious Architecture of New Mexico*, 54-56.
131. Photos are from Pratt, "Religious Structures of New Mexico."
132. James E. Ivey, personal communication to Boyd C. Pratt, 1988.

It is conjectured that the friar would organize the Indian work force into several groups to collect the materials: one would go to mountains to get logs for roof beams; another would quarry the stone; a third would prepare the mortar; and a fourth would quarry limestone and burn and slake the lime for plaster. According to Fray Alonso de Benavides,

> Ample evidence of [the natives' love and devotion] is their main churches and friaries, all built by the women and by boys and girls taking Christian doctrine, although this may seem an exaggeration since these structures are so sumptuous and ornate. It is the custom among these nations for the women to build the houses...and if we compel any man to work on building a house, he runs away and the women laugh at him. In this way, there have been erected more than fifty churches, whose ceilings are attractively carved with interlaced flowers, and whose walls are very well painted. This is possible because of the wonderful mountains containing every kind of wood, and also because we friars have taken such pains in training the Indians of the *doctrina* that there can be found among them skilled carpenters and craftsmen of every kind.[133]

Crews laid out the foundation and dug the footing trenches, while trained carpenters finished and decorated the roof beams and corbels. After the full foundation was laid out and filled, it served as a plan for further construction. The adobe or stone-with-mud-mortar walls were built to about 4 feet, at which point scaffolding (*andamios*) was used. Squared wood boards were laid in the adobe courses about every 6 feet in height in order to ensure even load-bearing. Below the roof beams (*vigas*), a board - often carved in a molding that resembled the Franciscan rope (symbolizing chastity) was placed in the wall; upon this rested carved wooden corbels (*zapatas*); and finally the *vigas* rested upon these. The average ceiling height for a one-story room was 10 1/2 feet, while the main nave height was around 45 feet.[134]

Although most mission churches share the same basic design, plan, and construction techniques, they vary considerably in individual appearance. A principal distinguishing feature is the arrangement of the principle (entry) facade. Basically, these fall into three types: plain end wall; flanking towers; and balconied. Plain end wall facades, the most common type, consist of a flat front pierced only by the entry door and choir window; often the parapet extends above the roof line to form an arcade for one or more bells, called an *espadana*. Facades with flanking towers can be either uniformly planar or the towers can project beyond the plane of the facade as buttresses, wall extensions, or corner extenuations. Balconied facades are formed through the projection of the choir-loft timbers and the overhang of the

133. Peter P. Forrestal, *Benavides' Memorial of 1630* (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1954) 36.

134. Ivey 52.

nave roof, sometimes accompanied by the recession of the plane of the facade from its flanking towers. As mentioned above, the balcony, which was usually accessible from the choir loft, has been conjectured to have been used for preaching to groups assembled outside.[135]

Other distinctive design features occur in the mission churches. In some instances, rooms flanking the entrance may have been added to form a narthex. San Jose at Giusewa had an octagonal bell tower behind the sanctuary, as well as a sophisticated system of fenestration that indicated the use of foreshortening to enhance the religious architectural experience. (Plan 3) Finally, while generally attributable to European design influences from both Spain and Mexico, features of some parapets, such as the "horns" on the towers at Halona (Zuni) and San Felipe and the "stepped cloud" motif at others, as well as the general eastern and southern orientation of the churches themselves, seem to indicate a Pueblo influence.[136]

In the latter regard, a discussion of the interior features of mission churches is relevant. The primary aspect (and focus) of the nave was the sanctuary area - square, trapezoidal, or apsoidal, which was illuminated by the transverse clerestory window. Early altars were constructed of adobe or plastered ledge stone, and featured stepped adobe shelves for candles, crosses and crucifixes, saints' images, tabernacles, and other religious paraphernalia. Occasionally, oil paintings on animal hides adorned the walls.[137]

However, the Franciscans also encouraged the use of painted murals (dry, not wet frescoes), in the sanctuary area and sometimes in other parts of the mission complex, such as the walls of the church nave and cloister courtyard. The Pueblo Indians have a long history of kiva wall decoration, with significant examples occurring during the Pueblo IV (1350-1598) period, but dating back as early as Pueblo II (900-1150). The earliest church murals, which are generally abstract designs seemingly based on ceramic tile patterns, have been discovered at Awatovi and Giusewa; these were no doubt based on the Franciscan friars' recollections of decorated churches in Mexico.

Later, possibly post-Revolt, murals, however, feature subjects more closely in keeping with the Puebloan kiva mural tradition, such as animals, stepped-cloud motifs, and even horses

135. Navarro 30-34.
136. Farwell 1991; Gutierrez 1991; Kenagy 1989; Scully 1975.
137. Boyd 48.

with riders. Unfortunately there is not enough of an archaeological record to generalize about this aspect of the mission churches, but it strongly suggests the Pueblo-Spanish syncretism discussed earlier.[138]

In addition to murals, wooden architectural features of the churches were also sometimes painted. These included polychromatic "banding" of the ceiling *latillas* to form a chevron effect, highlighting of carved decorations of roof beams and corbels, and balustrades. All of these elements contribute to a sense of the farthest extension (and attenuation) of the *mudejar* (Moorish) style. A singular example of folk painting is the church of San Jose de Gracia at Las Trampas, where the flat-board (*tabla*) ceiling under the choir loft is decorated with animalistic and geometric designs.

Roman Catholic Churches

Following the initial thrust of the mission building program, the secular communities of Spanish colonists began building their own churches apart from the Pueblo missions, particularly after the Reconquest of 1692. Church design differed little from those mission structures, except of course for the reduced scale and lack of *conventos*. Because these churches were administered by secular priests, a rectory was either constructed nearby, when a settlement was large enough to have a resident priest (such as Santa Fe, Santa Cruz, and Albuquerque), or a small room was built adjoining the church sacristy, in the case of a *visita* (mission) or church that had no resident priest. (Photos 2-5; and Plan 10-12)

In general, the plan of the churches was cruciform in the larger parishes (such as Las Trampas, Santa Cruz, and Santa Fe), although smaller parish and Pueblo churches continued to be of the single nave type. (Plan 10 -12) In the cruciform churches, the transverse clerestory was moved forward on the nave to shed light on both the altar area and the transepts. Several of these eighteenth century churches - Santa Cruz (1733), San Jose de Gracia at Las Trampas (1761), San Francisco de Asis at Ranchos de Taos (ca. 1780), and San Felipe de Neri in Albuquerque (ca. 1790) - are the region's most impressive remaining Spanish Colonial structures.

It has been noted that the architectural style and construction of New Mexican churches represent a simpler, regional adaptation of Spanish Colonial precedents from Mexico, the general lack of structural arches, domes, and tile work being indicative. The influence of the one "high style" structure of the period - La Castrense (1759-1761), commissioned by

138. Boyd 48-65. Kubler, *Religious Architecture of New Mexico*, 65-66. Henry Walt, "The Puebloan Wall Painting Tradition." manuscript, Historic Preservation Division, Santa Fe, 1982.

Governor Marin del Valle - can only be conjectured. However, there is circumstantial evidence that its *reredos* of Our Lady of Light, carved by imported Mexican masons, did have a strong influence on New Mexican church decoration. Wooden *reredos*, often painted to give the architectural illusion of carved structural columns, began to appear in the latter half of the eighteenth century; by 1776, when Domínguez made his tour of the mission churches, he observed them at San Geronimo de Taos, San Juan, Santa Cruz, Santa Fe, and Santo Domingo. However, it was in the new churches in the Hispanic villages that the locally produced *retablos* (two-dimensional images) by regional *santeros* (saint-makers) appeared. In keeping with the development of a "folk" Roman Catholicism during this time, these local productions often imitated images from Spain and New Spain, but with New Mexican nuances. By 1830, wooden *reredos* occupied the churches at Acoma, Chimayo (El Santuario), Cochiti, Laguna, Las Trampas, Nambe, Picuris, Ranchos de Taos, Santa Ana, Santa Clara, Santa Fe (both the Rosario and San Miguel chapels), Taos (Guadalupe), Truchas, and Zia. The legacy of this artistic and architectural phenomenon is one of the most significant in New Mexico's cultural landscape.[139]

From the middle to the latter half of the nineteenth century, crenellations were added to several churches, enough so to imply a stylistic fad. Precedent exists for crenellations on ecclesiastical structures, most notably the so-called "fortress" churches of Mexico. In New Mexico, there is no written documentation of crenellations during the pre-Revolt period, although Kubler assumed that most churches had them. The earliest written reference seems to be the work of Fray Fernando Duque de Estrada, who "built a crenelated parapet all the way around" San Lorenzo de Picuris while completing other repairs to the church in 1746. In 1801 the priest at Belen, Father Bernal, wrote that merlons were to surmount the whole of the new church. Later in the nineteenth century, crenellations were first added to San Francisco, the *Parroquia* (parish church) at Santa Fe, in the 1850s. This was followed by San Felipe de Neri in Albuquerque (1860s), San Miguel in Santa Fe (1860s?), and Santa Cruz de la Canada (1870s), the latter being the most elaborate, with open, pointed-arch merlons. (Photo 2) However, by the 1880s most of these had been removed.[140]

One of the greatest influences on church architecture in the nineteenth century was Jean Baptiste Lamy, Archbishop of Santa Fe. Lamy, who was born in southern France, had little regard for native New Mexico church architecture and sought to introduce European high ecclesiastical styles that were to his thinking more appropriate. The distaste felt by the French

139. Boyd 52-59.

140. John L. Kessell, *The Missions of New Mexico Since 1776* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980) 55n10, 84, 97, 99n1, 148n3. Kubler, *Religious Architecture of New Mexico*, 44.

priests can be seen in the later comments of Jean Baptiste Salpointe (eventually Archbishop of Santa Fe):

> In those not very remote days, it was rather difficult to have a church or a school house built in a regular and attractive shape. The only material that could be conveniently had, was the adobe, and the masons who employed it had, as a rule, a very limited knowledge of proportions, and less taste in their work.[141]

As Salpointe goes on to relate, the new priests quickly took charge of church building projects, often acting as both designing and supervising architects:

> In such circumstances it devolved on the priest who intended to rear some building for public use, to make his plans and superintend the work from beginning to end, as much as possible, in order to prevent the mistakes of his mechanics. We remember that on one occasion our chief mason in setting some window frames for the church, had only in his mind to put them in the place they were to occupy, without paying much attention to the position they had to keep as to level and perpendicularity. We came in time to call his attention to the defect, and his answer to our remark was this: "You are very strict about everything, just as if those who will come to church would carry their level and plumb in their pocket." As to the carpenter work, it was generally done with less difficulty, as there were already in the country American carpenters who understood their trade well enough to make doors and windows, and to cover a building.[142].

In order to realize his architectural objectives Lamy brought in French and Italian stone masons - the former directly from France and the latter through Father Salvatore Persone of the Jesuit's Woodstock campus in Maryland. He also brought in French architects - after an American architect/contractor allegedly made a false start with the foundations of the cathedral - first the father/son team of Antoine and Projectus Mouly (1850?-1879) and later François Mallet (1847-1879).[143]

Although Lamy's highest achievements were the Romanesque Revival Santa Fe Cathedral (1869-1894) and the Gothic Revival Loretto Chapel (1873-1878), the influence of these two styles and the professionals brought in to realize them was widely felt in church

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141. Salpointe 235.

142. Salpointe 235-236.

143. Pratt, "Religious Structures of New Mexico," Table 1, p. 34-35, provides an extensive table of European building professionals imported by Lamy during the Territorial Period, including architects, carpenters and masons, identified by name, period of influence, religious buildings, and place of origin.

building throughout the territory during this period. (Photos 6-7) Nuestra Señora de los Dolores (1862-1869) in Las Vegas was one of the earliest Gothic Revival churches in the territory. Other examples are St. Genevieve in Las Cruces, and Lourdes Chapel in San Juan (both 1890). Later examples include the Romanesque Revival San Albino in Mesilla (1906) and the Church at San Juan Pueblo completed in 1913 under the direction of Father Camille Seux. Simpler versions of these styles were realized in parish churches throughout New Mexico. (Photos 8-11) Usually the latter took the form of the addition of wooden detailing such as rounded or pointed ogee arches around windows and doors, steep metal gable roofs, and steeples.

In addition to new construction, many older structures were remodeled in the Gothic Revival Style. This "gothization" consisted of the addition on the exterior of pitched metal roofs, which most often obscured the original transverse clerestory windows; belfries with Gothic spires and tracery; milled or sawn wood detailing, such as pointed door and window frames; and other Gothic details. Ultimately, Lamy sponsored the construction of eighty-five new churches and the remodelling of many more.

Lamy also was no admirer of native Hispanic religious art. Under his influence and that of imported priests, altars and altar screens were redesigned, and native *santos* (*bultos* and *retablos*) were replaced with manufactured religious images (plaster statues and lithograph images).

Nevertheless Hispanic parishes also continued to build in the Spanish Colonial/Mexican Period tradition throughout the nineteenth century. Early twentieth-century churches were often designed in one of the many revival styles popular during the period. Both the Gothic and Romanesque revivals were still used, although with more emphasis on historical accuracy as practiced by architects trained in the Beaux Arts tradition of eclecticism. The Romanesque Revival seemed to be particularly favored in the western part of the state, possibly due to the Franciscan influence in that region; this ranges from St. Anthony at Zuni (1923), Sacred Heart in Farmington (1929), and St. Eleanor at Ft. Wingate (1930) to later examples such as St. Joseph in Aztec (1947) and Sacred Heart Cathedral in Gallup (1955). With the calculated use by the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad of the California Mission Revival as a means of promoting tourism, several Roman Catholic churches were designed in that style, as well as later, related (but locally ahistorical) modes such as the Spanish Colonial and Spanish Baroque.

The 1930s witnessed a renewed interest in the architecture of the mission churches, to a large extent fostered by the work of architect John Gaw Meem and the Society for the Preservation and Restoration of New Mexico Mission Churches. Meem's association with the Society contributed to his later involvement with the 1930s Historic American Buildings Survey, which recorded many of the Spanish Colonial mission churches. Meem assisted

Father Aguellus Lammert with the design and construction of four Spanish Pueblo Revival churches in the Acoma/Laguna region during the 1930s and also designed several parish structures including Santo Tomas (1935) at Abiquiu, which incorporated hand-carved woodwork made in a WPA workshop at the Normal School in El Rito, and Cristo Rey (1940) in Santa Fe, constructed as part of the Coronado Cuatro Centennial, another New Deal-related project. (Photos 12 and 13) Since then, many Roman Catholic parish churches have been designed in the Spanish Pueblo Revival Style.

Although individual buildings vary widely, regional patterns in the design and construction of Roman Catholic parish churches can be discerned. For instance, it has been conjectured that the plan and elevation of parish churches in the lower Rio Grande Valley in the New Mexico were derived from Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (1662-1668), the mission church at El Paso del Norte (now Juarez, Mexico).[144] This pattern of diffusion based on a common cultural prototype can best be distinguished within the settlements of a valley system, such as the churches of San Jose at Faywood and San Juan and San Lorenzo in their respectively named communities, all three of which feature a cruciform plan with a trapezoidal apse, the latter covered by a hipped gable roof. Other, suggestive design similarities are more subtle, such as the preponderance of Romanesque Revival Churches, often featuring semi-circular sanctuaries, in the northwest region of the state, perhaps due to the influence of the German Franciscan priests who ministered to these parishes. In order to clarify these patterns, more research has to be done on the origins and diffusion of settlers and chronology of church construction.

Capillas and Oratorios

In addition to parish churches, communities or families sometimes had private chapels (*capillas*) and oratories (*oratorios*). (Plans 13-15; Photos 14-15) *Capillas* and *oratorios* were built on a domestic scale, yet were specifically dedicated to worship; the distinctions usually consists of a detached structure specifically constructed for worship by a community or wealthy family (*capilla*) versus a single room within a domestic dwelling dedicated to devotional exercises by a family and its relations and dependents (*oratorio*). Examples of detached *capillas* in the region range from the large Santuario de Chimayo to the smaller

144. Chris Wilson, Stanley Hordes, and Henry Walt, *The South Central New Mexico Regional Overview: History, Historic Archeology, Architecture and Historic Preservation*. Santa Fe: Historic Preservation Division, 1989, 164).

Duran Chapel in Talpa.[145] (Plans 13-15) The Ortega chapel, also called the Oratorio de San Buenaventura, in the Plaza del Cerro in Chimayo comprises a distinct unit within the linear group of rooms that forms the fortified plaza. (Photos 14 and 15) Finally, examples of rooms within family houses set aside as *oratorios* include those at the Ortiz House in Galisteo, the Armijo House in Albuquerque, and the Martinez Hacienda in Taos.[146]

Capillas that were distinct units often took on the characteristics of a diminutive church, with a walled *atrio*, one or several bell towers, and even a small narthex (*zaguan*). In the case of *oratorios* incorporated into a block of rooms, there was little to distinguish the religious function of the structure except for an added bell tower. On the interior, the standard arrangement consists of a series of pews facing the sanctuary, which was often enclosed by an altar railing or raised by one or several steps and featured a *retablo* (altar screen).

Moradas

The word *morada* (derived from the Spanish verb *morar*, "to dwell, reside, or sojourn") refers to both chapters of the Penitente Brotherhood and their meeting houses. The Brotherhood, also known as *La Fraternidad* (or *La Cofradia*) *de Nuestro Padre Jesus Nazarano*, was founded during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a lay religious organization that both practiced penitential rites during religious holidays (in particular, Holy Week), and provided what some observers have called "an important source of social integration and cohesion during times of quiescence and stress."[147] In part, the group was formed in response to the declining number of priests available to parishioners in the north central region at the close of the Spanish Colonial period and particularly during the Mexican period. Upon the arrival of Anglo-Americans, who were generally Protestant and already suspicious of Roman Catholicism, the Brotherhood was forced to withdraw farther from the prying eyes of strangers.

The architecture of *moradas* generally reflects the purpose and situation of the organization. (Plans 16-17) Both Kubler and Bunting have observed the domestic aspect of these buildings, which are low-lying in scale, as opposed to early mission churches or later parish churches. In addition, the principal rooms of the *morada* are set in single file, either in

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145. Stephan F. de Borhegy, *El Santuario de Chimayo* (Santa Fe: The Spanish Colonial Arts Society, Inc., 1956, rpt. from *El Palacio* 60.3, 1953). William Wroth, *The Chapel of Our Lady of Talpa* (Colorado Springs: Taylor Museum, 1980).

146. Bainbridge Bunting, *Of Earth and Timbers Made* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974) 6, 27. Bunting, Lyons, and Lyons 36.

147. Bunting, Lyons, and Lyons 32.

a straight line or forming an "L," much like Hispanic domestic structures (although there are *moradas* with both "T" shaped plans [for example, Las Trampas] and cross-shaped plans [such as Chimayo]). Unlike the large, single space of Hispanic religious architecture, the *oratorio* (chapel) in a *morada* closely resembles the large, single-story *sala* of a wealthy family's house.

The location of the *morada* varied through time and often depended on the current attitudes toward the Brotherhood's practices. A room in a private residence is known to have been used as a *morada*; however, it usually comprises a separate structure. Most are placed at some distance from the local church, although the *morada* at Las Trampas used to be attached to San Jose de Gracia. After 1850, when penitent rites became a spectacle for the curious, *moradas* began to be located in more remote areas in order to avoid observation. As a general rule, most *moradas* are aligned in the "traditional" New Mexican church orientation, with the chapel to the west.

Moradas are constructed of a variety of traditional building materials - adobe, ledge stone, *jacal* (vertical log), and *fuerte* (horizontal log) - depending on their location. Walls, particularly those of the *oratorio*, are usually windowless or have openings that are heavily shuttered, and often the oratorio has a separate entrance. Although the early ones had flat roofs with *pretiles* (parapets) and *canales* (drainspouts), later buildings as well as older ones that have been remodeled have pitched roofs, at first constructed of board-and-batten, then of terne-plate, and finally of corrugated iron (and recently asphalt shingles). Bell towers, either affixed to the roof or the exterior of *oratorio* or free-standing nearby, are often indicative of these structures.

Moradas consist of at least two rooms in plan (the chapel [*oratorio*] and meeting room [sometimes called *el sepulcro*]), but may have several more, such as a kitchen (*cocina*), dining room, bathroom, records room (*el escritorio*), and storeroom. In the smaller *moradas*, many of these functions are performed in one room. The principal room is the *oratorio*, which was usually unheated. The sanctuary, or altar area of the *oratorio* is distinguishable in shape from the main room space: most have trapezoidal apses; however, rounded and occasionally smaller, square apses do occur. The altar is located in this area, and decorated with both three- (*bultos*) and two- (*retablos*) dimensional representations of Christ and the saints. The meeting room, which was used by the Brothers (*hermanos*) during breaks in the religious ceremonies, was usually heated - earlier by adobe fireplaces (*fogons*), later by cast-iron stoves and even more recently by oil drums converted into stoves. This room often had adobe *bancos* (benches) along the walls for seating. Other rooms could include a kitchen and dining room for preparing and eating meals, a records room for the chapter's written records, and a storeroom for the various effects of the chapter, such as crosses, the stations of the cross, and instruments for noisemaking during Holy Thursday (*matracas*, etc.). Finally, because the

members of the Brotherhood are male (although there are female auxiliaries), there is usually only one privy associated with the *morada*, as opposed to other religious structures that usually have two.

There are several distinguishing features of the landscape of the *morada*. The *Via Crucis* (Way of the Cross) consists of a path which can be either clearly marked or very subtle, along which the *hermanos* place removable wood or metal crosses for the annual Stations of the Cross procession during Holy Week. Associated with this feature is the *Calvario*, which is generally located on higher ground. The *Calvario* may be marked by one or sometimes three crosses, and in some instances three crosses identify the *Calvario*, the beginning of the *Via Crucis*, and the *morada*.

Descansos and Shrines

Descansos and shrines are most often constructed to commemorate a place where some event has occurred. A *descanso* (rest or resting place) is usually marked with a pile of stones and a small cross, often decorated with flowers. These sites originated from the customary procession of the coffin from the church to the graveyard, when the pallbearers would stop to rest, laying the coffin on the ground. On this spot, a small cross was erected and each mourner would say a prayer for the deceased and put a stone at the base of the cross. It was customarily expected of later passers-by to say a prayer and add a stone. In rare cases, where the graveyard was far from the church, a structure was built near the *camposanto* as a place where the coffin could rest while the grave was dug; this could be called either a *descanso* or an *oratorio*. (An example is the *descanso* at the Penas Negras cemetery near Taos.) Later, *descansos* were used to mark the site of a loved one's death. They are most often located by the side of a road, signifying death by automobile accident. Some *descansos* also signify the stations for prayer and rest on a pilgrimage.[148]

Shrines (*santuarios*) are most often erected to commemorate a specific event, such as the miraculous intervention of God or a saint. Usually, the shrine takes advantage of a natural feature of the landscape as a foundation for some defining structure, such as an altar, arch, or pews. Examples include the cave dedicated to Our Lady of Lourdes, wherein the inhabitants of Cebolleta successfully hid from raiding Navajos, and the grotto, also dedicated to Our Lady of Lourdes, constructed near Los Ojos by Josefa Burns when she survived a downhill plunge in her runaway buggy in 1918. In the case of the former, an altar and pews were added to the cave for worship, while the natural features of the latter were enhanced through the erection of

148. Bunting, *Of Earth and Timbers Made*, 80. Juan B. Rael, Reyes Martinez, et al., "Arroyo Hondo: Penitentes, Weddings, Wakes," *El Palacio* 81. (1975): 18-19.

a Gothic arch constructed of local stone, which shelters the actual shrine. In some cases, the site of a miraculous event is consecrated through the construction of a *capilla* (chapel - see above discussion), such as the Santuario de Chimayo.

Camposantos

As in their Old World tradition, Spanish colonists were often buried beneath the floors of churches in New Mexico. San Jose de Gracia in Las Trampas is exemplary: its floors were constructed of removable wood planks set in a timber framework for ease of access. Those who could pay the higher fees were allocated spaces nearer to the altar, as is evidenced by a fee schedule written on a diagrammatic floor plan of Santa Cruz in La Canada. One of the few "high style" crypts was commissioned by Governor Marin del Valle, the same official who imported stonemasons to work on La Castrense in Santa Fe. Apparently in an effort to glorify exemplary Franciscan missionaries, he had stone carvers create a crypt for Fray Acension Zarate and Geronimo de la Llana, whose remains were removed from their mission posts at Picuris and Quarai, respectively. The sarcophagus was eventually placed in the 1714 Chapel of La Conquistadora, in the north transept of San Francisco.[149]

Beginning in 1798, a series of first Royal decrees (1819) and later republican orders (1822, 1826, and 1833) were issued forbidding church burials for reasons of public health. However, New Mexicans, citing tradition, the fear of desecration by raiding nomadic Indians, and the difficulty of digging graves during the winter in frozen ground, continued to bury their dead in churches, as evidenced by both petitions to ecclesiastical authorities and archaeological excavations.[150]

Nevertheless, there eventually evolved two distinct cemeteries: *atrios* and *camposantos*. The former designates the walled forecourt of a church, which was often used for burials. The latter is a more general term for a cemetery, which could either be situated adjacent to the church or in a more remote location. The area of the *camposanto* is usually delineated as holy ground by a surrounding wall around 3 feet high. The wall can be constructed of stone, adobe, or barbed or woven wire fencing with cedar or wrought iron posts. The fences usually have some sort of prominent gate. In some *camposantos*, a prominent cross on axis with the main entrance to the church and marked with wording such as "*Recuerdos*" with a date serves as a remembrance of "revivals" conducted by Jesuits during the twentieth century.

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149. Dorothy Benrimo, Rebecca S. James, and E. Boyd. *Camposantos: A Photographic Essay* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1966) 2.

150. Benrimo, James, and Boyd 1-2. Boyd 446.

Layout of the grave sites does not appear to have any system, although sometimes families are grouped together. In some cases, the individual graves are circumscribed by a wooden or wrought iron fence (*cerquita* [little fence], the whole sometimes being called a *cuna* [cradle]), which have been described as an imitation of the Anglo-American-introduced cast iron and woven wire mesh fencing; these also occasionally encloses either individual graves or family plots in Hispanic cemeteries. Forms vary: rails can be simple boards with turned wooden stiles or the stiles can be milled boards jigsawn in elaborate "Folk Territorial" motifs. Wrought iron *cunas* are usually of simpler design, with plain, flat rails; pointed stiles, and corner posts topped by fleur-de-lis motifs.

Common landscape features include plantings of irises and lilacs. The tombstones themselves vary considerably, both in design and material. Early construction materials consisted of native sandstone or wood for both the headstone and footstone; these were then carved or lettered with names, dates, and inscriptions, as well as decorative motifs such as birds, crosses, flowers, and hearts. Later, marble became popular. Ready-mixed commercial paints were introduced to New Mexico in the 1880s following the arrival of the railroad. An interesting adaptive use of a commonplace material is poured concrete, with designs formed by inserted colored rocks, glass marbles, or pieces of glazed tile. Many of these are beautiful works of folk art, with elaborate designs.[151]

Little is known about the specific artisans who worked on gravestones in New Mexico. Certainly the French and Italian stonemasons imported by Lamy to work on St. Francis Cathedral in Santa Fe had an influence on stone carving, as did masonry crews working for the railroads. José Benito Ortega (1858-1941), an itinerant *santero* born in La Cueva, has been suggested by E. Boyd as the source of distinctive stone tombstone designs in the Las Vegas and Mora region. It is known that Jose Dolores López (1868-1938), the well-known woodcarver from Córdova, made grave markers for himself as well as his neighbors. Finally, Celso Gallegos (18??-1943), another woodcarver, made several crosses for the Agua Fria *camposanto*, near where he lived.[152]

151. Benrimo, James, and Boyd. Terry G. Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982).

152. Benrimo, James, and Boyd 4.

Resources Associated with Judaism

Synagogues

Synagogues developed among the Jews during their period of Babylonian exile following the destruction of Solomon's Temple in 586 BC. Study of the Torah (the Five Books of Moses), which is a form of worship in Judaism, became particularly significant under the prophet-priest Ezekiel and the scribes who succeeded him. After the fall of Jerusalem and subsequent destruction of the Second Temple in 70 AD, Jewish worship continued in synagogues, which were located throughout the Mediterranean world. The word synagogue derives from the Greek word for assembly (the Hebrew being *Keneseth* or *Beth hak-Keneseth*, "House of Assembly"), and, indeed, they were initially used as places for assembly for study and worship.[153]

In terms of design, the synagogue generally conformed to the standard architecture of its time and place. The basic functional requirements consisted of an ark, or place to store the scrolls of the Law and the Prophets; and the *bimah*, or platform for their reading (also called *almenor* by the Ashkenazim, Jews from Central and Eastern Europe; the Sephardim, Jews from Spain and Portugal, use the term *tebah*). The ark generally comprised a cabinet or cupboard located in the eastern portion of the building (oriented towards the rising sun, as well as Jerusalem, in occidental countries); the main entrance was opposite it to the west, and the *bimah* was often located in the middle, with seating arranged around it, allowing for procession of the Scrolls. Often the Decalogue, written on twin tablets, was located somewhere near the ark; in the nineteenth century, this was sometimes incorporated as a design element in stained glass windows.[154]

During the nineteenth century, Jewish communities in the United States began to express their religion explicitly through the incorporation of Judaic symbolism in architecture. Thus the use of the six-pointed Star of David, or Magen David (Shield of David), which in European synagogue architecture dates at least to the seventeenth century, became a decorative feature in the United States around the middle of the nineteenth century; twelve windows, representing the twelve tribes of Israel, became fashionable about the same time (although twelve columns were a feature of synagogues dating at least as far back as seventeenth century Europe). Although Jewish communities had conformed to the religious architecture of their

153. Brian de Breffny, *The Synagogue* (New York: McMillen Publishing Co, 1978) 8-9.

154. Rachel Wischnitzer, *Synagogue Architecture in the United States: History and Interpretation.* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955).

neighbors in the United States, adopting styles such as the Colonial, Federal, and Classic, Gothic, and Romanesque revivals in turn, around the middle of the nineteenth century the search for an appropriate "Synagogue Style" was initiated.[155]

Orientalism became fashionable in part through the involvement of Britain in India. In the United States, Egyptian Style buildings had been constructed in the first half of the eighteenth century, and a Saracenic dome was used on the Crystal Palace erected from the New York World's Fair of 1853-1854. In 1864, the Keneseth Israel Synagogue was built in Philadelphia in the Romanesque Revival Style, but with bulbous domes dominating the twin towers of its facade. This was followed in 1864-1866 by Emanu-El in San Francisco, a Gothic Revival structure with bulbous domes, minaret-like finials on the buttresses, and prominently displayed Jewish symbolism such as the Tablets of the Law and the Star of David. This trend culminated in the adoption of the central dome, first employed in the United States in Shaaray Tefila, New York City (1869). As a result, the plan arrangement of the synagogue shifted from basilican (linear) to axial, centered under the dome.[156]

Some of these features were evident in the two early historic synagogues in New Mexico, Temple Montefiore (1886; moved and remodelled in 1925; sold in 1957 and currently used as a Newman Center) in Las Vegas and Temple Albert (1899-1900; sold in 1950; razed in 1958) in Albuquerque. Temple Montefiore fit the older pattern of synagogue architecture, with a basilican plan. (Photo 16) The exterior was a simplified Gothic Revival, with a Gothic spire over the single entry portal on the west (the building was reoriented when moved in 1925). Twelve windows, possibly representing the Tribes of Israel, line the nave; prior to 1918 they were remodelled from double hung sash to leaded stained glass. The Ark, as well as the *bimah*, was located in a narrow recess at the eastern end of the building; it was lighted by flanking side windows. In later remodellings an organ was placed on either side, and the windows boarded over. Other remodellings included changing the single portal entry to a double-door vestibule and altering the Gothic-windowed tower (with gables, narrow tin dome, and finial with a Star of David) to a pedimented course with a large dome and lantern. The building was placed on ground level at the new site, eliminating the original basement, which had been used as a Sunday School; restrooms, which had also been located in the basement, were added to the vestibule of the remodelled structure.[157]

In contrast, Temple Albert represented the Moorish Revival Style of synagogue architecture. (Photo 17) Constructed of brick in a square plan, the building featured a pyramidal roof topped by a large dome and lantern surmounted by a bulbous dome and finial.

155. Wischnitzer 15, 41-42, 45-47.
156. Wischnitzer 67-84.
157. Harvie.

Two symmetrical entry stairways climbed to the doors flanking the corner of a square brick vestibule, with barrel-vaulted portals; a smaller, windowed dome topped the vestibule. (In 1911 the Temple was remodelled, including changing the entry to single stair leading to an arched door in the truncated corner.) A prominent feature of the building were four roseate windows, each featuring a Star of David surrounded by eight circles. On the interior, the Neoclassical Ark and bimah, with Decalogue and Eternal Light, were located in the northeast corner; pews were arranged in a fan shape. Sunday school was held in the raised basement.

A third historic synagogue, B'Nai Israel, was constructed in 1941, just prior to the close of the period of significance for this historic context. This conservative congregation, largely composed of Eastern European immigrants who were originally Orthodox, had met in residences, rented halls, and other places as early as 1915. In 1937 the Ladies Auxiliary, which had been formed three years previously, bought a lot on the corner of Cedar and Coal; however, it took another four years to raise money for the building, which was constructed in a simplified California Mission Revival Style.[158]

Jewish Cemeteries

Often one of the first official actions of the gathered Jewish community in Western towns was the purchase of land for their own cemetery, and New Mexico was no exception. In the same year it was formed - 1883 - Albuquerque's Lodge No. 336 of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith undertook to obtain land for burials, although the formal organization of a cemetery association did not occur until 1892. In 1888 Congregation Montefiore of Las Vegas purchased land from the Odd Fellows for a cemetery.[159] As a general rule, Jewish cemeteries resemble those of their neighboring Gentiles, with the notable exception of Hebrew letters and Jewish symbolism, such as the Star of David, on tombstones.

Resources Associated with Mainstream Protestantism

Protestant Churches

Protestant churches, introduced to New Mexico with the immigration of Anglo-Americans starting in 1846, vary considerably in design, form, and workmanship. Nevertheless, some general characteristics can be noted as well as traits or trends specific to particular denominations.

158. Tobias 144-145.
159. Tobias 108, 112.

Just as the Roman Catholic mission or parish church represents the basic form of the Hispanic house expanded to the limits of the construction methods (wall and beam and post and beam) and materials (adobe, ledge stone, and wood), so also do early Protestant churches derive from an early Anglo-American house form (a rectangular plan with gabled roof), except that the main entrance is most often on the gable end, rather than the side entrance of most houses. This was accompanied by the simplest plan - a straight nave, often illuminated by side windows, which could be elaborated by narthex and sometimes backed-up by rooms near the sanctuary. (Plans 18-23)

The Greek Revival, which was fashionable in the East during the 1820s, was certainly suggested by the location of the entry in the gable end. Although there was only one full-fledged temple front structure constructed in New Mexico during the Territorial Period - the Las Vegas Presbyterian Church (1871-1873), detailing such as returns on the gable eaves, corner molding, and dentil courses over doors and windows often suggested the Greek Revival Style. In the case of the Las Vegas Presbyterian Church, a pitched roof was extended forward and supported by four square, tapering wooden columns, with molding for capitals and bases, to form the pediment of a temple front entry (Photo 18).

In contrast, by the time it arrived in New Mexico, the architecture of the Protestant Episcopal Church tended toward the Gothic or Tudor (Tudoresque) revivals. This was mainly due to the efforts of the Cambridge Camden Society, which was founded in England in 1836 and became the Ecclesiological Society in 1846. Largely based on the High Church theology of the 1830s Oxford Movement, the Society advocated the revival of English parish church architecture through their publication Ecclesiologist and by offering design advice along with both measured drawings and model plans of Gothic Revival churches. In the United States, the first publication on Gothic architecture was Bishop John Henry Hopkins' Essay on Gothic Architecture of 1836; adding to this and a rising interest in the Gothic Revival was the founding of the New York Ecclesiological Society in 1848, which like its English prototype published a periodical, the New York Ecclesiologist, and offered plans for model parish churches. Thus by the second half of nineteenth century, there was sufficient foundation for the use of the Gothic Revival Style, with distinguishing elements such as pointed, stained glass windows; chancels separated from the nave; scissor and knee-braced trusses; etc. as well as the Tudor Revival, featuring steeply pitched roofs with side gables; exposed half timbering; and tall, narrow windows with small lights, set in multiple groups.[160]

160. Phoebe B. Stanton, *The Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste 1840-1856* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968.

New Mexican Episcopalian churches were often constructed of brick or stone, with heavy mullioned, arched windows, either single centered or asymmetrical towers, and a pronounced chancel. (Photos 20, 21, and 26) On the interior, stained glass was commonly used for the windows and exposed wood roof members, such as scissor trusses and hammer beams, as well as other timbering were stained dark in the English mode. Although Protestant Episcopal churches were constructed in other styles in the twentieth century - most notably the Spanish Pueblo Revival Style St. James Episcopal in Clovis (John Gaw Meem, 1945), most of the early structures and many of the later ones feature a decidedly English Gothic Revival.

However, the Episcopalians were not the only denomination to use the Gothic Revival, as witnessed by a number of Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian structures. (Photos 22-27) Often, this was suggested through small design elements, such as pointed windows and doors or bell towers with Gothic spires; this style has become known as Carpenter Gothic. Notable among the styles also used by Protestants was the Romanesque Revival, with its rounded arched windows and corbelled parapets. In the twentieth century, regional revival styles were used, starting with California Mission and continuing with Spanish Pueblo and Territorial. (Photos 28 and 29) In addition, some other styles were employed such as Neoclassical and even Craftsman. (Photos 30 and 31) For example, the latter, along with the Gothic Revival, was used extensively by the Christian Reformed Church at their missions in northwest New Mexico.

Most Protestant churches are of a straight nave plan, with an entrance at one end and the sanctuary at the other. (Plans 18-23) Pews, oriented toward the sanctuary, line both sides of a center aisle. With the Protestant emphasis on the spoken word, the sanctuary usually consists of a raised dais with a lectern or pulpit (or both), except for those denominations that practice communion, in which case there is also an altar. Although plan arrangements vary, in general those churches that place a strong theological emphasis on adult baptism locate the font in a prominent position near the central focus of the church. (Plans 24-27) It usually constitutes a sort of alcove set apart from and behind the sanctuary area by a proscenium arch, which often features curtains. Steps generally lead up to the font from either side, and the wall behind is often decorated with a mural representing a pastoral or riverside scene. Behind this area are changing rooms.

Other plan elements are often clustered around the entrance or behind the sanctuary. Near the entrance can be a vestibule, cloak room, restrooms, study, and, particularly after the turn of the century, "crying rooms" that had glass windows looking out into the hall allowing parents with young children to observe the service without disturbing the rest of the congregation. Behind the sanctuary area, or attached to the church in a wing, can be found classrooms, dining rooms, kitchens, meeting rooms, offices, restrooms, and studies.

Most Protestant churches have entrances in line with the central axis of the building. A significant exception to this are Methodist (Episcopal) churches with corner entrances, often located on an urban lot at the intersection of two streets. (Plans 28-32) The corner entrance is accentuated by a flight of steps up to a landing as well as a square tower forming a vestibule on the main (entry) level and a bell cote above. Aside from this exterior asymmetry, the interior arrangement often reveals a straightforward nave plan. However, there are a few other-than-linear plans. These consist of a sanctuary located in the corner of a generally squarish room, with pews located in a semicircular pattern facing the altar, separated by one or several aisles. Although most New Mexican Protestant churches have only one level to the main worship area, these corner-oriented also have a horseshoe balcony to accommodate additional congregations.

This plan type may be associated with the so-called Akron Plan, which originally developed in the Methodist Church during the latter half of the nineteenth century in Akron, Ohio and became popular throughout the United States. The Akron Plan consists of a corner-oriented worship area backed up to another area of similar dimensions that was normally used for services such as Sunday School but could be opened up, by means of a moveable partition, to combine into one large worship area, An example is architect Charles Barrett's 1922 Methodist Church in Las Vegas, which has a sanctuary (framed by an organ) in a corner near a partition that can separate two almost equal parts of a larger space, while auxiliary rooms within the building serve various other social functions. (Plan 28-32) In part, this reflects a changing emphasis in Protestant churches on social functions such as Sunday School. Although many churches had incorporated spaces for such functions in basements, during the twentieth century auxiliary buildings were constructed for this purpose. Some church complexes became large enough to encompass a full city block.

More recent arrivals to New Mexico such as some of the evangelical and fundamental denominations, in keeping with their theological emphasis on a renewal of the New Testament church and radical Protestantism, at first worshipped in private homes or public halls. When a congregation has become large enough to construct a church or their own, they have usually built simple halls with low gable roofs and little ornamentation, except the prominent lettering of the church's name on the facade.

Protestant Cemeteries

Protestant cemeteries were rarely located near a church. In urban areas, they were usually located at the edge of town (which may have subsequently been incorporated into the urban fabric). In rural areas, they are fenced plots of land, usually donated by one of the homesteading families, with tombstones and family plots arranged in ordered rows. As a

general rule, these cemeteries are distinguished by their gates, which are often large bent pipe affairs with the name of the community in bent steel letters welded upon the lintel above the gates. Important landscaping elements include funereal trees, shrubs, and flowers such as evergreens (cedars or junipers), lilacs, and irises, lilies, and roses.[161]

Resources Associated with Nineteenth-Century New Denominations

Mormon Settlements and Structures

When the Mormons began to expand into New Mexico from their core area of Utah, they brought with them town plans, architecture, and landscape designs that had evolved from their first days in Illinois, Missouri, and Ohio to their establishment of the State of Deseret (later renamed Utah) in the Great Basin. One of their principal beliefs was in the transformation of the land into an earthly heaven, and they translated this into a practical program of establishing order upon the landscape.[162]

Mormon town plans are unique. They derive from a directive expressed in a letter of Joseph Smith, in which the prophet described a vision of the "Plat of the City of Zion." The basic characteristics of this city, presented in an annotated drawing, are wide streets and large lots laid on an orthogonal grid. A unique aspect of the lots - 20 to each 10-acre block - is that they are turned to "face" in alternate directions. After the Mormon exodus to the Great Basin of Utah, this town plan was used as a paradigm for new settlements in the region.

The plan evolved gradually through use in Utah so that by the time it was applied in New Mexico, its characteristics were fairly standard. These include an orthogonal grid plan, with streets oriented to the cardinal directions; a religious building (in this case, the ward chapel) occupying a block at the center of the plan; wide streets, ranging from 75 to 100 feet; blocks divided into four lots, often 'facing' different directions; and irrigation ditches running along the sides of streets. The Mormon town was conceived as a self-sustaining community. Open fields surround the town, while house lots are large enough (1/2 acre) to include a house garden and often barns and livestock pens.[163]

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161. Jordan.

162. Mark P. Leone, "Archeology as the Science of Technology: Mormon Town Plans and Fences," *The Goals and Scope of Archeology*, ed. C. L. Redman (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1972) 145-146.

163. Richard V. Francaviglia, "The Mormon Landscape: Definition of an Image in the American West," *Annals, Association of American Geographers* 60 (1970): 59-61. Richard H. Jackson, "The Mormon Village: Genesis and Antecedents of the City of Zion Plan," *BYU Studies* 17 (1977) :223-240.

Several of the Mormon towns in New Mexico, including Bluewater, Kirtland, Ramah, and Virden, clearly exhibit one or more of these characteristics, although somewhat modified. Ramah had town blocks that were 36 rods square and divided into eight lots of approximately one acre each. Kirtland was originally laid out in a grid pattern oriented to the cardinal directions, with the north/south streets named first through sixth and the east/west streets named for prominent Mormons: Brigham, Hammond, and Lyman. The blocks were 0.1 mile square. However, over the years lots have been subdivided and the street pattern gradually encroached upon. The townsite of Virden consisted of 9 blocks of 4 lots each. These were divided by 66-foot wide streets originally named A, B, and C streets (north-south) and A, B, and C avenues (east-west). A block was reserved for the school grounds on the east side, and the temple was located on lots 1 and 4 to the west. Other towns, such as Fruitland, Hammond, and Jackson (although the latter two are uncertain) seem to have evolved in a disbursed pattern of land ownership, with no central town plat. All were modified according to the restraints of topography.[164]

Mormon meeting houses or ward chapels were usually among the first structures to be built after houses were completed and the settlement had achieved ward status. Construction varied according to the materials at hand. In 1883, the settlers of Ramah built a 28 X 18-foot log cabin on the south side of their public square to serve as a meeting house, school, and social hall. In the same year, a 34 X 20-foot whitewashed adobe meeting house was constructed in Fruitland; another section was added later to form a T-shaped plan. A 20 X 26-foot log structure was built as a meeting house in 1885-1886 in the La Plata area; a new meeting house was built in Jackson in 1892. In 1907, a new one was completed in Kirtland to replace the old one in Fruitland. In the same year, a log meeting house was built in Bluewater. In 1914, a new meeting house "of cedar logs" was built in Hammond. All of these structures have been replaced by newer ward chapels.165

The only surviving early Mormon chapels or temples are located in Luna and Virden. The ward chapel in Luna, which also functioned as a schoolhouse, is a cross-T plan log structure with metal gable roof. The Mormon temple in Virden is a Neoclassical Style building constructed of locally-produced cement bricks, which give it a distinctive grey color, accented by inset panels of white-framed windows, as well as a white water table and corner pilasters. The prominent steeple is located over the entry to the main hall, while a narthex with an arched wood panel over the door marks the entrance to the older chapel.

164. Telling 117-136.
165. Palmer 22, 46, 50-51, 78. Telling 121. Tietjen, *Encounter with the Frontier*, 80.

Architectural Regional Revivalism and other Sources of Church Designs in the Twentieth Century

About the time New Mexico attained Statehood, advocates of the State's attractions began to look back upon the historic styles of the past, rather than emphasizing the latest architectural fashions, as their predecessors had under Territorial status. This trend had its origins around the turn of the century, when the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway, in conjunction with the Fred Harvey Company, began constructing depots and Harvey Houses in the California Mission Revival style. The Pueblo style was first used in New Mexico for the remodeling of Hodgin Hall at the University of New Mexico campus in Albuquerque in 1908 by architect E. B. Cristy under the leadership of University president, William G. Tight. More influential however, were the new portal of the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe, "restored" in 1913 by Jesse L. Nusbaum for Director Edgar L. Hewett of the newly created (1909) Museum of New Mexico and New/Old Santa Fe Exhibition sponsored the same year by the City of Santa Fe to promote the so-called "Santa Fe Style." Also influential was I. H. and W. M. Rapp's 1915 design for the New Mexico Building at the San Diego Panama-California Exposition, an amalgamation based on San Estevan church and *convento* at Acoma and several other mission churches Later reproduced as a permanent structure for the New Mexico Museum of Fine Arts on the northwest corner of Santa Fe's plaza, the Rapp design effectively demonstrated the viability of a style based on New Mexico Spanish Mission precedents for large public buildings constructed in modern materials. By the year 1921, when both the new Federal Building and La Fonda Hotel in downtown Santa Fe were designed in the new style, the revival was well established.[166]

The rise of a revival style based to a large extent on the region's Spanish Colonial mission churches reflected a growing interest in the buildings themselves. Although efforts to save and restore San Miguel Church in Santa Fe were begun as early as 1883, the publication of former Governor L. Bradford Prince's *Spanish Mission Churches in New Mexico* in 1915 was a turning point. Prince called attention to the unique features of the State's mission monuments, in contrast to those of California, and argued for their preservation both from weather and the works of man. Two years before, the Society for the Preservation of Spanish Antiquities in New Mexico had been incorporated with the object of "the protection and preservation of churches, buildings, landmarks, places and articles of historic interest connected with the Spanish and Mexican occupation of New Mexico." In addition to Prince as president, the Society's board of directors included Archbishop John Baptist Pitaval as

166. Chris Wilson, "The Spanish Pueblo Revival Defined, 1904-1921," *New Mexico Studies in the Fine Arts* 7 (1982): 24-30.

honorary president. However, despite appeals for funds for stabilization of the ruins at Giusewa near Jemez and repairs to San Estevan at Acoma, the Society was not able to do much real work.[167]

The precedent established by the Society for the Preservation of Spanish Antiquities in New Mexico was soon followed by the Committee for the Preservation and Restoration of the New Mexican Mission Churches, chaired by Archbishop Albert Thomas Daeger of Santa Fe. Spearheaded by patroness Anne Evans and architect Burnham Hoyt of Denver and Carlos Vierra and architect John Gaw Meem of Santa Fe, with building materials supplied by lumbering firm head William P. McPhee of Denver, the Committee began in 1922 by restoring the roof of the Laguna church. The achievements of the Committee (after 1932 as the Society for the Preservation of New Mexico Mission Churches) eventually included restoration work on Nuestra Señora de la Asunción at Zia (1923); San Esteban at Acoma (roof, 1924; walls and foundations, 1926; towers, 1929-1930); and San José de Gracia at Las Trampas (roof and towers, 1931-1932), as well as the purchase for the Archdiocese of Santa Fe of the Santuario at Chimayó (1929).

The efforts of the Committee/Society ceased with the death of Archbishop Daeger in 1932 and the deepening of the Depression. In 1934, the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) was established to give unemployed architects work recording historic structures. John Gaw Meem, who served on the national advisory committee, along with regional director Leicester B. Hyde, supervised the recordation of the mission churches of San Esteban at Acoma, San José at Laguna, and San Miguel in Santa Fe as well as San Francisco de Asis (Ranchos de Taos), the Durán Chapel at Talpa, and the Santuario de Chimayó. This trend toward the recognition of the architectural heritage of New Mexico's Spanish Colonial churches culminated in George Kubler's Yale doctoral thesis, which was published in 1940 as *The Religious Architecture of New Mexico*.

John Gaw Meem, a leading proponent of these projects did not limit his efforts to recording and restoring churches. As an architect he was not only a leading exponent of the Spanish-Pueblo Revival and Territorial Revival styles but also a leading designer of church buildings. Of the 32 church structures with which he was associated, almost half (15) were designed in the Spanish-Pueblo Revival style, which was popular among Roman Catholics as well as Protestants, and three in the Territorial Revival style.[168] (John Gaw Meem's contributions as a church architect are discussed in greater detail below in the section on architects associated with religious structures in New Mexico.)

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167. Kessell 24.

168. Bainbridge Bunting, *John Gaw Meem: Southwestern Architect* (Albuquerque: School of American Research/University of New Mexico Press, 1983) 116-128.

The publication of books of examples or model plans of churches by both architectural associations and construction material companies became popular during this period. An example of the former is the publication by The American Architect in 1915 of *American Churches*, described as "A Series of Authoritative Articles on Designing, Planning, Heating, Ventilating, Lighting and General Equipment of Churches as Demonstrated by the Best Practice in the United States," with an introduction by the leading Gothic Revival architect Ralph Adams Cram. In the same year, the Hydraulic-Press Brick Company, clearly touting its products, published the results of a competition for a "small brick church and parish house" that included plans, perspectives, and articles on architectural features such as stained glass and church ornaments. An example at the regional level is *Little Churches*, published by the Church Art Commission of the Diocese of Colorado in 1923. The book, written with small parishes in mind, featured five designs for a church with a seating capacity of 75 by architects from Denver and Colorado Springs, as well as articles on decorations and miscellaneous subjects, including a piece on stained glass by Ralph Adams Cram. The plans, which could be purchased from the individual architects for a fee of $25.00, ranged in style from Georgian Revival to Spanish Colonial Revival, with one singular design featuring a regional version of the Craftsman Style with Gothic Revival overtones. Although it is not known whether any of these books and their designs were used for churches in New Mexico, they must have been influential, judging from their presence in Meem's and other architects' libraries.

In addition to architectural plan books several interdenominational architectural organizations were formed to foster the construction of church buildings. The Interdenominational Bureau of Architecture, under the direction of Elbert M. Conover (who had authored *Building the House of God* in 1928 for the Methodist Book Concern), published a series of informational pamphlets on church architecture, including *Church Building Finance, Rebuilding the Town and Country Church, Building for Worship, Building and Equipment for Religious Education, Planning Church Buildings*, and *The Church Building Guide*. The Church Architectural Guild of America was formed as an association of architects who specialized in ecclesiastical buildings; it later became the Guild for Religious Architecture (1940), which together with the American Society for Church Architecture and Commission on Church Planning and Architecture merged in 1979 to become the Interfaith Forum on Religion, Art, and Architecture. Another influential twentieth century organization was the (Roman Catholic) Liturgical Arts Society (1928-1972). Little is known about the influence of these groups on the design of religious structures in New Mexico. W. Miles Brittelle was a member of the Church Architectural Guild of America, and Meem a member of the Guild for Religious Architecture. In the correspondence between Meem's office and the Immanuel Presbyterian Church in Albuquerque, several publications of the Interdenominational Bureau

of Architecture are mentioned. Finally, there are scattered references to specific church design groups, such as the attribution of the First Baptist Church in Las Vegas to the Architect's Department of the Southern Baptist Convention.

Despite the rise of the Spanish-Pueblo Revival in the early twentieth century, other styles continued to be employed New Mexico churches. Roman Catholic churches continued to be constructed in styles derived from the early Spanish Colonial, Mexican, and Territorial periods, as well as the California Mission Revival, Romanesque Revival, and Spanish Baroque. Protestant Episcopalians continued to emphasize either Gothic Revival or Tudoresque. Designs of other Protestant Churches varied widely in style, ranging from the more traditional European ecclesiastical revivals (Gothic and Romanesque) to the regional revivals (California Mission as well as Spanish-Pueblo), and straightforward, utilitarian schemes.

Architects Associated with Religious Buildings in Mexico

Spanish Colonial and Mexican Periods (1598-1846)

Little is known about the members of the Franciscan order who planned and supervised the construction of the Spanish Colonial missions. Boyd Pratt has provided a list of possible friar architects of Pre-Revolt Spanish Colonial Mission churches by name, place, and date.[169] Even less is known of the designers later missions and parish churches before 1846.

Territorial Period (1846-1912)

Although Archbishop Lamy brought in French architects, Antoine and Projectus Mouly and later François Mallet, it was only in the wake of new towns and population prompted by the railroad that New Mexico saw an influx of building professionals. Architects, newly arrived by railroad, often associated themselves with one territorial town. Robert Black, a prolific architect and contractor in Silver City, designed and built the Methodist Church there in 1878-1880. In Las Vegas, Charles Wheelock designed the First Presbyterian Church (1881) as well as the Las Vegas Academy (1881-1882). Based on a newspaper report of obtaining stained glass windows while back East, it may be surmised that J. B. Randall was associated with the design of Holy Faith in Santa Fe. In Albuquerque, Edward B. Cristy (possibly in association with his brother Albert, who was minister there at that time) remodelled the First Congregational Church (1893) as well as the Immaculate Conception Catholic Church (1882),

169. Pratt, "The Religious Structures of New Mexico," 100.

and designed the First Presbyterian Church (1905), which he attended. Just prior to Statehood, Charles F. Whittlesey, who had been hired by the AT&SF to design the Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque, worked on two Methodist Episcopal churches during his brief sojourn in New Mexico: Albuquerque (1904, supervised by Cristy) and Silver City (1905). In Roswell, G. N. Amis designed the First Presbyterian Church in 1903, and J. M. Nelson did the First Baptist Church three years later.[170]

Statehood Period (1912-1945)

The idea of looking to New Mexico sources for historic architecture got its start with the "Pueblo" remodeling Hodgin Hall at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque by the architect E. B. Cristy. Early precedents for the Spanish-Pueblo Revival were the designs based on mission churches by I. H. and W. M Rapp for the Gross Kelly Warehouse (1913) and the New Mexico Building at the San Diego Panama-California Exposition (1915), later recreated in Santa Fe for the Fine Arts Museum (1917). The Rapps went on to design other influential buildings in the style in Santa Fe, such as two buildings at Sunmount Sanatorium (1914, 1920) and La Fonda (1920).[171]

John Gaw Meem (1894-1983) whose practice as a architect spanned a 35-year period from 1924-1959, was not only a leading exponent of regional revival architecture but a major designer of churches in all areas of the state in a range of styles. The son of a clergyman and a devout Episcopalian, Meem was associated in some manner with the design of 32 church structures. These included commissions for the Protestant Episcopal Church (12 churches and parish halls and two rectories), the Roman Catholic Church (where he acted as architectural advisor during the tenure of Archbishop Rudolph Gerken [1933-1943]), and other Protestant denominations such as the Baptists and Lutherans. This large amount of religious architectural work was due to a combination of factors, including his skill as a designer, interest in the historic architecture of the region, and willingness to reduce or waive his fees for church commissions.[172].

170. Boyd C. Pratt, comp. and ed., *Directory of Historic New Mexico Architects*, manuscript, Historic Preservation Division, Santa Fe, 1988.

171. Carl D. Sheppard, *Creator of the Santa Fe Style: Isaac Hamilton Rapp, Architect* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988) 88-98.

172. Bunting, *John Gaw Meem*, 116-117.

A listing of religious structures designed by Meem is given in Appendix 3, Section E by project number, name, location and date.[173] Almost half (15) of his commissions were designed in the Spanish-Pueblo Revival style, which was popular among Roman Catholics as well as Protestants. One of his common motifs was the simple, single nave church fronted by twin buttresses enclosing a second-story portal. The main facade was often topped by a stepped *espadaña* (bell-cote) reminiscent of the English parish church designs recommended by the Ecclesiologists of the mid-nineteenth century. In addition to his own designs, Meem also assisted Father Aguellus Lammert with the design and construction of four Roman Catholic churches in the Acoma/Laguna region during the 1930s. Perhaps his most famous Spanish-Pueblo Revival structure is Cristo Rey (1940) in Santa Fe. One of the largest modern adobe structures in existence, the church was built to commemorate the 400th anniversary of Coronado's exploration of the Southwest and houses the stone *reredos* (altar screen) from the Castrense Chapel, which originally stood on the south side of the Santa Fe Plaza.[174]

Of the other revival styles, Meem employed some form of Gothic for 10 of his designs (six of which were for the Protestant Episcopal Church), the Territorial Revival style for three, and the Romanesque and California Mission styles each in one instance. Notable among his Gothic Revival designs are the various additions and alterations to Holy Faith in Santa Fe and St. John's in Albuquerque, as well as remodels to Grace in Carlsbad and St. Andrew's in Roswell, all Episcopalian.[175]

Meem's work is exemplary as a regional response to the contemporary debate between traditional, nineteenth-century revival styles, most notably the Gothic, and new, twentieth century functionalism, or Modernism. Although Meem worked with both, he commonly argued for a third way: the use of a functionalist approach expressed in the "symbolic form" of a regional style - most often the Spanish-Pueblo Revival, but also Territorial Revival. In an article entitled "Old Forms for New Buildings," he stated:

> Some old forms are so honest, so completely logical and native to the environment that one finds - to his delight and surprise - that modern problems can be solved and are best solved by the use of forms based on tradition.[176]

A review of Meem's correspondence with church clients in his job files reveals a willingness to be flexible in responding to his client's wishes while advocating the importance of a regionalist approach. For instance, while the Diocese of Gallup first requested "some

173. Pratt, "Religious Structures of New Mexico," Table 4, 64.
174. Bunting, *John Gaw Meem*, 117-128.
175. Bunting, *John Gaw Meem*, 117-128.
176. Qtd. in Bunting, *John Gaw Meem*, 24.

style of architecture in keeping with this Navajo city," and later suggested the Gothic style for the new Sacred Heart Cathedral in Gallup, Meem originally suggested a modern, exposed concrete structure, citing the popularity of his Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center (1934); however, he ultimately settled on a Romanesque Revival building (albeit with modern detailing, including concrete arches), suggesting a reference to both St. Francis Cathedral in Santa Fe and St. Michael's (and other churches) in Arizona constructed by the German Franciscans who headed the new diocese. In the case of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church in Las Cruces, Meem repeatedly suggested the use of the Territorial Revival (with Baroque detailing in deference to one vestryman's taste), arguing that it was more economical. However, he quickly backed down in the face of firm vestry opposition, providing three schemes (Territorial Revival, Baroque, and Modern) for their perusal.[177]

Meem was not the only architect in New Mexico designing churches. Appendix 4, Section E provides a table of other architects who designed New Mexico churches in the period 1912-1950 by name, church, date, and place.[178] The number of practicing architects who advertised in business directories fluctuated from about 20 to 25 from the time of Statehood to the end of World War II, after which it rose rapidly. New Mexico adopted an architectural registration act in 1931, which was made more stringent in 1939.

Architects were located around the state in concentrations depending largely on population and building activity. Albuquerque, having the largest population and correspondingly the most architects, featured the largest number of church designers; Roswell and Santa Fe also had several. A few architects in El Paso also received New Mexican commissions, because of their proximity to the southern region of the state.

In general, architects received commissions from denominations of which churches they were members; however, this was not always the case. While A. W. Boehning, Sr. and R. R. Springman, both of Albuquerque, received commissions almost solely from the Roman Catholic Church, W. Miles Brittelle also of Albuquerque and a Presbyterian, designed churches for the Baptists and Methodists as well as his own denomination. Otto H. Thorman of El Paso designed for the Baptists, Episcopalians, and Lutherans.[179]

177. Meem files, John Gaw Meem Archive of Southwestern Architecture, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

178. Pratt, "Religious Structures of New Mexico," Table 5, 68.

179. Pratt, comp. and ed., "Directory of Historic New Mexico Architects."

APPENDIX 1

Growth of Major Denominations in New Mexico, 1906-1936

Denomination	Census of Religious Bodies 1906	1916	1926	1936
Baptists Northern	2,331 57/27	-	-	-
Baptists Southern	61 4/0	6,721 135/61	9,570 127/71	8,687 75/47
Congregationalists	270 5/4	366 7/7	709 8/9	802 8/5
Churches of Christ	129 5/0	1,333 51/13	2,032 44/28	3,077 43/24
Disciples of Christ	963 11/5	2,284 33/12	2,662 19/18	2,249 14/13
Latter Day Saints (Mormons)	684 5/4	1,484 7/7	367 5/5	2,296 9/6
Methodist Episcopal	3,513 62/50	4,385 77/57	3,914 45/30	2,363 24/23
Methodist Episcopal (South)	2,882 48/25	7,120 114/47	8,848 101/60	10,225 80/58
Presbyterian USA	2,864 53/43	3,892 62/48	4,937 61/49	5,623 61/56
Protestant Episcopal	869 18/13	1,718 45/23	2,258 50/27	3,479 48/28
Roman Catholic	121,558 330/284	177,727 476/370	174,287 518/452	196,759 503/413

Note: The first line for each denomination is the total church membership; the second line represents the number of congregations/number of church edifices.

APPENDIX 2

Growth of Fundamentalist and Southern Denominations
in Southeastern New Mexico, 1906-1936

	Chaves	Curry	Dona Ana	Eddy	Lea	Otero	Quay	Roose-velt
Southern Baptists								
1906	435	+	17	283	#	276	127	522
1916	799	1013	191	558	#	366	1007	558
1926	746	1632	680	477	367	317	670	906
1936	62	815	125	925	568	483	850	1295
Churches of Christ								
1906	*	+	*	*	#	*	*	*
1916	175	39	0	123	#	119	194	262
1926	201	212	125	185	60	147	90	319
1936	325	266	302	417	299	291	62	350
Disciples of Christ								
1906	398	+	0	142	#	60	0	50
1916	534	248	20	223	#	25	100	18
1926	477	600	100	283	12	41	50	115
1936	420	506	0	247	109	0	117	159
Methodist Episcopal South								
1906	620	+	88	362	#	196	150	547
1916	1098	986	229	990	#	421	417	651
1926	1037	1644	824	984	249	448	797	211
1936	255	1936	965	1237	390	290	1049	947

* The Churches of Christ is not included in the listing by county in the 1906 census.
+ Curry County did not exist until 1909, when it was created from portions of Quay and Roosevelt counties.
# Lea County did not exist until 1917, when it was created from portions of Chaves and Eddy counties.

Sources: Censuses of Religious Bodies 1906, 1916, 1926, 1936.

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1993

APPENDIX 3

Religious Structures Designed by John Gaw Meem

Project Number	Name	Location	Date(s)
12	Church of the Holy Faith	Santa Fe	
	Caryl Palen Memorial Hall		1926
	Classroom Addition		1945
	Chancel Enlargement		1953
	Diocesan House		1957
89	Presbyterian Church	Santa Fe	1927-1928
110	First Presbyterian Church	Santa Fe	
	Manse		1928
114,115	St. John's Cathedral	Albuquerque	
	Diocesan House		1930
198	St. Francis Cathedral	Santa Fe	
	Chapel?		19??
200	Santa Maria Church	McCarty's	1932
240	Archbishop's Residence	Santa Fe	1934
248	Santo Tomas Church	Abiquiu	1935
251	St. Francis Cathedral	Santa Fe	
	structural repairs		1940
292	St. Paul's Episcopal Church	Las Vegas	
	Chancel remodel		1948
297	First Presbyterian Church	Santa Fe	1939
315-A	El Cristo Rey Church	Santa Fe	1939-1942
318	St. John's Cathedral	Albuquerque	1951
318-A	St. Mark's on the Mesa	Albuquerque	
	Parish Hall		1948-1952
358	St. James Episcopal Church	Clovis	
	Rectory		1941
	Church		1945
371-A	Presbyterian Church	Taos	1952
397	Sacred Heart Cathedral	Gallup	1954-1955
490	Immanuel Lutheran Church	Santa Fe	1946-1948
513	First Presbyterian (remodel)	Las Vegas	1947-1948
548	St. Andrew's Episcopal Church	Roswell	1949
556	First Methodist Church	Las Vegas	
	Parsonage		1948-1949
557-A	Immanuel Presbyterian Church	Albuquerque	1948-1950
597	Santa Fe Jewish Center	Santa Fe	1951-1957
603	Grace Episcopal Church	Carlsbad	
	remodel		1952
613	St. Andrew's Episcopal Church	Las Cruces	
	Parish Hall		1953-1954
640	St. Matthew's Episcopal Church	Albuquerque	
	Parish Hall		1957
641	Episcopal Residence	Santa Fe	1957
649	First Baptist Church	Santa Fe	1959
652	First Methodist Church	Springer	
	Parsonage		1958

Sources: Bunting 1983
John Gaw Meem Archive of Southwestern Architecture

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APPENDIX 4

Architects of New Mexico Churches, 1912-1950

Architect	Church	Date	Place
Charles Barrett	First United Methodist	1921	Las Vegas
A. W. Boehning, Sr.	St. Charles Borromeo	1935	Albuquerque
	St. Joseph	1946	Aztec
	St. Xavier	1949	Albuquerque
	O.L. of Fatima School and Convent	1949	Albuquerque
W. Miles Brittelle	First Baptist	1937	Albuquerque
	Trinity Methodist	1945	Albuquerque
	First Presbyterian	1949	Albuquerque
	Central Methodist	1950	Albuquerque
	First Presbyterian	19??	Grants
William E. Burke, Jr.	St. Luke's Lutheran	1956	Albuquerque
Joseph B. Burwinkle	B'Nai Israel Synagogue	1941	Albuquerque
	St. Therese	1956	Albuquerque
C. R. Carr	First Baptist additions	1927, 1929	Roswell
W. B. Cramer	M.E. Church South	1924	Clovis
Sylvan B. Haynes	First M.E. South	1929	Portales
Truman Mathews	Methodist	19??	Gallup
Richard P. Milner	First Baptist	1950	Raton
	Baptist Convention Building	1951	Albuquerque
	St. Mary Convent & St. Therese	1955	Albuquerque
	First Avenue Baptist	1955	Albuquerque
Elson Norris	Spanish M.E.	19??	Albuquerque
R. R. Springman	St. Charles	1932	Albuquerque
	St. Mary's Grade School	1948	Albuquerque
	Blessed Sacrament Chapel	1951	Albuquerque
Otto H. Thurman	Immanuel Lutheran	1918	Albuquerque
	Episcopal	1920	Clovis
	Episcopal	1921	Fort Sumner
	First Baptist	1926	Las Cruces
	Episcopal Rectory	1937	Las Cruces

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F. Associated Property Types

CONTENTS

Property Type:

CHURCH BUILDINGS ASSOCIATED WITH THE PRACTICE OF CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS

Subtypes:

1. CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
2. PROTESTANT CHURCHES

(Note: Although the scope of this nomination as defined in the Historic Context covers a broad range of religious groups and types of resources, at this time only the property type of Christian church buildings has been developed based on the extensive survey of churches completed by the Historic Preservation Division. The two subtypes, Catholic and Protestant, focus on the characteristics that define properties associated with these broad branches of Christianity and are intended to serve as a guide for identifying of churches within these traditions. In the future, additional subtypes can be defined.

New property types can also be developed for parallel resources that are not Christian, such as synagogues and Unitarian churches, and for other types of property, including structures and sites, such as *descansos*, shrines, and *camposantos*, all features associated with the Roman Catholic faith in New Mexico; and Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish cemeteries. However cemeteries should only be considered religious structures if they are specifically associated with religious ceremonies, observances, or worship. In addition, other property types can be developed to cover resources associated with Eastern religions in New Mexico, such as the Ba'hai, Buddhist and Moslem faiths, expanding the Contest Statement where necessary. Native American religious structures have equal potential significance and would merit a similar level of study, leading either to an expansion of this nomination with another Historic Context and corresponding Property Types or to an independent Multiple Property nomination.)

CHURCH BUILDINGS ASSOCIATED WITH THE PRACTICE OF CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS

Description

Buildings under this property type are places of Christian worship and related structures associated with a church complex such as halls, convents, or residences for the clergy. Of the 686 churches surveyed in New Mexico, the number of Roman Catholic examples (391) is more than half of the total and far exceeds that of any other single denomination. The second most numerous are the Baptist denominations (61) followed by the different branches of Methodism (45), and the Presbyterian (32) and Episcopal (26) denominations. The Church of Christ is represented by 18 structures and the Assembly of God by 11. Numerous other denominations are represented by less than 10 resources. A detailed breakdown of the numbers of surveyed examples found among 44 denominations and their branches is provided below in Appendix 1, Section F.[1]

These resources are located in all parts of the state, many in cities and towns; some are the dominant structures in small settlements, and others stand alone in relatively isolated rural settings. Roman Catholic churches are found in all regions but predominate in the north and north central areas and are least prevalent in the southeastern quadrant. Of the resources associated with the second largest denomination, the Baptist, nearly two thirds (39) are located in the eastern half of the state and another five are in Albuquerque.

Most of the Methodist churches are also located in the eastern and southern parts of the state where Protestantism prevailed historically. All of the 18 surveyed Church of Christ building that were found in the southern or central part of the state, generally in small farming towns. In contrast many of the 32 surveyed Presbyterian churches are located in predominantly Hispanic communities, such as Chacon, Mora, Truchas, Dixon, Ranchos de Taos, El Rito, and Chimayó. The geographical distribution of churches in 1940 by denomination is illustrated by Maps 7-29.[2]

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1. From Boyd Pratt, "Religious Structures of New Mexico: A Historic Overview," New Mexico Historic Preservation Division, 1993, Table 11, 156.

2. These maps were reordered from those in Pratt, "Religious Structures of New Mexico," Figures 5-27, 75-97. They illustrate the distribution of Christian denominations in 1940 and were based on the *Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in New Mexico* produced by the New Mexico Historical Records Survey in 1940. For the most part, each denomination, including various branches, has been recorded on a separate map. In some cases, special denominations have been grouped together in one map, such as African American Churches the various Churches of God, and the Pentecostals. Educational and health institutions have been noted on the same map as congregations for the Presbyterians and United Brethren.

Of the 686 churches surveyed, four were found to date from the 17th century, 13 from the 18th century, 144 from the 19th century, and 525 from the 20th century. Of these 25 date from the Spanish Colonial period (1598-1820); 17 from the Mexican Period (1821-1846); 40 from the pre-railroad Territorial Period (1847-1879); 194 from the post-railroad Territorial Period (1880-1912); 42 from statehood through World War I (1913-1918); 345 from the post-World War I period (1919-1945); and 20 from 1946 to the present. Thus only 17 of the surveyed churches predate 1800, and just over three-quarters are twentieth-century structures. This large proportion of twentieth-century churches reflects the state's major population growth in the twentieth century as well as the loss of early churches through abandonment, demolition, fire, and other causes. A complete compilation of the construction dates of surveyed churches by century and historical period is given below in Appendix 2, Section F.[3]

All surveyed church buildings dating from before the American takeover in 1846 are Roman Catholic. Of the 144 nineteenth century churches, all but 26 are Roman Catholic; of these most are Presbyterian or Episcopalian. Of the most prevalent Protestant denominations, none of the 61 surveyed Baptist churches and only three of the 45 surveyed Methodist churches are older than 1900 - the latter built at the end of the twentieth century. Eight of the surveyed Presbyterian churches predate 1900 and nine of the Episcopal.

Over half (362) of all (686) surveyed structures are constructed of adobe, and another 15 percent (105) are of stone. A complete tabulation of the structural materials used for exterior walls is given in Appendix 3, Section F.[4] The large majority of the adobe and stone churches are Roman Catholic, in keeping with the Hispanic masonry building tradition and all of the 17 churches built before 1800 are constructed of adobe (14) or stone (3). The stone structures are usually made of rough stone set in mud mortar and are similar to adobe structures in the way the material is used. There is an expected geographic concentration of adobe and stone churches along the Rio Grande Valley and in north central New Mexico where Hispanic communities predominate, and within these areas, the choice of either adobe or stone depends to a large extent upon geologic conditions. For example, in the northeast phase of the survey, 32 Roman Catholic churches were surveyed in Rio Arriba County, and all are adobe except for one stone church and one brick church, both at San Juan Pueblo. Of the 52 Roman Catholic churches surveyed in San Miguel County, 20 are stone and the remainder adobe. In Torrance County, of the 15 Roman Catholic churches surveyed, 11 are stone and only four adobe.

3. From Pratt, "Religious Structures of New Mexico," Table 12, 158.
4. From Pratt, "Religious Structures of New Mexico," Table 14, 162.

Among the 110 surveyed frame structures throughout the state, only nine were Roman Catholic, and these were located outside of the traditionally Hispanic areas. In contrast, among the 201 Roman Catholic churches surveyed in Northeast New Mexico, not one was frame construction. Frame structures are generally associated with Protestant (particularly Evangelical) churches in the eastern and southern portions of the state. Most of the 37 surveyed brick churches were found in urban areas.

Some unusual materials were noted, including cast stone (First United Methodist in Albuquerque and First Christian in Melrose), concrete brick (Church of the Latter Day Saints in Virden), and logs (Navajo Traditional Church in Crystal). Some of these materials, such as cast stone and concrete brick, reflect local technology, others traditional building techniques, as in the use of logs on the Navajo Reservation.

The surveyed churches exhibited five types of floor plans, four of which are illustrated and all five tabulated by numbers of examples in Appendix 4, Section F.[5] The fifth type, irregular, varies so widely that no attempt at illustration could be made. In categorizing the plan of the building, later additions were usually ignored and only the original building was considered. Irregular plans are usually created by auxiliary spaces rather than non-traditional areas of worship.

Plans correlate closely with denominations. The cruciform plan and the apse plan, with or without a sacristy, are traditional arrangements used in historic Roman Catholic churches in New Mexico. Rectangular plans relate closely to Protestant church architecture. There are exceptions to these generalizations, of course. The Episcopal Church, a Protestant denomination, adopted both apse and cruciform plans as part of the Gothic Revival. A substantial number (109) of Roman Catholic churches have been built with rectangular plans. The churches with irregular plans are primarily Protestant, and often reflect the presence of classrooms, fellowship halls, and pastor's studies.

A table of 15 predominant characteristics of the surveyed churches classified in three categories, Roman Catholic, 1750-1815; Roman Catholic, 1880-1930; and Protestant, 1846-1945 in provided in Appendix 5, Section F.[6] The condition of the 686 surveyed churches, based on the judgement of the individual surveyors, was tabulated as follows: good 396, fair 187, and deteriorating 103.

5. From Pratt, "Religious Structures of New Mexico," Figure 80 and Table 13, 160.
6. From Pratt, "Religious Structures of New Mexico," Table 6, 98.

Significance

In the statement of purpose for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, Congress declared that "the spirit and direction of the Nation are founded upon and reflected in its historic heritage" and that "the historical and cultural foundations of the Nation should be preserved as a living part of our community life and development in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people." A vital segment of the Nation's heritage consists of religious structures that form part of its historical and cultural foundation. Churches have long been recognized as a significant cultural expression in New Mexico which reflect in a significant manner its rich and complex history and culture.

Material things made by people, such as buildings, structures, sites, objects, or even districts, often reflect the various attitudes, beliefs, and values of the culture in which they are produced, and changes in their style, design, or method of construction in turn reflect changes in culture or society. Church buildings are no exception to this generalization; in fact, if anything, they are more indicative of values and how they have changed than are other material artifacts of culture. Church buildings in New Mexico derive significance from their association with events, people, or construction or design traditions that form an important part of the state's culture and history.

Examples of this close relationship between religious structures and the cultures that produced them occur throughout the history of New Mexico: the Roman Catholic mission churches stand as a testament to the church's effort to convert the Pueblos, while parish churches, often centered in a plaza, remain a focus of the village community, celebrating not only everyday life but also such significant events as birth, marriage, and death. In the nineteenth century, the new, French Roman Catholic priesthood disdained the centuries-old Spanish Colonial tradition of church building and advocated the revival of the Gothic and Romanesque as the proper ecclesiastical contexts for worship. In contrast Anglo-American Protestants introduced simple, stripped-down churches that emphasized the fundamental ceremony of reading and preaching the Word. Later styles followed, until a renewed interest in the state's architectural heritage led to the twentieth-century Spanish Pueblo Revival Style. Nor are these changes reflected only in new construction; witness the various transformations of the Guadalupe Church in Santa Fe: first erected in the Spanish Colonial building tradition (c. 1795); then "Gothicized" (1881); later "missionized" (1922); and now "restored" (1976-present).

New Mexico Christian churches can have significance under each of the four criteria of the National Register. They are significant under Criterion A in as much as the history of religious development in New Mexico is closely related to the history of European settlement and cultural change in the region. One of the stated aims of Spanish Colonialism was the

conversion of native peoples to Christianity, and the resulting Roman Catholic mission complexes are witnesses to this effort. In addition, the Spanish colonists also established churches in their settlements, many of which remain today.

In the Territorial Period, beginning with the American Occupation of 1846, the Roman Catholic Church underwent a reformation under the guidance of Archbishop Jean Baptiste Lamy and his successors. Judaism and Protestantism were introduced into New Mexico as well. The arrival of the railroad in 1879, accelerated this trend, bringing in large numbers of immigrants who introduced new denominations. The railroad also led to the development of new towns and the settlement of the peripheral areas of New Mexico by Anglo-Americans who spread the development of mainstream Protestant religions as well as other, non-traditional denominations, such as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, who established cooperative communal settlements in the region. Twentieth century national trends in the development of religion, such as the social gospel and the rise of fundamentalist denominations, occurred in New Mexico as well. Evangelical and fundamentalist denominations were introduced into the region through immigrants to the eastern and southern part of the state.

New Mexico churches are significant under Criterion B when they are associated with persons significant to the religious and cultural history of New Mexico, such as missionaries, pioneers, and leaders of the Catholic and mainstream Protestant faiths and the founders of later, new religions in the Christian tradition all of whom had considerable impact on the religious and cultural history of New Mexico.

New Mexico churches are significant under Criterion C for distinctive design values derived through type and period. The seventeenth-century, Spanish Colonial mission churches are probably the most well known examples of this; however, later Hispanic village churches and *moradas* are also unique. The influence of Lamy and other French priests on New Mexican church architecture, emphasizing the use of "proper" ecclesiastical revival styles such as Gothic and Romanesque, is extremely significant during the Territorial Period. Protestant church design varies widely, in some cases forming distinctive regional and local examples of standard national styles, such as the Episcopalian use of Gothic Revival, while in others offering a vernacular version of high style. In many cases, different cultural building traditions combined to form syncretic systems; prominent examples include the Pueblo influence on mission architecture (division of labor [men as material suppliers, women as builders], orientation and design, and decorative motifs); the Territorial Style, an amalgamation of Hispanic construction techniques with Anglo-American Greek Revival detailing; the French "Gothization" of Hispanic village churches through the addition of Gothic Revival detailing (gable roofs, steeples, and door and window molding) to existing flat-roofed adobe structures; and the various revival styles, such as Mission and Spanish Pueblo.

There are a number of religious buildings in New Mexico that reflect distinctive design values as expressed in their method of construction as well as their use of specific building materials. The wall-and-beam construction of the Spanish Colonial mission churches, as well as most of the later Hispanic building tradition, employing as it does adobe and ledge stone, is very significant in the history of architecture. Particular aspects of this are also important, such as the specific techniques of finish plastering (the art of the *adobera*), as well as the distinctive wood-carving techniques on doors, windows, and roof beams (*vigas*). Additional regional variations in building materials, such as the use of *jacal* (upright log) and *terron* (sod), are also unique. Anglo-American contributions during the Territorial Period include locally produced brick and cast stone. As in the case of design and style, different cultural methods of construction combined to form syncretic systems: folk Hispanic wood-carving, which combined Anglo-American techniques with Spanish joinery, and stucco plastering (pebble-dash and *emborregado*), are two significant examples.

Several important craftsmen, such as architects, builders, carpenters, carvers, and masons worked on the churches of New Mexico. Most notable among the architects is John Gaw Meem, whose many designs for both Catholic and Protestant churches represent the work of a regional, if not national, talent. At least one other architect of national significance, Charles Whittlesey, is known to have designed churches in New Mexico. The names of only a handful of local architects and designers are known. Even less is known about the skilled craftsmen, such as builders, carpenters, and masons, who constructed the majority of the religious buildings in New Mexico; more research needs to be done in this field. Those structures that feature examples of their craftsmanship represent the work of a master or masters.

In addition to architectural style, many church buildings in New Mexico possess high artistic values. These include design elements, such as location, setting, plan, and workmanship, but also decorative details. An important example of the former is the development of the transverse clerestory window, a unique local translation of the Baroque dome, in Spanish Colonial mission churches. The latter include carved wood ornamentation (*vigas* [roof beams], doors, windows, ceilings, and posts); painted surfaces such as murals and *retablos* (depictions of saints); sculpture such as *reredos* (altar screens) and *bultos* (statues of saints); furniture, such as baptismal fonts and pulpits; and windows, such as Tiffany and other crafted stained glass.

Finally New Mexico churches can be significant under Criterion D for their information producing potential. Several religious structures in New Mexico have yielded or are likely to yield information important in history. The archaeological excavation of both

standing structures and ruins of churches, chapels, and *moradas* associated with the Spanish Colonial, Mexican, Territorial, and Statehood periods has already produced a wealth of information on the past lives of their users, and future excavation will no doubt yield more.

Registration Requirements

Of the 686 surveyed churches 487 were evaluated as potentially eligible for listing in the National Register, and 199 as ineligible, based on criteria for eligibility to the National Register developed by the Secretary of the Interior and the National Park Service.

Although most of these properties are owned by religious institutions and used for religious purposes they are eligible for listing under Criteria Consideration A for exceptional historical and architectural significance if they represent the areas of historical or architectural significance detailed in the previous section and summarized as follows.

To be eligible under Criterion A, church properties must illustrate the contribution of religion to the cultural development of the locality or region. Under Criterion B historical significance would derive from association with a specific individual. To be eligible under Criterion C, properties must represent a significant style or mode of construction. Properties with information bearing potential are eligible under Criterion D.

In addition to meeting at least one of the four Criteria of Significance, an eligible resource must also have integrity, which is defined as "the ability of a property to convey its significance." Seven aspects of integrity have been defined by the National Register: location; design; setting; materials; workmanship; feeling; and association. These aspects of integrity relate to New Mexico churches in the following ways.

As defined by the National Register, location is "the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred." Location is an extremely important element for church buildings in New Mexico, because it represents the place in which the historic significance of the structure resides. In most cases, to remove a religious structure from its location would deprive it of significance. However, there are some noteworthy exceptions to this generalization. In many of the rural areas of New Mexico, a frame church was the first community structure to be erected. If that settlement was abandoned for reasons such as repeated crop failures, lack of water, or relocation of the railroad, churches (as well as other structures) were often moved to new locations. In these cases, the structures would retain their significance despite a change in location. Many of the church buildings in New Mexico are masonry buildings that are unlikely to have been moved, however, and thus still retain integrity of location.

"Design is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property." Design is one of the most important criteria of integrity for church buildings in New Mexico. This criterion should be understood to range from overall form and plan to individual elements such as decorative details. This applies to both exterior and interior features. For instance, in Hispanic village churches the interior decoration, including retablos, bultos, and other elements, are an extremely significant to the cultural, historical, and religious context of the structure, often in striking contrast to the simplicity of the exterior. In larger properties such as districts, the overall elements such as towns plans (in the case of Mormon villages) should be considered in addition to individual elements such as streets, houses, and outbuildings. Major additions or alterations to the design would significantly compromise the historic integrity of the structure.

"Setting is the physical environment of a historic property." Because a structure derives significance from its surroundings, setting is an important element of integrity. This is particularly true of many of the church buildings in New Mexico. For instance, the position of a mission complex in relation to its subject pueblo is extremely significant. Hispanic village churches most often occupy a prominent position within the plaza, as dictated by the Law of the Indies' regulations for colonization and town planning. And the orientation of both types, with an emphasis on the transverse clerestory window, is very significant. The remote location of *moradas*, responding to disapproval by the Roman Catholic hierarchy and prurient interest on the part of Anglo-American newcomers, is an important element of their design, as well as landscape elements such as the *Calvario*. Protestant churches built by homesteaders are often located in seemingly remote locations to provide a central meeting place for surrounding families. The prominent position of churches within the grid system of new towns created by the railroad is another instance of the significance of setting. Although it is fairly rare that a religious structure in New Mexico has lost its integrity through alteration of its setting, these factors must be taken into account in judging its significance.

"Materials are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property." Church buildings in New Mexico exhibit a wealth of both local and imported building materials. In many instances, the particular character of a structure stems from the materials used in its construction: hand-plastered adobe walls, carved sandstone headstones, or stained glass windows. However, this is also one of the most common elements of change: replacement of windows; installation of suspended or acoustical tile ceilings; and stuccoing of frame walls are common examples of such alterations. Some changes, although drastic at the time, must be judged as significant within their own historic context, such as the late nineteenth century "Gothization" of Hispanic village churches by Archbishop Lamy and his

French priests. As a general rule, the effect of the change of materials of the church buildings in New Mexico must be judged in terms of their relation to the design and appearance of the original structures.

"Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory." The criterion of workmanship is closely related to that of materials, because both constitute elements of the overall category of building technology. New Mexico has experienced successive waves of Euro-American immigrants who have introduced new building technologies, which have influenced and, in turn, been influenced by, indigenous methods. The masonry tradition of the Pueblos was modified by Spanish construction techniques, as was woodcarving by the introduction of metal tools. Anglo-American tools and techniques were introduced and modified during the Mexican Period. The French and Italian stonemasons imported by Lamy to construct St. Francis Cathedral had an enormous influence on the built environment of New Mexico, beyond religious buildings. The railroad introduced a whole new set of construction materials and methods. And during the twentieth century, materials such as cement stucco and concrete radically altered the construction and appearance of the state's buildings. All of these, in turn, were affected by existing crafts and technical traditions, producing new forms and methods, such as emborregado stuccoing. In assessing the workmanship of New Mexico's religious buildings, therefore, the particular character of the structure's building construction must be taken into account, and a judgement made concerning its integrity.

"Feeling is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time." Although less analytically definable than the preceding criteria of integrity, feeling is an important aspect of church buildings in New Mexico. As forms of religious expression and worship, these structures represent the feelings of individuals and communities that use them. The vital relationship between a local community and its church is one example of this, for the physical condition of the church often is an expression of the vitality of the community. If the structure has been neglected, or used for purposes other than religion, the feeling associated with its historical importance is absent or diminished. In general, the presence or absence of feeling in a religious structure is essential to the assessment of its integrity.

"Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property." The significance of church buildings in New Mexico lies directly in their association with American history, as expressed regionally and locally during the Spanish Colonial, Mexican, Territorial, and Statehood periods. Religion was, and is, a vital aspect of the discovery, settlement, and development of New Mexico, first as the northern frontier of

New Spain and Mexico and later as the western frontier of the United States of America. The establishment of a direct link between the particular religious structure being assessed and these significant historic events is vital to determining its integrity and, ultimately, eligibility.

SUBTYPES

1. CATHOLIC CHURCHES

Description

Roman Catholic Churches represent the largest denomination in the state and are located throughout the inhabited regions of the state. However, the major clustering of churches and missions is along the Rio Grande and its tributaries in the north central region, with additional clusters along the Upper Pecos, and Chama river systems. As the Hispanic population expanded during the nineteenth century, more churches developed along more remote river systems: the San Juan, Rio Puerco, Gila, Middle and Lower Rio Grande, Hondo, Lower Pecos, and Canadian.

Mission complexes, which consisted of a church and *convento*, and parish churches, as built well into the nineteenth century, illustrate a building tradition the defining characteristics of which include massive adobe walls, with little fenestration; projecting *viga* (roof beams) ends, and *canales*; a transverse clerestory window, and a long, narrow, single-aisle nave, without side aisles or side chapels, leading to a sanctuary that might be rectangular, trapezoidal, or apsidal. Sometimes transepts were added to create a cruciform plan. Roofs were flat and composed of sticks, brush, and mud placed on top of peel-log beams (*vigas*). The ceilings consisted of exposed *vigas* supported by carved and decorated corbels at the wall ends. The choir was usually placed outside of the sanctuary, usually in the balcony on the back wall of the nave. The main entrance was centered on the main facade with a small window above. Often an ornamental parapet contained one or more openings for bells, which could also be accommodated in a tower or towers. In northern and central New Mexico twin corner towers flanking the main facade were customary, often with a balcony extending between them. Frequently a small, walled churchyard in front contains burials. Avoided in the traditional style were the arches, curvilinear parapets, and curved lines in general, which were typical in Mexico and became a characterizing feature of the mission architecture of California in the seventeenth century.

Spanish building practices remained essentially the same for two and one half centuries until the United States assumed control of the region in 1846. The form of the mission church continued to be repeated in Spanish community churches as well as private chapels. Even after

the arrival of the railroad in the late 1870s, which brought wider possibilities of building materials and new ideas about style, change evolved slowly in more remote localities. The most extensively adopted innovation was the metal gable roof which replaced the original flat roof and became a defining component of the New Mexico Vernacular style in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the larger population centers and successful railroad towns, fired brick, prefabricated decorative elements, and Victorian styles came to dominate commercial districts and newly platted neighborhoods. In the first decades of the twentieth century, it was common for old churches to be remodeled or new ones built in the California Mission style, a revival style imported from California which made extensive use of use of arches, curvilinear parapets, and red-tiled roofs. In some cases, Catholic churches were built using square or non-traditional plans, influenced either by Protestant tradition or economic limitations.

Significance

Roman Catholicism was the only religion openly practiced in New Mexico during the Spanish Colonial and Mexican periods and has retained its dominant role in more recent eras, particularly along the Rio Grande Valley where Hispanic people settled in Spanish Colonial times and remain numerous today. The Catholic churches of New Mexico are associated with several important themes in religious and cultural history such as the development of the Roman Catholic Church during the Spanish Colonial Period and its relation to Native American peoples as well as the development of a folk Roman Catholicism during the late Spanish Colonial and Mexican periods. The changes wrought by Lamy and his fellow French priests, in particular in the realm of architecture, reveal the dynamic nature of New Mexican Roman Catholicism. This latter stage was developed in association with and in response to the introduction of Judaism and Protestantism by Anglo-American newcomers.

Thus Catholic churches are significant under Criterion A for their association with the patterns of settlement and cultural development in New Mexico. Mission complexes served as the base of the mission program. Historically, parish churches, which often dominated the landscape, served a focus of community life. They functioned as centers of cultural as well as religious life in small, closely knit, Spanish communities. They sponsored fiestas in which the whole community participated, often in honor of the patron saint, and featuring processions, food, and dancing. They served important social functions in marking the major transitions of birth, marriage, and death, and in taking care of those in need. The building of an *adobe* church and the regular maintenance and repair of the church buildings required by the effects of time and the elements on adobe mud were important community activities and a source of pride to the whole community.

Catholic Churches can be significant under Criterion B for association with significant individuals. Many of the Franciscan friars who spearheaded the missionization of New Mexico during the Spanish Colonial Period are significant both in religious and cultural history. Several governors of New Mexico affected the religious history of the region, most notably Marin del Valle, who commissioned both La Castrense and the sepulchers of two Franciscan martyrs of the Pueblo Revolt. During the Mexican Period, there emerged several native priests, such as Antonio Jose Martinez and Jose Manuel Gallegos, who served in important positions of religious and civil leadership. During the Territorial Period, the figure that stands out among his contemporaries is Jean Baptiste Lamy, perhaps the single most influential person in the Roman Catholic Church in New Mexico in his time.

Catholic churches are significant under Criterion C when they illustrate the persistence well into the nineteenth century of a style of church building developed by Franciscan missionaries in the earliest years of Spanish Colonization in New Mexico. Later adaptations and alterations reflect the continuing evolution of vernacular architectural traditions in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The substantial number of Roman Catholic churches been built with rectangular plans perhaps indicates the limited means of the congregation (the rectangular plan is technically easier and less expensive than more traditional plans).

Registration Requirements

New Mexico Roman Catholic churches are eligible under Criteria Consideration A when they represent to an exceptional degree the religious and cultural history of the state by their association with events, people, or design and construction elements significant on the national, regional, or local level. Buildings eligible for registration in the National Register under this subtype must also have retained sufficient integrity in the areas of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

2. PROTESTANT CHURCHES

Description

Protestant churches were brought into New Mexico with the immigration of Anglo-Americans after 1846. The conservative and fundamentalist denominations, such as the Assemblies of God, Baptists, Church of the Nazarene, Churches of Christ, Disciples of Christ, Methodists, and Pentecostals, are most numerous in the eastern and southern parts of the state.

Many of these are clustered in numerous homesteading communities of the eastern plains and along the Lower Pecos and Rio Grande (Mesilla Valley) rivers, all close to Texas and the South.

Some denominations are small enough that they only occur in the major urban centers in the state, including the Lutheran Church (Map 14). Even the well-rooted Episcopalians (Map 12) located their parish churches (as opposed to missions) in the cities: Albuquerque, Carlsbad, Las Vegas, Roswell, and Santa Fe. All the denominations, except for the Apostolic Assemblies of the Faith in Jesus Christ (Map 26), have a church in Albuquerque, the most populous city in New Mexico. In addition, Albuquerque was the location of several denominations that historically had only one church in New Mexico.

Although Protestant churches vary considerably in design, form, and workmanship, they also share some common general characteristics and some of which are specific to particular denominations. Historically, most Protestant churches were rectangular with a gabled roof and the main entrance on the gable end. The straight nave plan was illuminated by side windows. The sanctuary, which was opposite the main entrance usually consisted of a raised dais with a lectern or pulpit (or both). Pews, oriented toward the sanctuary, lined both sides of a center aisle.

To the basic rectangular plan could be added a narthex and rooms near the sanctuary. Near the entrance can be a vestibule, cloak room, restrooms, study, and, particularly after the turn of the century, "crying rooms." These had glass windows looking out into the hall and allowed parents with young children to observe the service without disturbing the rest of the congregation. Behind the sanctuary area, or attached to the church in a wing, can be found classrooms, dining rooms, kitchens, meeting rooms, offices, restrooms, and studies.

Plans vary in detail according to the particular emphases of the denomination. Those denominations that practice communion, also have an alter in the sanctuary. In general those churches that place a strong theological emphasis on adult baptism locate the font in a prominent position near the central focus of the church (Plans 24-27). It usually constitutes a sort of alcove behind the sanctuary area and set apart from it by a proscenium arch, which often features curtains. Behind this area are changing rooms.

Methodist (Episcopal) churches with corner entrances (Plans 28-32), often located on an urban lot at the intersection of two streets, are a significant exception the customary entrances in line with the central axis of the building. Nevertheless, despite this exterior asymmetry, the interior arrangement often reveals a straightforward nave plan.

There are also a few other-than-linear plans consisting of a sanctuary located in the corner of a generally squarish room, with pews placed in a semicircular pattern facing the altar, separated by one or several aisles. Although in most New Mexican Protestant churches the main worship area is on one level, these corner-oriented also have a horseshoe balcony to accommodate additional congregations.

In some cases architectural style is associated with a particular denomination. For example, the Protestant Episcopal Church favored Gothic or Tudor (Tudoresque) Revival designs built in brick or stone. Distinguishing features of the Gothic Revival included pointed, stained glass windows; chancels separated from the nave; and scissor and knee-braced trusses. Tudor Revival was characterized by steeply pitched roofs with side gables; exposed half-timbering; and tall, narrow windows with small lights, set in multiple groups.

The Gothic Revival was also used in a number of Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian structures (Photos 22-27), often through suggestion by the use of small design elements, such as pointed windows and doors or bell towers with Gothic spires. This style has come to be known as Carpenter Gothic. Protestants also used the Neoclassical style as well as the Romanesque Revival, with its rounded arched windows and corbelled parapets.

In the twentieth century, regional revival styles were used, starting with California Mission and continuing with Spanish-Pueblo and Territorial styles (Photos 28 and 29). Another style sometimes employed was the Craftsman (Photos 30 and 75) which, along with the Gothic Revival, was used extensively by the Christian Reformed Church for their missions in northwest.

Significance

The immigrants who brought Protestantism into New Mexico after 1846, settled primarily in new towns, new areas of older communities, and in the recently established homesteading, ranching, and mining areas of the Territory. In addition missionaries came specifically to set up schools and convert the Catholic Indian and Spanish inhabitants to new Christian faiths. Protestant religious activity served a significant function in providing social organization for settlers from many different backgrounds and in providing educational opportunities for natives and immigrants alike.

Within major denominations, specific groups take on regional associations. The Mountainview Baptist Association had congregations clustered in the San Agustin Plains, around the homesteading communities of Fence Lake and Pie Town (Map 9). Those denominations that had separately designated Hispanic congregations, such as the Assemblies

of God's Latin America section, the Spanish Baptist Convention, the Mormon's Spanish-American Mission, and the Methodist's Southwest Mexican Conference (Maps 9, 10, 15, and 21), all indicate efforts to reach out into traditionally Hispanic settled communities, often in striking contrast to the denomination's traditional stronghold in predominantly Anglo-American settlements.

In the case of some denominations, regional specificity is rooted in their historical development in the state. For example, the Congregationalists developed a stronghold outside of their base in Albuquerque in the Hispanic communities of the Mt. Taylor region (Map 13). The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints, or Mormons (Map 15), were historically grouped along the western border of the state, although towards the end of the period of significance they expanded into other areas through the establishment of missions. The Presbyterians (USA) established a foothold in the Hispanic communities of north central New Mexico through the introduction of their "plaza schools"; the results are obvious from Map 11. (The Presbyterian Church in the US, on the other hand, had only three congregations in New Mexico, all in the far eastern part of the state.) The United Brethren, who first established themselves in Amistad and Sedan, can be later traced to Wagon Mound and, eventually, the Hispanic communities in the Española Valley (Map 16).

The analysis of some specific groups yields distinct patterns. African American churches (Map 27), for instance, are grouped in the major urban centers in the state: Alamogordo, Albuquerque, Carlsbad, Clovis, Gallup, Hobbs, Las Cruces, Raton, Roswell, and Tucumcari - most of which are railroad towns. In addition, some communities drew Blacks for employment in the coal (Gallup and Raton) and gas and oil (Hobbs) industries, or through specific historical situations such as the founding of Blackdom near Roswell and Vado near Las Cruces. The Reformed Churches (Map 17) - Christian Reformed Church and Reformed Church in America - have both established missions to Native American groups (the Navajos and Apaches), and therefore are clustered on their respective reservations.

Thus Protestant churches are significant under Criterion A for their association with the patterns of settlement and cultural development in New Mexico. They can be significant under Criterion B for their associations with specific individuals important to the development of the church and its historic role in New Mexico. Protestant churches can be significant under Criterion C for their architecture which relates closely to the emphasis of these denominations on simplicity of form and the integration of the congregation with the liturgy.

Registration Requirements

New Mexico Protestant churches are eligible under Criteria Consideration A when they represent to an exceptional degree the history of the state by their association with events, people, or design and construction elements significant on the national, regional, or local level. Buildings eligible for registration in the National Register under this subtype must also have retained sufficient integrity in the areas of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

APPENDIX 1

Prevalence by Denomination

African Methodist Episcopal	1	Interdenominational/ Pentecostal	1
American Baptist	1	Interdenominational	2
Apostolic Assembly	1	Jehovah's Witnesses	1
Apostolic-Pentecostal	1	Jewish	1
Assembly of God	11	Light of Life Fellowship	1
Baptist	46	Lutheran	3
Christ Full Gospel	1	Methodist	40
Christian	2	Methodist Episcopal	4
Christian Independent	1	Missionary Community	1
Christian Reformed	8	Mormon	2
Christian Scientist	3	Nazarene	9
Church of Christ	18	Non-Denominational	14
Church of God	5	Pentecostal	7
Church of God Seventh Day	1	Presbyterian	32
Church of God in Christ	1	Reformed Church of America	1
Church of God of Prophecy	1	Religious Society of Friends (Quaker)	1
Concilio Latino Americano	1	Roman Catholic	391
Congregational	2	Seventh Day Adventist	7
Disciples of Christ	3	Southern Baptist	11
Eclesia	1	Spanish Methodist	1
Episcopal	26	United Indian Missions	2
First Christian	2	Unknown	5
Independent	3		
Independent Protestant	1		

Total Number of Surveyed Churches 686

Major Denominations in Order of Magnitude

Denomination	Number of Surveyed Churches
Roman Catholic	391
Baptist/Southern Baptist/ Independent Baptist/Spanish Baptist	61
Methodist (including Methodist Episcopal and Spanish Methodist)	45
Presbyterian	32
Episcopal	26
Church of Christ	18
Assembly of God	11
Nazarene	9
Christian Reformed	8
Pentecostal	7
Seventh Day Adventist	7

Pratt
"Religious Structures"
1993

APPENDIX 2
Construction Dates

Construction Date by Century

17th Century	4
18th Century	13
19th Century	144
20th Century	525
Total Number of Churches	686

Construction Date by Historic Period

Spanish Colonial Period	(1598-1820)	25
Mexican Period	(1821-1846)	17
Territorial Period		
Pre-Railroad	(1847-1879)	40
Post-Railroad	(1880-1912)	194
Statehood Period		
Through World War I	(1913-1918)	42
Post-World War I	(1919-1945)	345
Post World War II	(1946-present)	20
Total Number of Churches		686

APPENDIX 3

Structural Material of Exterior Walls

Materials

Adobe	349	Concrete (Cast)	7
adobe/Block/Frame	2	Frame	107
Adobe/Block	3	Frame/Adobe	1
Adobe/CMU		Frame/Brick	1
Adobe/Stone	5	Frame/RR Ties	1
Block	16	Logs	1
Block/Frame	1	Masonry	30
Brick	36	Masonry/Adobe	1
Brick/Clay Tile	1	Stone	91
Cast Stone	1	Stone Blocks	1
Clay Tile	5	Stone/Adobe	8
CMU	5	Stone/Brick	2
CMU/Adobe	1	Stone/CMU	1
CMU/Brick	1	Stone/Mud	1
CMU/Concrete	1	Stone/Tile	1
Concrete Brick	1	Terrones	1
		Total Number	686

Predominant Material

Adobe	362	Concrete (Cast)	7
CMU	25	Frame	110
Brick	37	Logs	1
Cast Stone	1	Masonry	31
Clay Tile	5	Stone	105
Concrete Brick	1	Terrones	1
		Total Number	686

(CMU = Concrete Masonry Unit)

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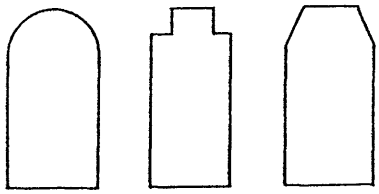
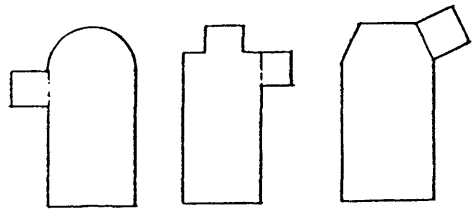
APPENDIX 4

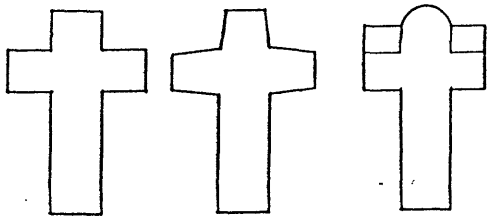
Apse



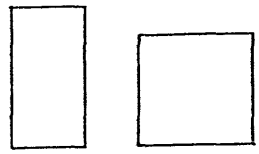
Apse/Sacristy



Cruciform



Rectangular



Shapes of Floor Plans.

Shape of Floor Plan

Plan	
Apse	51
Apse/Sacristy	107
Cruciform	103
Rectangular	291
Irregular	134
Total Number of Churches	686

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APPENDIX 5

Predominant Characteristics of
Historic Churches of New Mexico

Roman Catholic 1750-1815	1880-1930	Protestant 1846-1945
masonry construction (adobe, stone)	masonry construction (adobe, stone)	wood frame or brick construction
cruciform or single nave plans	cruciform or single nave plans	single nave plans
flat roof	pitched roof	pitched roof
distinctive apse termination (polygonal or round)	distinctive apse termination (hipped roof with gable front, some polygonal apses)	non-distinctive apse termination
facade tower(s)	roof belfry(ies)	single belfry
choir window	choir window in minority	(choir rare)
no additional facade windows	a few additional facade windows	symmetrical facade windows
windows on one side of nave	windows on both sides of nave	windows on both sides of nave
transept windows infrequent	transept windows more frequent	(transepts infrequent)
clerestory window	no clerestory window	(no clerestory)
choir loft common	choir loft uncommon	choir loft rare
flat ceiling in majority	curved ceiling following roof structure in majority	flat and curved
exposed heavy timber ceiling structure	covered milled lumber ceiling structure	covered milledlumber ceiling structure
sanctuary accented (raised, railing, double corbelling, narrower)	sanctuary accented (raised, railing, draped or latticed proscenium, narrower)	sanctuary unaccented (in some cases, baptismal area accented)
east orientation (S & W secondary, N infrequent)	east orientation (S & W secondary, N infrequent)	no standard orientation

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G. Geographical Data

The boundaries of the state of New Mexico.

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

This nomination was preceded by a multiphased survey of New Mexico historic churches and a comprehensive report prepared by Boyd Pratt on the history of New Mexico religious structures. The latter, which contained contributions by David Kammer and Beverly Spears, covered not only churches but a broad range of structures associated with the Euro-American religious practice.[1]

In 1986, the New Mexico State Historic Preservation Division began a program to survey churches built prior to 1946 throughout the state, which was divided into five regions, each to be surveyed as a separate phase. A map showing the areas surveyed and a table indicating, for each phase of the survey, the year in which it was conducted, the area covered, number of qualifying structures, and the surveyor, are found in Appendix 1, Section H.[2] Over the course of five years almost 700 structures were documented through inventory forms, maps, and photography. This project was accomplished through Historic Preservation Fund Grants-in-aid, with matching funds from the New Mexico Community Foundation throughout the duration of the project. In addition, the National Endowment for the Arts provided funding.

The first phase of the project (Northeast) considered all pre-1946 Roman Catholic churches that were still standing (i.e., not a complete ruin). However, in all subsequent surveys the scope was expanded to include the churches of other denominations as well as synagogues, including abandoned structures, buildings that had been moved, and structures currently being used for other than religious purposes. In order to fill the data gap left in the first phase, after the designated area had been covered in the East Central survey, the survey team began to document non-Roman Catholic churches in the Northeast region. Protestant churches were surveyed on a county-by-county basis until the contracted quota of structures was reached. Therefore, Protestant churches in the far northeast corner of the state have not been surveyed. In addition, although the survey teams strove toward comprehensiveness, there is the potential statewide that some structures have been missed.

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1. Boyd C. Pratt, "The Religious Structures of New Mexico: A Historic Overview," manuscript, New Mexico Historic Preservation Division, 1993.

2. Pratt, "Religious Structures of New Mexico," Figure 79, Table 10, 150.

The survey process involved several steps. Before field work began, press releases about the survey were sent to area newspapers to inform the public about the project. In addition, denominations were contacted to request assistance with the survey process. With information such as lists of parishes and structures provided by the major denominations (Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic) through the New Mexico Community Foundation, as well as a review of the exhaustive Loy Collection of slides of historic New Mexico churches, sites were plotted in order to arrange trip logistics.

The field work was organized by county. New Mexico Highway Department county road maps were used to plot location of religious structures. In each phase of the survey, surveyors were assigned to work in a particular county. This allowed several surveyors to work simultaneously without fear of duplicating efforts. Whenever possible, arrangements were made to meet with the pastor, priest, *mayordomo*, or other individual who could give historical information about the building and provide access to the interior.

The general procedures outlined in the New Mexico Historic Building Inventory (HBI) Manual were followed. Surveyors were equipped with tape measures, compass, camera and Kodak Tri-X black-and-white film, New Mexico Highway Department Quadrangle map, survey form, letter of introduction from church officials, and research notes, if available, about the structure to be surveyed. Once at the site, sketches were made including a site plan, a roof plan, a floor plan, and occasionally an interesting detail. Both 25-foot and 100-foot measuring tapes were sometimes used for detailed drawings, but site and floor plans were usually paced off. Generally only four photographs were taken because there was space on the survey form for only this number. These included: two oblique exterior elevations, which would show all four walls; interior photographs; architectural details; and surroundings.

Survey data was recorded on a two-sided, 8-1/2 x 11, church inventory survey form, developed from the standard HBI form by Johnson, Nestor, Mortier and Rodriguez, in consultation with the Historic Preservation Division and the New Mexico Community Foundation. Major changes included: increasing the number of photographs; increasing the area available for the site/roof plan so that immediate surroundings could be recorded; adding an area for the floor plan as a separate drawing; reorganizing and editing the required data to correspond with project-specific concerns; and adding space for notations of building components, condition, and recommended maintenance. Many of these changes were specifically dedicated to the assessment of the condition of the structure for historic preservation treatment. The same survey form, with only minor variations, was used during all phases of the survey in order to standardize the information gathered.

Of the 686 surveyed buildings, 487 were classified as eligible for listing in the National Register and 199 not eligible. The surveyors based these designations on the criteria for eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places developed by the Secretary of the Interior

and the National Park Service. Physical condition was assessed based on a total impression including structural integrity, maintenance of surfaces and architectural detail, and general appearance including site and interior. Additional notes on the field sheets generally explain the less-than-good rating. These decisions, made during the field work by a number of different surveyors, were based on the judgement of the individuals and are thus inevitably somewhat arbitrary and relative.

As a general rule, surveyors erred in the direction of inclusion, rating any structure eligible unless it had suffered a loss of integrity through major alterations and severe deterioration; other factors included change in use, relocation, and additions that were insensitive to the character of the original structure. It was assumed that subsequent researchers could then reassess the structures, "weeding out" structures that were judged ineligible based on subsequent analysis and research.

After the completion of the comprehensive survey, a database was established by Spears Architects in order to organize the survey material and generate statistics. In consultation with the New Mexico Historic Preservation Division and the New Mexico Community Foundation, it was decided to include the following items which lend themselves to interesting statistical analysis:

Identification Data

Name of church (usually the most recent)
Survey number
Phase of survey
Town where located
County where located

Characteristics data

Denomination (usually original)
Construction date
Shape of floor plan
Structural material of exterior walls
Condition
Eligibility (historic integrity)
Vulnerability (threatened by collapse, demolition, etc.)[3]

3. The database is included in its entirety in Pratt, "Religious Structures of New Mexico," Appendix 1, 199-213.

After completion of the statewide survey of churches (and synagogues) built before 1946, Boyd C. Pratt was contracted by the Historic Preservation Division to prepare a comprehensive historical and architectural overview of the religious structures of New Mexico. Although surveys of religious architecture in New Mexico focused exclusively upon churches and synagogues - at first, only Roman Catholic churches - the scope of Pratt's report was much broader, embracing all structures associated with the development of Euro-American religion in the state. The term "religious structure" was interpreted broadly, as a district, site, building, structure, or object whose purpose is to help people practice their religion. In order to recognize the manifold sources of cultural values of and changes to historic religious structures, they were grouped together based on associative characteristics which frequently also share common physical characteristics.

Significant examples of structures other than churches include Hispanic folk expressions such as shrines, *moradas, camposantos* and *descansos*; Protestant and Jewish cemeteries; and even whole settlements, such as the Mormon towns which embody the directives of the Prophet Joseph Smith founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. As in the latter example, religious resource, be it a district, building, structure, site, or object, could be defined as such if the people who created it believed that they were fulfilling the command of God and their religious leaders through this work.

Pratt's work, which was completed in 1993, relied not only on the church surveys and the extensive database and initial report prepared by Beverly Spears, but also incorporated relevant data from other surveys and additional research on the history and architecture of religious structures in New Mexico. Dr. David Kammer contributed basic research; Pratt researched the historic contexts and property types and wrote the main body of the report.

Although the scope of the report was widened to cover many types of religious structures, it was limited to those associated with Euro-American religious practice and did not include structures associated exclusively with the practice of Native American religion. Native American structures are worthy of study in and of themselves, and would merit an equal effort. In addition the importance of world religions other than Christianity more recently in New Mexico may warrant further research in the future.

In 1995 Dr. Corinne Sze was contracted by the Historic Preservation Division to prepare this Multiple Property form based primarily on the Pratt report. The Historic Context and Property Types draw heavily from Pratt's work. Although Sze defined only one property type with two subtypes, it is intended that in the future other property types can be added based on information contained in this Historic Context or on subsequent research.

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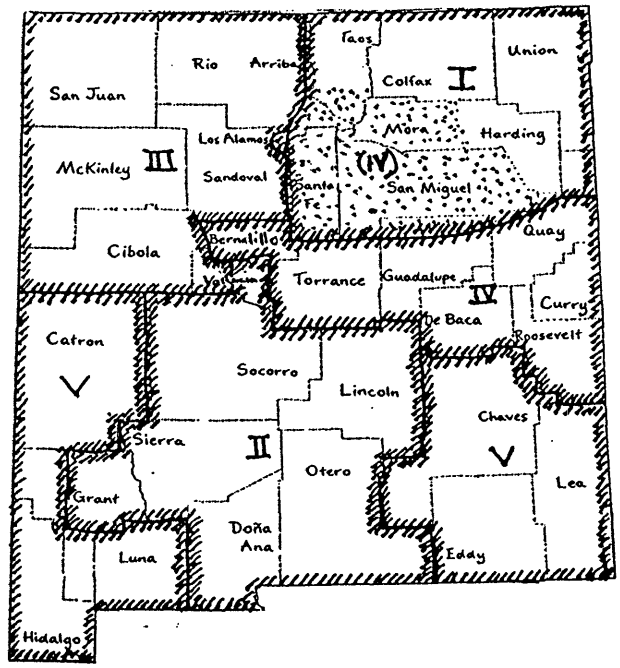
National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

APPENDIX 1



Map of Phases of Survey of Historic New Mexico Churches.

(note: stippled section indicates area resurveyed as part of Phase IV)

Phases of the Survey of Historic Churches of New Mexico

Phase	Year	Area	Number Surveyed	Surveyor
I	1986	Northeast	201	Johnson, Nestor, Mortier and Rodriguez Architects
II	1988	South Central	127	Johnson, Nestor, Mortier and Rodriguez Architects
III	1989	Northwest	118	Johnson, Nestor, Mortier and Rodriguez Architects
IV	1990	East Central	149	Spears Architects
V	1991	Southeast and Southwest	91	Spears Architects

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