

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

NPS Form 10-900

USDI/NPS NRHP Registration Form (Rev. 8-86)

OMB No. 1024-0018

PALACE OF THE GOVERNORS

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United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: PALACE OF THE GOVERNORS

Other Name/Site Number: SR 017

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: Palace Avenue at Santa Fe Plaza

Not for publication: N/A

City/Town: Santa Fe

Vicinity: N/A

State: NM County: Santa Fe Code: 049

Zip Code: 87501

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property

Private: ___
Public-Local: ___
Public-State: X
Public-Federal: ___

Category of Property

Building(s): X
District: ___
Site: ___
Structure: ___
Object: ___

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing

1
0
0
0
1

Noncontributing

0 buildings
0 sites
0 structures
0 objects
0 Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 1

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: N/A

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4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ___ nomination ___ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official

Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official

Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

- ___ Entered in the National Register
- ___ Determined eligible for the National Register
- ___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
- ___ Removed from the National Register
- ___ Other (explain):

Signature of Keeper

Date of Action

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6. FUNCTION OR USE

<p>Historic:</p> <p>GOVERNMENT GOVERNMENT DOMESTIC RECREATION AND CULTURE GOVERNMENT COMMERCE GOVERNMENT EDUCATION</p>	<p>Sub:</p> <p>capitol government offices multiple dwelling museum courthouse law offices post office library</p>
<p>Current:</p> <p>RECREATION AND CULTURE</p>	<p>Sub:</p> <p>museum</p>

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Pueblo (Spanish-Pueblo Revival)
Other: Territorial

MATERIALS:

Foundation: not visible
Walls: stucco
Roof: metal, asphalt
Other: wood

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Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.**SUMMARY**

The Palace of the Governors is a large, one-story building consisting of a series of rooms that today enclose a long interior courtyard or *placita*. It is primarily Spanish-Pueblo Revival in style, with vestigial Territorial-style elements. Except as noted below, most walls are constructed of adobe bricks, in some cases several feet thick, covered with tan-colored, cement stucco. The oldest sections of the building (south and west) have slightly pitched, metal-clad roofs, which are, for the most part, not visible behind parapets. The more recent north and east wings have flat, asphalt composition roofs. Fenestration is Territorial or Spanish-Pueblo Revival in style reflecting the long history of the building. On the exterior, windows, doors, and their surrounds are painted dark green, except as noted. The oldest (south) section of the building is two rooms deep and faces south occupying the entire block of Palace Avenue between Lincoln and Washington Avenues. The rest of the building is one room deep and consists of two rooms added separately at the back of the west end in the nineteenth century and a line of small rooms created from outbuildings on the north side of the *placita* in a major renovation of 1909-1913. A library built on the east side in 1930 completed the enclosure of the *placita* by connecting the north and south sections. The plan of the oldest (south) section evolved through several centuries of continuous use. Portions of the thick center wall down the middle of the building probably date from the pre-American period when a single file of rooms faced the Plaza and this was the back exterior wall. The general appearance of the building dates primarily from the 1909-1913 remodeling in the then fledgling Spanish-Pueblo Revival style. Nevertheless, prominent Territorial-style features, particularly of fenestration, remain or have been restored. The oldest section of the building contains historical exhibits of the Museum of New Mexico, including period rooms, changing thematic displays, and historic features of the building itself exposed or recreated. The east wing contains the museum shop in the former library. The rooms north of the *placita* contain exhibits, a print shop (working exhibit), and the office of the museum security force. The building is in good condition and well represents its nationally significant historic and architectural associations.

PRESENT DESCRIPTION

The oldest section of the Palace of the Governors extends across the entire north side of the Santa Fe Plaza. The main facade, created in 1913, consists of a long *portal* (open porch) between open projections at each end of the building. The floor of the *portal* is brick paved, as is the sidewalk beyond. The *portal* is supported by 15 massive posts and carved corbels painted dark brown. The ceiling of the *portal* consists of exposed boards and *vigas* (ceiling beams); the latter project through the parapet wall, as do 19 *canales* (drain spouts) regularly spaced between the *viga* ends (Photos 1, 2, 3).

The wall under the *portal* is painted white with a tan-painted base strip, approximately 16 inches high. Doors and windows are Territorial in style (Photos 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8). Most surrounds and doors are painted dark green. Window elements are painted dark red. Beginning at the west end are double, 2-light over 2-panel doors with a 3-light transom followed by a 9-over-6-light, double-hung window. The Greek Revival inspired casing of both includes a cornice with dentil course. Double, 4-panel doors with a 3-light transom follow, with trim similar to the window and door, except for a more pronounced cornice (Photo 4). Next are two 9-over-6 windows with flat crowns and double, 1-light-over-1-panel, panel-lined doors without a transom (Photo 5). East of this door is an exposed section of nineteenth century simulated stone wall finish.

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The remaining fenestration on the main facade has pedimented surrounds (Photos 3,6,7, 8). Two 15-over-15, double-hung windows are followed by double, 2-light-over-2-panel doors with a six-light transom (Photos 6, 8). The surround of this, the main entrance door, is painted dark red; the doors, panel lining, and transom are painted light tan (Photo 8). Next, three 9-over-6, double-hung windows are followed by another exposed section of simulated cut stone with quoins and a 15-over-8, double-hung window. Double 1-light-over-2-panel doors with a 5-light transom and two 9-over-6, double-hung windows complete the fenestration on the south (main) facade of the Palace of the Governors.

A concrete *banco* (bench) extends along the west facade, which faces Lincoln Avenue (Photos 9, 10). Proceeding from south to north are two, 9-over-6, double-hung windows with wood surrounds and flat lintels; a door with two arched windows over two panels and a single light transom; and a 6-over-6, double-hung window. Both this window and the preceding door have similar classical casing with cornice with dentil course (Photo 10). Finally there is a set of four, 4-light, wood hopper windows before a large, painted-blue gate that connects the west and north wings of the building (Photo 11).

On the east facade (Photos 12, 13,) from south to north there are two pairs of small, 6-light, wood hopper windows with pedimented surrounds (the second painted a lighter shade of green); a buttress; a 6-light-over-3-panel door without surround; six sets of three 4-light, wood, hopper windows without surrounds; and a second buttress. Finally a 9-light-over-4-panel door is flanked by 6-light, wood, hopper windows with concrete sills.

Inside the *placita*, on the south wall (north facade of the front and oldest building) there is a rock base added to the wall in the 1909-1913 renovation to ameliorate persistent water problems (Photo 15). Proceeding from east to west are a 12-over-12-light, double-hung, wooden window; doubled 2-small-light-over 2-vertical-panel doors with a 4-light transom; a large 6-over-6, double-hung, wooden window, and three smaller 8-over-8, double-hung, wooden windows. Following this there is a 1-over-2-light, single-hung window; five 4-over-1 single-hung windows; and a small, 6-light fixed window. A deeply inset, 2-light-over-2-panel door with a 4-light transom, is followed by two 7-over-2 fixed-light, windows. Up to this point the fenestration has minimal wood surrounds and wooden sills. At the west end of this facade, is a triplet of 2-over-2, double-hung, wooden windows with wider flat wood surrounds.

Proceeding from south to north on the west facade facing the *placita* (east wall of the west wing), there are two large 6-over-6, double-hung windows with simple pedimented surrounds and no sills, followed by a stone buttress, a small, slightly inset, 6-over-6 window with a wooden sill, and a 2-vertical-light-over-2-panel door. At this point the large wooden gate connects the west wing of the building with the north.

The fenestration on north wall of the *placita* (south wall of the north wing created in the 1909-1913 remodeling) is inset to varying depths and without surrounds (Photo 16). Windows are wood with wood sills. Proceeding from west to east there are three, 4-over-1, single-hung, windows followed by two, 2-light-over-2-panel doors; three 4-over-1, single-hung windows; two additional doors of similar type; and three sets of double, 2-by-4-light, casement windows. Next two paneled, restroom doors are flanked by fixed 2-by-4-light windows.

At this point the wall is broken by a deep, inset *portal* supported two sets of two posts with carved corbels (Photo 17). Under the *portal* are two pairs of 2-by-3-light casements of unequal size on the west

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facing wall and a 4-panel door on the south facing wall at the top of a concrete ramp. Continuing on the north wall after the *portal*, are a double, 2-by-3-light casement; a 2-light-over-2-panel door; two sets of four, 4-light hopper windows; and a 6-panel door.

The east end of the *placita* is enclosed by the building constructed in 1930 as a library. A *portal* supported by six posts with carved corbels (five freestanding and one embedded in the south end) faces the *placita*. The *portal* ceiling is composed of boards and *vigas*, the ends of which protrude through the wall with three *canales* and echo the *vigas* and *canales* in the building wall above. Under the *portal* on the west-facing wall are double, 1-light-over-2-panel doors flanked by 6-over-6-light, double-hung windows—one on the north and two on the south.

On the interior, generally floors are wood; ceilings composed of exposed *vigas* and boards stained or painted varying shades of brown; walls are hard plastered and painted white; and windows are deeply inset without wooden surrounds. Room 17,¹ located in the west wing of the building south of the gate, is constructed of fired brick and is presently used for storage. Proceeding south, the next room (6) is accessed via a panel-lined doorway. On the east wall of this room are two windows with wood sills and no surrounds. On the west wall are an inset, wood-lined, exterior door and a window with a wood sill. Both have wood surrounds.

The large room at the southwest corner of the building (Room 5) has a central beam supported by two massive posts and carved corbels, with half corbels at the wall (Photo 18). In this room Territorial-style woodwork with painted grain has been restored. This includes wainscoting; window and door surrounds and linings; and picture molding on the south, east and west, walls (Photos 19, 20,). On the north wall a set of three, double-hung, windows are deeply inset without surround or sill. Below trap doors in the floor a rare, Spanish-Colonial, adobe, brick floor and 1640 foundations are displayed which were exposed during archaeological investigations. On the south wall, a small seventeenth-eighteenth century window opening has been exposed in the wall. This is the only such window yet uncovered in the walls of the Palace of the Governors.

East of this large corner room are two smaller rooms with one larger room behind them. Both front rooms (3, 4) have deeply inset, panel-lined windows on the south wall (Photo 21). The woodwork in these rooms, as well as the picture molding and high baseboards, are painted white. Room 3 has a square, Territorial-style fireplace with a wooden mantel and wood panel surrounds (Photo 22).

In the larger room behind these two rooms (7), the *vigas* are stained, but the boards are painted medium brown. A number of *vigas* are missing from the center of the ceiling, where a wall was removed in the 1909-1913 remodeling. On the north wall are two deeply inset windows without woodwork. Trap doors in the floor display archaeological finds: 1640 foundation stones and an Indian storage pit dating from 1680-1692. Rooms 3 and 7 enter on the east into Hall A, which extends from the front to the rear of the building with exterior doors at each end. The hall has a plastered ceiling. Woodwork is painted dark brown (Photo 23).

The front room on the east off of this hall (Room 2) is a recreation of Governor L. Bradford Prince's Reception Room, as it appeared in a photograph in 1893, one of a very few historic interior photos of the Palace of the Governors. The room has a Territorial fireplace on the east wall, and 2-panel doors on the

¹ For room numbers, see Fig. 2.

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north and east walls. There are high baseboards and a picture molding. Walls and woodwork are cream colored with a mustard band above the picture molding. The ceiling is papered.

Room 8 (located behind Room 2) is entered at the north end of the hall through a small vestibule. On either side of the vestibule is a small closet, each entered via a 2-panel door. Room 8 has been restored to its appearance created in the 1909-1913 remodeling. At the center of the north wall, an exhibit case is inset into the thick adobe wall. On either side of the case is a deeply inset window without surrounds. On the south wall are three similarly inset cases. The ceiling is plastered with decorative, carved, rectangular beams outlining its outer edges (Photo 24).

The main entrance hall for visitors to the museum is south of Room 9. High on the south wall, east of the main entrance, a Spanish Colonial *nicho* (niche) and a fragment of Spanish-Colonial ceiling have been revealed by excavation into the present wall. In the east wall, a Spanish-Colonial doorway has been exposed next to a much taller, wood-lined Territorial doorway (Photo 25). To the west of the main entrance is a recreation of the Mexican governor's office, ca. 1845, with its corner fireplace (Room 1). The hall opens into a wider reception room for the museum. High on the east wall is an exposed section of historic gypsum whitewash over mud plaster (Room 9).

The front room (11) east of the entrance hall is partially carpeted. Windows are inset without woodwork as are those in the remainder of the front (oldest) section of the Palace. In this room exposed fragments of earlier construction illustrate the physical history of the building: nineteenth-century wood floor; fireplace cut into the east adobe wall; and a section of late nineteenth-century gray calcimine over lime plaster.

Room 10, located behind Room 11, is entered from the hall through a large square opening with no door or woodwork into a small vestibule with 6-panel doors on either side. Facing east, a series of such openings can be seen leading from room to room to the east end of the building (Photo 26). Room 12, the next room on the east, extends from the front to the back of the building. Farther east Hall B extends from *portal to placita*. A few of the ceiling boards at the north end of this hall are painted. Room 13, at the southeast corner of the building, was formerly a legislative chamber. It now contains a recreation of a Hispanic New Mexican chapel dating from 1821-1880. Room 14 (the other former legislative chamber) is carpeted and contains an installation of modern exhibit cases which reach nearly to the ceiling. Above them can be seen the undisturbed *viga* and board ceiling.

The east section of the Palace, which was built as the library in 1930 and is now used as a gift shop (Room 15), contains one large room with a concrete floor and *viga*-board ceiling. Embedded in the south wall are four posts and corbels. The one-room-deep north section (Room 21), created in 1909-1913, has primarily *viga*-and-board ceilings, wood floors, and plastered walls.

HISTORIC EVOLUTION

Little is known of the building's configuration or use as originally built in the early 1600s as a *casa real* (royal house, government building). References in the scant documentary record before the 1680 Pueblo

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Revolt provide few specifics.² Archaeological investigations have uncovered seventeenth-century construction under the east and west end rooms of the present building, including foundations in Room 13, and an adobe floor, composed of bricks laid in a diagonal pattern, in Room 5.³ This floor extended an unknown distance under the present south wall of the building.⁴ No fabric of the present structure has been positively dated from this earliest period.

For 13 years (1680-1693) the Pueblo Indians from Galisteo, Cienega, and San Marcos occupied the *casa real*. A fragment of adobe wall excavated in 1962 below Room 4, is generally believed to date from the period of Indian occupation of the Palace during the Pueblo Revolt, and not from an Indian Pueblo that preceded Spanish occupation as previously assumed.⁵ In 1974 and 1975, archaeological investigations undertaken in Rooms 5, 7, 8, and the west Hall (A) uncovered several bell-shaped storage pits in Room 7 extending into Hall A and Room 8. Several of them were plastered and are believed to have been constructed by the Indian occupants for storage of dried food stuffs and used later by the Spanish for trash disposal. An unusual hearth complex dating from the same period (1680-1692) was uncovered in the southwest corner of the West Hall.⁶

A massive, seventeenth-century foundation, which extended north under the present north wall of Room 7, was uncovered and has been identified as indicative of two-story construction.⁷ An area known as “the slump” was uncovered in Room 7 extending into Room 5. Like the storage pits, this area was trash filled. Later one or more rooms were constructed over the storage pits, during the late 1690s or early eighteenth century. Scattered post holes indicated that posts were used to support the ceiling perhaps because the fill was unstable. This area was later covered with a *portal* (porch supported by peeled log posts).⁸

After 1696 the Indian pueblo was taken down and the *casa real* rebuilt. The structure then entered the cycles of deterioration and rebuilding typical of adobe buildings when not consistently maintained. By 1716 the Palace was reported near collapse:

...Aside from the nine buttresses that support it on either side, it should have fallen some time ago...and that only one large room with a salon that served as a chapel where the soldiers pray the rosary to Holy Mary, Our Lady, which faces the Plaza of the *villa*, and [that] only this room is serviceable since all the rest of them and the lower [portions or rooms] are as noted, fallen, so that their walls are supported by buttresses on the exteriors,

² As summarized by Cordelia Thomas Snow in “A Living Artifact, The Palace of the Governors: Archaeological Excavations from 1884 to 1987 and a Review of the History of the Building from 1610 to 1846” and in “Final Report, Palace of the Governors.” Getty Project Identification Grant (1993) 20-22.

³ See Fig. 2 for room numbers.

⁴ Snow 6, 13-14, 17.

⁵ Snow 12-13. This wall fragment is observable today under a trap door in the floor.

⁶ Snow 15-16, 18.

⁷ Snow 15.

⁸ Snow 16.

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and inside[are?] propped-up sides, all the other ceilings with their *madresillas* (?) and uprights of wood...⁹

Four years later an account of a burglary suggests that the building had two stories and at least one window with a second-floor balcony that overlooked the Plaza.¹⁰ No evidence has come to light of when this second story was built or removed. However, the governor's residence was apparently rebuilt during the terms of governors Juan Domingo de Bustamante (1722-1731) and Gervasio Cruzat y Gongora (1731-1736).¹¹

By the eighteenth century the Palace was a one-story, one-room-deep linear building. A foundation found under the present south wall and the foundation of the central east-west wall that runs through the building almost certainly date from that century.¹² A corbel, believed to date from a late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century *portal*, was uncovered in Room 7 during the extensive 1909-1913 renovation.¹³ Nevertheless, the ca. 1766 Urrutia map of Santa Fe is the first evidence of the location and footprint of a building identified as the governor's house "*Casa del Gobernador*" (Fig. 3).

By 1791 the Palace had been incorporated into a new *presidio* (fort) that extended to the north and west. In a drawing completed that year (purportedly to scale but based on indirect data) of a building containing the residence of the governor, a guard room and jail, and a supply master's office, with a bastion at the east end appears to coincide with the location of the present Palace (Fig. 4).¹⁴ In 1810 Governor José Manrique, in reference to his quarters, lamented that "... we are losing it day by day..."¹⁵ as they were old and in ruins, with rotted *canales* and an exterior crumbling under continual rain and snow.

After Mexican independence from Spain in 1821, the Palace continued to be a seat of government and home of Mexican governors. By 1831 some windows were glazed, then a rare amenity in northern New Mexico. That year Albert Pike described the building as having a "roughly pillared portico" in front and windows with square panes of glass and an exterior wooden grating.¹⁶

The Mexican-era *portal* was later recalled as having extended around the east and west sides of the building as well as the length of the south facade. The posts were pine logs, eight to nine inches in diameter, without ornaments of any sort at the tops (i.e., corbels), and capped by hewn pine timbers on the three sides. The ceiling *portal* consisted of *vigas* about two feet apart, over which were placed three-

⁹ Snow 24. (Translation of SANM II: 253)

¹⁰ Snow 25.

¹¹ Snow 22-27.

¹² Snow 31.

¹³ Sylvanus Griswold Morley, "Santa Fe Architecture," *Old Santa Fe* 2.3 (January 1915) 285.

¹⁴ Max L. Moorhead, "Rebuilding the Presidio of Santa Fe, 1789-1791," *New Mexican Historical Review* 49.2 (April 1974) 123-142.

¹⁵ Snow 32-33. (Translation of SANM I:1972)

¹⁶ Snow 33-34.

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inch diameter, round pine poles with the bark on, laid diagonally in a herringbone pattern. Over these were placed twigs, coarse grass, and adobe mud in the traditional manner of roof construction. The roof of the building was somewhat higher than that of the ordinary residences of the town.¹⁷

Itinerant artist Alfred S. Waugh described the Palace and its environs in the summer of 1846, shortly before the American occupation ended the Mexican period:

...His excellency, General Don Manuel Armijo, the present governor, dwells in a *palacio* whose externals differ very little from those around it, only it has larger windows, is whitewashed, and a sentry keeps watch and ward at the entrance. The door is not larger than any other, and a tall man would have to stoop as he crossed the threshold. The building occupies one side of the *Plaza*, with the *calabozo* and guardhouse at one end, and the office of the Secretary of State at the other...The whole [Plaza] is surrounded with *portals*...the supporting columns of which are rude trunks of trees ...¹⁸

When the American Army occupied Santa Fe in 1846, the Palace occupied the entire north side of the Plaza. The *portal* that extended across the front was enclosed at each end by a small projecting room. A *placita* behind the building was not completely defined, but there was a small building on the west side north of the Palace (Figs. 5, 6, 7). The mud walls of the Palace were thick and whitewashed, inside and out. Doors and windows were few. On the interior, all floors were mud, and door panels were made of “bull or buffalo hide” tanned and painted so as to resemble wood. Much of the building was in a “state of decay” especially the sections near the jail at the west end.¹⁹

By 1853 a large space behind the Palace was enclosed by guardrooms on the west, a commissary storehouse on the east, and stables on the north. This space appears wider than the present *placita*. [For a time it was considered as the site of a new building (Fig. 10)]. That year the Palace itself was described as a “long, low mud building,” occupying the entire north side of the Plaza. It was estimated to be about 350 feet in length and to vary in width from 20 to 75 feet. The *portal*, supported by “a row of unhewn pine logs,” was about 15 feet wide. At each end was a “small adobe projection extending a few feet in front of the main building.” The east projection was occupied by the post-office, the west, formerly the jail, was partly in ruins.²⁰

At the east end of the building under the *portal*, the two-room territorial secretary’s office was entered through a “quaint little old-fashioned door.” The roof was supported by a “layer of great pine beams, blackened and stained by age,” the floors were “earthen,” and the woodwork “heavy and rough.”²¹ Proceeding west under the *portal* the next door, located near the center of the facade, entered a small

¹⁷ Wm. H. H. Allison, letter to [L. Bradford Prince], 12 February 1913.

¹⁸ John Francis McDermott, ed., *Travels in Search of the Elephant* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1951) 120.

¹⁹ George Rutledge Gibson, *Journal of a Soldier under Kearny and Doliphan*, ed. Ralph P. Bieber (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1935) 212. Ralph P. Bieber, ed., “Letters of William Car Lane,” *New Mexican Historical Review* 3.2 (April 1928) 179-203.

²⁰ W. W. H. Davis, *El Gringo: New Mexico and Her People*. (1857. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982) 166, 168-169.

²¹ Davis 169.

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vestibule. On the right was the Territorial Council (senate) chamber and on the left the governor's office. The former has a "good hard floor" (presumably mud) and whitewashed walls. The next door under the *portal* entered directly into the chamber of the House of Representatives, which was about one and one half times larger than the Council chamber. The two legislative rooms were similar except that the House had a small spectators' gallery behind a "breast-high" adobe wall.²²

The next and last door under the *portal* entered a small vestibule from which were accessed the Territorial Library and the Indian superintendency. The library was a small room not more the 15 feet square that was filled from floor to ceiling with book shelves. At the west end of the building were the office and storeroom of the superintendent of Indian affairs.²³

About 1860 repairs authorized in Washington included a new front *portal* of closely placed, slender, squared posts on square bases (Photos 27, 28). In 1866 the west end was removed to make way for the construction of Lincoln Avenue.²⁴ This wide, straight thoroughfare led to the new capitol which had been under construction since the early 1850s and subsequently was never completed. The Palace was now 240 feet in length and 36 feet in depth.²⁵

Late in the decade, extensive repair and rebuilding were undertaken, sometimes scavenging materials from the stalled capitol project. Under authority from the Secretary of the Treasury, improvements at the west end for use as the U. S. Depository included the construction of a vault. Under the Interior Secretary, extensive work on the rest of the building was completed. New legislative halls, a passage through the building (front to rear), and a library room were created at the ruined east end. In the center residence section, much of the north wall had to be rebuilt and a rear *portal* was constructed. Four windows were added to the front of this residence section while six windows were added to its rear. Small rooms that lay in a discontinuous row north of the main building (Fig. 9) were also restored and extended.²⁶

During the 1870s and 1880s the Palace was remodeled in an often piecemeal manner, with varying treatments given to sections of building that were under the control of different government entities or private tenants. In the early 1870s, the legislative rooms at the east end were improved with wooden window and door casings installed inside and out, as well as exterior window shutters. On the interior, a wooden wainscoting was installed. The woodwork was painted, grained and varnished.²⁷

²² Davis 169-170.

²³ Davis 171-172.

²⁴ *Santa Fe New Mexican* 6 April 1866.

²⁵ Robert B. Mitchell, H. H. Heath, and J. L. Johnson. Letter to Secretary Interior Department, 20 August 1867. Files of the Palace of the Governors.

²⁶ Mitchell, et al., letter to Secretary Interior Department, 20 August 1867.

²⁷ Memorandum of Agreement S. E. Blair and the United States (3 November 1873) TANM 97, State Records Center and Archives. Memorandum of Agreement Cayatano (*sic*) Varela and the United States (3 November 1873) TANM 97, State Records Center and Archives.

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In 1877-1878 the legislative section received a metal roof as well as a “heavy and ornate” brick cornice on the east wall and brick chimneys with molded tops. At the same time a front cornice and balustrade, designed by Territorial Secretary William Ritch, was added, which extended from the east brick cornice to the U. S. Marshall’s office at the west end (Photos 32).²⁸ The entrance was enhanced with heavy double doors that had a large plate glass light in each and were painted and grained to resemble oak or walnut. The east-end posts were faced and decorated with heavy stone bases and molding capitals. The original naked adobes of the front walls of the Council (senate) Chamber and the Territorial Library were plastered and blocked off in imitation of stone.²⁹

In the early 1870s, the front walls of the Attorney General’s office directly west of the library had already received a similar, “granitized” treatment. A front door and two windows were also added. Later the posts fronting their portion of the building were modified to resemble those of the east end.³⁰

On the west end, in the mid 1870s, the Treasury Department added a small room with a metal roof to the northwest corner as living space for the receiver of public moneys (Fig. 10). Later in the decade, the disparity in appearance between the west end and the rest of the building was described as “grotesque.” Improvements were made to bring the west end facade into conformity with the rest of the building.³¹ The *portal* posts were faced and capped with heavy molding and stone bases placed under them.

Upon taking office in 1878, Governor Lew Wallace contended that the governor’s quarters were uninhabitable. According to his description the interior and exterior walls were of mud four to eight feet thick. The roof consisted of two feet of mud over boards supported by unhewn logs exposed on the interior. Cloth was tacked to these beams to hold back roof dirt that sifted through ceiling. The floor boards were laid directly on the ground. Each room, except the kitchen, had a small window, which could not be lowered from the top and did not extend to the floor. The doors were without transoms.³²

The piecemeal changes of the 1880s included a tar and gravel roof over the governor’s center section that was still a dirt roof. After the New Mexico Historical Society was granted use of the two vacated legislative chambers at the east end in 1884, a large passage was opened between the two rooms.³³ When the west end became the post office in 1889, the three rooms, vault, and two halls were remodeled into two large rooms.

In 1890 the building received another major remodeling. The 1877-1878 east-wall brick cornice, now called “unsightly,” was replaced (Photo 34). Crumbling rear walls were rebuilt with new adobes laid in lime-based mortar. The exterior was hard plastered and calcimined, and three coats of paint were applied to the woodwork. On the interior, rooms were first finished with a hard plaster rough coat and then calcimined in tints. Many of the dwelling apartments used by the governor were finished with paper

²⁸ *Weekly New Mexican* 9 March 1878.

²⁹ *Santa Fe New Mexican* 9 March 1878.

³⁰ *Daily New Mexican* 28 June 1877.

³¹ Sherman, letter to Secretary of the Treasury, 18 March 1878.

³² [Wallace], letter to Carl Schurz, 23 October 1878.

³³ Prince, et al., “Report of the Historical Society,” 1-2.

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ceilings, broad friezes, and walls painted to match. Two years later the adobes of the rear wall were dug out and replaced with brick covered with a coat of cement to keep out moisture. In 1897 a new, painted steel roof with new skylights was placed on the structure. The roof measured 262 feet long by 58 feet. The chimneys were repaired and raised to a uniform height.³⁴

In 1909 the Palace was turned over to the control of the School of American Archaeology and the newly formed Museum of New Mexico. From 1909 to 1913, in accordance with prevailing standards of the day, a complete “restoration” of the Palace was undertaken to restore its putative Spanish-Colonial appearance. No comprehensive or systematic contemporary record exists of exactly what was done. It is known that work began in Rooms 7 and 8 and proceeded east, doing the rooms occupied by the Historical Society last.³⁵

Some interior walls were removed and others rebuilt. In Room 7, the center, north-south dividing wall was removed and the north wall rebuilt (Figs. 16, 17, 18). The width of the room was shortened by four inches because the ends of most of the *vigas* were rotted out. In addition several *vigas* were not replaced, resulting in the present odd appearance of ceiling.³⁶ For the display of artifacts, glass cases were deeply inset into the building’s central wall in Rooms 7 and 8 and into the north wall of Room 8. Murals depicting Indian life were painted by Carl Lotave in the entrance hall, and Rooms 7 and 8 (Photo 24).

Vigas (ceiling beams) and other wooden elements were replaced where materials had rotted beyond repair. A list of construction expenses shows that old beams were purchased from Santa Clara, north of Santa Fe.³⁷ However, no records indicate where they were used. Thus, attempts to date rooms of the building through dendrochronology are inconclusive, as it is not known which beams are original to the Palace and which are old materials salvaged elsewhere (a practice that dates from Spanish Colonial times).

Also in the interior, during the 1909-1913 work, Territorial-style wood casings were removed and the openings rounded to suggest the Spanish Colonial building practice, although corresponding modifications were not made on the exterior window treatments. Spanish-Pueblo Revival corner fireplaces were built to replace Territorial-style square hearths with projecting mantels. Late nineteenth-century plaster and papering was removed from the walls. Cloth and wall paper ceilings were removed, exposing original *vigas*.³⁸

On the exterior, during the course of the renovation, the grade of the *placita* was brought down to the base of the walls by removing 2,600 wagon loads of debris.³⁹ Damaged north walls were reinforced where possible; those beyond repair were taken down and relaid to the same dimensions on stone and

³⁴ *Daily New Mexican* 6 December 1890; 1 November, 3 December 1896.

³⁵ Snow 9.

³⁶ Snow 17.

³⁷ Jesse L. Nusbaum, Statement of the Repair Fund, 1911. Listed are “Old Vigas from Santa Clara Indians” (\$35.75) and “Old Capitol for Old Gambling House (\$.75).”

³⁸ Museum of New Mexico, *First Annual Report* (1912) 1.

³⁹ Museum of New Mexico, *First Annual Report* (1912) 1.

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concrete foundations. Concrete and cobble-stone buttressing was placed at the bottom of the north wall. Three hundred loads of dirt were taken from the roof to lessen the weight on the walls.

The stables and abandoned rooms at the rear of the *placita* were rebuilt for work rooms, laboratories, and storerooms, and a subterranean steam furnace and large coal bin were installed. Finally in 1913, the front of the Palace of the Governors was remodeled to replicate, it was thought, the building's Spanish-Colonial appearance. The balustraded front porch was replaced by a *portal* with heavy round posts and carved corbels extending between two projecting open wings (Photos 1, 3, 37).

In 1930 a new library addition was constructed of penitentiary brick at the rear of the east end of the Palace, facing onto Washington Avenue.⁴⁰ Heavy *vigas*, 10 and 14 inches thick rested on the east and west walls. Tongue and groove shiplap was placed over the beams to form the ceiling.

After the Period of Significance

Since 1949 alterations have primarily been directed toward maintenance, restoring historic features lost in the 1909-1913 renovation, and creating period rooms. In 1973 the Mexican governor's office of 1845 was recreated in Room 1.⁴¹ In the same period, investigation of the building fabric at the west end, uncovered parts of Territorial interior window and door frames which were used as models to restore the woodwork of Rooms 3, 4, and 5 to its nineteenth-century appearance. The reception room (2) was restored to its appearance from an 1893 photograph including the rebuilding of the fireplace.⁴²

The most recent major rehabilitation was undertaken in 1985 by the architectural firm of Conron & Lent. Repairs were made to the *portal*, the west end of which had been braced for the previous two years because of rotted posts. A new standing seam metal roof was installed over the front section of the building, replicating the treatment of the 1890s metal roof that had been destroyed by several layers of rolled asphalt roofing applied over the years. All floors were refinished and all interior walls repainted and the exterior restuccoed. On the main facade the nineteenth century "granitized" treatment, including a decorative edging around window and door openings and at the corners was exposed and a portion placed under glass.⁴³ In 1986 a door was added leading to Washington Street to provide independent access to the shop after the museum instituted an admission charge.⁴⁴

In 1995 the front *portal* of the Palace of the Governors was extensively repaired and restored. Two years earlier, in the early morning hours of June 9, 1993, a 14-year-old, unlicensed driver lost control of a vehicle and crashed into the east end of the *portal*, causing about a third of it to collapse. In a subsequent examination of the entire *portal*, dry rot and deterioration were discovered in some of the remaining supporting members. In the \$200,000, state-funded reconstruction that followed, damaged wood elements were replaced with materials similar to those used in 1913. The parapet was rebuilt, using the

⁴⁰ "Museum Library Dedicated." *El Palacio* 30.4 (January 28, 1931) 49-70. Penitentiary brick was manufactured by the state prison at Santa Fe.

⁴¹ *Albuquerque Tribune* 23 March 1973.

⁴² *Santa Fe New Mexican* 12 March 1975. *Albuquerque Tribune* 13 March 1975.

⁴³ *Albuquerque Journal North* 19, 23 October 11 December 1984; 8, 27 May 1985.

⁴⁴ *Albuquerque Journal North* 14 January 1986.

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original bricks and a mortar duplicated by analysis of the original mix. A steel beam was added for reinforcement.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ *Albuquerque Journal North* 10 June 1993. *Santa Fe New Mexican* 10 June 1993; 8 March 1995.

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8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

Nationally: X Statewide: ___ Locally: ___

Applicable National

Register Criteria:

A X B ___ C X D ___

Criteria Considerations

(Exceptions):

A ___ B ___ C ___ D ___ E ___ F ___ G ___

NHL Criteria:

1, 4

NHL Theme(s):

IV. Shaping the Political Landscape
2. governmental institutionsIII. Expressing Cultural Values
5. Architecture

Areas of Significance:

POLITICS/GOVERNMENT
ARCHITECTURE

Period(s) of Significance:

ca. 1696-1949.

Significant Dates:

1680; 1692; ca. 1696; 1821; 1846; 1909 (Criterion 1)

1680; 1692; ca. 1696; ca. 1860; 1867-1869; 1877-1878; 1890;
1909-1913; 1930 (Criterion 4)

Significant Person(s):

N/A

Cultural Affiliation:

N/A

Architect/Builder:

Unknown

Historic Contexts:

II. European Colonial Exploration and Settlement.
3. Southwest
XVI. Architecture.
A. Colonial
M. Period Revivals (Spanish-Pueblo)

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State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.**SUMMARY**

One of America's oldest public buildings of European origin, the Palace of the Governors has been in constant use since the early seventeenth century. For nearly 300 years the building was the seat of government in Santa Fe, the oldest continuously occupied capital in the United States. Originally constructed facing a central plaza by Spanish settlers loosely following the dictates of Spanish Colonial town planning ordinances, the building served as the capitol of New Mexico and the governor's residence during the Spanish Colonial era (1610-1680; 1693-1821) and the Mexican (1821-1846) periods. After the American occupation (1846) and subsequent formation of the New Mexico Territory, the Palace served as the territorial capitol until 1886 and governor's residence until 1909. The building was also occupied twice in widely separated conflicts, first by the native Pueblo Indians (1680-1693) and about 200 years later briefly by the Confederacy (1862). After a new capitol was constructed, the former legislative halls and other rooms were turned over to the territorial Historical Society, whose exhibits were the territory's only public museum not connected with a business establishment. In 1907 ownership of the building was transferred from the federal to the territorial government and it became the headquarters of the School of American Archaeology, founded that year by the Archaeological Institute of American as the first school in North America devoted to American archaeology. Two years later the newly founded Museum of New Mexico was also located in the Palace under joint leadership with the school. The Palace remains today the premier museum of New Mexico history in the state. In 1909-1913, scholars and personnel of the school and museum undertook a restoration of the building as a "monument to the Spanish founders of the civilization of the Southwest," by recreating elements of what they believed may have been its Spanish Colonial appearance. Much of the nineteenth century fabric of the building was retained: most notably in fenestration. As remodeled the Palace became a seminal building in the formation of a new style, now called the Spanish-Pueblo-Revival and one of America's first period revivals of the twentieth century. In 1957 this style, together with the Territorial Revival, were mandated by ordinance in Santa Fe's newly designated historic district, and have come to dominate Santa Fe. The inevitability of alteration in adobe construction, a fragile and highly mutable medium, is only magnified in a building of such import with a history of long, and constant use. Nevertheless, each era has left its mark. Some walls and aspects of the floor plan may date from the late seventeenth century; there is fenestration representative of the nineteenth-century; and Territorial period remains are intact or have been recreated. The building stands today as a seminal work in the highly successful period revival that created the major cultural tourism destination Santa Fe has become. The Palace of the Governors, of national significance for both its history and architecture, was designated a National Historic Landmark on October 9, 1960. Believed to be the oldest continuously occupied public building in the United States, the Palace still faces the public plaza. Well maintained, the building continues to represent its historic and architectural significance.

HISTORIC CONTEXT**Spanish Colonial and Mexican Periods (1598-1846)**

At the northern extremity of New Spain, New Mexico was first explored by Spaniards in 1540. Having ventured north in search of mineral wealth to match the riches of Mexico, they found agricultural settlements of Indians living communally in groupings of permanent dwellings which the explorers

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called *pueblos* (villages). These indigenous settlements were concentrated in (though not limited to) the valley of the Rio Grande and its tributaries, in an area stretching from the Taos Pueblo on the north to near the present town of Socorro on the south. Beyond the pueblo settlements were nomadic Indians, who traded with and sometimes raided the pueblos.

In 1598 Don Juan de Oñate as governor led an expedition of some 129 colonists and ten Franciscans to establish the first European settlement in New Mexico. After a few months spent near the pueblo he named San Juan de los Caballeros, Oñate established a capital called San Gabriel nearby on the west bank of the Rio Grande above the mouth of the Chama River.⁴⁶ The colony did not prosper and was nearly deserted when Oñate's successor as governor, Don Pedro de Peralta, arrived in the winter of 1609-1610 with instructions to move the colonists to a better location and to establish a permanent administrative and military capital of Spanish settlement in New Mexico, which would be called Santa Fe.

For the capital Peralta chose a site that was easier to defend than San Gabriel and had a dependable source of water for irrigation and plentiful supplies of fuel and timber. Here the Santa Fe River flowed across a relatively flat expanse that was enclosed on the north and east by the abruptly rising foothills of the Sangre de Cristo mountains. Although once a site of Indian habitation, by the time the Spanish arrived it was abandoned and thus offered unoccupied arable land.

The colonies of Spain were, to a far greater extent than those of France or England, government sponsored and regulated enterprises. Lands claimed by the Spanish remained in the possession of the crown to be parceled out in the form of grants made to individuals or groups for the purposes of developing unoccupied territory and creating defenses against hostile nomadic tribes or other Europeans. In addition to granting specific lands to colonists, the sovereign promulgated laws that specified where and how new civil settlements were to be laid out. In 1681, a multivolume codification of Spanish law, the *Recopilacion de Leyes de las Indias* (known as the Laws of the Indies), was published, incorporating most of the 148 ordinances concerning the laying out of new settlements originally issued in 1573 by Philip II.⁴⁷

The town plan mandated by the Spanish crown was based on a grid pattern of streets radiating from an open square or *plaza*. This design was ultimately derived from the sunny climate of the Mediterranean Classical world. The Greek *agora* and Roman *forum*, urban open spaces surrounded by shaded porticos, were centers for political, economic, religious, social, and cultural activities. The Spanish laws, in fact, drew heavily for the design of the plaza on the Roman Vitruvius' *De Architectura*.⁴⁸

The Laws of the Indies stipulated that the principal institutions of church and state were to face this open plaza, which should either be a square or rectangle proportioned so that the length is at least one and a half its width, the best shape for "fiestas in which horses are used." Each of four main streets were to begin from the middle of the principal sides of the plaza; eight streets were to run from the four corners.

⁴⁶ Marc Simmons, *New Mexico: An Interpretative History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977) 38.

⁴⁷ The City Planning Ordinances of the *Laws of the Indies* are selectively translated in Dora P. Crouch, Daniel J. Garr, and Axel I. Mundigo, *Spanish City Planning in North America* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1982) 6-19.

⁴⁸ Boyd C. Pratt, "The Plaza in History: Old World Ideals, New World Realities," *El Palacio* 94.2 (1988) 5.

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Portales (open porches) were recommended around the plaza and along the four main streets for the convenience of merchants gathered there.⁴⁹

Thus Peralta was ordered to establish a square for *casas reales* (government buildings) to accommodate the residence of the governor, offices for royal officials, a jail, arsenals, and a chapel.⁵⁰ At Santa Fe the *casa real* where the governor lived presumably was originally built facing the plaza on the north side. There were also workrooms, shops, and storerooms for supplies.⁵¹

Peralta also brought with him instructions for allotting land to the settlers for houses, gardens, cultivated fields, and orchards which he presumably did. However, the recommended grid pattern of streets was never fully developed beyond the Plaza. Rather, streets led out from its corners running irregularly through sparsely populated cultivated land to become trails to outlying locals and in the case of those heading south, to Mexico. Very little, however, is known in detail of the seventeenth-century capital partly because local records were destroyed when the Pueblos revolted and drove the Spanish out.

The primary justification for early colonization was Christianizing the native population. To that end the Franciscan friars moved into the Indian pueblos and established missions. The majority of the colonial population lived scattered in the countryside, predominantly along rivers and streams, near the pueblos, where in addition to water there was fertile land and a nearby source of labor.⁵² Before the Pueblo Revolt, Santa Fe was the only formally established Spanish community in New Mexico.

In 1680 the Pueblos united to rise in rebellion, killing most of the Franciscans and settlers in the outlying areas. The northern settlers who escaped fled south, taking refuge at the Palace in Santa Fe, where the Indians laid siege cutting off the water supply. Eventually, the Spanish broke out and fled south to El Paso del Norte (present Ciudad Juarez) where they remained for 12 years.

During the Spanish absence, Pueblo Indians occupied the *casa real* and the plaza, making extensive alterations.⁵³ When the Spanish returned after 1692 under the leadership of Don Diego de Vargas, they reestablished Santa Fe as the capital and reoccupied the plaza and the *casa real*. The earliest extant map of Santa Fe, drawn c.1766 by Joseph de Urrutia, shows the *casa* of the Governor, the building known today as the Palace of the Governors (Fig. 4), extending across the north side of an open square.

Despite the vulnerability that scattered settlement demonstrated during the Pueblo Revolt, after the Reconquest the returning colonists resumed the previous pattern and resisted official pressure toward organized communities. Conditions in the colony were decried in periodic inspection reports by religious and military authorities. In 1772 Governor Mendinueta advocated compelling dispersed settlers to join

⁴⁹ Crouch, Garr, Mundigo 12-14.

⁵⁰ Stanley M. Hordes, "The History of the Santa Fe Plaza, 1610-1720," *Santa Fe Historic Plaza Study*, vol 1, ed. Linda Tigges (Santa Fe: City Planning Department, 1990) 5.

⁵¹ France V. Scholes, "Civil Government and Society in New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century," *New Mexico Historical Review* 10.2 (1935) 101.

⁵² Marc Simmons, "Settlement Patterns and Village Plans in Colonial New Mexico," *Journal of the West* 8 (1969) 7-21, rpt. in *New Spain's Far Northern Frontier*, ed. David J. Webber (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979) 102.

⁵³ Cordelia Thomas Snow, "A Brief History of the Palace of the Governors and a Preliminary Report on the 1974 Excavation," *El Palacio* 80.3 (1974) 1-21.

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and form their pueblos in plazas or streets so that a few men could defend themselves. In response to increasing pressure from Indian attack in the late eighteenth century, rural people did increasingly move into fortified towns or plazas, and between 1789 and 1791 the *presidio* was rebuilt at Santa Fe.⁵⁴

The new *presidio* incorporated the Palace of the Governors. A detailed plan drawn in Chihuahua, Mexico, from specifications provided by others, shows the *presidio* as an immense rectangle enclosed by buildings with a single entrance at the middle of the south side. Extending west of the entrance is the *Casa para el Gobernador* with a small guard room and jail and supplymaster's office in the same building. The rest of the compound is surrounded by quarters for troops and their "respective corrals" (Fig. 4). The compound as drawn is much larger than the standard frontier *presidio* because, as the governor explained to his superiors, the barracks had to be larger than normal to accommodate soldiers who came from Santa Fe's prominent families and were used to comfortable homes. By 1821, the year of Mexican independence from Spain, the structure was decaying and only a few soldiers were stationed there.⁵⁵

Throughout the Spanish Colonial period, Santa Fe remained the capital of New Mexico, a vast and ill-defined province that included not only New Mexico but parts of present-day Arizona, Colorado, and Texas. However large in area, New Mexico was sparsely populated and the Spanish actually controlled only small, unconnected pieces of territory which have been compared to islands surrounded by mountains and desert which were the domain of Native Americans often hostile to Spanish encroachment.⁵⁶

The great distances separating the New Mexican settlements from the centers of colonization in Mexico precluded major assistance, influence, or interference. The colony was further isolated by Spain's policy of tightly sealed North American borders, a practice which prevented the development of trade and effectively excluded cultural influences from the English and French colonies on the continent. All foreign goods had to be imported through Mexico City making them prohibitively expensive for most of the population.

After Mexican Independence in 1821, the Palace of the Governors continued to be the seat of civil and military government in New Mexico, still a remote northern region with its capital, Santa Fe, fifteen hundred miles from the national capital in Mexico City. However, the era of extreme isolation ended with the relaxing of border restrictions. Commerce with the rest of the American continent over the Santa Fe Trail was officially sanctioned for the first time, and Santa Fe became a major stopping off place on the trade routes from the United States south to Chihuahua and Mexico City and west to California. Outside influence came from new quarters as an influx of traders entered from the north and east, prefiguring the takeover by the United States in 1846.⁵⁷

The Territorial Period (1846-1912)

⁵⁴Simmons, "Settlement Patterns," 109-112.

⁵⁵ Moorhead 135-137.

⁵⁶Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982) 313-314.

⁵⁷ Howard Roberts Lamar, *The Far Southwest 1846-1912: A Territorial History* (1966; New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1970) 56-82.

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Although territorial status was not officially granted until 1850, the Territorial period of New Mexico's history began on August 19, 1846. On that day, recently breveted Brigadier General Stephen Watts Kearny and his Army of the West took control of New Mexico in the name of the United States by placing the American flag over the Governor's Palace, the centuries-old seat of New Mexico's government. New Mexico's last Mexican governor, General Manuel Armijo, had abandoned New Mexico to the Americans without a fight at Apache Canyon east of Santa Fe. This was the culmination of what has been called a "conquest of merchants" interested in "regularizing and securing rich trade and safe transportation routes."⁵⁸

General Kearny established his headquarters in the Palace and set about immediately to create a civilian government. The set of provisions that came to be known as the Kearny Code established three branches of government at the territorial level—an executive branch, consisting of a governor and secretary; a legislative assembly; and a supreme court, consisting of three district justices. Other officers included a solicitor general, marshal, treasurer, and auditor.⁵⁹ However, in response to the Spanish uprising of January 1847 known as the "Taos Rebellion," the civilian government gave way to U. S. military control until territorial status was granted in 1850.

Instead of moving rapidly toward statehood as other territories were able to do, or completely bypassing territorial status as Texas and California had done, New Mexico entered a protracted territorial period. Initially, sentiment in Washington had favored immediate statehood. Missouri Senator Thomas Hart Benton advised New Mexicans to "meet in convention, provide cheap and simple government, and to take care of yourselves until Congress can provide for you."⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the fate of New Mexico soon became entangled in matters of broader concern—the border dispute in which Texas was claiming New Mexican territory to the Rio Grande and the issue of slavery. The sudden death in the summer of 1850 of President Zachary Taylor, a strong proponent of statehood, ended New Mexico's chances, and the statehood proposal died in Congress without a single supporting vote.⁶¹ As part of the Compromise of 1850, New Mexico was organized as a territory (which until 1863 included Arizona) without reference to slavery.

The Spanish *presidio* had deteriorated and by 1846 some of the barracks lining its perimeter had disappeared. The map drawn by Lieutenant Gilmer, dated 1846-1847, shows the outline of the old *presidio*--two sides of which are lined intermittently by buildings labeled "old military barracks" (Fig. 6). An inventory of government property found fifty-one buildings averaging three rooms each, "apparently used as barracks," situated around a square.⁶² These and other public buildings taken over from the Mexican government remained in federal ownership and all money for their maintenance and repair had to be authorized by Congress, as did funds for new government buildings. The Americans occupied the

⁵⁸ Lamar 63.

⁵⁹ Lamar 64.

⁶⁰ Quoted by Lamar 74.

⁶¹ Lamar 81.

⁶² "Report on Buildings," 19 August 1846, transcribed by C. F. Arnold.

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existing *presidio* and built barracks and related structures for garrisoning United States troops.⁶³ However, by 1859 much of the old *presidio* had been torn down.⁶⁴

During the long period of federal control as a territory, new public buildings other than forts and their associated structures were slow to appear in New Mexico. The prolonged struggle to secure just two such buildings in Santa Fe illustrates the difficulties that were associated with depending upon congressional appropriations. In 1850, the year New Mexico became a territory, the U. S. Congress authorized \$20,000 to build a new Territorial capitol and in 1853 another \$20,000 for a penitentiary. By the end of the 1850s, Congress had appropriated over \$150,000 for work on both territorial buildings, which were to occupy the present Federal Oval. Little evidence of those appropriations was to be seen on the ground.⁶⁵

Neither the new capitol nor penitentiary was completed before 1885, and neither eventually occupied the site originally intended. The first penitentiary was abandoned when hardly begun, and another not completed until 1885. The first attempt to build a new territorial capitol was not finished until 1889, thirty-six years after construction had begun. However, the building opened as a federal courthouse because a new capitol on a different site had been completed four years earlier.

Near the onset of the Civil War, Confederate troops from Texas invaded New Mexico, hoping to secure the vast region of the Southwest, with its California and Colorado gold fields, for the Confederacy. In February 1862 they marched up the Rio Grande under General H. H. Sibley and succeeded in bypassing forces defending New Mexico at the Battle of Valverde. Part of Sibley's army went on to Santa Fe, briefly occupying the Palace of the Governors. The others started on to capture Fort Union, the Federal supply post. However, they were effectively defeated by Union troops who met them on route at Glorieta Pass. Soon the Confederate forces retreated back to Texas and the campaign to conquer the west was over.

Nevertheless, the American era brought private prosperity and growth to Santa Fe. Every year business over the Santa Fe Trail increased, and Santa Fe became a major wholesaling center for a wide region. A new group of prosperous wholesale and retail merchants arose that included native Hispanics as well as immigrants coming both from other regions of the United States and directly from Europe. Large stores were established on the Plaza where a simple room was previously sufficient for commerce and bartering.

The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway (AT&SF) entered the territory in 1879 dramatically accelerating the pace of change. Suddenly relatively cheap and convenient transportation for both people and freight brought the territory into more direct contact with the social currents and tastes of other parts of the country. However, in Santa Fe expectations of economic prosperity inspired by the railroad that bore the city's name were not realized. The main line never entered Santa Fe but followed instead a gentler grade south to Albuquerque, leaving Santa Fe connected by a spur line from the nearest main

⁶³ Kearny immediately ordered an adobe, star-shaped fort to be built on the heights northeast of the Plaza called Fort Marcy (Fig. 7). It was never needed or garrisoned. The name came to be applied to the military post established north of the Palace of the Governors.

⁶⁴ Curtis L. Schaafsma, "A Window on Santa Fe's History," *El Palacio* 88.3 (1982) 35.

⁶⁵ David Kammer, "A History of the Construction and Acquisition of State-Owned Buildings by the State of New Mexico," manuscript, New Mexico Historic Preservation Division (1993), 7.

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stop at Lamy. The ancient capital immediately lost the preeminence it had enjoyed as a hub of trade on the Santa Fe Trail. Other communities more advantageously located with relation to the railroad began to develop and eventually would challenge, albeit unsuccessfully, Santa Fe's position as the territorial capital.

Efforts toward statehood were thwarted several times over the long territorial period by larger political issues such as slavery, nativism, and the silver issue, or by perceived economic and cultural weaknesses of the territory, such as a majority Spanish-speaking population and the lack of public education. During the 1880s and 1890s, territorial leaders took a number of steps to remedy those objections and to demonstrate that the territory was able to assume the responsibilities of statehood. One result was the completion of long-sought government buildings, such as a penitentiary and new capitol, within the first decade after the railroad's arrival. Finishing the new capitol building put to rest attempts to move the capital elsewhere.

The Santa Fe business community responded to pressures both economic and political with a fervent campaign to bring the city into conformity with the rest of the country by modernizing its ancient architecture. The old adobe plaza was remade in the image of a railroad town and the use of brick was promoted in place of adobe in domestic building. New neighborhoods were platted using the grid plan associated with railroad development.

Paradoxically, along with the materials and the motivation to modernize, rail transportation brought with it the gradually developing and contradictory realization that there was economic value in the area's pre-American heritage. Easy accessibility by rail for the first time opened the vast reaches of the American west to great numbers of people who could travel for reasons other than commerce or settlement. The AT&SF recognized early the potential of unique historic local cultures, as well as climate and scenery, to promote travel. The railroad took the lead in advertising the salubrious qualities of the dry Southwestern climate. The region became a destination for health seekers, particularly those suffering from tuberculosis and other respiratory ailments.

In 1880, the territorial legislature enacted a series of measures designed to attract Anglo-American settlers and foreign investors. The Territorial Bureau of Immigration was created, and the Historical Society of New Mexico reestablished, both presided over by William G. Ritch, the former territorial secretary and former acting governor. The Bureau of Immigration was intended to promote settlement and economic development by providing information about the territory's climate, soil, minerals, and other resources; opportunities for business development; and other advantages. A New Mexico Historical Society had been created by the territorial legislature in 1859 but languished during the Civil War. The revived society promoted the collection of antiquities and the establishment of a library in the Palace, partly in the belief that history was also a resource that would attract visitors.

Faced with the loss of economic viability, civic leaders in Santa Fe, as early as the 1880s, recognized the potential of tourism, made possible by comfortable, speedy rail transport, to provide a new basis for commerce. They began to look to those resources that were being promoted by the railroad and developed a new regard for the historic attributes that made their city unique.

Always highly romantic, this impulse was at first expressed in a generalized way with little reference to actual local history or Spanish-American and Indian traditions. For example, streets in a freshly gridded development near the railroad yards were given names like Aztec and Montezuma, which, however

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evocative, were of little local relevance. The Palace of the Governors was touted for its antiquity although its 1870s appearance gave little indication of the building's Spanish Colonial origin.

By 1890 it was clear that the railroad was not going to bring an economic boom to Santa Fe. On the contrary, the ancient capital lost its preeminent position as a hub of trade, and large wholesalers went elsewhere. Ominously, the city's population actually decreased. In that year, the Santa Fe economy received another blow with the announcement that Fort Marcy would close. Indian resistance to encroaching settlers had been broken, and federal troops were no longer needed in New Mexico, resulting in a major loss of federal funds to the local economy. In 1891 the citizens of Santa Fe voted to incorporate the city, perhaps hoping that a municipal government would boost declining prosperity. Another fifteen years of commercial stagnation followed.

Nevertheless, by the end of the century new groups were coming to Santa Fe, attracted by some combination of the unique scenery, indigenous cultures, and healthy climate, who would revitalize Santa Fe along totally different lines. Artists and scholars had discovered northern New Mexico. Painters and writers began to settle in first Taos and then Santa Fe, forming world-famous colonies in the ensuing decades. Seeking refuge from the perceived conformity imposed by industrial America, they found a tolerant and congenial ambiance in which to live and work.

Pioneers in the archaeology, history, and ethnology of the Americas, beginning with Adolph Bandelier in the 1880s and followed by such men as Sylvanus Morley and A. V. Kidder, came to the Southwest and brought a scholarly approach to the study of indigenous American cultures. Edgar Lee Hewett brought the organizational skills and drive to make Santa Fe the headquarters of that study.

The Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) had been incorporated by an Act of Congress in 1906 and was headquartered in Washington, D. C. The Institute maintained schools in Rome, Athens, and Jerusalem. Seeking to establish the American field on an equal footing with its then dominant Classical counterpart, the AIA established the School of American Archaeology in 1907. Edgar Lee Hewett led the effort to make Santa Fe its headquarters. The school, which naturally drew the leading scholars and their students, immediately undertook a five-year program of field work at Mayan sites in Central America.

The School of American Research was a private institution incorporated under New Mexico law. Not strictly speaking a "school," it was a research institution for the practical training of students in archaeology and anthropology who had or were studying these subjects in more traditional educational settings. Under the auspices of the school, major excavations in the Southwest and Central America were undertaken. Summer field schools in New Mexico surveyed and excavated numerous New Mexico sites, such as Puyé, Rito de los Frijoles, Gran Quivira, and Pecos. The school disseminated knowledge of the prehistoric southwest throughout the United States.

In 1909 the legislature voted to turn the Palace of the Governors, finally vacated by the last governor to live there, over to the School of American Archaeology and the newly created Museum of New Mexico as the headquarters of both institutions. The school was to organize and run a museum, a state institution, as the depository of its archaeological finds and other collections. The state would make an annual appropriation for the maintenance, excavations, collections, and so on. Both institutions were to

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be under the same director, furnished by the school.⁶⁶ Dr. Edgar Lee Hewett, the prime mover in all of this, directed both until his death in 1946.

Thus by the time statehood was finally achieved in 1912, rising interest in American antiquities and indigenous cultures as well as American art, coupled with an increasing number of tourists and health seekers, made it apparent that Santa Fe's best chance for prosperity was in the appeal of culture, history, scenery, and climate to scholars, artists, tourists, and part-time residents.

Statehood (after 1912)

Once the long struggle for statehood was finally over, the development of the unique cultural attributes of Santa Fe could proceed unimpeded by the need to conform to dominant American norms. By then an interesting mix of the culturally minded was coming together in Santa Fe. Painters and writers came in increasing numbers to Santa Fe, drawn by the natural scenic beauty of the area, by what were to them exotic local cultures, or by the growing reputation of the city as an art colony. Just as scholars came to study "indigenous" cultures, many artists, seeking to establish a distinctly American art, found there a source of provocative subject matter. Thus, both scholars and artists shared a passionate interest in the Indian and Hispanic cultures of northern New Mexico that were so recently disdained by their progress-minded fellow countryman who had preceded them into the region. Both were extremely sensitive to the loss of these cultures, which they saw being overwhelmed by industrial culture.

In 1917 the name of the School of American Archaeology was changed to the School of American Research to reflect a broader concern for the related branches of the "science of man" and to "foster Art in all its branches."⁶⁷ In that year the Museum of Fine Arts was built across Lincoln Avenue from the Palace of the Governors, becoming the second unit of the Museum of New Mexico.

Another unit was added in 1940 with the creation of the Hall of Ethnology (no longer extant) in the old armory building north of the Palace on Washington Avenue (beyond nominated boundary). The Laboratory of Anthropology, a private institution created with the support of John D. Rockefeller, was deeded to the state in 1947. Located on the southeastern edge of Santa Fe, the acquisition of the Lab added not only a major collection and research facility to the museum system, but also acreage on which to build the Museum of International Folk Art, which opened in 1953.

Edgar Lee Hewett continued to direct both the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico from headquarters in the Palace of the Governors until his death in 1946. He was succeeded by Mayan archaeologist, Sylvanus Morley, for a short period that ended with his untimely death. Diplomat Boaz Long was the next director. In 1959 the arrangement between the school and museum established in 1909, whereby the head of a publicly funded institution was appointed and paid by a private institution, was deemed unconstitutional by the state attorney general. In response the legislature separated the museum from the school.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ School of American Research, "Statement of Plans," *Bulletin 2* (1927) n.p..

⁶⁷ The Museum of New Mexico: Its History and Functions. Papers of the School of American Research (1951) 3-5.

⁶⁸ Melinda Elliott, *Exploring Human Worlds: A History of the School of American Research* (Santa Fe: School of American Research, 1991) 37-42.

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From its inception the Museum of New Mexico has been the lead institution in preserving and displaying the state's historical and cultural resources. At its beginning in 1909 the museum was poised to lead the revolution in architecture that established the twentieth-century revival styles that dominate in Santa Fe today.

ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXT**The Spanish-Pueblo Style (1598-1846)**

Few in number and at the farthest reaches of Spanish colonization in a land of few apparent physical resources, Spanish settlers in northern New Mexico, like the native Pueblo population, used readily available building materials, mud, straw, logs, sticks, and brush. Both cultures constructed flat-roofed, cubical rooms with adobe walls and few openings. Roofs were constructed of peeled-log beams, called *vigas*, supported by walls through which they projected irregularly. Above the *vigas* were placed wood saplings, brush, and finally a thick layer of dirt. *Canales*, roof drains made of hollowed out half logs, projected through a surrounding parapet wall.

The Pueblo peoples, who lived communally, assembled these rooms into irregularly shaped, multistoried structures, several units deep, either roughly pyramidal in shape or encircling a court, and housing a whole community. Each succeeding story was set back upon that below it to form terraces and ladders were used to connect the various levels. The Indians formed walls by laying successive bands of adobe 15 to 20 inches high, using a technique called puddling, or puddled adobe.

To this architecture, the Spanish settlers in New Mexico added the technique of shaping the mud into sun-dried bricks; the interior, chimneyed corner fireplace; and the *portal*, a long, flat-roofed portico supported by peeled-log posts sometimes topped with carved corbel capitals. Possessing simple metal tools the Spanish were able to more easily procure thicker and longer roof beams and thus the typical span of their rooms came to be wider.

However, the most striking difference between Indian and Spanish building was the way in which similarly constructed rectangular units were assembled. The Spanish, living a less communal life, built detached, single-story dwellings, in a linear floor plan usually one room deep. Rooms were reached through one another or from outside doors.

The typical Spanish house might begin as one or two rooms. As needs increased rooms could be added in single file, either in a straight line or bent into an L and then a U. Finally these rooms might extend all the way around an interior courtyard or *placita*. The *portal* might extend around the entire interior of a courtyard, serving as a covered walkway or an exterior hall, connecting rooms reached by exterior doors. In less developed plans the *portal* could be recessed with a side or sides formed by the projecting wing or wings of the building.

Most functions, whether governmental, commercial, or domestic were housed in these single-story, flat-roofed, linear, adobe buildings. Often more than one function was combined in the same building. The Spanish introduced just two specialized building types, the *torreón* (defensive tower) and the church. For both the same methods of wall and roof construction were adapted to specific requirements of shape and height.

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As far as is known, Spanish building methods remained virtually unchanged during the more than two hundred years of Spanish Colonial rule. Isolated by geography and official policy, and lacking both the means and the incentive for change, the Spanish of northern New Mexico remained conservative in all aspects of culture including architecture.

After Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821, the influence of the rest of the North American continent on architecture remained negligible despite the sanctioning of trade over the Santa Fe Trail. Traders brought mainly small items of every day use and those North Americans who chose to settle in Mexican territory adopted local ways. For the 25 years that northern New Mexico was a part of Mexico, building practices remained essentially unchanged.

Thus when American soldiers occupied Santa Fe in 1846, they found the Spanish building as they had for over 250 years. The tradition which had evolved has come to be called for its dual origin, the Spanish-Pueblo style. In brief its basic elements are thick, mud-plastered adobe walls; small, infrequent window and door openings; unglazed windows; flat roofs composed of peeled logs (*vigas*), sticks, brush and dirt; *viga* ends projecting though the outside walls; low roof parapets with projecting *canales*; linear floor plans; and *portales*.⁶⁹

However static the materials, techniques, and style of building may have remained during the Spanish Colonial and Mexican periods, the buildings themselves were anything but static. Adobe is at once a flexible and a fragile medium, which requires continuous attention but also accepts modification and addition easily. An architecture of readily available, natural materials, these buildings had a tendency to return to nature without constant vigilance to the effects of water and weathering. One part of a building might collapse from neglect, while another was well maintained and augmented with new rooms. The fundamental malleability of the medium meant that technological innovation in such details as windows and roofs, when they did arrive, could be added to an existing building without changing its basic form.

The Santa Fe Trail and the Territorial Style (1846-1880)

The occupation of New Mexico (1846) and subsequent annexation as a territory of the United States (1850) had immediate effects on nearly every aspect of life in Santa Fe, including architecture. New building materials were imported including small amounts of fired brick, window glass, nails, and metal hardware. A more extensive assortment of tools became available and sawmills were set up providing the first milled lumber for door and window frames, floors, roof framing and so on. An influx of new settlers from the United States also brought different values and expectations expressed through a new architectural mode.

Now called the Territorial Style, this was actually an expression of the Greek Revival, which was by then of waning popularity in the East. Like the Spanish colonists before them, the Americans initially had no choice but to adapt the local building materials and techniques of wall and roof construction to their new needs and expectations. Traditional Spanish-Pueblo buildings were refitted with such elements of the new style as denticulated brick copings applied to the tops of parapet walls and large, glazed windows in wood-frames and surrounds, often including pedimented lintels. Porches were supported by square columns, typically with chamfered corners and topped by simulated capitals made of bits of

⁶⁹ University of New Mexico School of Architecture, *New Mexico Historic Building Inventory Manual*, typescript, (1980) VI-4-6.

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molding. Fenestration was deeply inset on the interior and often panel lined. Porch elements and other details such as the interior and exterior wood trim were painted white.⁷⁰

Until the production of fired brick began locally in the 1880s, new Territorial style dwellings were built of sun-dried adobe brick, however much the new arrivals might try to disguise that fact. In some cases, settlers went as far as having facades meticulously painted to simulate cut stone or brick. The new arrivals also introduced a new, symmetrical floor plan that was two or more rooms deep and organized around a central hallway. This formal symmetry contrasted sharply with the Spanish custom of letting the plan of buildings evolve as need and circumstance might dictate. After their appearance in the 1870s, pitched metal roofs were added to a few Territorial-style buildings. Their popularity would swell after the arrival of the railroad in 1880.⁷¹

The Transcontinental Railroad and the Railroad Styles (1880-1912)

The AT&SF, which came to Santa Fe via a spur line completed in February 1880, was arguably the single most influential event in the history of the New Mexico capital since Spanish colonization. Fast and relatively inexpensive transport greatly accelerated the pace of change in many domains and wrought a revolution in architecture. Suddenly, in towns near the railroad, a wide range of manufactured building materials was available which had been too fragile, too heavy, or just too expensive to be hauled out by wagon. Easier travel also brought many more Anglo-Americans with different norms of town planning and new tastes in architecture. This new population, with its new ideas about style and the availability of building materials to realize them, would propel the architectural remaking of Santa Fe over the next thirty years.

The impulse to modernize had a special sense of urgency because of Santa Fe's lost position as a center of trade. Another powerful motivation to bring Santa Fe into conformity with the rest of the nation was a desire for acceptance into equal status as a state. In the several unsuccessful attempts to join the Union made since 1850, native adobe architecture was regarded by some as symptomatic of the backwardness which had stood in the way of statehood.

"Progressive" elements of the business community campaigned for the modernization of the central business district around the Plaza, urging the elimination of "unsightly adobes" and their *portales*—symbols of the old culture which was standing in the way of progress and hence prosperity. One by one the old adobe business blocks around the plaza were rebuilt or remodeled with brick or stone facades ornamented by mass-produced metal decorative elements and dominated by oversize display windows, all in the image of a Midwestern main street.

The desire to be acceptable for statehood also affected the chosen styles of new governmental architecture. The state capitol, finally built in 1886, had four-stories in yellow sandstone with twin domes and a columned and pedimented portico—a neo-classical design that would have been acceptable for the capitol of any state.⁷² The problem of a suitable capitol was revisited after this building was

⁷⁰ University of New Mexico School of Architecture VI-7-8.

⁷¹ The early history of the metal roof in New Mexico has been documented by Corinne P. Sze, "The Alexander G. and Katherine McKenzie Irvine House", typescript, Historic Santa Fe Foundation, 1997.

⁷² Kammer 11-12.

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destroyed in 1892 by a fire of highly suspicious but undetermined origin. Its replacement, completed in 1900, was another domed edifice with an elaborate neo-classical portico, again designed without reference to local architectural tradition but fully acceptable to the rest of the Union. In 1908 a neo-classical, yellow-brick, executive mansion with massive two-story columns was completed nearby.

Nevertheless, at the same time that Santa Fe, in conscious rejection of local tradition, was being remade to suit the expectations of the rest of the country, a contrary impulse was at work. The AT&SF had recognized the value of history as expressed through architecture and was using the California Mission style for depots and Fred Harvey establishments throughout the west, thereby providing a broadly regional, if romanticized, model for a public design.

Just after the turn of the century, the elements coalesced in Santa Fe to produce a powerful movement that sought to bring historically appropriate architecture back to the recently modernized center of the town and to encourage new construction in a historic style that was a more authentic evocation of the city's Spanish Colonial and Indian heritage. At the center of this movement would be the Palace of the Governors.

The Spanish-Pueblo Revival and Territorial Revival Styles (After 1912)

Although the nineteenth century had witnessed the first singular voices advocating the use of the indigenous architecture of the region, appreciation for history generally did not extend to actual buildings. The old Palace of the Governors, its balustraded, late-Victorian porch notwithstanding, had come to symbolize the antique. It was not until the early years of the twentieth century that the value of historic architecture was recognized in Santa Fe.

Artists, archaeologists, and historians associated with the Museum of New Mexico, and business leaders formed an improbable alliance to press a campaign to halt the "Americanization" of Santa Fe. They were strikingly successful in bringing a city, which for twenty-five years had officially disdained adobe architecture, full circle back to "indigenous" architectural traditions. What they actually achieved was not a return to the past but the creation of new styles eventually called the Spanish-Pueblo Revival and the Territorial Revival.⁷³

It was on the campus of the University of New Mexico that a revival style based more closely on local architectural traditions was introduced. Through the efforts of William H. Tight, President of the University from 1901-1910, several buildings were built on the campus in a style derived from the Indian pueblos. Although, Tight left the university discredited, the 1911 Legislative Manual singled out the UNM campus buildings, as "the most unique of all public buildings of the territory" and a marked contrast "with the modernized surroundings."⁷⁴ The architectural movement Tight envisioned would soon start anew in Santa Fe, as the "Santa Fe Style."

The 1912 Santa Fe Planning Board, led by realtor Henry H. Dorman, stated in its report that "if the preservation of the old streets and houses is good as an economic proposition, it can hardly be denied that the attraction of Santa Fe can best be preserved and increased by developing the town architecturally

⁷³ University of New Mexico School of Architecture VI-42-46

⁷⁴ Legislative Manual 1911: 22, quoted by Kammer 18.

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in harmony with its ancient character. We believe that everything should be done to create a public sentiment so strong that the Santa Fe style will always predominate." That year the style was defined and presented to the public at the New-Old Santa Fe Exhibition installed at the Palace under the direction of the archaeologist, Sylvanus Morley.

The following year the remodeling of the Palace of the Governors became the first major project of the Santa Fe promoters of the "new-old" style. Its Territorial-era portal was torn down and replaced by the Plaza's first Spanish-Pueblo Revival portal. In 1915 New Mexico was represented at the Panama-California Exhibition in San Diego with a striking building in the revival Style. Rebuilt in permanent materials two years later, across Lincoln Avenue from the Palace to house the new Museum of Fine Arts, this was the first new downtown building in the "Santa Fe style."

The proponents of the Spanish-Pueblo Revival took as models the low, linear Spanish dwellings; the multistoried Native American pueblos; and the Spanish mission churches. They sought an architecture which would be true to the past but meet modern requirements. The recreation of a Hispanic *portal* at the Palace immediately became an influential precedent, although its design was largely conjectural. The Fine Arts Museum, its facades incorporating features from six mission churches, demonstrated the adaptability of designs based on these structures to the requirements of modern civic use. The artist, Carlos Vierra, built a home that exemplified the viability of pueblo architecture as a model for new domestic construction.

The hallmarks of the Spanish-Pueblo Revival were thick, battered walls, rounded corners, and sometimes heavy buttresses—the appearance of adobe in cement stucco, which often covered other types of masonry, such as brick or hollow tile. Facades were asymmetrical and roof lines irregular to suggest the way historic buildings grew by accretion over time. Windows were small, unadorned, and often deeply inset on the exterior. Roofs were of traditional flat construction using exposed peeled logs or hand-axed beams as *vigas* with peeled aspen branches (*latillas*) or split cedar logs (*rajas*) above them. Projecting *vigas* and wooden *canales* broke the generally flat surfaces of exterior walls. Colors did not stray too far from those found in natural clay and wood.⁷⁵

Interiors of Spanish-Pueblo Revival buildings typically featured a corner fireplace. In remodelings newly built traditional fireplaces often replaced wood stoves. It was also a common practice to salvage fragments of historic buildings for use in new structures, sometimes mingling antiques with replicas. A revival innovation in ceiling design was the practice of plastering between *vigas*, sometimes in a coved shape. This solved the age-old annoyance of dirt sifting down from between the *latillas*.

In the early years, the only Territorial embellishment considered acceptable for historic architecture was a coping of brick placed on the top of parapet walls. However, it was not long before the Territorial mode gained acceptance and underwent a revival of its own. The Territorial Revival often combined elements of the earlier Territorial style with floor plans of current popularity. Classical symmetry of facade and plan was often employed in such designs. Although stuccoed in earth tones, these buildings were infrequently built of adobe and little attempt was made to imitate its rounded look.

The Revival styles became ubiquitous in Santa Fe public architecture largely through the work of one man, John Gaw Meem who had been trained as an engineer but had most recently worked in banking

⁷⁵ Ref. Manual.

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before he came to Santa Fe's Sunmount Sanatorium in 1920 to be treated for tuberculosis. There he became involved in the debate over architectural styles in which Dr. Mera and many of his present and former patients took a passionate interest. As his health improved, he studied architecture and began to take commissions to assist in renovations of old adobe homes and to design new ones. After his recovery, Meem remained in Santa Fe to become the region's premier architect in the revival styles, as well as an effective leader in various efforts to preserve the region's historic architecture.

In 1930, John Gaw Meem won a \$400 prize for a design to remodel the buildings around the Plaza in harmony with their Spanish Colonial origins, a conception that originated with the 1913 remodeling of the Palace's Plaza facade. Although this plan was never implemented, Meem's influence was felt through his remodeling of individual Plaza buildings over the next several decades. In 1967 the last *portales* were added to whatever Plaza buildings still lacked them.

Ten years earlier, the revival movement, effectively begun with the Palace remodeling, gained the force of law in Santa Fe. Under Meem's leadership, the long crusade of the preservationists culminated in the passage of Santa Fe's first historic styles zoning ordinance mandating the use of the Spanish-Pueblo Revival and Territorial Revival in the historic areas of the city.

HISTORY OF THE PALACE OF THE GOVERNORS

Spanish Colonial and Mexican Periods (ca. 1610-1846)

Although it was long supposed (and still occasionally claimed) that the Palace of the Governors and the Santa Fe Plaza were built on the site of a prehistoric Indian pueblo, no supporting evidence has been found. Construction of the Spanish *casas reales* (royal buildings), including the Palace, is assumed to have begun with the establishment of Santa Fe as the capital of New Mexico in 1610. Also included in the complex were a fort, town council hall, military chapel, an armory, gun powder magazine a carriage house, servants quarters, warehouses, and a tannery.⁷⁶ The precise location or configuration of the Palace of the Governors is not known, but it is generally assumed to have occupied the present site.

The Spanish who managed to escape the 1680 Indian uprising in the north fled to the capital, where they took refuge in the colony's most important building, the Palace of the Governors. They eventually fled south, and in their absence the Indians constructed a three-to four-story pueblo over the Palace, which was occupied by some one thousand of their number. Fortified with four towers the pueblo had a single entrance that faced south.⁷⁷

After the Spanish returned to New Mexico in 1693, Don Diego de Vargas and the returning colonists occupied the pueblo until 1696 when Vargas was replaced as governor by Pedro Rodriques Cubero. Cubero proceeded to take down the pueblo and rebuild the *casas reales*.⁷⁸ In keeping with the mutable nature of adobe, the subsequent history of the *casa real* is one of frequent modification, collapse, and rebuilding.

⁷⁶ Snow 4.

⁷⁷ Snow 22-23.

⁷⁸ Snow 22-23.

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By 1716, the Palace was collapsing. Its meager furnishings consisted of five broken pine benches, six broken chairs, two “ordinary” tables, two carved pine beds, and a large, tarnished and dented copper jar. The complex contained a chapel, corral, two *zaguanes* (entrances) on the south side, a horse-driven flour mill, a coach room, and a courtyard with a well.⁷⁹

Testimony in a 1731 case indicated that Governor Juan Domingo de Bustamante (1722-1731) “made at his own cost the royal houses where today live the governors.” Six years later Governor Gervasio Cruzat y Gongora (1731-1736) was said to have “rebuilt all the Palaces and the fortifications . . . at his own cost.” In 1756 the governor’s investigation of street encroachments, mentions “the fort that is on the west of the Palace.” However, when the Bishop of Durango stayed in Santa Fe’s *casas reales* in 1760, he found “. . .no fortress there, nor any formal *presidio* building.” However, a garrison of 80 mounted soldiers was noted.⁸⁰

By the early 1780s problems were apparent in the location and configuration of the military and civil headquarters of the province, and in 1781, Governor Juan Bautista de Anza unsuccessfully proposed moving to the south side of the river. Instead, detailed instructions were issued for the construction of new *presidios* on the northern frontier of New Spain. Soon plans were drawn up to rebuild the *presidio* at Santa Fe on lands north and west of the Palace. As completed in 1791, the *presidio* incorporated the Palace of the Governors and extended north to the present-day South Federal Place (Fig. 4).⁸¹

Despite construction of the new *presidio*, by 1810 the condition of the Palace was again deplored by the governor:

Said house is old and its fabric being of adobe . . . as well as for being large, it is suffering for being [?] in ruins, and the exterior crumbling from the continual snows of winter and rains of summer [?] many of the *canales* are also of bad [rotted?] wood . . . [we] had neither funds nor recourse to appeal to carry out the repairs, we are loosing it day by day . . .⁸²

After Mexican independence from Spain in 1821, the Palace remained the government and military headquarters for New Mexico. In that year, an outside observer, General Thomas James, described the *presidio* as enclosing about ten acres. “The whole,” he said, “was falling to decay but few soldiers were stationed in it.” James does not comment specifically on the Palace.⁸³

By 1831 window glass had been installed in the Palace of the Governors. This rare amenity was no doubt made possible by trade over the Santa Fe Trail permitted by the Mexican government in a reversal of Spanish-Colonial policy. In that year Albert Pike observed the Plaza:

⁷⁹ Snow 22-23.

⁸⁰ Snow 25-27.

⁸¹ Snow 30-31.

⁸² SANM I.: 1272. Translation, Snow 32. Italics and some ellipsis added.

⁸³ Snow 33.

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There is the public square, surrounded with blocks of mud, with porticos in front, roughly pillared, and mud covered... In one corner of the square is the jail and guard room—for the soldiers here serve as jailers.⁸⁴

A year later the uses of the Palace were described:

The north side is taken up by a building known as *El Palacio* . . . This building, although substantial is in a general state of neglect. The political chief of the territory lives in this building. The room where the delegation holds its meetings, several rooms which serve as offices for the quartermaster's department, the commissariat, the barracks, and the jail are all in the worst condition imaginable . . .⁸⁵

As remembered later by Demetrio Perez, whose father was assassinated as governor in 1837, the Mexican Palace had no towers but rooms at each end of the *portal* contained the Mexican government printing office (east) and the jail (west). The east end was later torn down for street widening and the west for the creation of a new street (Lincoln Avenue). The rest of the Mexican Palace held from east to west, two rooms of the office of the secretary (*Secretario de Gobierno*); a hall where government clerks had their desks; a hall for access to the council chamber, the governor's office, and the north rooms that held the living quarters of the governor's family; and quarters for military officers, and the soldiers on duty; army offices; more officers' quarters; a large room for soldiers quarters; and an armory. On the north, behind the duty soldiers' quarters was a barn for horses; at the west end behind the two-room armory was a large hall used for soldiers quarters.⁸⁶

In the Mexican Period the Palace played its part in the new commerce over the Santa Fe Trail. It was there that customs duties, an important source of revenue, were exacted from traveling merchants for whom rooms were made available for storing their wares. The customs duties were collected in the chambers of the assembly when that body was not in session. Local commerce also took place at the Palace. On the west side bakers, fruit vendors and others sold different kinds of food, in the absence of a public building for that sort of commerce.⁸⁷

When the Americans occupied the Palace in 1846 it contained the government printing office of Jesus María Baca on the east end, the office of the secretary of state, the governor's quarters, a large ball room at the back and, on the west end, a prison and guardroom.⁸⁸

Territorial Period (1846-1912)

The Santa Fe Trail Era (1846-1880)

⁸⁴ Snow 33-34.

⁸⁵ Snow 34.

⁸⁶ Wayne L. Mauzy, ed., "Recollections of Demetrio Perez: The Old Palace in Mexican Days," *El Palacio* 67 (1960): 90-91.

⁸⁷ Snow 35-36. Wm. H. H. Allison, letter to [L. Bradford Prince], 12 February 1913.

⁸⁸ Snow 14-15. George Rutledge Gibson, *Journal of a Soldier under Kearny and Doliphan*, ed. Ralph P. Bieber (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1935) 213.

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In the summer of 1846, Stephan Watts Kearny, leading the “Army of the West,” occupied Santa Fe. On the Plaza, facing the Palace of the Governors, acting governor Juan Bautista Vigil y Alarid surrendered the city to Kearny. The Americans occupied the ancient adobe Palace as their seat of government. In the printing office at the east end of the building, American printer, Oliver P. Hovey, published the Kearny Code.⁸⁹ The first American legislature met in the Palace in 1847. Bicameral in form, it originally consisted of a seven-member Council (Senate) and a House of Representatives of 21 members.⁹⁰ Despite efforts to replace it, the Palace remained the Territorial capitol until 1885 and the governor’s residence for another two decades.

By 1853 when observed by U. S. Attorney, W. W. H. Davis, the Palace held the offices of the governor, the secretary of the territory, and the superintendent of Indian affairs; the chambers of the two legislative bodies, and the territorial library. At that time the territorial secretary’s office contained two rooms, one for conducting official business and the other for storage. The latter was divided by a curtain hung from the *vigas*. Behind the curtain were kept what remained of approximately 250 years of New Mexico’s archival records.⁹¹

The Council chamber was just large enough to hold the now 13 legislators and eight officers. Pine desks along the walls faced inward. The council president’s raised platform at one end was ornamented with a red muslin drapery. Figured calico was tacked to the whitewashed walls to protect the law makers’ clothing. The House chamber was a similar, though larger, room with a small gallery where spectators could observe the proceedings from behind a chest-high wall.⁹²

The governor’s office contained a few chairs, an old sofa and bureau, and a pine center table. The only bit of luxury was a recently added American-made carpet. Bleached muslin was tacked to the ceiling, a traditional solution to the dirt of the roof that inevitably sifted through the ceiling. A four-foot strip of flashy calico decorated the four walls.⁹³

At this time the Territorial Library contained about 2,000 volumes on floor-to-ceiling shelves around the four walls of a small room. The collection included law texts, federal and state court reports, various state and territory codes, as well as a number of Congressional documents. The judge, other government officials, and members of the bar could take out books for a limited time. At the west end of the building were the office and storeroom of the superintendent of Indian affairs.⁹⁴

The building continued as the seat of Territorial government in the 1860s, except for the brief period of Confederate occupation in 1862. By the end of the decade the main occupants were the office of the U. S. Public Depository at the west end; the secretary and governor’s offices and the governor’s residence

⁸⁹ Snow 14-15.

⁹⁰ W. W. H. Davis, *El Gringo; or New Mexico and Her People* (1857; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982) 166-173.

⁹¹ Davis 169.

⁹² Davis 169-170.

⁹³ Davis 170.

⁹⁴ Davis 171-172.

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occupying the middle section of the building; and the territorial library and legislative halls at the east end. When the legislative council was not in session, the room was used as a federal court room. The rooms at the north contained wood storage, a servant's room, privies, a carriage house, and a stable (Fig. 9).

In addition to the executive and legislative branches, the state judiciary was represented in the Palace of the Governors by the offices of the attorney general in the rooms directly east of the Territorial Library.⁹⁵ In 1869, early in his career, Thomas B. Catron was confirmed as attorney general with offices in the Palace. Catron's career as New Mexico's most powerful lawyer, politician, and land grant manipulator culminated in his election as New Mexico's first senator after statehood in 1912. His successors to the attorney general's offices in the Palace were also among the territory's most prominent lawyers.

In the 1870's the practice of private tenants occupying parts of the building began. After his term as Territorial Secretary and acting governor, W. F. M. Army and his wife ran a boarding house for a few roomers. When the U. S. Depository vacated the west end in 1876, the U. S. Treasury Secretary leased the space to U. S. Marshall John Sherman for five years. During this period, the Second National Bank also moved into the west end, which later was occupied by the offices of the U. S. Attorney.

At the end of the decade (1878-1881), Union General Lew Wallace served as governor of the New Mexico Territory. Upon his arrival, he felt that the condition of the Palace was deplorable and only the west end, which was occupied by the U. S. Marshall, was habitable. The legislative halls, he said, were "man traps," not fit to stable horses. The governor's quarters though more roomy, were as unfit for humans as the legislative halls were for horses.⁹⁶

Particularly distressing to Wallace was the lack of fresh air and light. The thick adobe walls and scarcity and size of windows made the governor's quarters cavelike. The rooms were pervaded by a "damp, earthy odor, mixed not a little with the scent of vermin." The *portal* excluded sunlight; the windows could only be partially opened. In short, the chief executive's accommodation was "highly dangerous to life" and, with the possible exception of the west end, should be abandoned as a dwelling.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, Governor Wallace survived life in the Palace and reputedly finished his hugely successful epic *Ben Hur* there.

The Railroad Era (1880-1912)

In 1882 a legislative memorial petitioned Congress to assign and dedicate the Palace to the use and benefit of a historical society. When a new capitol was finally completed south of the river in 1885, the legislature moved out of the Palace and the two former legislative halls at the east end were turned over to the Historical Society for the display of exhibits. Initially the northern room was exclusively devoted to an exhibition of minerals of the territory, the southern to historical items.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Newhall, letter to L. Bradford Prince, 5 February 1919.

⁹⁶ [Wallace], letter to Carl Schurz, 23 October 1878.

⁹⁷ [Wallace], letter to Carl Schurz, 23 October 1878.

⁹⁸ Prince, et al., "Report of the Historical Society," 1-2.

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At the west end of the building, after John Sherman's lease expired in 1882, the Second National Bank stayed on for a time and then D. K. Osborne, clerk of the Texas, Santa Fe and Northern Railway moved into the space as a squatter. Finally in 1889 legal proceedings were initiated to evict all private occupants of the building and the U. S. Post Office took over the west end. In the same year the War Department sought to take over most of the Palace including the governor's quarters.⁹⁹

However, the next year the military gave up all claim to the Palace and returned it to the jurisdiction of the Interior Department. The Historical Society continued to occupy the east end and the rest of the building was taken up with the offices of the Governor and the Territorial Secretary and with the living quarters of the Governor and the Land Commissioner. Private law offices were not totally removed until 1901. The Post Office remained in the west end where the Chamber of Commerce also rented space.

In 1898, with the closing of Fort Marcy, ownership of the Palace passed from the federal government to the Territory of New Mexico by Act of Congress. Because of the expense of maintaining the building with territorial funds, in 1901 the New Mexico legislature formally asked the Smithsonian Institution to take it over, its national import being such that a national museum would be appropriate. About a year later, the Smithsonian declined the proposition as "impracticable."¹⁰⁰

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the Historical Society, which had already moved into the former territorial library, obtained control of the adjoining law office rooms.¹⁰¹ The completion of a new governor's mansion ended the long tenure of the Palace as the home of New Mexico's governors. Various options for its continued use were considered including giving the building to the city for municipal functions and placing it under the control of a "Ladies Association."¹⁰²

In 1907, the state legislature passed resolutions asking the President of the United States to declare the Palace a National Monument and authorizing its use by the Archaeological Institute for a school of American archaeology, the first in North America.¹⁰³ The AIA eventually agreed to establish its new school at the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe, on condition that ownership of the building would remain with the government of New Mexico and a state museum would be established under joint administration with the school. The Palace of the Governors would be preserved as a "monument to the Spanish founders of the civilization of the southwest."¹⁰⁴

Thus, the School of American Archaeology was founded in 1907, as a private organization to conduct Southwestern and Meso-American archaeology. The territory granted the school use of the Palace of the Governors with a subsidy for its maintenance, for museum development, and for research and publication. On February 19, 1909, the Museum of New Mexico was established by an act of the territorial legislature, as a department of the school. Both the museum and the school were headquartered

⁹⁹ B. M. Thomas, letter to the Secretary of the Interior, 11 May 1889.

¹⁰⁰ *Santa Fe New Mexican* 16 August 1973.

¹⁰¹ *Santa Fe New Mexican* 28 January 1907.

¹⁰² *Santa Fe New Mexican* 30 January, 14 February, 15 February 1907.

¹⁰³ John R. McFie, letter to Edgar L. Hewett, 20 March 1907.

¹⁰⁴ *Santa Fe New Mexican* 25 November 1908.

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in the west end of the Palace, under the joint directorship of Dr. Edgar Lee Hewett. The legislation specifically reserved the east end of the Palace for continued use by the Historical Society. In a union marked by conflict and competition, the chronically underfunded Historical Society occupied the east end with its historical exhibits and the School-Museum used the western half for administration and the display of its archaeological finds.¹⁰⁵

The man behind both the selection of Santa Fe as the site for the school and the establishment of the Museum of New Mexico was Edgar Lee Hewett, who would lead both institutions from their founding until his death in 1946. He had become interested in the archaeological sites of New Mexico in the 1890s and was chosen president of the newly founded Normal University at Las Vegas, New Mexico (now New Mexico Highlands University). In 1906 he was made the AIA's director of American research. He strongly advocated the founding of an American school in the Southwest and favored Santa Fe as its location. He was the natural choice as director of the institute's new school, who after 1909 would by law also serve as director of the Museum of New Mexico.

In 1909-1913 Hewett undertook the restoration of the entire Palace. To direct the project he chose Jesse Nusbaum, a young man who taught Science and the Manual Arts at the Las Vegas Normal University when Hewett headed that institution. With the expressed goal of restoring the building's Spanish Colonial appearance as a monument to "Spanish civilization in the Southwest," Hewett and Nusbaum produced a rather incomplete and romantic evocation of that past. Although purporting to be a scientific endeavor based on definitive evidence, source materials were meager.

According to Nusbaum when the work began the building was in extremely poor condition. Decades later he recalled:

. . . the walls were falling in many places and everywhere inappropriate restorations were evident . . . the plaza space behind the building had been filled with trash and manure from the stabling of livestock in there, to such a level that it was well above the sills of the rear windows by a good deal and deeply eroded the walls at their base. I arranged for native workmen with teams for the immediate removal of this and it took 2,100 small wagon loads for the removal of 1, 000 cubic yards of this material to bring it down to a satisfactory level for grading and to insure proper drainage and stabilization of the base of the badly water soaked and deteriorated walls, especially the north wall, with concrete and cobblestone buttressing.¹⁰⁶

Statehood (1912-1949)

Nusbaum used the Urrutia Map of Santa Fe (Fig. 3), then recently found in the British Museum, as a "guide" for "restoring" the *portal*, and placing it between two end "towers."¹⁰⁷ A post and corbel were found embedded in the wall of the Rito de los Frijoles Room (7), when creating an inset exhibit case. They were purportedly the basis for the design of the front *portal* supports,¹⁰⁸ although contemporary

¹⁰⁵ Museum of New Mexico. "A Preliminary Report (1960) 3-4.

¹⁰⁶ Nusbaum 85-86.

¹⁰⁷ Jesse Nusbaum, letter to Thomas M. Briggs, 7 February 1952.

¹⁰⁸ Edgar L. Hewett, letter to Mrs. Fletcher, 12 May [1910].

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comment found their dimensions unsatisfactory as a model. The result it was said would be “so light that [the building] would look like a centipede.”¹⁰⁹ The original find has disappeared, but is represented by a replica in the Palace of the Governors which is a plausible model for the portal, and is hard to describe as “light.”

When completed, the Museum of New Mexico section of the building contained exhibits of artifacts from the excavations at the Rito de los Frijoles (Room 7), Puyé (Room 8), and Pecos (Room 9). Artifacts were placed in context with paintings and photographs depicting ancient life and the contemporary sites. For the Frijoles and Puyé rooms artist Carl Lotave painted murals depicting Indian life at the sites. For the entrance hall, he created murals depicted three scenes representing different eras and cultures in the history of the Southwest: the settlement on the Santa Fe site before the arrival of the Spanish (Indian); the entrance of Vargas into Santa Fe (Spanish); and a Santa Fe Trail caravan (Anglo-American).

Lotave, who was born in Sweden, studied art in Paris. He became a highly respected portrait painter in Europe before embarking for America to teach. Having gone west to paint for the Smithsonian, he had been living in Colorado for ten years when Hewett saw his murals in Denver and hired him to produce murals for the two exhibit rooms and museum entrance. After completing the murals in 1910 Lotave went to New York where he died in 1924. The murals disappeared at an unknown time after Hewett's death in 1946.¹¹⁰

The large room at the west end of the Palace, which had most recently held the post office, was turned into a library and lecture hall with bookcases inset into the thick walls (Room 5). The *vigas* were restored and the row of columns and corbels that divide the room replaced. Paintings were hung of five New Mexico mission churches by Karl Fleischer as they appeared in 1911. The small room north of the new library was reserved for the Chamber of Commerce as a tourist bureau (Room 6). The former reception room was used to exhibit paintings by artists of the Southwest (Room 2). The administrative offices were located in the room across the corridor reception room (Rooms 3, 4).¹¹¹

The small rooms northwest of the *placita* were initially used for laboratories and workshops, including a linguistic laboratory with apparatus for recording Indian languages; a photographic laboratory; and a woodworking shop for producing furniture, frames, and exhibit cases, as well as the heating plant and engineer's room. Four rooms northeast of the *placita* were used for storage.¹¹² Soon at least two of these rooms were provided to artists as studios.

Recognizing the importance of artists to Santa Fe and the development of the Southwest Hewett and the school/museum worked to encourage their presence, first by providing exhibition space and studios at the Palace and then with a new museum. In 1914 the first exhibition by the Taos Society of Artists was held in the reception room; within two years 18 art exhibitions had been held at the Palace.

¹⁰⁹ Charles F. Lummis, letter to [Edgar Lee] Hewett, 17 May 1910.

¹¹⁰ Barbara Berkenfield, “Painting the Town and the Palace: Rediscovering a Colorful Character,” *New Mexico Magazine* (May 1996) 22, 24-27.

¹¹¹ Museum of New Mexico, Annual Report (1912) 4-11.

¹¹² Museum of New Mexico, Annual Report (1912) 10.

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A goal was set to have as many studios for artists as laboratories for students of archaeology and anthropology. Studio space was provided to Kenneth Chapman and Carlos Vierra, both employees and also to such artists as Robert Henri, Gerald Cassidy, William Penhallow Henderson, and Sheldon Parsons. All but Henri eventually settled permanently in Santa Fe and became leading members of the art colony. In 1917 the Museum of Fine Arts was dedicated as a second unit of the Museum of New Mexico.

The school and its personnel played an important role in the cultural and civic development of Santa Fe in other ways. Archaeologist Sylvanus Morley organized the 1912 New-Old Santa Fe Exhibition in the Palace that was a turning point in the architectural remaking of Santa Fe. The remodeled Palace became an important prototype of Spanish-Pueblo Revival mode. In 1919 the first Santa Fe Fiesta was held under the direction of the school and the main events were held in the *placita* of the Palace of the Governors where a small stage was constructed for events between the north buildings (Photo 42).

By 1920 the exhibit rooms of the school/museum portion of the building held the Hall of Southwestern Archaeology in the large west-end room. The Rito de los Frijoles and Puyé rooms illustrated the life of two prehistoric cliff dwelling groups. Part of the former was the traditional "Ben Hur Room," in which Governor Lew Wallace's arm chair, lap board, autographed letters, and a bronze bust were displayed. The Ethnology Room displayed a collection of historic Indian hand crafts donated by former Governor and Mrs. Miguel A. Otero. The rooms north of the *placita* by now primarily contained studios for visiting artists.¹¹³

In five rooms at the east end of the building, the Historical Society's collections were on display, entailing some overlap in subject matter with the school/museum's ethnographic materials. However, the Society also contained Spanish Colonial, American pioneer, and statehood collections.¹¹⁴ The uneasy sharing of the Palace of the Governors by two competing entities lasted into the 1930s when the Historical Society, which had no technical curator and almost no budget, turned the care of its collections and exhibits over to the museum. In the 1970s they were officially donated to the state.

After the Period of Significance

In 1959 the entities associated with the Palace underwent major reorganization. The School of American Research, always a private entity, severed ties with the state museum and moved out of the Palace of the Governors. The museum became a wholly state agency. The New Mexico State Records Center and Archives was established as the official custodian of public records, a function that had been previously assumed by the Historical Society and was succeeded by the Museum of New Mexico.

The difficult process of separating the historic materials of these institutions began, and the Museum's library reorganized as a historic research facility. Non-pertinent or duplicate publications and many cubic feet of baled and bound newspaper files were given to the State Library, as well as the state-wide film distribution service that the museum had operated for many years.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Museum of New Mexico, "Guide Book" (1920) 3-11.

¹¹⁴ Museum of New Mexico, "Guide Book" (1920) 10-11.

¹¹⁵ Museum of New Mexico, Biennial Report, 1961-1962.

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The operations at the Palace became less fragmented and now for the first time had a budget dedicated to the interpretation of New Mexico history for the public. In 1961 a new Division of History, with its own funding, was headquartered at the Palace adding to the museum's existing divisions of Anthropology, Fine Arts, and Folk Art. Plans were immediately undertaken to increase exhibit space. To this end the Elks property north of the Palace on Lincoln Avenue was purchased in 1962 (outside the nominated boundary).¹¹⁶

By this time the view of the Palace of the Governors as a historic artifact had changed. Hewett and Nusbaum had sought to return the building to its Spanish appearance by undoing nineteenth-century changes that in 1909 seemed neither very old nor historically valuable. Fifty years later the newly formed History Division was poised for a broader interpretation of its history. As stated in a 1960 report:

A primary aim of the long-term planning is to restore to the old Palace some of its own inherent exhibit-value, unparalleled in the nation, which was so badly (although with the best of intentions) mutilated in its "restoration" for museum use in 1909, and which has since been completely ignored in the building's makeshift adaptation for both archaeological and historical "spot" exhibits, and for office and other use. In its present jumbled interior, today's visitor to the Palace will look in vain for any graphic interpretation of the structure's seventeenth century character and function, or of its later, Mexican and U. S. Territorial, phases. This is a colossal wastage of what could be one of the nation's outstanding historic monuments - an exhibit in itself ideally fashioned to frame and enhance its interior displays.¹¹⁷

In the 1970s under Michael Weber's direction these goals slowly began to be realized as the Museum of New Mexico moved toward using the building to display its own history, both through architectural restoration and exhibits. A replica of an early governor's office with period furnishings was created in 1973.¹¹⁸ A major research project was completed in 1975 at the west end of the building that combined archaeology and building restoration. The two-year archaeological investigation was funded by grants from the National Park Service and the Museum of New Mexico Foundation. Under the direction of Cordelia Thomas Snow of the museum's Laboratory of Anthropology artifacts such as a Spanish brass cross and seventeenth century ivory chess pieces were uncovered.¹¹⁹ Elements of Territorial-style, interior window and door frames were uncovered beneath Nusbaum's "puebloizing" stucco treatment. Undoing some of historicism of the 1909-1913 work, the woodwork of three rooms at the west end was restored to its late nineteenth-century appearance.

Governor L. Bradford Prince's reception room was restored to its appearance on February 13, 1893 when a photograph was taken in connection with a legislative reception held on that day. Several actual objects used by Prince, which had remained in the museum collections, were restored to the room. For others, it was necessary to use pieces that resemble objects in the photograph and were made at about the same time. Finally, where period pieces did not exist,

¹¹⁶ Museum of New Mexico, Biennial Report, 1961-1962. *Santa Fe New Mexican* 5 April 1962.

¹¹⁷ Museum of New Mexico. "A Preliminary Report (1960) 6-7.

¹¹⁸ *Albuquerque Tribune* 23 March 1973.

¹¹⁹ *Albuquerque Tribune* 13 March 1975.

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replicas were commissioned, including all rugs, the ceiling paper, and even the fireplace broom.¹²⁰

In the late 1970s canvas rolls found in storage turned out to be Carl Lotave's lost Puyé-room murals. With the help of photos and documents the murals and the original Puyé room exhibit were restored as a tribute to Jesse Nusbaum. Although the murals are still in place, the room is now used for temporary exhibits. However, long range plans call for reinstalling the Puyé room as a period room illustrating early twentieth-century museum exhibit technique from the foundations of Southwestern archaeology.¹²¹

¹²⁰ *Santa Fe New Mexican* 12 March 1975. *Albuquerque Tribune* 13 March 1975.

¹²¹ Berkenfield 26-27.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
- Previously Listed in the National Register.
- Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
- Designated a National Historic Landmark.
- Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #
- Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State Agency
- Federal Agency
- Local Government
- University
- Other (Specify Repository): Palace of the Governors
Museum of New Mexico
Santa Fe, New Mexico

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10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreege of Property: Less than one acre.

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
	13	415 160	3949 560

Verbal Boundary Description:

The nominated boundaries correspond with the exterior perimeter of the Palace of the Governors as shown on the accompanying survey (Fig. 1). The building abuts sidewalks on three sides. To the east is Washington Avenue, to the south is Palace Avenue, and to the west is Lincoln Avenue. The north facade is bounded by parking lot and a historically unrelated building.

Boundary Justification:

The boundary includes the building as remodeled from 1909-1913 and excludes an unrelated building partially abutting on the north.

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United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

11. FORM PREPARED BY

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NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS SURVEY