



**The Architecture and Cultural Landscape
of
North Central New Mexico**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
I. Physical Geography	7
II. Santa Fe to Taos	
Santa Clara Pueblo	13
Chimayo	37
Plaza del Cerro	
El Santuario	
Las Trampas	57
Taos	72
Taos Pueblo	74
Martinez Hacienda	80
Mable Dodge Luhan House	85
III. Out on the Santa Fe Trail/Railroad	
Las Vegas	91
Town Planning	93
West Las Vegas	97
East Las Vegas	117
Watrous	138
Watrous House	
Valmora Sanatorium	144
IV. Santa Fe	
History and Town Planning	151
The Spanish Pueblo Revival	159
Westside Vernacular	163
Glossary of Terms	169
Chronology of New Mexico History and Architecture	174
Annotated Suggested Readings	179

INTRODUCTION: ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY (Boyd C. Pratt)

NATIVE AMERICAN

Early Native American inhabitants of the region, called pre-Basketmaker by archaeologists, built the first structures, which consisted of modified caves or rockshelters. Either they or the group that followed, who were named for their ability at making baskets, began constructing shallow pit houses. By 300-700 AD, during the period known as Basketmaker III, crude, slab-masonry, below-ground houses were being constructed. This group gradually evolved into Pueblo I (700-900), which introduced the use of horizontal masonry; by the time of Pueblo II, also called Developmental Pueblo (900-1150), surface house units became merged into small clusters to form villages. This trend reached its climax with Pueblo III (the Classic or Great Period), during which large, multi-storied, plaza-centered pueblos with great kivas were built, in particular the Anasazi developments at Chaco Canyon, Mesa Verde, and Kayenta in the four corners area.

Possibly due to extended regionally-localized droughts, around 1350 the Anasazi world dispersed, and reaggregated near more permanent water sources such as the Rio Grande. There they formed plaza-centered pueblos with populations of around 500-1,000, and constructed of stone masonry or puddled adobe (mud piled in layers); pueblos dating from this, the Pueblo IV Period, are Taos (see "Taos" section) and Picuris in the Rio Grande Valley, and Acoma, Hopi, and Zuni to the west. A more recent period, Pueblo V, is associated with the reorganization of the pueblo world that resulted from contact with the Spanish. Most historic pueblos are comprised of asymmetrical, multistoried room blocks consisting of individual room units, clustered around one or several plazas. Starting around 1900, pueblos began to break down into one-story, single-family houses (see Santa Clara).

HISPANIC

Although there was Spanish exploration of New Mexico as early as 1539, permanent colonization did not begin until 1598, when Don Juan de Oñate founded the settlement of San Gabriel del Yungue. At first, the Spanish occupied San Juan Pueblo, but soon moved across the river and occupied an abandoned pueblo, modifying it with doors and windows "in the Spanish fashion." However, within a few years this first site was abandoned and a new governor, Don Pedro de Peralta, was ordered to establish the town of Santa Fe in 1610. This he did according to the Town Planning Ordinances later codified under the Law of the Indies, which specified that the town was to be centered on a plaza, ringed by buildings such as governmental houses, churches, and markets, and surrounded by a grid pattern of streets (see Santa Fe).

From these settlements, the Spanish established missions at the larger pueblos; these consisted of large, single nave churches, with a residential complex, called a convento, located to the side. A notable feature of these early churches is the transverse clerestory window, formed by a difference in elevation between the nave and the area over the altar, which was an adaptation of the transept dome of the European Baroque churches (see Las Trampas). In addition, scattered household settlements were established in the countryside, usually near existing pueblos. In general, these consisted of small, two- or three-room linear or L-shaped structures. For their construction, as well as for larger structures such as churches, the Spanish, who had a regional earthen construction tradition that they had already applied in the Valley of Mexico, employed the native building practices of adobe or stone wall-and-beam construction with flat roofs. They did add several new features, however, such as the adobe brick (as opposed to puddled adobe), the corner fireplace (prior to contact, the Pueblos had used fire pits in the center of the floor with smoke holes), and the horno, a beehive-shaped outdoor cooking oven.

This dispersed pattern of settlement contributed to the fact that most rural Spanish residents, as well as the mission priests, were killed during the great native uprising called the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The Spanish, besieged in Santa Fe, were forced to retreat south, founding the villa (town) of El Paso del Norte (now Ciudad Juarez, Mexico). It was not until 1692 that Don Diego de Vargas was able to reconquer New Mexico for the Spanish, and he quickly set about resettling the province in a manner that would insure against any future insurrection. The villa of Santa Cruz was founded in 1696 as a fortified plaza, and that of Albuquerque followed in 1710. These, as well as smaller settlements, were laid out to form enclosures one room deep, with no exterior doors and windows except one or two large doors, called zaguans, around a central plaza. Throughout the eighteenth century other communities gradually "budded off" along stream systems from these core settlements (see Chimayo).

Settlement took place through the land grant process, whereby an individual or group from an existing settlement petitioned the Crown (which owned all of the land) for a new grant of land. After determining that no one else had claim to the land, a local official, the Alcalde (Justice), determined the boundaries of the grant and placed the petitioner(s) in possession. The grant was then divided into three categories: solares (house lots); suertes (fields); and ejidos (the commons) see Las Trampas and Las Vegas). The grantees usually drew lots for their house lots and fields--hence the term suerte (chance or luck)--and proceeded to work on digging an acequia (irrigation ditch) and establishing their fields, before constructing their houses. Because all understood that each field was bordered on the top by the irrigation ditches and the bottom by the river, only one dimension--the width--is given in varas (ca. 33 inches). The width of field allotments was varied in relation to the width

of the valley so that all received about the same area. Upriver, water was diverted into the acequia madres, from which it was drawn to the fields by laterals (contra-acequias). Irrigation throughout the system was by means of gravity feed. The ejidos were used to harvest firewood and lumber, hunting, gathering, and as pasture land.

Individual household units were also established in the country. These consisted of one-room modules arranged in a linear plan to form single file, L-, and U-shaped units. When a wall was built to enclose one or two sides of a complex, the courtyard resulting was called a plazuela; in the case of room blocks totally surrounding the courtyard, it is called a placita. Houses sometimes combined one placita as a residential compound with another courtyard attached for animals to form what has been called a casa-corral, sometimes referred to as a hacienda. These sometimes functioned as defensive units. In addition, the settlers often built torreones, circular, one- or two-story towers, possibly as watch towers and defensive/storage structures in case of attack.

In addition to mission churches, most of which were rebuilt in the pueblos that remained inhabited after the revolt, settlers also built churches for their use. These often followed the pre-Revolt pattern of single nave construction, although many later ones had cruciform plans (see Las Trampas). Private chapels, or oratorios, were also constructed; sometimes these consisted of a single room within the fortified plaza complex, while others, such as the Santuario de Esquífulas and Santo Niño, were constructed as free-standing structures (see Chimayo). A third form of religious building, the morada, was the chapel and meeting house for the Penitentes, a mutual aid society and lay brotherhood of the Catholic Church that evolved in part from the shortage of priests during the early nineteenth century. The morada was a two- or three-room structure consisting of a chapel and meeting/living room; it can often be distinguished by its few, small windows, and associated maderos (crosses for bearing in procession) and calvario (Via Crucis or Way of the Cross) (see Las Trampas).

ANGLO-AMERICAN

With Mexican Independence from Spain in 1821, New Mexico was allowed to trade with foreign countries, and the Santa Fe Trail was established. This introduced a number of new construction materials, such as bricks, window glass, metal roofing, and cloth that was used for ceilings (manta de techo). However, it was only with the arrival of the U.S. Army during the Mexican War in 1846, resulting in the establishment of the U.S. Territory of New Mexico, that the local architecture began to really change. The Army introduced portable sawmills and the Greek Revival Style, the local version of which became known as the Territorial Style. Initial, superficial applications included brick cornices (denti-

courses), wood boards applied to doors and windows (pedimented lintels), and white, square columns with chamfered corners and molding applied as capitals and bases (doric columns). Later, the central hall floor plan, with symmetrically-flanking rooms, was adapted from Army Officers' Quarters. These new ideas were adopted and modified by local Hispanic builders (see West Las Vegas and Watrous).

In 1851, Jean Baptiste Lamy was appointed Bishop of Santa Fe. Lamy, who was born in the south of France, did not approve of the local church architecture, and with the aid of imported French and Italian priests began to modify existing churches in the Gothic Revival Style, with the addition of gable roofs and Gothic windows. In addition, he imported the first architects and French and Italian stonemasons to work on the Romanesque Revival Cathedral of St. Francis (1869-1894) in Santa Fe (see West Las Vegas and Santa Fe History). Lamy, as well as several religious orders introduced to the Territory by him, also introduced the Second Empire (Mansard) Style for schools and other public buildings.

With the construction of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad (Santa Fe), beginning in 1879, the face of north central New Mexico was radically transformed. In addition to the standard railroad architecture it introduced, subsidiaries of the Santa Fe laid out grid-pattern towns near existing Hispanic communities, thus forming a duality between "Old Towns" and "New Towns." The railroad also introduced new architects and builders, construction materials, and styles. Cast iron columns, pressed metal details, and large window glass, as well as larger quantities of brick and lumber, were brought to the Territory. Fashionable Eastern styles such as Queen Anne, Italianate, and Richardsonian Romanesque were introduced almost simultaneously, and were sometimes used in conjunction on one structure (see East Las Vegas). In the aftermath of the depression known as the Panic of 1893, residential architecture became more formal with the application of Classicism, while corporate and institutional architecture became more industrialized (see East Las Vegas and Valmora Sanitorium).

Starting with the efforts of the railroad to promote tourism and its corporate image through the use of the California Mission Revival Style, the revival of several regional architectural styles blossomed around the turn of the century. After New Mexico attained statehood in 1912, the Santa Fe Planning Board decided to adopt the Spanish Pueblo Revival Style as appropriate for a city seeking to boost its declining economy through tourism. Formulated by archaeologists, painters, and photographers at the newly-formed Museum of New Mexico, the Spanish Pueblo Revival saw its beginnings with the remodeling of the portal of the Palace of the Governors in 1913 and the construction of the Fine Arts Museum in 1916-1917, and reached its full stride with the tourist hotel La Fonda and the Federal Building, both built in 1921 (see Santa Fe). A later

development, the Territorial Revival Style, begun on a domestic scale in the 1920s, was embraced as the official state building style with John Gaw Meem's New Mexico Public Welfare (Villagra) Building of 1934 and the 1937 State Supreme Court by Gordon Street. Both styles were reinforced through a large allocation of New Deal PWA and WPA funds during the 1930s, a time that also witnessed the fight for hegemony among state architects, culminating in the Architectural Registration Act of 1931.

With the advent of the International Style, introduced in part through the growing military complexes at Los Alamos and Albuquerque, Santa Fe began to witness the construction of large, modern architectural complexes. This led to the passage of the Historic Styles Ordinance in 1957, which was strengthened in the 1960s by a preservation movement galvanized by the demolition of historic structures under the auspices of Urban Renewal. Recently, this movement has solidified into the (chauvinistically-designated) Santa Fe Style, comprised of variants of the Spanish Pueblo and Territorial revival styles. However, an evolving tradition of Hispanic vernacular architecture is manifest in areas such as Westside Santa Fe, where owner-builder residences feature low, front yard walls and decorative detailing (see Westside Santa Fe).

I. PHYSICAL LANDSCAPE

PHYSIOGRAPHY (David H. Snow)

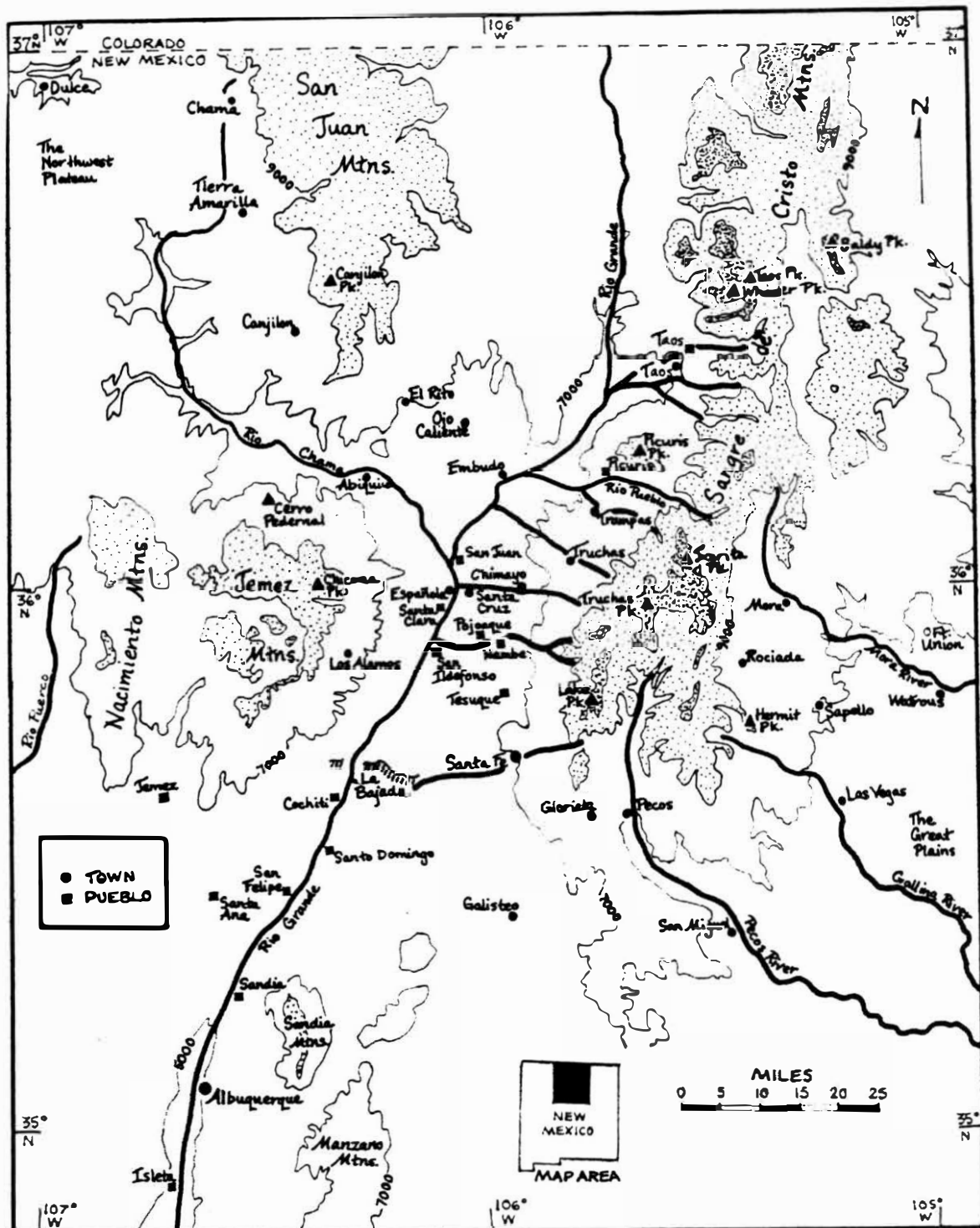
This field guide focuses on north central New Mexico, known to geographers as the Southern Rocky Mountain Province, bounded on the west by the Colorado Plateau and on the east by the Great Plains. The western and eastern boundaries, the Continental Divide and the upper Pecos River Valley, respectively, form logical environmental and cultural boundaries for the region. To the west of the Continental Divide lies the San Juan Basin of the Colorado Plateau, long dominated by Navajo settlement; on the east, the upper Pecos drainage separates the region from the southern, or high, Great Plains and primarily Plains Indian and later Anglo-American settlement. To the north, the Rocky Mountain Province continues into Colorado, as does the Rio Grande rift valley and the historic area of Hispanic settlement; the modern political line between Colorado and New Mexico is an arbitrary division of a single natural and cultural environment.

The region is largely dominated by the southern extension of the Rocky Mountains, the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, on the east, which extend south from Colorado to Santa Fe, by the Jemez Mountain-Chama River Valley topography on the west, and by the Rio Grande and its valley, which run approximately north-south in between. The early Spanish colonists made a further distinction between the Rio Arriba ("up river") and the Rio Abajo ("down river"), divided by La Bajada ("the descent"), a high mesa that lies just south of Santa Fe.

The Rio Grande is unusable to agriculturists or stock-raisers throughout much of its course within the Rio Arriba district because it runs through a deep, narrow canyon, which widens only at the Española Valley to provide sufficient acreage for irrigated crops and grazing. On the east, the Sangre de Cristo mountain chain is characterized by steep, high mountains whose west-facing flanks are cut by eight major stream systems, the narrow valleys of which furnish sufficient acreage for small-scale agriculture. Moreover, the mountains provide summer grazing and a wide variety of natural resources.

Because they are drained by the Pecos River and not the Rio Grande, the eastern side settlements of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains were not referred to historically as part of the Rio Arriba. Environmentally and culturally, however, they have much in common with the west side. Because the mountains open out on the east to the Great Plains, the available valleys tend to be somewhat broader than those to the west.

Elevations in the Rio Arriba range from the 13,000 foot-plus Wheeler and Truchas peaks north of Santa Fe, to the 7,000-foot plateaus of Taos and Santa Fe, down to slightly in excess of



1. Physical Environment of North Central New Mexico (adapted from DeBuys 1985:5 by Lovel Pratt).

5,000 feet in the Española Basin along the Rio Grande and to 4,500 feet in the eastern valleys.

To summarize, the Rio Arriba is mountainous, characterized by precipitous west-running streams with small volume and long, narrow riparian valleys. The physiography has restricted settlement to: 1) the Española Valley; 2) the broad, alluvial plateaus at Taos and Santa Fe; 3) the narrow valleys on the west flank of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains; and 4) the somewhat more ample valleys open on the eastern front of the mountains.

CLIMATE

Throughout the entire region the climate is characterized as semiarid. The mean annual precipitation at sites in the area is as follows: Santa Fe (14 inches); Española (11 inches); Taos (13 inches); and Las Vegas (almost 18 inches). Most precipitation occurs from May to September, and the mountainous areas and other higher elevations receive greater amounts of rain than do the lower lying basins and valleys between. The mean annual temperature varies about 3.5 degrees F. for every 1000 feet of difference in elevation. Extreme diurnal (day/night) variation is recorded for most areas in the region because of topography. In addition, exposure makes a big difference: for instance, a winter mid-afternoon differential of 13 degrees was recorded from the north and south faces of Frijoles Canyon west of Santa Fe.

Variability in the length of both the growing season and the frost-free period is characteristic of the region overall. For instance, the average number of frost-free days ranges from 165 in Santa Fe to 149 in Española and 130 in Taos. Particularly where native corn, which requires about 120 days to mature, is a major crop (and this was true until the twentieth century in much of the region, both for subsistence and for animal fodder in Pueblo and Hispanic villages), such variability is critical to success or failure from year to year. Villages above about 7,500 feet often emphasized crops with shorter growing seasons, such as potatoes and bolito beans.

PLANT COMMUNITIES (Dan Scurlock)

Sangre de Cristo Mountains

From the plazas of Santa Fe and Taos at about 7,000 feet above sea level to the highest peaks in the nearby Sangre de Cristo Mountains at just over 13,000 feet, there are six distinctive Southern Rocky Mountain plant communities. These communities have evolved primarily in response to precipitation, temperature, and wind, as well as soil, steepness of slope, fire, and in recent times, human activities, which, in some instances, dominate all of the other ecological determinants.

Over the more than 10,000 years of human occupation in the area, various cultures have utilized native plants for food, clothing, medicine, arts and crafts, fuel, and construction. And somewhat like the adaptations of plants, humans historically selected sites, in part, for settlements, houses, and land use activities based on environmental elements. Santa Fe's location, for example, afforded access to adequate water (the Santa Fe River), building stone, fuel wood (pinon and juniper), and building wood (piñon, juniper, ponderosa pine, spruce, and fir). Areas cleared of trees resulted in the creation of meadows, important grazing habitat for livestock.

Along the Santa Fe and Rio Pueblo de Taos rivers, as well as the major stream systems in the area, there are ribbons of deciduous trees and shrubs such as the narrow-leaf cottonwood, willows, and water birch. These water-loving plants extend upward from the Rio Grande along water courses to an elevation of almost 8,000 feet, forming the Riparian plant community zone. The largest species, the cottonwood, has been used for making an array of items, from bultos (carved saints), cart wheels, and vigas (roof beams) to lintels, irrigation flumes, and roof drains.

The Riparian zone cuts through the upper Piñon-Juniper (P-J) zone, which on the warmer, drier south or west side of mountain slopes occurs between 6,000 and 7,200 feet in elevation. On the colder, wetter north and east sides of mountains, each of these altitudes would be reduced by 500-700 feet. (This differential between south-west and north-east slope exposures applies to all of the plant zones described below.) Piñon and one-seed juniper have long been used in the Southwest for posts, fuelwood, and as food plants. The piñon nut is the most delicious of the New World pine nuts, and the juniper berries are used for seasoning.

On south-west slopes above the P-J zone, at the 7,200 to 8,200 foot elevation, is the Ponderosa Pine-Rocky Mountain Juniper zone. The tall Ponderosa Pine has been used for log cabins, vigas, lumber, and railroad ties. The Rocky Mountain Juniper has been commonly used for fence posts, as well as fuel.

The Montane Conifer Forest, between 8,200 and 9,500 feet, with an average annual precipitation of 30 inches, is characterized by Douglas fir, white fir, Engelmann spruce, dwarf juniper, and quaking aspen. Often extensive stands of aspen indicate a fire burn that killed the climax-dominant firs and spruce. Historically, aspen has been used for making corrals, temporary structures, drums, matches, and recently, furniture. Fir and spruce have been and still are important for log cabins, milled lumber, and vigas.

Engelmann spruce and corkbark fir dominate the Spruce-Fir zone, at 9,500 to 11,500 feet in elevation. Corkbark fir is used for lumber. Because of the higher altitude and more than 100

inches of annual snowfall, ski areas are commonly located in this zone in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado.

These ski runs sometimes extend into the Tundra zona, the last and highest of the major plant communities. Here, above 11,500 feet, because of the high winds, extended subfreezing temperatures, and intense insolation, trees are replaced by ground-hugging, showy flowering plants, such as golden avens and harebell, dwarf willows, and several grasses, such as alpine bluegrass and sedge. Historically, tundra was an important summer grazing and summer-early fall hunting area. More recently, it has become a major attraction for backpackers and hikers.

The Great Plains

From Las Vegas to Valmora, one enters the western edge of the Great Plains, a vast rolling to flat grassland biome. These grasslands have been significantly altered by grazing, farming, suppression of fires, and other human activity over the last 150-200 years. They were formerly open, short-bunch grass-dominated landscapes in which the grasses formed a continuous or nearly uninterrupted cover over flat to rolling plains. The important perennial, sod-forming grass species are the gramas -- black, blue, hairy, sideoats, and spruce top. A riparian plant community is found along the Mora River and other streams in the plains grassland. Two of the historically common plant species found here are the Plains cottonwood and willows.

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II. SANTA FE TO TAOS

SANTA CLARA PUEBLO: A CHANGING COMMUNITY (Rina Swentzell)

Philosophically, change is part of Pueblo existence. Change within the human world is a reflection of change in the cosmos. The cosmos is seen as being in a mutual, interdependent relationship with all its parts--including human beings. Clouds move overhead as the seasons change the face of the earth. Until the coming of the Spanish fixed their village locations, pueblo communities periodically moved, adjusted and resettled--emulating the primeval movement in the universe. Cycles of life and death are a part of everybody and everything. On a daily basis, human life shifts and transforms with interactions, activities and thoughts.

The physical transformation of Santa Clara Pueblo during the past 100 years has been more obvious and dramatic than at more conservative pueblos such as Taos or Santo Domingo. Change is clearly seen in the overall community form, house units, field patterns and transportation routes. The rate of change has dramatically increased during the past 50 years as the people embraced foreign concepts such as individualism and private ownership of property and land. As a result, the way that the land is used has changed as well as has the kind, number, and location of transportation routes, the types of buildings, and the organization of indoor and outdoor spaces.

The pueblo is no longer a community clearly defined around the nansipu--the symbolic center, the earth navel, literally, the belly-root. The nansipu is also the point of connection to the underworld, from which the people emerged and to which they return after death. Because it is both symbolic and actual, the point is located simultaneously within both the main plaza and the kiva (ceremonial/community building). Around this center point are a series of concentric zones defined by the house units and kivas, the corrals and fields, the nearby hills, and the faraway mountains. Each of these zones has points of connection to the underworld, many of which are marked by shrines. Today, this landscape is overlaid by roads, telephone and electric lines, and modern buildings. Within the main plaza of Santa Clara, new house units intrude on the old communal plaza and crowd the nansipu.

The concept of private ownership of land very clearly threatens the old cosmology and physical ordering. This concept of land ownership was introduced by the early Spanish colonizers who used the land grant to parcel up land and assign owners as exclusive users. That idea of exclusive ownership of land, however, was only minimally internalized by the Santa Clara people until the late 1800s when tracts of land surrounding the central pueblo were first fenced. Previous to that era, people used land, water and houses as



2. Looking south over east plaza. (John Hillers, c. 1879, MNM # 31262) (Forms panorama with # 4)

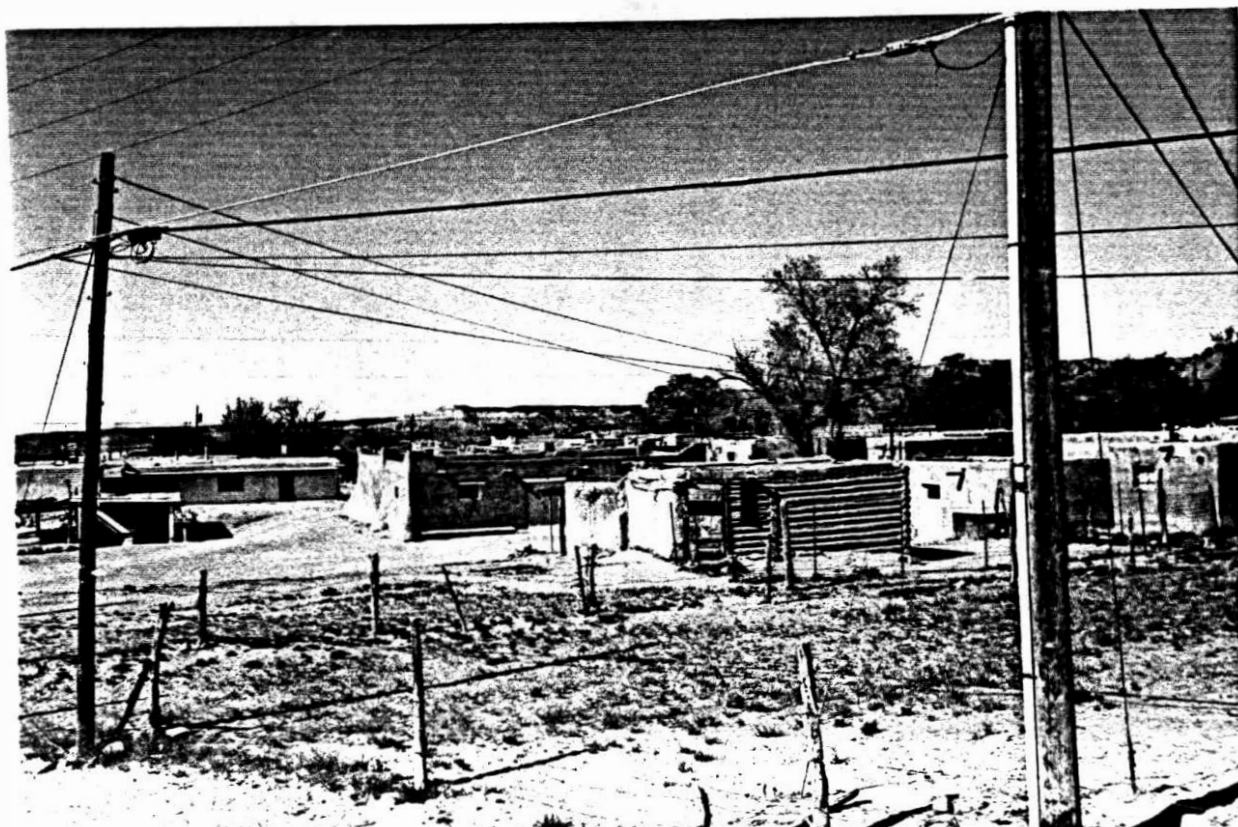
3. Looking northwest from the roof of the Rose Naranjo House on south side of old plaza. (c. 1912, MNM # 4128)





4. Looking south over west plaza. (John K. Hillers, c. 1880, MNM # 42780) (Compare with # 5 and p. 25 in Places article.)

5. Looking south over west plaza.



they needed them but not as anyone's possessions. Fields, house sites, and houses were used by the community group and abandoned to be used later by whomever might need them. As ownership of land, property and things became a primary part of the people's thinking and lifestyle, ownership of fields, houses, and spaces around houses shifted from the community to the extended family and, finally, is shifting to the individual.

Today, fields, corrals, houses, yards and roof-tops belong to extended family groups but are referred to as the property of specific individuals. Property is very rarely sold, however. It is passed down from generation to generation. Fields, which until the early part of this century were used by moiety groups (everyone belongs to either the Winter or the Summer moiety), are now the property of specific male members of the community. The ditches which connect the fields, however, are still communally used and maintained. Community ditch-cleaning days are scheduled in the spring for all male members of the Pueblo whether they use the fields or not. Water that flows in the ditches, however, is beyond group or private ownership. It is still viewed as part of the po-wa-ha--the life force, literally, the water-wind-breath.

Other cultural spaces such as the plazas continue to be used and belong to the entire community. The plazas are where community ritual gatherings occur and, therefore, cannot be owned by any group, family or individual. There are four community plazas in Santa Clara. The kivas and moiety houses, which function as kivas for smaller religious groups, are used by specific moiety groups. The kivas (one Winter and one Summer) and three moiety houses are constructed and maintained by the groups who use them.

Roof-top spaces were important during earlier times when out-door living was common. As recently as the 1940s, people slept, cooked and ate outdoors, on the ground-level as well as on the roof-tops, as often as the weather permitted. Roof-tops were important foot traffic areas for getting around the Pueblo or for watching activities in the plaza, fields and hills and, therefore, were community spaces, not privately-owned. Today, only the rooftops of the two main kivas are used on special days by dancers and participants of ceremonies to enter the structures through the roof-top openings. Roof-top spaces today belong to the person who owns the house. With the reduction to one-story house units, the clear emulation of the terraced mesas and mountains by the house form was lessened and, with it, the connection of humans to the natural world diminished.

Spaces immediately surrounding the houses were community-use areas until this century when some "yards" around houses outside of the main pueblo were defined either

6. Cloud Dance in east plaza. (T. Harmon Parkhurst, c. 1935, MNM # 4220)



by trees or fences. Fences around houses within the main pueblo, even today, are uncommon. Trees, bushes or flowers as definers of spaces are unusual and the whole notion of landscaping--of designing outdoor spaces using plants, rocks, and the like--is still foreign.

Activities within the concentric circle of house units are primarily overseen and directed by gias (mothers)--women who ensure the care of people, domestic animals, domestic places and the resources of their core group. There are usually about five core groups in Santa Clara, which revolve around a gia, although they do not necessarily cluster together within the pueblo. Feminine values of nurturing, caring and giving are idealized in the traditional life of Santa Clara. Men who have attained status within the religious/political life of the community are also referred to as gia. Generally, women are associated with the house and the adjacent spaces where the care of children and of the everyday life of Santa Clara happens.

The spaces around houses, especially around the house of a gia, are used as extensions of in-door living activities, in particular for cooking and pottery-making. Bread is still baked in the outdoor ovens introduced by the Spanish (called horno in Spanish, pan-teh--bread-house, in mixed Spanish Tewa). Additionally, large quantities of stews and soups are cooked outdoors during feast days when hundreds of guests are fed by a family or core group in one day. Preparing clay, sifting and mixing, is a continuing activity within the yard. Chopped firewood is stored in the yards. The post and beam shade houses (ramadas), which in the past were constructed within the plaza area and close to the house units, have disappeared. Wood was stored underneath these ramadas while vegetables, fruits and meats were dried and stored on top.

Santa Clara is no longer primarily an agricultural community because the men work at wage-earning jobs outside the pueblo. The concentric zone of corrals around the pueblo is dissipating because harvesting crops and keeping animals (chickens, pigs, horses, and cows) are seldom done anymore. Large bins of grains used to be kept under ramadas within the corral. It was and is still the place where un-chopped wood is stored. Wagons and carts were parked there. Today, cars have taken their places. Outhouses were located there before indoor bathrooms were a part of the houses. These corrals vary from the size of an outhouse to a large space holding sheds, animal pens, and wood storage. Use of space within that ring is again passed down from generation to generation. The corral area is an extension of the yard even though a corral may be across the pueblo from its associated house unit. Today, these areas are less and less used as many of their functions shift to the more private yards adjacent to the houses.

Within the houses, spaces are becoming more distinct as each room assumes a specialized function. The large, multi-function rooms, where storage, sleeping, cooking and eating happened all together, are being sub-divided and rooms added to form separate kitchens, dining rooms, living rooms and bedrooms. The old lifestyle of sleeping, cooking and eating outdoors has now transformed to total indoor living. With the influence of the American lifestyle, there is a greater need for privacy and, hence, separate bedrooms. As late as the 1940s, all family members slept together in one room. The HUD (Housing and Urban Development) low-income houses first built during the early 1970s have had a great influence on setting the present-day trend for many separate, private bedrooms.

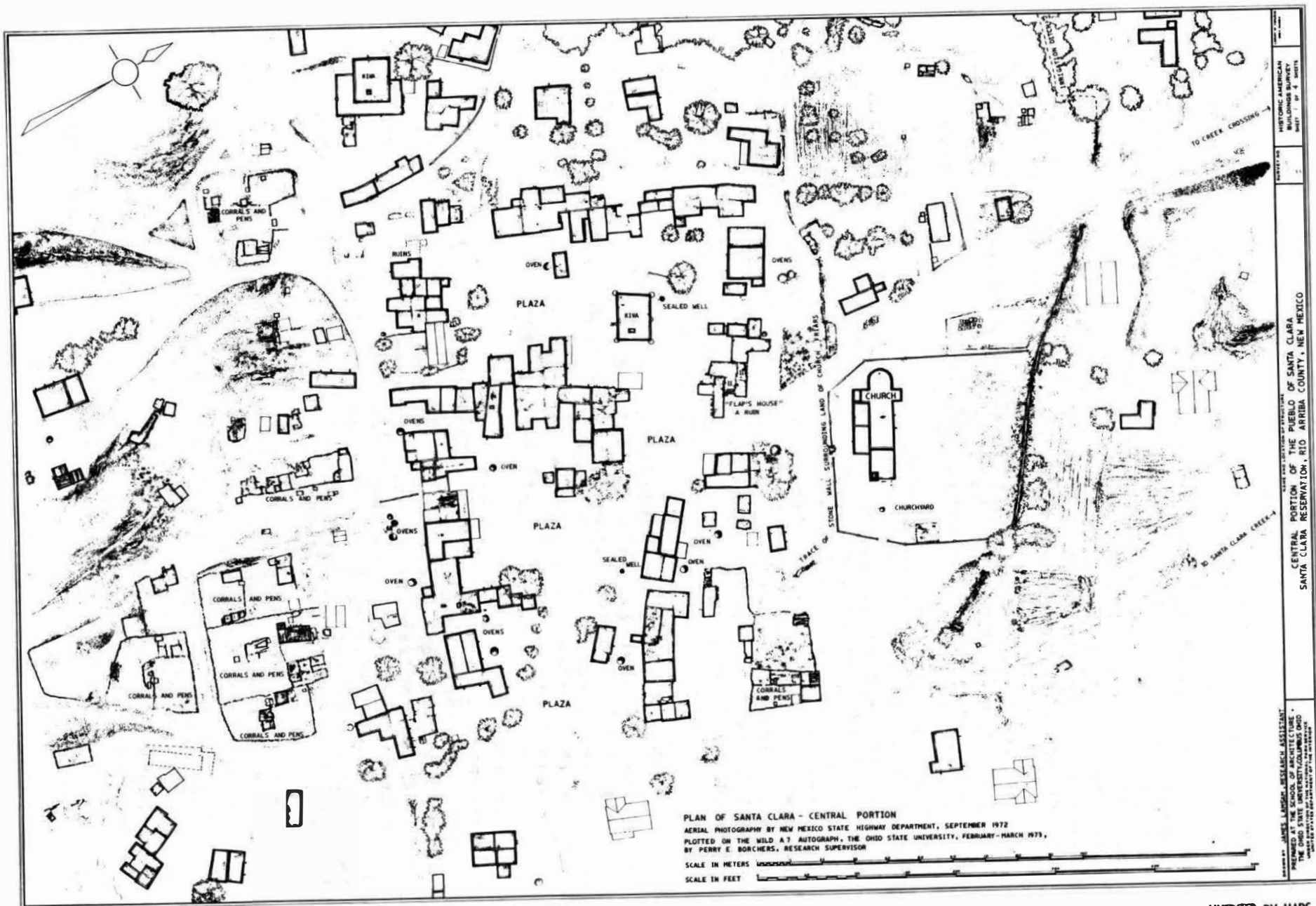
Traditionally, storage of food was a large part of the house unit. As the economics of the community changed from an agricultural and trade-barter system to a money economy, the need for food storage decreased with access to grocery stores in near-by Española and Santa Fe. Closets and cabinets have taken the place of the storage rooms. The ceremonial life of the community demands the preparation of large amounts of food and the feeding of hundreds of people in one day. Because the new HUD houses have small food preparation and eating spaces, extended families either use an older house on feast days or extend the serving area into the HUD-designated living room.

Company was once received in the kitchen. Today, the living-room has emerged as a specialized room for this--part of the general move away from multi-use rooms. The television set is also located here. The living room, however, serves a function that it does not in American culture. It is where people wait their turn to be fed during feast days.

In general, the changes in the physical organization of the community reflect social, political and economic changes. As the community moves from being a self-sufficient, agricultural village to one dependent on money, jobs and individual accomplishment outside the community, the vitality of community spaces such as the fields, plazas, and rooftops have decrease. Single, (nuclear) family houses outside the main pueblo area are becoming the norm as the connected house units defining the plaza spaces are abandoned.

A new secular center even seems to be forming around the BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) Day School. The administration building for the tribe, the Headstart school, and the proposed senior citizen's center are located adjacent to the day school. Secularization of life is evident as the pueblo builds specific structures to house differentiated activities such as education, health care, alcohol abuse treatment and art sales. Increasingly, Santa Clara Pueblo is transforming into a suburban community of Española and Santa Fe.

7. Plan of Santa Clara. (HABS, 1972)



Conflicting Landscape Values: The Santa Clara Pueblo and Day School

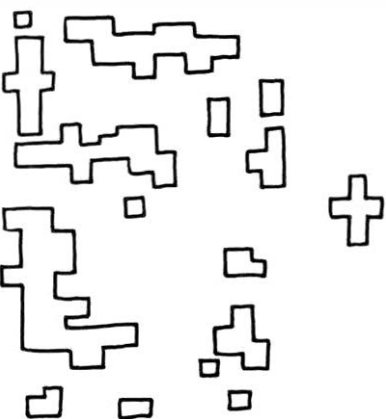
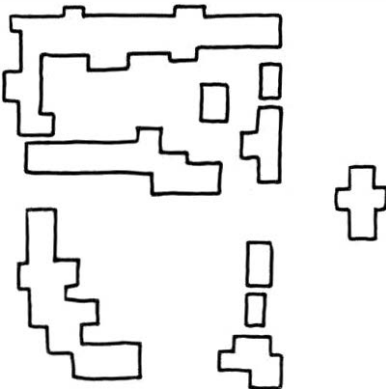
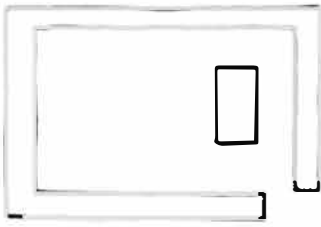
The following is about my understanding—and feelings—about two very different relationships to the land represented by the Santa Clara Pueblo, in New Mexico, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) day school established next to it. These different relationships reflect the divergent world views of two cultures, as well as their differing methods and content of education.

Pueblo people believe that the primary and most important relationship for humans is with the land, the natural environment and the cosmos, which in the Pueblo world are synonymous. Humans exist within the cosmos and are an integral part of the functioning of the earth community.

The mystical nature of the land, the earth, is recognized and honored. Direct contact and interaction with the land, the natural environment, is sought. In the pueblo, there are no manipulated outdoor areas that serve to distinguish humans from nature. There are no outdoor areas that attest to human control over “wild” nature. There are no areas where nature is domesticated.

Santa Clara, where I was born, is a typical Tewa Pueblo with myths that connect it to the nearby prehistoric sites and also inextricably weave the human place into a union with the land from whence the people emerged. The people dwell at the center, around the *nansipu*, the “emergence place” or “breathing place.” The breath flows through the center as it does through other breathing places in the low hills and far mountains. These symbolic places remind the people of the vital, breathing earth and their specific locations are where the people can feel the strongest connection to the flow of energy, or the creation of the universe. The plants, rocks, land and people are part of an entity that is sacred because it breathes the creative energy of the universe.

View from roof of pueblo
church, 1899.
Photo by Vroman (no first
name given). Courtesy
Smithsonian Institute. National
Anthropological Archives.



Evolution of the Santa Clara pueblo from traditional form (top) to recent years (bottom). Drawings courtesy Rina Swertzell.

The physical location of Santa Clara Pueblo is of great importance—the Rio Grande snakes along the east of the Pueblo; the mysterious Black Mesa, where the mask whippers emerge, is to the south; the surrounding low hills contain shrines and special ceremonial areas; and the far mountains define the valley where humans live.

This world, for me as a child, was very comfortable and secure because it gave a sense of containment. We roamed in the fields and nearby hills. At an early age we learned an intimacy with the natural environment and other living creatures. We learned of their connectedness to rocks, plants and other animals through physical interaction and verbal communication. We gained tremendous confidence and an unquestioning sense of belonging within the natural ordering of the cosmos. Learning happened easily. It was about living. In fact, the word for *learning* in Tewa is *baa-pu-web*, which translates as “to have breath.” To breathe or to be alive is to learn.

Within the Pueblo, outdoor and indoor spaces flowed freely and were hardly distinguishable. One moved in bare feet from interior dirt floors enclosed by mud walls to the well-packed dirt smoothness of the Pueblo plaza. In this movement, all senses were utilized. Each of the various dirt surfaces (interior walls, outdoor walls, plaza floor) were touched, smelled and tasted. Special rocks were carried in the mouth so that their energy would flow into us. Everything was touchable, knowable and accessible.

There was consistency in that world because the colors, textures and movements of the natural landscape were reflected everywhere in the human-made landscape. Reflection on the cosmos was encouraged. Separation of natural and human-made

spaces was minimal, so conscious beautification of either outdoor or indoor spaces was not necessary. Landscaping—replanting, bringing in trees, shrubs and grass for aesthetic reasons—was thought to be totally unnecessary. The mobility of humans and animals was accepted but the mobility of plants rooted in their earth places was inconceivable.

The Pueblo plaza was almost always full. People cooked outdoors, husked corn, dried food and sat in the sun. The scale of the Pueblo plaza was such that I never felt lost in it even when I was the only person there.

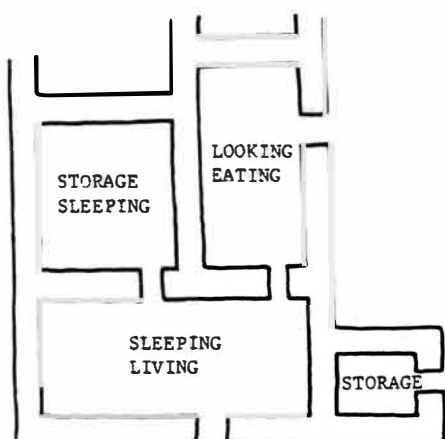
The form and organization of the Pueblo house reinforced the sense of security and importance of place. One sat on and played on the center of the world (the *nansipu*) and thereby derived a sense of significance. Houses were climbed on, jumped on, slept on and cooked on. They were not material symbols of wealth but were rather, in Thoreau’s terminology, a most direct and elegantly simple expression of meeting the human need for shelter.

Construction methods and materials were uncomplicated. The most direct methods were combined with the most accessible materials. Everyone participated, without exception—children, men, women, elders. Anybody could build a house or any necessary structure. Designers and architects were unnecessary since there was no conscious aesthetic striving or stylistic interest.

Crucial elements of the house interiors were the low ceilings; rounded and hand-plastered walls; small, dark areas; tiny, sparse windows and doors; and multiple-use rooms. All interior spaces were shared by everybody, as were the exterior spaces. The need for individual privacy was not important enough to affect the plan of Pueblo houses. Privacy was viewed in a differ-

View of the Santa Clara Pueblo,
1879.

Photo by J. K. Millers. Courtesy
Smithsonian Institute, National
Anthropological Archives.



Typical pueblo interior layout,
1940s.



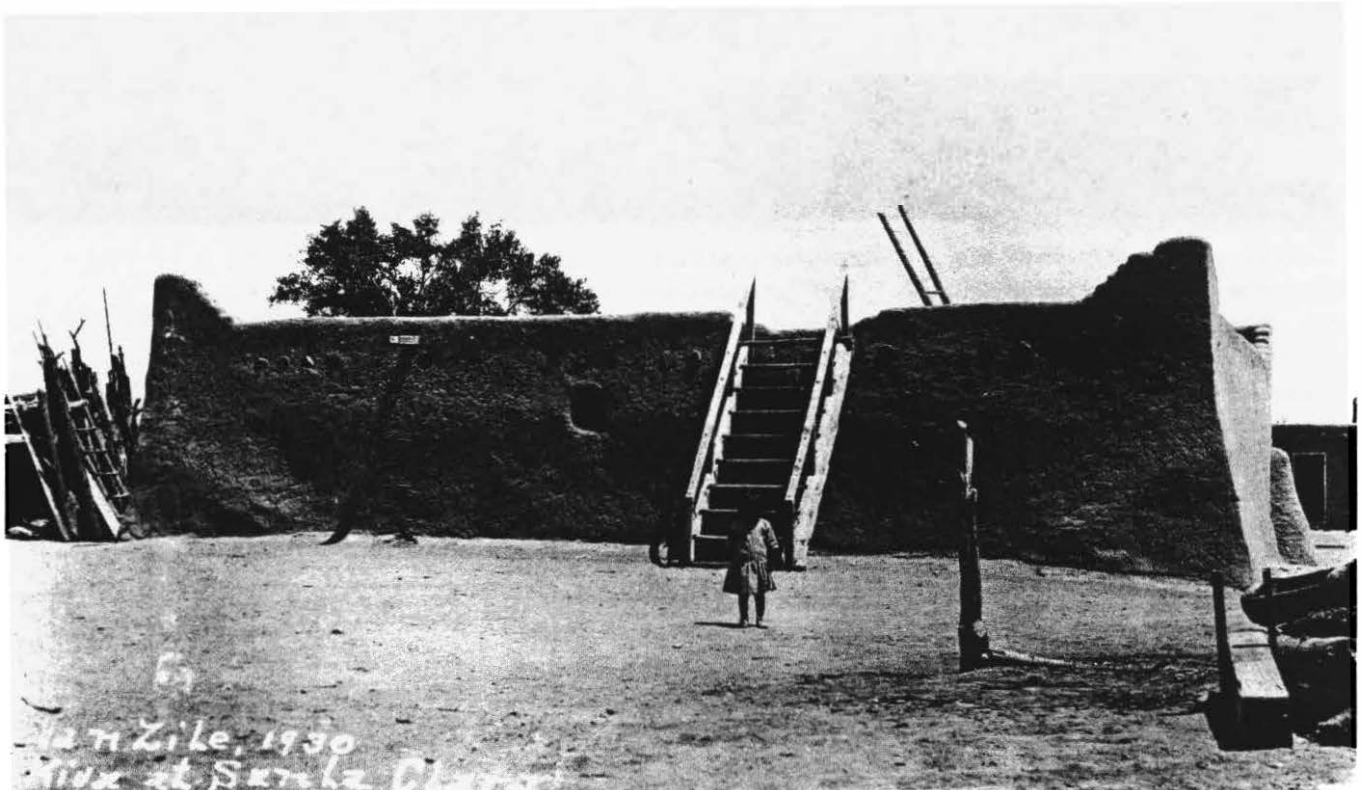
Typical pueblo interior layout,
recent years.

ent way; it was carried around within the individual and walls and physical space were not needed to defend it. Sharing was crucial.

Within the house, as without, spirits moved freely. Members of families were sometimes buried in the dirt floor and their spirits became a part of the house environment. Besides those spirits there were others who had special connections with the house structure because they assisted in its construction or because they were born or died in it. Since houses survived many generations, the spirits were many. Houses were blessed with a special ceremony similar to the ritual performed for a baby at birth. There

was also an easy acceptance of the deterioration of a house. Houses, just as people's bodies, came from and went back into the earth.

Ideas that characterize the Pueblo human-made and natural environments, then, are that humans and nature are inseparable, human environments emulate and reflect the cosmos, creative energy flows through the natural environment (of which every aspect, including rocks, trees, clouds and people) is alive, and aesthetics and the cosmos are synonymous.



*Kiva at Santa Clara Pueblo,
the enclosure for the nansipu
or "breathing hole."
Photo by Fayette W. Van Zile.
Courtesy Smithsonian Institution,
National Anthropological
Archives.*

How Western Education Shaped the Day School Landscape

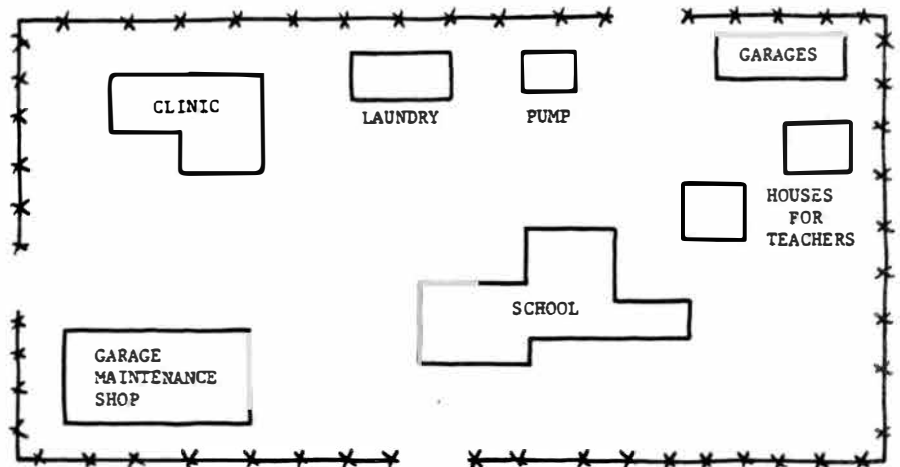
*"The goal, from the beginning of attempts at formal education of the American Indian, has been not so much to educate him as to change him."*¹

Santa Clara Day School was introduced to such a world in the early 1890s during the BIA's golden age of constructing schools for Native Americans. In the very early years of European settlement in America, various religious groups attempted to "civilize" and Christianize Native Americans. In 1832, that responsibility was assumed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the focus narrowed to "civilizing" Native Americans.

From 1890 to 1928, the goal was to assimilate Native Americans; the tactics were dissolving their social structure through Western education and destroying their land base. After 1928, when an influential government study asked for "a change in point of view" in how Native Americans should be educated, programs in bilingual education, adult basic education, training of Native American teachers, Native American culture and in-service teacher training were initiated across the country. But these programs were halted almost as quickly, and certainly before these ideas reached Santa Clara Day School.

The years after 1944 saw a new determination to terminate Native American reservations and abolish the special relationships between Native Americans and the federal government, relationships that had been guaranteed by centuries of law and treaties.² It was during this time, from 1945 to 1951, that I attended Santa Clara Pueblo Day School.

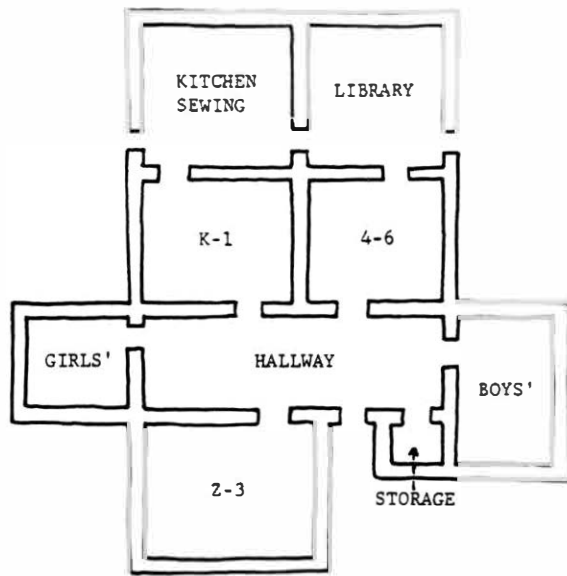
The government school grounds and buildings, built during the 1920s, not only reflected that attitude of changing and civilizing Native Americans but also characterized the



Plan of BIA school at Santa Clara.



BIA school playground.
Photo courtesy Rina Swentzell.



Plan of BIA school building.

general Western-European attitude of human control that seems to stem from the Renaissance glorification of human capabilities. Everything had to be changed so it would be in accordance with the Western way of thinking and being. The BIA school compounds reflected a foreign world view that opposed the Pueblo world and its physical organization.

At San Clara, the BIA school complex was located a quarter of a mile from the center of the Pueblo and had a barbed-wire fence around its periphery. That fence defined the complex and effectively kept the two worlds separate. The cattle guards and the double-styled ladders built over the fence provided the only openings into the compound. They kept out both animals and old people. All large rocks and natural trees had been removed a long time before I was a student and there were but a few foreign elm trees within the barren, isolated landscape.

The loss of trust that occurred when people moved from the Pueblo to the school setting was most striking. Within the Pueblo, pre-school-aged children were allowed enormous free-

dom of activity and choice; to a great extent they were trusted as capable of being in charge of themselves. This liberal assumption created its own self-fulfilling prophecy. Since Pueblo children were expected to care for themselves in an adequate, responsible way, they generally did.

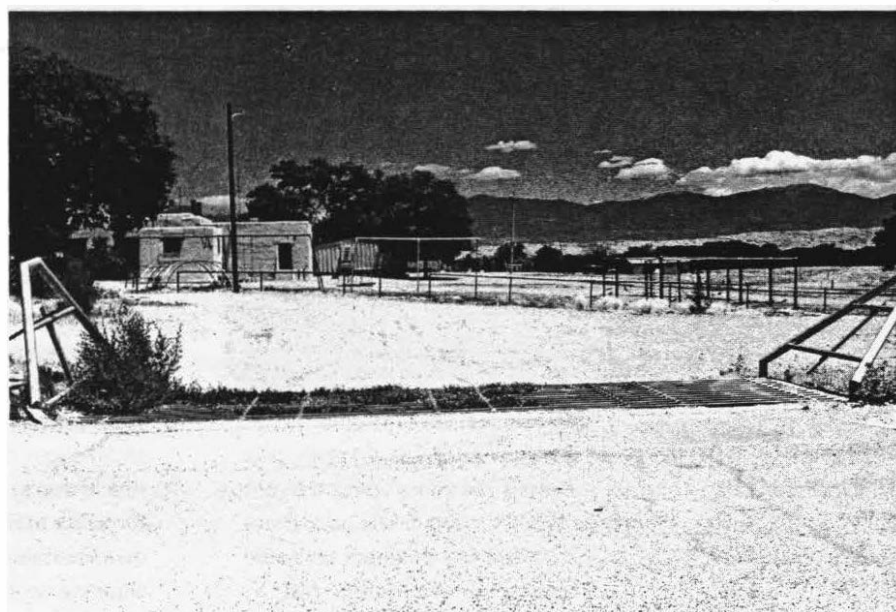
But within the BIA school, there was a different attitude: The overall atmosphere was one of skepticism. The fence was an expression of the lack of respect and trust in others. Although the formal reason given for the fence was that it kept out animals, everyone in the Pueblo knew its purpose was also to keep people out. It was an unsettling feeling to know other people had to physically protect themselves from community.

As the school grounds were separate from the life and environment around it, so were the various structures located within the compound separate from each other. There were separate laundry and shower buildings—as part of the civilizing effort, everybody, including adults, was supposed to take showers. Also included in the compound were a health clinic, a maintenance shop, the main school building and small separate houses for the teachers. All of them were scattered seemingly randomly in the approximately five-acre compound.

Within the school building, children were grouped into rooms according to grade level. Inside the various classrooms, the divisions continued. Those who could read well were separated from those who could not. Individual desks and mats were assigned. Individual achievement was praised. Concentration on the individual, or the parts, which has become the hallmark of modern American society, was strongly emphasized. This was in contrast to the holistic concepts of the Pueblo, which emphasized togeth-

View from roof of Pueblo
church, 1899.

Photo by Vroman (no first
name given). Courtesy
Smithsonian Institute, National
Anthropological Archives.



Cattle guard-entrance to the
BIA school grounds.
Photo courtesy Rina Swentzell.



Above: Buildings at the BIA school were constructed with pitched roofs, which were foreign to the Pueblo residents.

Below: The roofs of some of the buildings were subsequently removed.

Photos courtesy Rina Swentzell.

erness and cooperation and which were expressed in connected and multiple-function structures.

The floor plan of the school was efficient and designed to create an aspiration of moving up—the good old American attitude of upward mobility—from one room and grade level to the next. The move, however, was always disappointing because there were expectations that something special would happen in the next room but it never did. The whole system had a way of making people unhappy with the present situation. Again, this was totally foreign to Pueblo thinking, which worked towards a settling into the earth and, consequently, into being more satisfied with the moment and the present.

Inside the school house the ceilings were very high. The proportions of the rooms were discomforting—the walls were very tall relative to the small floor space. The Catholic church in the Pueblo also had high ceilings, for Spanish priests sought to maximize both interior and exterior height in the missions they built. But in the church there was no sense of overhead, top-heavy space. It had heavy, soft walls at eye level to balance its height, as well as dark interiors that made the height less obvious.

Although there were plenty of buildings on the school grounds, it seemed that there were never enough people to make the spaces within the grounds feel comfortable. Everything seemed at a distance. The message was don't touch, don't interact. The exterior formality of the structures, as well as the materials used, discouraged climbing on them, scratching them, tasting them, or otherwise affecting them. There was no way to be a part of the place, the buildings, or the lives of teachers who lived there.

The creation of artificial play areas on the school grounds within the Pueblo context and community was ironic. The total environment (natural as well as human-created) was included in the Pueblo world of play. Play and work were barely distinguishable. Every activity was something to be done and done as well as possible; the relaxation or joy that play gives was to be found in submerging oneself in the activity at hand.

Play and work were distinguished from one another in the BIA school and specific time was assigned for both. There were recesses from work, yet play was constantly supervised so that the children could not discover the world for themselves. Every possible danger was guarded against. Lack of trust was evident in the playground as opposed to the Pueblo setting where we roamed the fields and hills.

It was apparent that the Anglo teachers preferred indoors and human-made spaces over the outdoors, and they tried to instill this preference in us. In the Pueblo, the outdoors was unquestionably preferred.

The saddest aspect of the entire school complex was the ground. There was no centering, no thought, no respect given to the ground. The native plants and rocks had been disturbed a long time ago and the land had lost all the variety one finds in small places created by bushes, rocks or rises and falls of the ground. The ground had been scraped and leveled, and metal play equipment was set upon it. It was also a gray color, which was puzzling because the ground in the Pueblo plaza, only a quarter of a mile away, was a warm, brown color.

The sensation of being in the Pueblo was very different from that of being on the school grounds. The Pueblo plaza had soulfulness. It was

endowed with spirit. The emergence place of the people from the underground was located within the plaza and the breath of the cosmos flowed in and out of it. The land, the ground, breathed there; it was alive. The school grounds were imbued with sadness because the spirit of the place, the land, was not recognized. Nothing flowed naturally. The vitality of the school came from faraway worlds, from lands described in books. Appreciation of the immediate landscape was impossible.

The Legacy of Conflicting Landscape Values

The Pueblo and the school grounds were imbued with different cultural values, attitudes and perceptions, and the students who moved from one setting to the other were deeply affected by those differences.

The school was part of a world that was whole unto itself and its orientation towards the future, time assignments, specialized buildings, artificial playgrounds and overall concern with segmentation were elements of a conscious world view that was not concerned with harmony and acceptance of spirituality in the landscape.

The government did not come to Santa Clara Pueblo out of inner kindness or benevolence. Rather, the government was dealing with Native Americans in what it considered to be the most efficient manner. This efficiency, which was so apparent in the structures, took away human interaction and dignity. We had to give ourselves totally to this order.

BIA authoritarianism assured the absence of any human-to-human or human-to-nature interaction. The monumental structures and sterile outdoor spaces in no manner stimulated the community to enter and

exchange communications at any time or at any level of equality. In that people-proof environment, the natural curiosity that children have about their world was dulled and respect for teachers far exceeded respect for the larger forces in the world.

Santa Clara Day School was a typical American school of its era — isolated and authoritatively emphatic. Its visual landscape read accordingly with the surrounding fence, the barren land and the tall, pitched-roof structures scattered within the compound.

But the longest-lasting impact may not be visual. The two physical settings taught different types of behavior to Pueblo children. Consequently, lack of confidence and feelings of inadequacy have become characteristic traits of children who lived in the Pueblo and went to the BIA school.

Notes

1. Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969) p. 10.

2. Ibid., p.13.

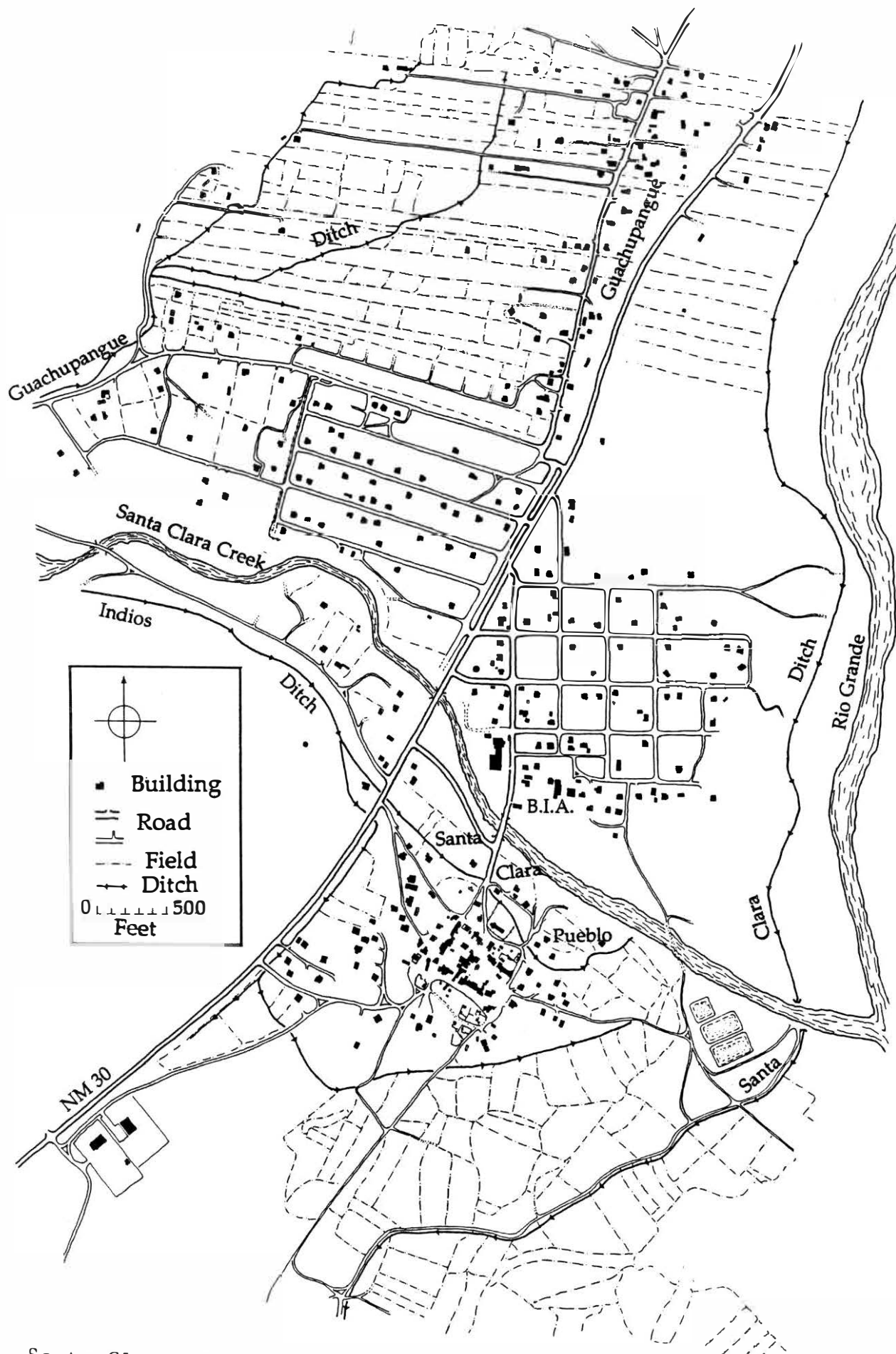
Settlement Landscape and Recent Construction. (CW)

As the Hispanic population of north central New Mexico grew, especially between 1840 and 1870, it not only expanded at the periphery of the settled area, but also moved onto large, irrigable portions of Pueblo land grants. Land was sometimes purchased, especially for livestock, or simply taken through squatter's rights. Hispanics often joined their Pueblo neighbors in maintaining irrigation systems and in defense against nomadic Indian attacks. Santa Clara Pueblo population reached a low of 144 in 1864, as the earlier Spanish settlements of Española and Guachupangue expanded onto Santa Clara land. When the Pueblo Lands Board began its adjudication of non-Pueblo claims on Pueblo lands in 1924, Santa Clara controlled only 375 irrigable acres for a population of approximately 300. When the Board finished its work in 1932, non-Pueblo claimants were left with title to 4,300 acres of Santa Clara land, much of it irrigable--the most of any Pueblo grant.

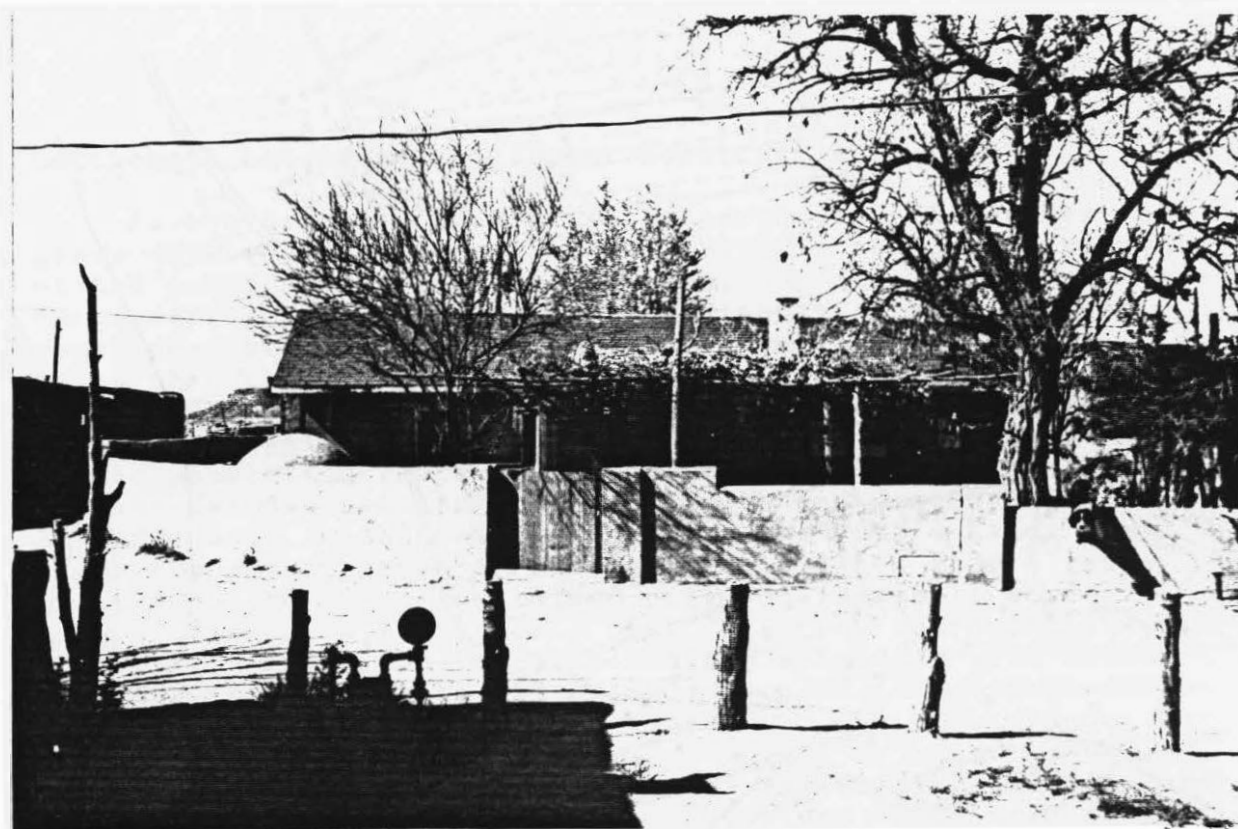
As a result of this history, two agricultural/settlement landscapes grew up side by side. The older, clustered pueblo stands on a rise to the south of Santa Clara Creek with its once-communal fields below it along the Rio Grande. To the north, the linear Hispanic settlement of Guachupangue rides the edge of a north/south escarpment with the long-lot, family fields extending to both the east and the west. A few Santa Clara families live in Guachupangue, especially at the south end of the settlement, while both Santa Claras and Hispanics maintain and use water from the Guachupangue ditch.

Santa Clara population grew from 440 in 1934 to 1,839 in 1980. Separate family houses had already begun to appear away from the old pueblo on the west and northwest at the turn of the century. In the 1960s, the BIA laid out a street grid north of the creek, where HUD-financed houses were built in substantial numbers. The tribe also began its own suburb in the 1970s to the west of the highway, where HUD houses now predominate but with a higher proportion of trailer homes and owner-built houses. A fence across the middle of this development separates Summer from Winter people.

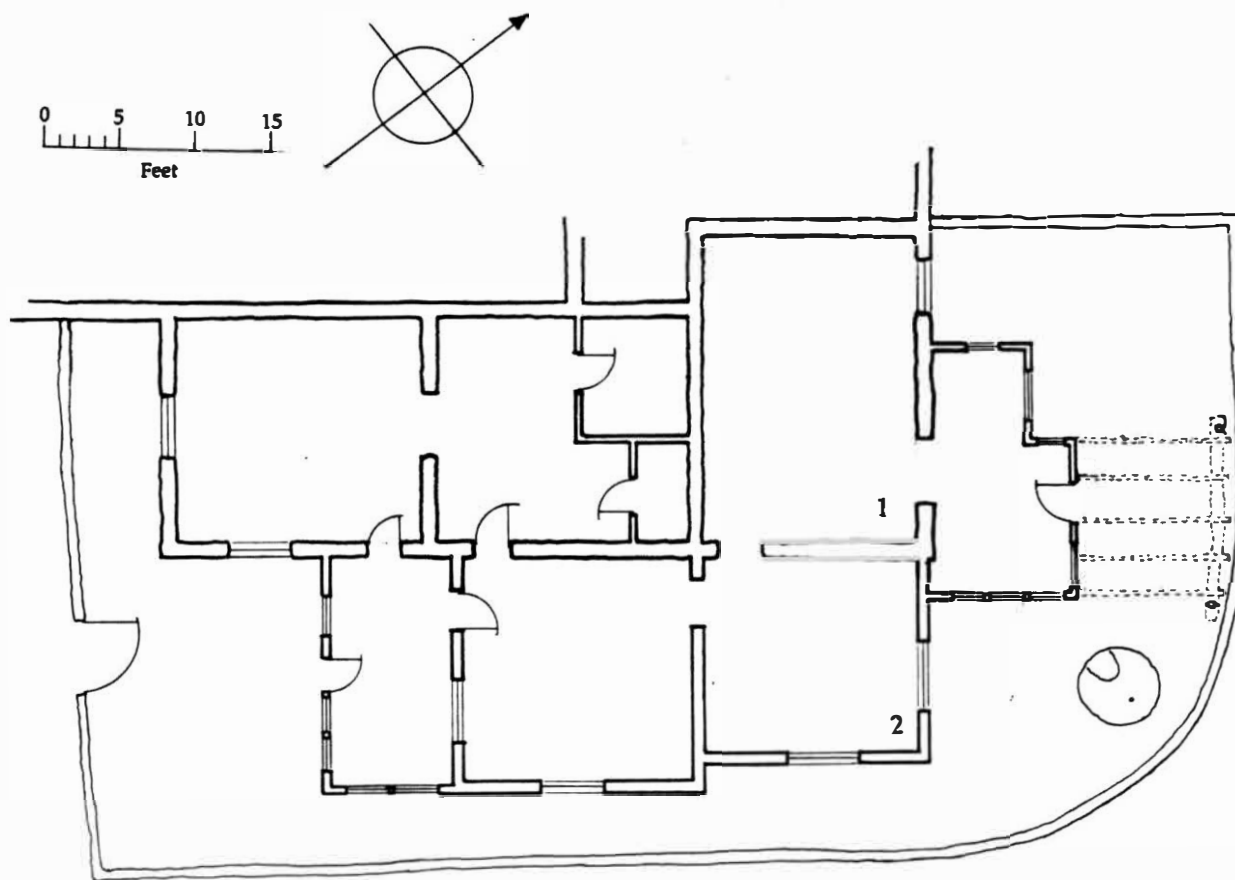
The Rose Naranjo House on the south side of the old plaza appears in the earliest photographs taken in the 1870s. It has been passed from mother to daughter for as long as anyone knows. She and some of her children grew up here, although she left the pueblo for a time in the 1950s and 1960s when her husband Michael, who is also from Santa Clara and had become a Baptist preacher, conducted a mission in Taos. When they returned to Santa Clara in the early mid-1970s, she lived first on a plot of family land up Santa Clara Creek in a HUD house behind another one Pastor Naranjo had built. There she had two hornos built, although she desired to return to the old plaza.



8. Santa Clara, Guachupangue and environs (Hesse)



9, 10. Rose Naranjo House, pre-1870 to present. (CW, TH)



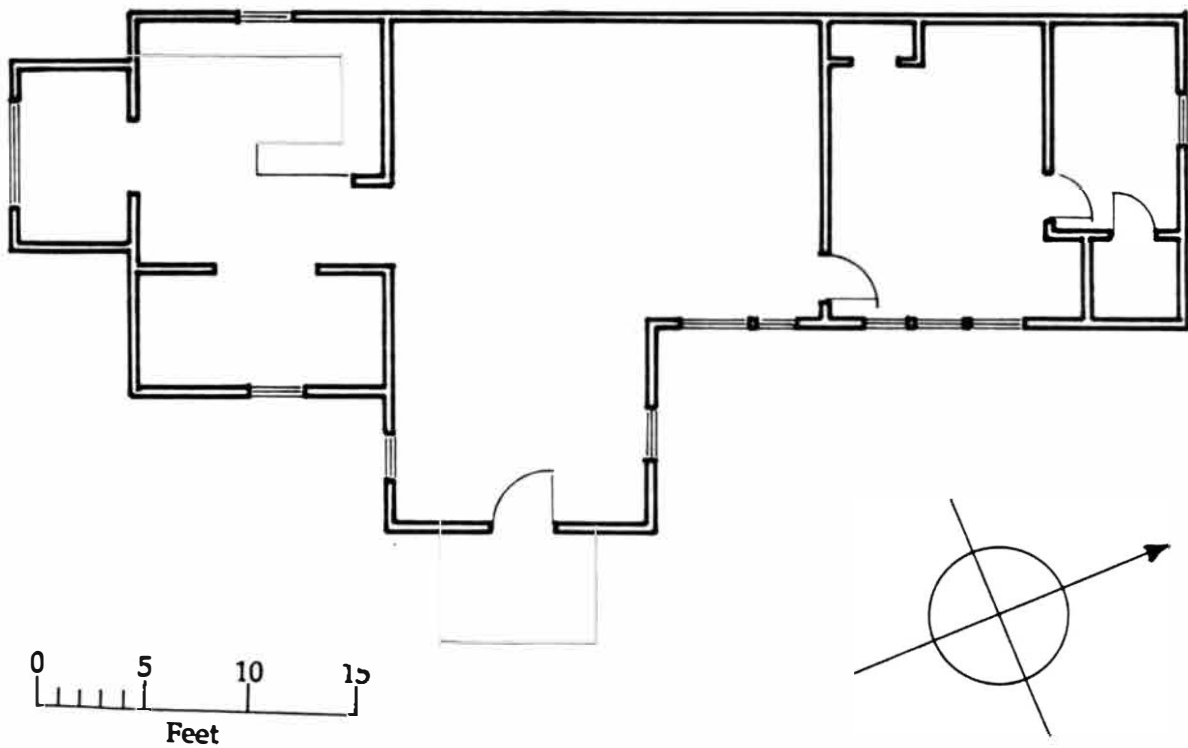
She moved back into the remaining rooms there (rooms 1, 2) about 1980 and immediately began to plan its expansion. She felt it was important to maintain the old kitchen (1) as a core of continuity, although the other remaining room was in time entirely rebuilt. "I was thinking maybe we could build a room there," she would say when she had two or three daughters gathered with her. "Will you help me think about it?" The need for the new room and the design of the space were discussed primarily in terms of the functions to occur there. The house was built over the next few years as she convinced her children, their spouses and families to build different portions for her. She would lay out the shape of the room she wanted on the ground. The material construction system was relatively unimportant to her and each builder worked with the materials most familiar to them, so that the new rooms are of adobe, concrete block and frame stucco construction. The front porch/dinning room, and walled yard with a large *horno*, are particularly important for watching dances and serving guests on feast days. Gia Naranjo is now thinking and talking about building a room above the kitchen and opening a roof-top terrace so the dances can be viewed in the old way.

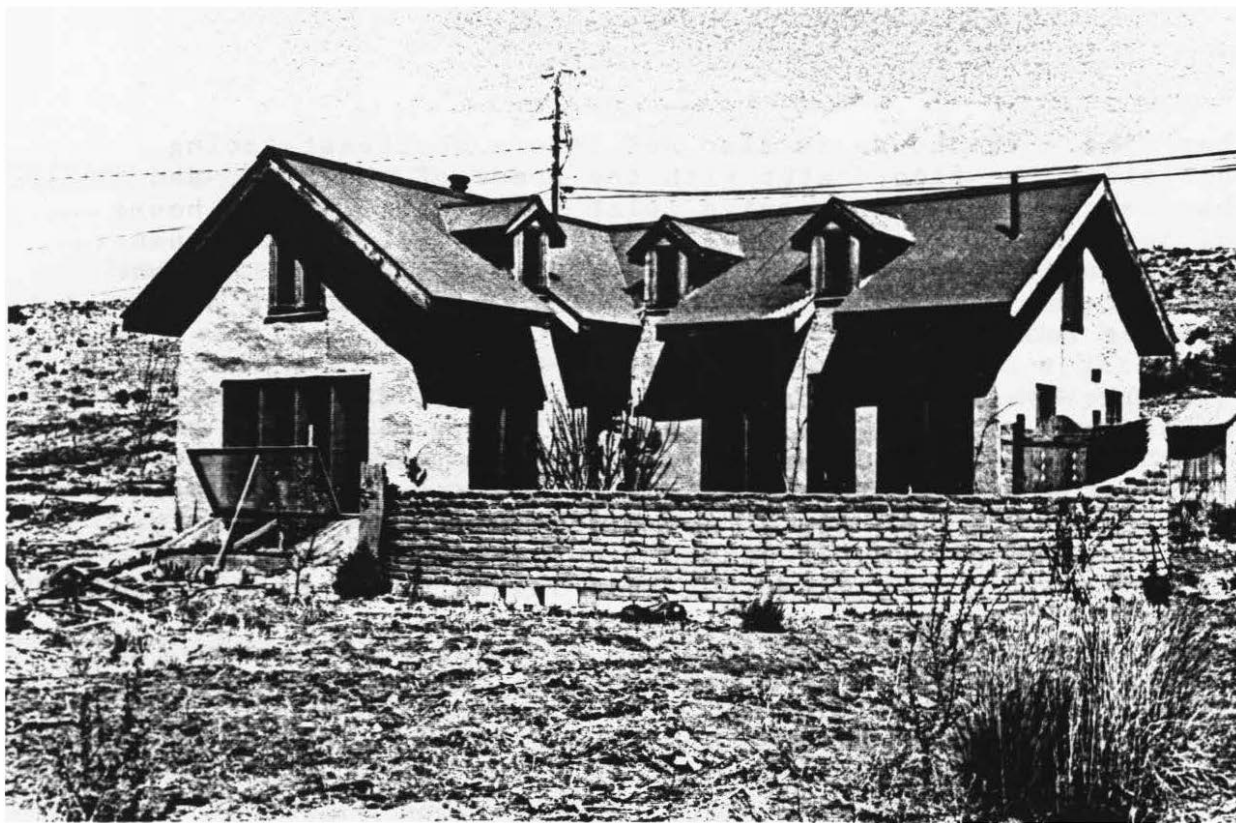
The Tessie Naranjo House is one of three houses built since 1960 on a plot of family land in the tribal development up Santa Clara Creek. Because of the social and spatial control that women hold in the old pueblo, many Santa Clara men gravitate to outside jobs and build homes at a distance from the plaza. Michael Naranjo, who worked as a carpenter at Los Alamos in the 1940s, built this frame stucco house in the 1960s and 70s in anticipation of a return from his Baptist mission in Taos. It has a raised foundation and originally had two bedrooms side-by-side next to the bathroom, which was reached by a hall. When his health began to decline about 1980, he gave the house to his daughter Tessie (now the director of the Santa Clara Pueblo Historic Preservation Project). She has remodeled the house for a single, larger bedroom and added a breakfast nook off the kitchen and large southeast-facing windows for passive solar gain.

The Roxanne Swentzell House was built in 1985-86 a few feet to the north by a granddaughter of Rose and Michael Naranjo. When she was young, driving through northern new Mexico with her family, Roxanne often would point out an aging Hispanic adobe house and say she wanted to buy one like that some day and fix it up. Her attraction to this form was reinforced when she lived for a time in Mora County in her Uncle Tito Naranjo's house, a Hispanic house he had remodeled. She especially liked the large kitchen/living room that is the focus of the life of his house. When she designed her own house, that large room and the typical L-shaped Hispanic house form with a pitched roof were both in

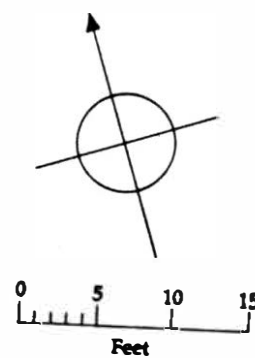
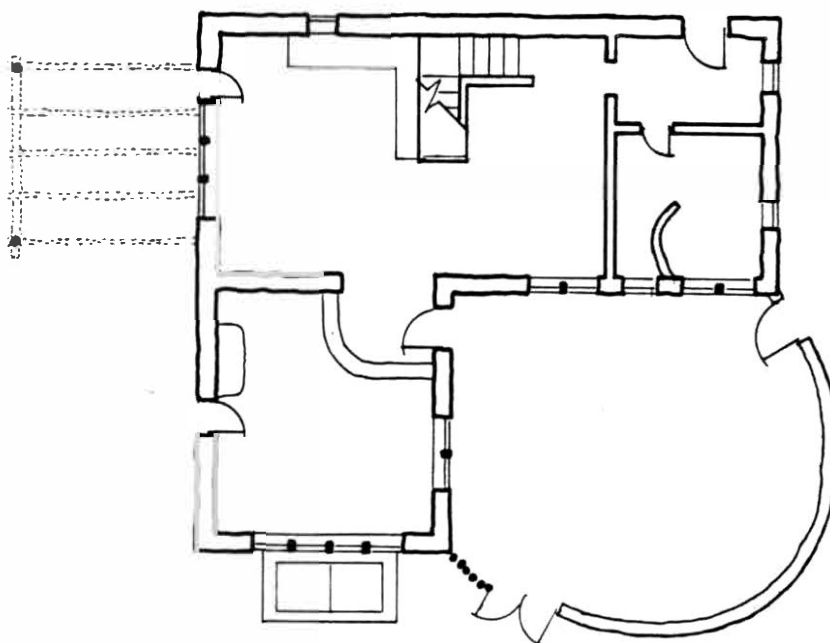


11, 12. Tessie Naranjo House, built 1960s to 80s. (CW, TH)





13, 14. Roxanne Swentzell House, built 1985-86. (CW, TH)



her mind. The house is also set into a southeast-facing hillside, the floors step with the grade of the hill, and it has large windows for passive solar gain--all like the house of her mother, Rina Swentzell, near Santa Fe. In the summer, cottonwood branches are placed over the shade arbor on the west of the house to shade those windows and to form an outdoor room.

The house has a concrete slab and wall footings, adobe walls, and hand-crafted wooden details and hardware. Roxanne purchased building materials with the proceeds from the sale of her sculpture. The walls were built primarily on weekend work days with the help of her immediate family, Uncle Tito, Aunt Tessie and friends, numbering perhaps twenty people on a typical day. Her grandmother Rose helped prepared the food. She and her husband, Joel Glanzberg, a seed gene pool conservation advocate, framed the roof and wall dormers, and, more recently, have added the circular courtyard.

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-----, "Conflicting Landscape Values: The Santa Clara Pueblo and Day School." Places, 7/1 (Fall 1990), 18-27.

CHIMAYO (Boyd C. Pratt)

The place name Chimayo actually refers to a number of settlements in the Santa Cruz Valley, two of which -- the Plaza del Cerro and El Potrero -- will be discussed here. The Plaza del Cerro is one of the best-preserved examples of an eighteenth century Spanish Colonial fortified plaza in northern New Mexico; it features several building types within or near the fortified plaza itself -- a private family chapel, a typical house with rooms converted into a store, and a torreón (defensive tower). El Potrero is the site of two nineteenth century chapels (El Santuario de Esquímulas and Santo Niño de Atocha) and several shops associated with a long tradition of pilgrimage to the area.

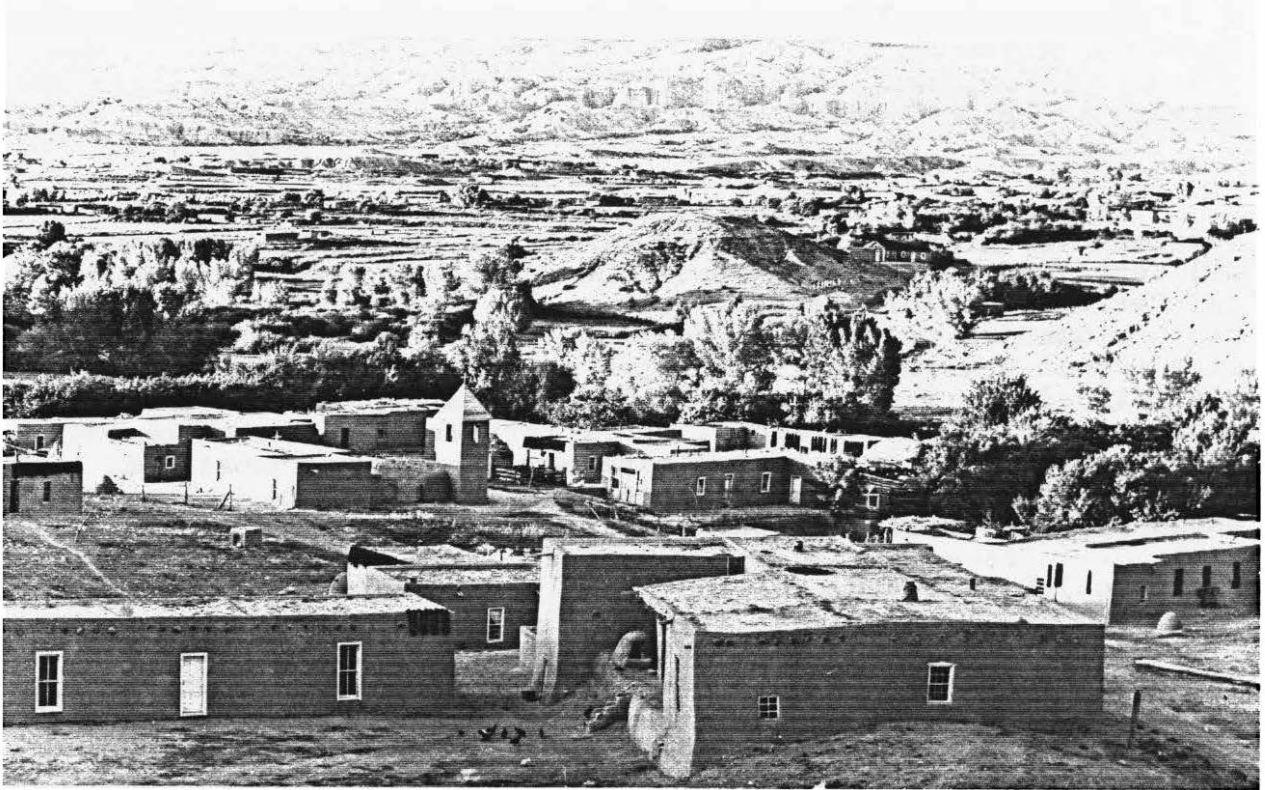
Historical Background

Prior to Spanish colonization, the Santa Cruz Valley was occupied by Pueblo Indians, probably the ancestors of the modern Tewas. Beginning around 1000 AD, they settled in pueblos along the Santa Cruz River, and although many of these were abandoned about 1250, others were founded or continuously occupied up until around 1400.

After the founding of San Gabriel across the Rio Grande from San Juan Pueblo in 1598 by Juan de Oñate, Spanish colonists established isolated settlements in the present Santa Cruz area, which was referred to in early documents as "La Cañada, the narrow valley which runs down from the Sierra to the Rio del Norte." These settlements consisted of isolated houses of three to four rooms, making them susceptible to Indian attack; indeed, most rural Spanish settlers were killed during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, although those in the valley escaped.

After the Reconquest, Don Diego de Vargas established the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz de la Cañada de Los Españoles Mexicanos del Rey Nuestro Señor Carlos Segundo (New Town of the Holy Cross of the Canyon of the Mexican Spanish of the King Our Lord Charles the Second), the present town of Santa Cruz, as a northern defense. And, indeed, during the abortive revolt of 1696, its new fortified plaza withstood several attacks. From this staging point, other towns were gradually settled in the valley to the east. These eventually included La Puebla, Dolores, El Rincon, and Chimayo. During the first half of the eighteenth century, this was considered the northern and eastern most frontier, and criminals were banished there from Santa Fe as punishment.

Plaza del Cerro. Although records of land deeds in the Chimayo area date back to 1714, the first reference to el paraje de Chimayo (the camp site of Chimayo) occurs in the 1740s. The current Plaza del Cerro ("plaza of the hill," then called the Plaza de San Buenaventura, possibly after the oratorio built there) was built around that time, for a will made in 1752 was dated at San Buenaventura de Chimayo, and the earliest existing



15. View of Chimayo looking north from Potrero (Jesse L. Nusbaum, ca. 1911, courtesy Museum of New Mexico, Neg. No. 13766).

16. Abeyta Residence opposite Santuario in Potrero (ca. 1917, courtesy Museum of New Mexico, Neg. No. 8954).



marriage record of a couple who were residents occurred in 1767. By 1776, when Fray Atanasio Dominguez visited the area, he described it in The Missions of New Mexico, 1776 as

...a large settlement of many ranchos ... with good lands and many more orchards than there are at the Villa of Cañada.... In some nooks like cañadas which there are near Chimayo to the south, there are some ranchos with different place names, but they are so small that they have been included under what I have just said. There are two small mills in this Chimayo (Adams and Chavez 1956, 83).

He also noted that Chimayo had 71 families consisting of 367 persons. According to oral tradition, the first three families to found Chimayo were the Ortegas, the Trujillos, and the Mascareños.

El Santuario. The name El Potrero ("grazing land" or "pasture"), where the Santuario is located, suggests that it first served as pasture land for settlements in the area. It appears to have been settled as an offshoot of the earlier Cañada communities in the mid-eighteenth century. The construction of the Santuario for the veneration of Jesus de Esquímulas is attributed to Bernardo Abeyta (1771-1856), originally of Santa Cruz. In 1797 he married a woman from El Potrero and moved there; after her death, he remarried in 1806, this time to Maria Manuela Trujillo (of an original Chimayo family). As early as 1805, an infant of El Potrero (Abeyta's nephew) was baptized Juan de Esquímulas; eight years later, Abeyta's own son was baptized Tomas de Jesus de Esquímulas.

How Abeyta became acquainted with the veneration of the image of the Black Christ at the town of Esquímulas in Guatemala is not known. However, it is interesting to note the coincidence of geophagy (earth-eating) at both sites. According to Tewa legends, the site of the present Santuario was an Indian shrine, where the earth had curative powers. The hill nearby, which is also sacred to several nearby Tewa pueblos, is called Tsi Mayoh or Tsimajo ("flaking stone of superior quality"), and the pit of sacred earth, which was originally a hot spring or pool, was called Tsimajopokwi (pokwi means "pool"). It is possible that the Spanish residents adopted a continuing Pueblo tradition of using this earth for healing. The Spanish practice of superimposing their temples and settlements over native sites was widespread in the New World.

However, several Hispanic legends also describe the discovery of the site and the crucifix that now holds a place of honor above the altar of the Santuario. According to Abeyta family tradition, Bernardo Abeyta was performing penances during Holy Week when he saw a bright light shining from a hole in the ground near the Santa Cruz River. Digging at the spot, he uncovered the crucifix of Our Lord of Esquímulas. Bringing it to

the Santa Cruz Church, it was placed in a nicho on the altar. However, the next morning it had disappeared, and was discovered in the same hole where it had originally been found. After the crucifix was taken back to the church two more times, and reappearing in the hole each time, it was taken as a sign that it should be venerated on the spot. Other stories tell of the crucifix being found in a hollow tree, or near a rock, by a shepherd or farmer, but most repeat the element of the three-fold removal and reappearance.

In addition to these legends, there is historical evidence that Bernardo Abeyta was an important member of the Penitentes, serving as Hermano Mayor in the Chimayo area. The 1860 Constitution for "The Brotherhood of Our Father Jesus," used across northern New Mexico and southern Colorado, derives "from the Rule given by the Hermano Mayor (Elder Brother) of the Brotherhood of Penance, the deceased Bernardo Abeyta." That Abeyta was apparently practicing Penitente penances when he discovered the crucifix is significant to tradition, as well as the fact that both Penitente practice and specific worship at the Santuario arose during a time of shortage of priests and the assumption of religious functions by lay members of the community.

In any case, on November 15, 1813, on behalf of the 19 or so families of Potrero, Bernardo Abeyta requested permission from the church authorities to erect a chapel "to honor and venerate, with worthy worship, Our Lord and Redeemer, in his Advocacy of Esquímulas." Apparently the image of "Our Lord of Esquímulas" had already been honored for three years at a small hermita, or temporary, open chapel, attached to the house of Abeyta in Potrero. Receiving permission in 1815, the Santuario was probably finished a year later, as is evidenced by the date on the door from the narthex to the nave. Abeyta not only encouraged the veneration of the crucifix and the use of the blessed earth, but also sold pilgrims goods that were warehoused in the two rooms on either side of the narthex at the south end of the chapel. Inventories taken in 1817 and 1826 indicate that these included sarapes, saddleblankets, rebosos, and knitted wool stockings.

The many legends about the origin of the cult of Santo Niño de Atocha in Plateros, Mexico, bear a distinct similarity to those of the discovery of the Santuario crucifix. Both speak of the discovery of the sacred object in a hole or in the earth by a farmer or shepherd and of the three-fold removal and reappearance. The statue itself is supposed to leave the chapel at night and wander the countryside, performing miracles, and wearing out its shoes in the process. To this day, baby shoes are given as offerings to the Santo Niño de Atocha.

During the mid-1800s, the Santuario began to receive competition in the form of the new cult of Santo Niño de Atocha. According to family tradition, a year after Abeyta died a man

named Severiano Medina, stricken with severe rheumatism, had a revelation to pray to Santo Niño de Atocha. Upon his recovery, he made a pilgrimage to Plateros, and upon relating his story to the priest there, received a statue of the Holy Child of Atocha (actually, a German papier-mâché doll bent into a sitting position to resemble the original). Returning to Potrero, in 1858 he built a chapel to honor it on land donated by his neighbors.

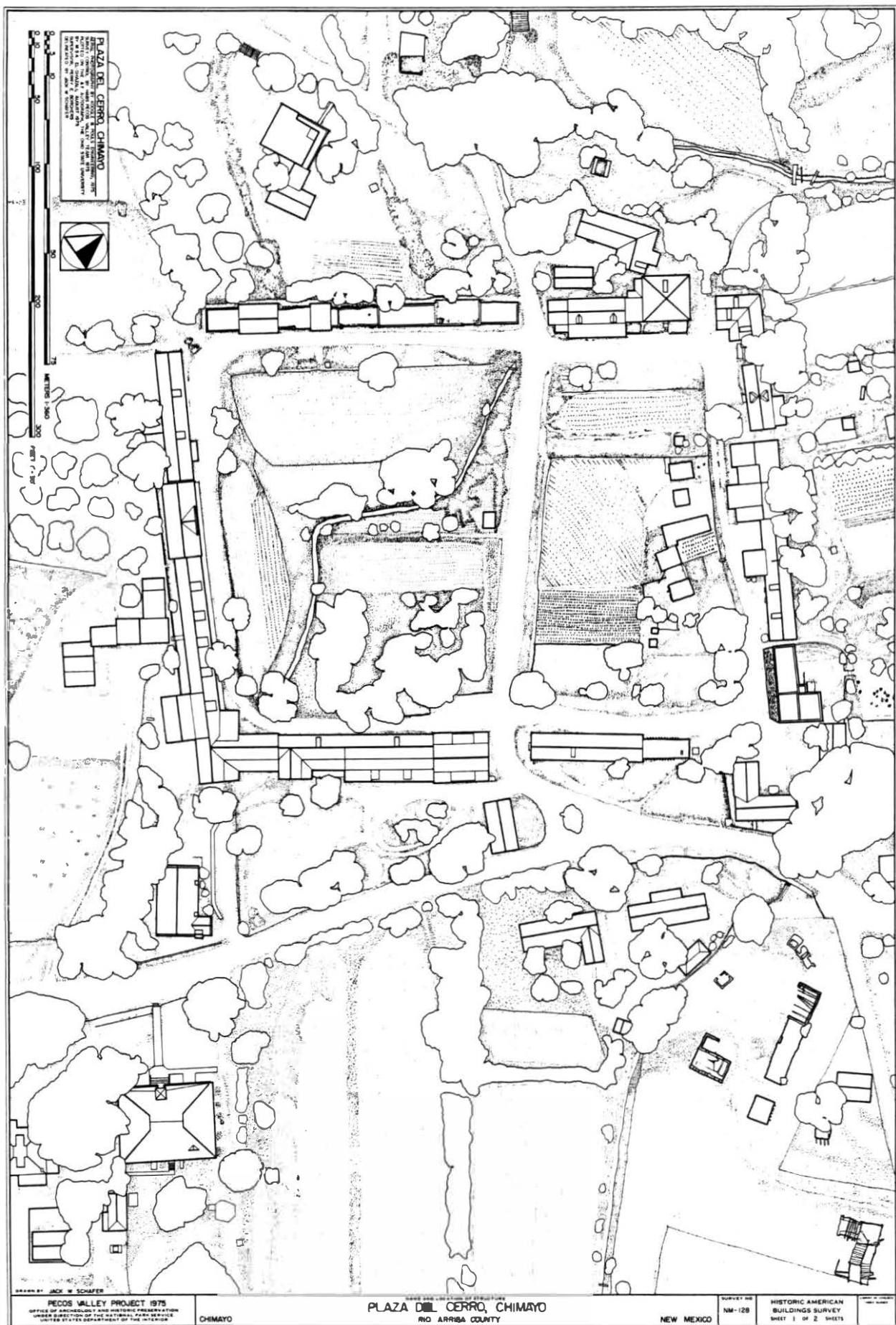
Local attention soon shifted to the Holy Child; as early as 1857 a local child was baptized Manuela de Atocha. The owners of the Santuario de Esquímulas responded to the growing popularity by acquiring a bulto of the Holy Child of Prague (who carries a globe in His right hand), and announcing that not only this Santo Niño de Atocha, but also San Jose, San Rafael, and Santiago in the Santuario also wandered about at night.

Economy. Like any Hispanic village, Chimayo's economy was largely based on farming and herding, although it has also long been known for its weaving. According to tradition, in 1805 two master weavers, the brothers Ignacio and Juan Bazan, were brought from Mexico to teach the colonists. They ended up in Chimayo, where the residents soon learned the patterns that are still woven today. Northern New Mexico villages such as Chimayo and Las Trampas often specialized in certain goods that they traded with other villages, and after the Hispanic settlement of San Luis Valley (now in Colorado) in the mid-1800s, commerce with that area became important; the chimayosos bartered blankets, as well as fruit and chili, which required a longer growing season, for higher elevation crops such as wheat and potatoes. Holy Week pilgrimages to the Santuario bolstered Chimayo's status as a trade center.

In the later half of the nineteenth century the nature of the cultural landscape of the Chimayo area began to change. Following the cessation of hostile Indian attacks, people began to spread out from their fortified plazas and settle along the upper edges of their fields, forming the linear settlement patterns that characterize the valley from Santa Cruz to Chimayo today. Around the turn of the century, commercial dealers in curios in Santa Fe and Albuquerque introduced commercial looms and yarns to local weavers. Although the construction of the new Santa Fe to Taos highway in 1917 by-passed the mountain villages, thus leading to a decline in general trade, weaving continued to be important local export. In the 1930s, it was estimated that some 100 weavers worked in Chimayo. Changes brought about by the depression, World War II, and the post-War economy have led to major out-migration from rural to urban areas.

Architecture

Spanish Settlement Patterns. By the time the Spanish established the first settlement in New Mexico -- San Gabriel del



17. Plan of the Plaza del Cerro (1975, Historic American Buildings Survey).

Yunque Yungue (1598) -- laws for colonization in the New World had been developed and codified in the "Royal Ordinances for the Laying Out of New Cities, Towns, or Villages," which were incorporated in the Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de los Indias, commonly called the Law of the Indies. A hierarchy was set forth in the form of ciudades (cities), villas (towns), and pueblos (villages); because the latter term was assigned to the fixed Indian settlements in New Mexico, plaza was more commonly used. (New Mexico never had any ciudades, and only boasted four villas -- Santa Fe [1610], El Paso [1680], Santa Cruz [1695], and Albuquerque [1710].) Settlement took place through the land grant process, whereby an individual or group from an existing settlement petitioned the Crown (which owned all of the land) for a new grant of land. After determining that no one else claimed the land, a local official, the Alcalde (Justice), determined the boundaries of the grant and placed the petitioner(s) in possession.

The grant was then divided into three categories: solares (house lots); suertes (fields); and ejidos (the commons). The grantees usually drew lots for their house lots and fields -- hence the term suerte (chance or luck) -- and proceeded to work on digging an acequia (irrigation ditch) and establishing their fields before constructing their houses. The ejidos were used to harvest firewood and lumber as well as pasture land. Although the Law of the Indies specified detailed instructions concerning the design and planning of new towns, such as size of the plaza, its orientation to the compass and prevailing winds, and the laying out of streets in a grid pattern, northern New Mexican settlements (except for the villas) were not large enough to require such planning. As a general rule, however, they were laid out as defensive plazas, i.e., room blocks built around a central plaza with restricted access to the fields beyond.

Plaza del Cerro. Originally called the Plaza de San Buenaventura when it was built in the 1740s, the Plaza del Cerro is perhaps the best surviving example of a Spanish fortified plaza. In its original form, the plaza probably consisted of a continuous string of one-story, flat-roofed adobe houses on all four sides, with perhaps three narrow passageways, one in the south room block and two in the north. On the exterior, the walls formed a continuous, uninterrupted unit, with no windows or doors. The Ortega acequia, which runs to the north of the plaza, was the original ditch that served as a source of water.

Although individual use of plots in front of each family's house was communally recognized, individual allotments in the plaza area were not fenced. The plots were originally used for gardens, and later orchards. In addition to the paths around the interior perimeter of the plaza, there was probably also a footpath for access to the ditches and fields (vereda de las aguanderas) leading from the southern entrance to one of the northern ones.



19. Oratorio de San Buenaventura (Ortega Chapel)
(courtesy Museum of New Mexico, Neg. No. 49298).

20. Interior, Oratorio de San Buenaventura (Ortega Chapel)
(courtesy Museum of New Mexico, Neg. No. 49297).



As the danger of hostile Indian attack abated during the early nineteenth century, the plaza gradually opened up, and eventually the present east-west road was established. In addition, the Greek Revival, introduced to the Territory by the U.S. Army in the 1860s and in New Mexico called the Territorial Style, began to make its appearance in the form of pedimented lintels over the doors and windows. Following the introduction of sheet metal roofing via the railroad in the late nineteenth century, gable (and, occasionally, gambrel) roofs with shed or gable dormers were added to many plaza residences. In 1910, the Ortega house on eastern half of the south side of the plaza was the first to acquire a gable roof, and others soon followed. At this time a false front was also added to the Ortega store. In addition, rooms were added to the outside of the plaza, forming double-file plans. The acequia that enters the plaza under the southeast corner, runs diagonally across the plaza to the current road, which it then parallels, exiting on the west side south of the road, was built in the 1930s as part of the Santa Cruz Dam system. Recently, several structures have been introduced into what was once the common area within the plaza. Outside of the plaza, to the southeast, El Buen Pastor ("the Good Shepherd" Presbyterian Mission, 1901) and the John Hyson (Mission) School (1900), with the teacher's residence to the southeast, reflect the influence of the Presbyterian Church on the local community.

Oratorio de San Buenaventura. Located on the west side of the Plaza del Cerro, the oratorio is distinguishable from its neighboring residences only by its wooden belfry. It is a one story, 37'-8" by 17'-10" adobe structure roofed with vigas and tablas. The eastern, plaza-facing facade has a simple, wood double hung window with a pedimented lintel and a recessed door constructed of diagonal boards. The altar, which was originally adobe, is set off from the "nave" by a railing and a raised platform at the north end of the structure; it is graced by a beautiful set of reredos, painted by santero José Rafael Aragon, depicting God the Father in the middle and the Virgin on the sides. (Undoubtedly an image of St. Bonaventure, patron saint of the chapel, formerly occupied the nicho (niche) in the center.) Although the oratorio probably dates to the original construction of the plaza in the mid-eighteenth century, the date 1873 pencilled on roof beams and ceiling boards indicates that it was re-roofed at that time. Later restorations of the roof and walls occurred in 1954 and 1963.

Victor Ortega House and Store. Victor Ortega was the leading jefe político (political leader) and rico (rich man) in Chimayo around the turn of the century. In addition to being local postmaster, he served as a representative to the Constitutional Convention for New Mexico statehood. His house and store represent his influence on the local community.

This structure also provides an excellent illustration of the various changes that have occurred to the architecture of the Plaza del Cerro. Spanish domestic construction usually consisted

of a series of one-room units, whose width (12-15 feet) was determined by the length of the vigas (roof beams), arranged in single file; when the structure got too long, it turned a corner to form an "L," "U," and, eventually, in some cases, a placita (courtyard)-centered house. In the case of the Plaza del Cerro, the series of room units formed the defensive walls of the plaza itself. Growth was determined by the size of a family, with each room unit generally representing a self-sufficient family unit. There were no hallways, so access to each unit was usually either by means of exterior doors or through the connecting units.

During the nineteenth century, the cessation of hostile Indian attacks and the introduction of new building materials affected the orientation, layout, and design of the houses around the plaza. A regional variation of the Greek Revival called the Territorial Style was applied in the form of detailing such as pedimented lintels, and wood trim added to line the openings of the newly-installed doors and double hung windows. Reflecting the importance of Chimayo as a trade center on the road through the villages, two of the rooms of Ortega House were converted into a mercantile store with post office, advertised by a large wooden false front facing inward towards the plaza. Just after the turn of the century, metal roofing was introduced to northern New Mexico, and the house was one of the first in Chimayo to receive a new roof in 1910. These were constructed over the old, flat dirt roofs of the original structure (the exposed dirt-covered vigas may be seen in the attic), with access provided by means of an interior stair (in this case, with exquisitely simple wood detailing). The spaces created by the addition of a gable roof were principally used for storage of crops.

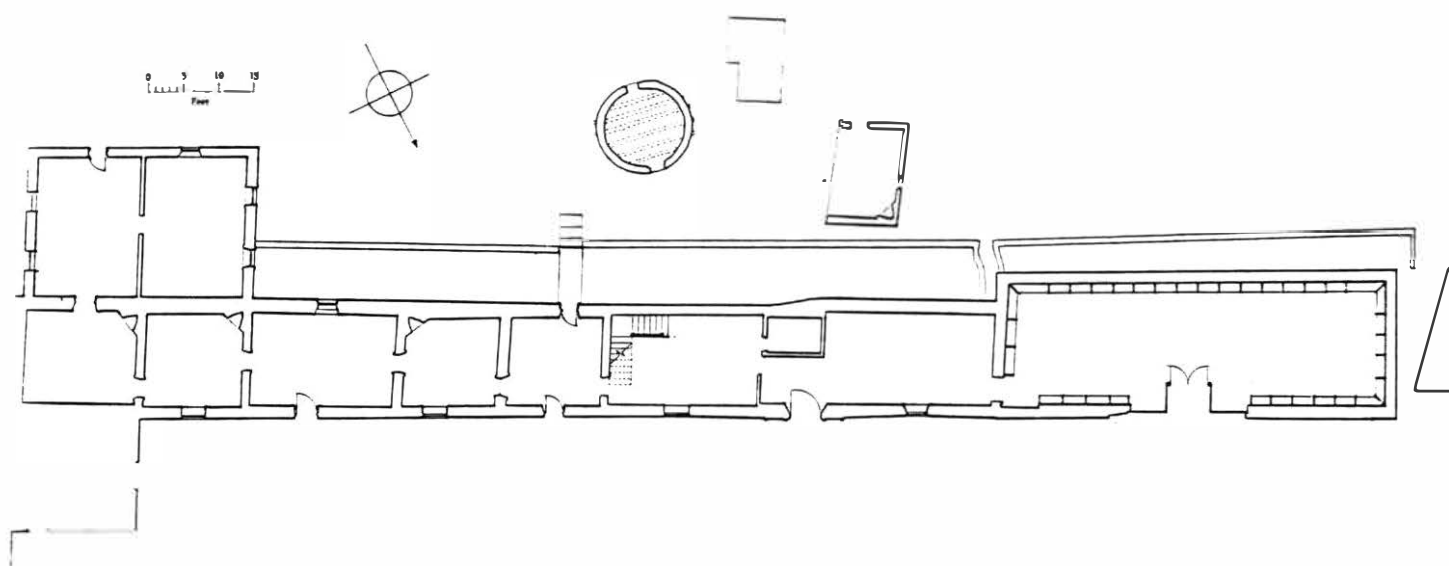
Further changes occurred to the house in the twentieth century. The pattern of single-file rooms was broken with the doubling-up of rooms to the outside. Later, automobile access was established to the outside of the plaza, and rooms were subsequently opened up to the south side of the structure. More recently, the house has been remodelled by the current owner to provide a modern kitchen, plumbing, and bathrooms.

Torreon. The Spanish constructed several forms of defensive structures in Northern New Spain. The most formal was the presidio, an official fort or outpost that served as the base for a contingent of soldiers, such as the one that used to be behind the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe. Because the region was large and troops were few, communities were urged to build their settlement in the form of a fortified plaza, such as the Plaza del Cerro. On the individual household level, room blocks were arranged around a small plaza, called a placita if it was surrounded on all four sides by room blocks, and a plazuela if a tall wall was on one or two sides. The final form was the torreon, or defensive tower, which served as both a watchtower and place of refuge in case of attack, and could provide shelter for both the settlers and perhaps their livestock and crops.



21. Victor Ortega House and Store (Wilson).

22. Plan of Victor Ortega House and Store (eastern two-thirds of south side of the Plaza del Cerro) and Torreón (Hesse).



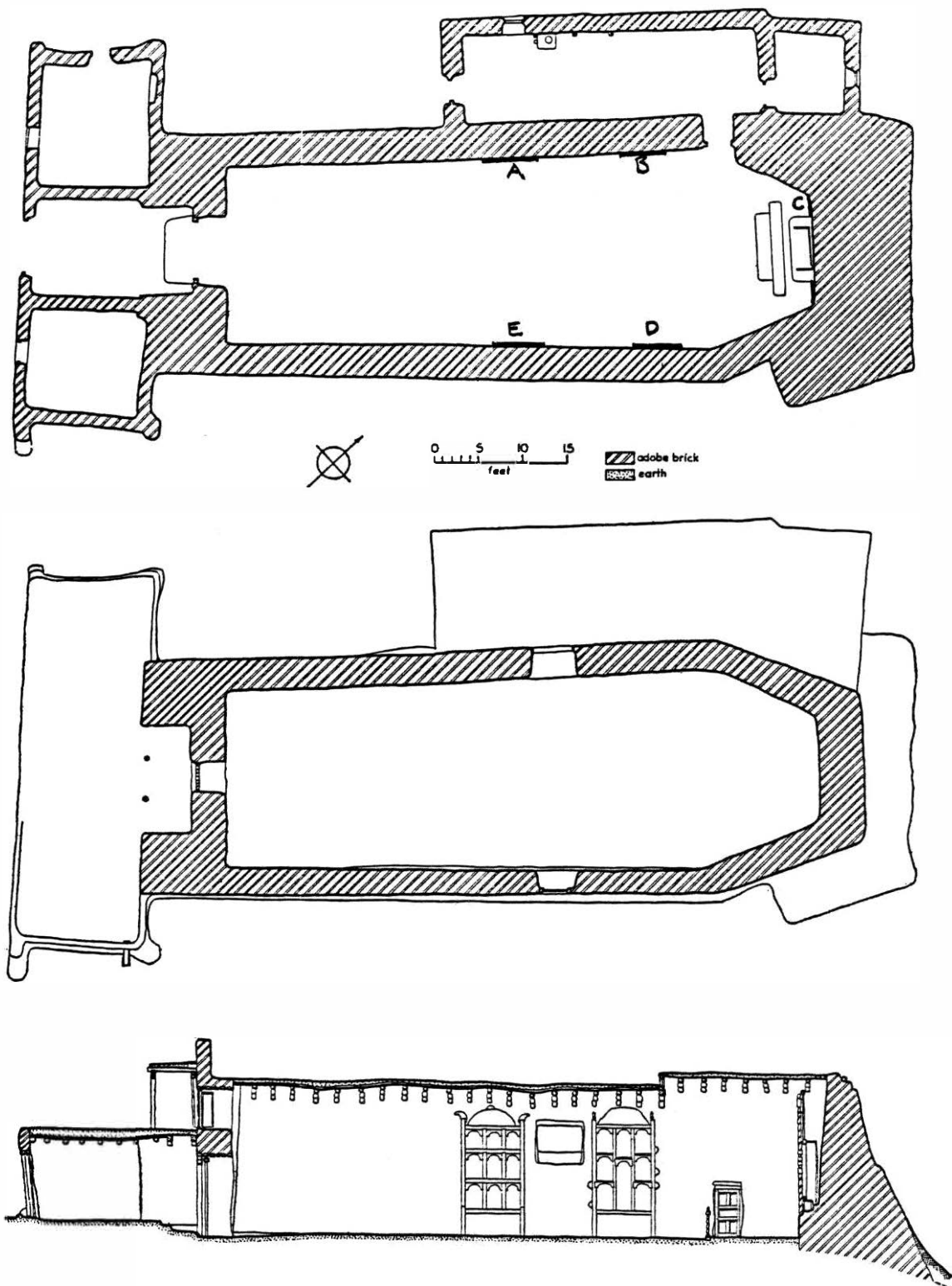
The torreón that stands a little ways from the south wall of the Victor Ortega House and Store is one of two originals still standing in northern New Mexico. It is a one-story, flat-roofed adobe structure that may, at one time, have been two stories. The only entry is by means of a recessed door on the north, with a window opposite. The ceiling, which is about 7 feet above the mud floor, consists of split juniper ("cedar") laid on top of vigas. The torreón is currently housed beneath a gable-roofed open shed. According to family tradition, this structure was erected by Mr. Ortega to protect it from the elements and preserve it for prosperity, although an alternate version relates that he built it to keep the torreón from the prying eyes of anthropologists.

The location of the torreón is puzzling at best. Historically, torreones generally occur as isolated structures in strategic locations, such as on a rise near the outlying fields, or as an integrated part of a house or plaza, such as at the corner. The location of this torreón as an isolated structure outside the plaza, yet close to the wall, suggests that it either served a specific defensive purpose (cross-fire for the southern entrance?) or had some other function. The similarity of this form to granaries in Mexico suggests the possibility that it may also have been used for this purpose.

El Potrero

Santuario. The Santuario de Esquífulas, built beginning in 1815, is a single nave structure, oriented north-south, with a narthex (zaguan) and adjoining rooms on the west side. The walls are constructed of adobe bricks set on a cobblestone foundation. The current roof, added between 1910 and 1920, is metal gable with a hipped apse and wood siding in the south-facing gable; it is framed on the south entrance by twin bell towers that were stiffened with corner boards and covered with cross-gable roofs when the main roof was added.

The approach to the building is through an atrio (low-walled courtyard) also used as a **camposanto** (graveyard). Two rooms, originally used as storage for goods sold to pilgrims, are located on either side of the narthex. The main door into the nave is of particular interest, with its carving representing a transition from the Spanish Colonial tradition to the more-recently introduced Anglo-American influence; although carved from larger pieces of wood in the Spanish Colonial manner, the pieces are made to look like built-up planed molding, an Anglo introduction. The carving reads "Esta Puerta Hiso Pedro/ Dominguez Por de/ Cocion del R*P*F*/ Jose Corea El A/ no * de mil ocho ci/ cientos diciseis del esclavo del Senor" (this door was made by Pedro Dominguez as the devotion of the Reverend Father Fray Jose Corea in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixteen at the request of this slave of the Lord). The transom window above it, which can be viewed by looking back from within



Chimayo. The Santuario. Above: Plan at ground level. Center: Plan at window level. Below: Longitudinal section.

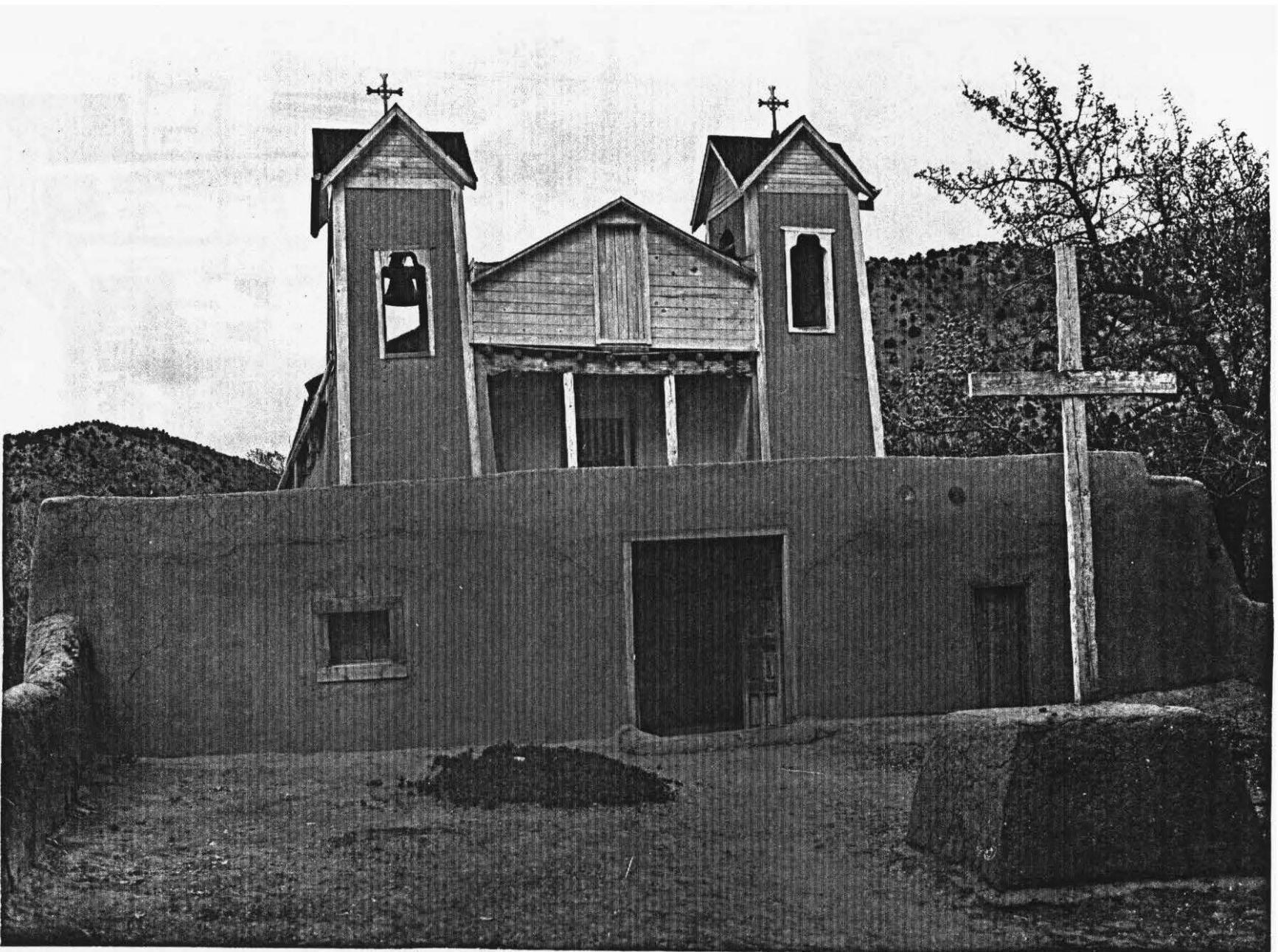
23. Plan of Santuario de Esquímulas, 1815 (George Kubler, Religious Architecture of New Mexico 1940, 55).



24. Procession, Santuario de Esquipulas (ca. 1912, courtesy Museum of New Mexico, Neg. No. 14379).

25. Interior, Santuario de Esquipulas, 1815 (ca. 1950, courtesy Museum of New Mexico, Neg. No. 49298).





26. Santuario de Esquíñulas, 1815 (T. Harmon Parkhurst, ca. 1935
courtesy Museum of New Mexico, Neg. No. 8901).

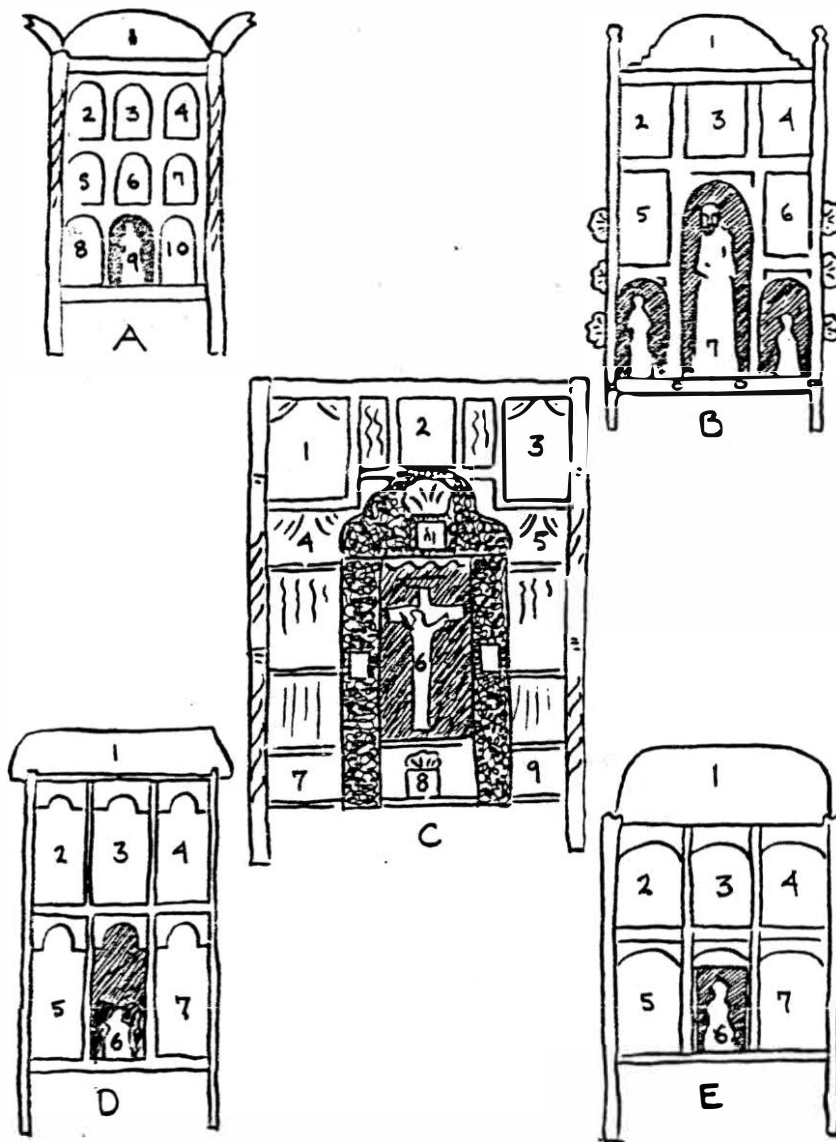
the nave, consists of strips of wood as mullions holding what used to be selenite (now glass).

The interior floor, like the exterior grade, slopes downward towards the polygonal apse; both the nave and the apse display marvelous examples of Hispanic retablos (for a diagrammatic index, see Figure). The apse is separated from the nave by a simple carved altar railing. A transverse clerestory window (see discussion of San José de Gracia Church in Las Trampas), which is now obstructed by the gable roof, used to shed light on the reredos behind the altar. To the left of the apse is a door leading into devotional rooms for the Santo Niño (the sacristy) and El Posito, the well of holy earth. In these rooms, religious statues, crutches, photographs, testimonials, and votive candles brought by pilgrims offer ample evidence of reverence for the healing powers of the dirt.

A number of changes to the Santuario have occurred over the years. The most major alteration was the addition of a metal gable roof sometime during 1910-1920. As part of this remodelling, the flat-roofed towers, which were pierced by arches, received cross-gable metal roofs, and boards were added to the corners and as molding on the arched openings. In 1929, concerned that religious objects were being sold by the family that owned the chapel, the Society for the Preservation and Restoration of New Mexico Mission Churches purchased the property on behalf of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe. After a period of falling into disrepair, the Santuario was revitalized after Father Casimir Roca became the resident priest at Santa Cruz in the early 1950s. Use of the two rooms on either side of the zaguan as shops for devotional items, which had been discontinued during the early twentieth century, was restored in 1957 when the roof was repaired, modern floors, doors and windows were installed, and eventually electrical lighting and heating were added to the building. Circulation into the chapel, through the Sanctuary to the side rooms and then the reverse, was altered about 1988 when a door was opened off of the first devotional room to allow the large numbers of tourist and pilgrims to avoid returning through the nave.

Chapel of Santo Niño de Atocha. To the west of the Santuario is the Chapel of Santo Niño de Atocha, built in 1858 and recognizable by its distinct campanile. The Chapel itself is a metal gable roofed adobe structure. Worthy of note are the model churches on top of the wall surrounding the atrio/santuario. Although only marginally larger than domestic scale, the chapel has a cruciform plan. The tongue-and-groove panelling and pressed metal ceiling date to the early twentieth century, while the linoleum floor and wooden pews date from after World War II.

Gift Shops. Several shops that offer items associated with the blessed earth and the devotions of the Esquífulas and Santo Niño, as well as food and drink, are located in the vicinity of



27. Diagram of reredos, Santuario de Esquipulas (adapted from de Borhegyi 1956 by Robin Farwell Gavin and Boyd C. Pratt).

A) Reredos, painted by José Aragón (ca. 1826-1835).

- 1) Nuestro Padre Dios.
- 2) Nuestra Señora del Carmen with Christ child.
- 3) Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción.
- 4) Nuestra Señora de San Juan de los Lagos.
- 5) San Francisco de Asís holding the cross of Jerusalem.
- 6) San Geronimo with trumpet and lion.
- 7) San Antonio de Padua with Christ Child.
- 8) San Gabriel with sword.
- 9) Bulto of San Rafael by Rafael Aragón.
- 10) San Miguel with scales and the cross of Jerusalem standing upon a dragon.

B) Reredos, painted by José Aragón (ca. 1826-1835).

- 1) The Holy Trinity.
- 2) San Rafael with a fish and pilgrim's staff.
- 3) Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.
- 4) San Miguel with scales and sword.
- 5) San Juan Nepomuceno holding crucifix and palm leaf.
- 6) San José with Christ child and flowering staff.
- 7) Bulto of Jesús Nazareno by Rafael Aragón.

C) Principal reredos, behind the altar.

This is one of only two examples of gilded altar screens in New Mexico (the other is in La Conquistadora Chapel in the Cathedral in Santa Fe). The frame around the central niche above the tabernacle is of wood, carved with floral motifs, and covered with gold leaf. This frame was probably made in Mexico in the early 19th century and imported specifically for use with this altar screen. The altar screen was painted by an artist known as Molleno, probably between 1816 and 1818.

- 1) The Holy Cross with five wounds of Christ and the lance and rod with sponge.
- 2) The Franciscan emblem showing the arm of Christ crossing the arm of Saint Francis.
- 3) Holy Cross of Jerusalem (or Cross of the Holy Sepulchre?)
- 4) and 5) Curtain and geometric design.
- 6) Crucifix representing Our Lord of Esquímulas, behind altar. The cross is painted dark green with gold leaves; attributed to Molleno.
- 7) Stalk of wheat representing the bread of the Last Supper.
- 8) Carved and painted Tabernacle to hold the Blessed Sacrament.
- 9) Bunch of grapes representing the wine of the Last Supper.

D) Reredos, school of Rafael Aragón (ca. 1826-1850).

- 1) The Holy Ghost in the form of a white dove.
- 2) San Luis Gonzaga holding a crucifix.
- 3) San José with Christ Child and flowering staff.
- 4) Santa Gertrudis la Magna with pastoral staff.
- 5) Santa Rosalia de Palermo with crown of roses and cross.
- 6) Bulto of Virgin by Rafael Aragón.
- 7) Santa Clara de Asís holding a monstrance or pyx.

E) Reredos, painted by Molleno (ca. 1826-1845). The niche of this reredos is decorated with an intricate design in straw-inlay technique (remains only at inside edges).

- 1) Carved and painted shell design.
- 2) Unidentified saint with a banner.
- 3) The Cross of Esquímulas(?) or "Arbol de la Vida(?)"
- 4) Nuestra Señora de los Dolores with sword piercing her breast.
- 5) San Cayetano holding a lily.
- 6) Bulto of San Cayetano by Alex Ortiz (1978).
- 7) San Francisco Xavier(?) holding a cross.

the Santuario and Santo Niño. These are largely an outgrowth of the trade initiated by both Bernardo Abeyta and Severiano Medina and their families. One of the oldest is the Medina Store, located near Santo Niño; Vigil's Potrero Trading Post, a gable-roofed building with a shed porch over the entrance on the gable facade that used to shelter a gas pump, is another fine example.

Chimayo Bibliography

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LAS TRAMPAS (Boyd C. Pratt and Robin Farwell Gavin)

Las Trampas is one of the most intact of the northern New Mexico eighteenth century villages, located in a valley system whose landscape reflects the agricultural economy of the settlement. The church, San José de Gracia, is also one of the best surviving examples of its type. In addition, there are several interesting examples of Spanish Colonial, Mexican, and Territorial period houses, two of which have been converted into a schoolhouse and store, as well as agricultural structures such as canoas (irrigation flumes) and log barns.

Historical Background

The village of Santo Tomás Apóstol del Río de las Trampas (St. Thomas Apostle on the River of the Traps) was settled in 1751 by twelve Hispanic families from Santa Fe, led by Juan de Argüello. The Governor of New Mexico granted these settlers 46,000 acres of land in exchange for a promise to build a town that could defend itself against the attacks of the Comanche Indians. The origin of the name Las Trampas ("The Traps") is obscure, for beaver trapping (the explanation usually proffered) was not introduced until the nineteenth century; most likely it refers to the village's position as a frontier outpost (a trap either for defense or subject to attack). In any case, the settlement prospered; by 1776, there were 63 families with a total population of 276 people.

In 1760 the Bishop of Durango visited Las Trampas and granted to the settlers a license to build a church inside their fortified plaza; it was to be dedicated to San José de Gracia. Tree ring dates from the remnants of the scaffolding (moriles) left embedded 15 feet high in the walls of the church indicate that the walls were constructed to about half their height by about 1762. Fray Atanasio Dominguez's inventory of 1776 shows that San José de Gracia was by then complete except for the rail of the choir loft.

The population of the valley continued to grow, and the nearby Santa Barbara Grant was made in 1796. Eventually the neighboring communities of El Valle ("the Valley") and Ojo Sarco ("Clear Spring") "budded off" from Las Trampas around 1800. In 1842, there were 67 male land owners eligible to vote in Las Trampas, and in 1844, 100 men were mustered from the village to fight hostile Indians.

At the turn of the century, a suit was filed to partition the Las Trampas Land Grant, and as a result the ejidos (common lands) were alienated from the settlers without their knowledge. By the time of World War I, the common lands were being logged by the Las Trampas Lumber Company and were traded to the U. S. Forest Service in 1926. A depression in agricultural prices, starting in the 1920s, combined with outside job opportunities

and military service in World War II to draw people away. By 1931, the population of the village had fallen to 28 families (113 people).

A major change occurred in the 1960s when the New Mexico Highway Department began a project to re-route, surface, and widen the road through the mountain villages. By the time the project reached Las Trampas in 1966, a full-blown controversy over the historic integrity of the village was brewing, with a counter proposal by the Las Trampas Foundation (formed by Nathaniel Owings of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, and two other architects, and assisted by the National Park Service) to establish a living museum. Villagers vigorously opposed this idea. Eventually a compromise, later coined the "Treaty of Santa Fe," was reached, whereby the Highway Department agreed to lessen the width of the road, keep to the existing grades, and avoid demolishing the schoolhouse and damaging San José de Gracia. However, several portions of the original fortified plaza were demolished. Las Trampas was declared a National Historic Landmark in 1967, one of the first under the Historic Preservation Act of 1966.

Cultural Landscape

The cultural landscape of Las Trampas Valley is typical of northern New Mexico Hispanic settlement patterns. The village originally consisted of a fortified plaza, much like the Plaza del Cerro; the grant for nearby Truchas specified that the town consist of "a plaza in a square with only one entrance for carts so that the inhabitants may defend themselves against the attacks and assaults of their savage enemies." San José de Gracia Church, which, when licensed, was to be constructed "inside their walled tenement," either stood in the middle of this plaza or was integrated into its northern wall, possibly with the transepts forming part of the room blocks.

Originally, the land grant had provided for each of the families "one hundred and eighty varas of wheat growing land with corresponding water, pastures and watering places, entrances and exits." Because all understood that each field was bordered on the top by the irrigation ditch and the bottom by the river, only one dimension -- the width -- is given in varas (ca. 33 inches). The width of field allotments was varied in relation to the width of the valley so that all received about the same area. Settlers farmed long-lot fields that were irrigated by two main ditches (acequia madres) on the north and south side of the Trampas River. Above the village to the east water was diverted from the stream into the acequia madres, from which it was drawn to the fields by laterals (contra-acequias). Irrigation throughout the system was by means of gravity feed. Lots were relatively small: in 1930, for instance, there were 25 holdings on the north ditch and 23 on the south, owned by 24 families; of a total 127 acres, one of these families owned 18, which leaves 107 acres for 23 families, or an average of 4-5 acres each. The principal crop



29. Las Trampas (Jesse L. Nusbaum, ca. 1912, courtesy Museum of New Mexico, Neg. No. 36466).

30. Fuerte, canoa, and San José de Gracia, Las Trampas (Wilson).



was Red Durham wheat, which produced 40 bushels per acre, with corn as a subsidiary crop. Trampas once had three molinos (grist mills), located on irrigation ditches, for the production of flour and corn meal, and served the region as a milling center. Today the fields are used to produce alfalfa and hay.

After the threat of hostile Indian attacks abated in the late nineteenth century, villagers began to build outside of the fortified plaza, in particular along the road running above the acequia to the northwest of the church. This settlement pattern, sometimes called a cordillera (also meaning a string of beads on a cord or a mountain range), consists of a series of detached residences oriented along a main road axis. Their location on the north part of the valley above the acequia was clearly to take advantage of the sun while not occupying precious agricultural land. At the same time the integrity of the contiguous houses around the plaza began to dissipate, so that by the twentieth century, the irregular line of houses along the south side are the only indication of the nature of the original plaza.

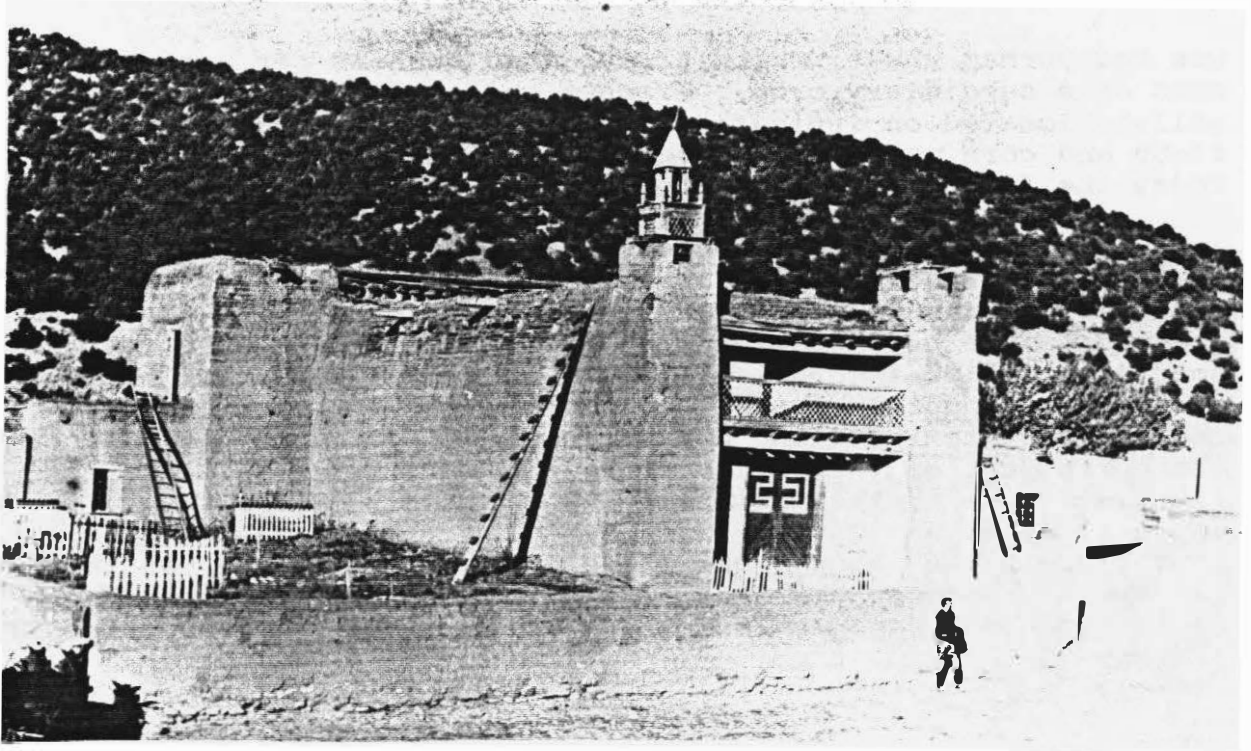
Architecture

San José de Gracia. The San José de Gracia church in Las Trampas is one of only thirteen extant New Mexican churches dating from the 1600s and 1700s. Bainbridge Bunting, the dean of New Mexican architectural historians, has called the building "the most perfectly preserved Spanish Colonial church in the United States."

Many of the typical features of early New Mexican parish (as opposed to mission) church architecture can be seen here. The church is located on the old plaza and is approached through the walled church yard, which also functions as a camposanto. It is cruciform in plan with a baptistery near the entry to the right (Epistle side) and a sacristy attached to the end of the transept on the left (Gospel side). The choir loft is located in the nave just inside the main entry. The sanctuary has a square apse and is raised a few steps above the floor of the nave and defined by an altar railing.

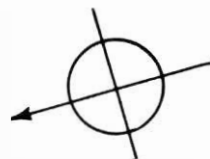
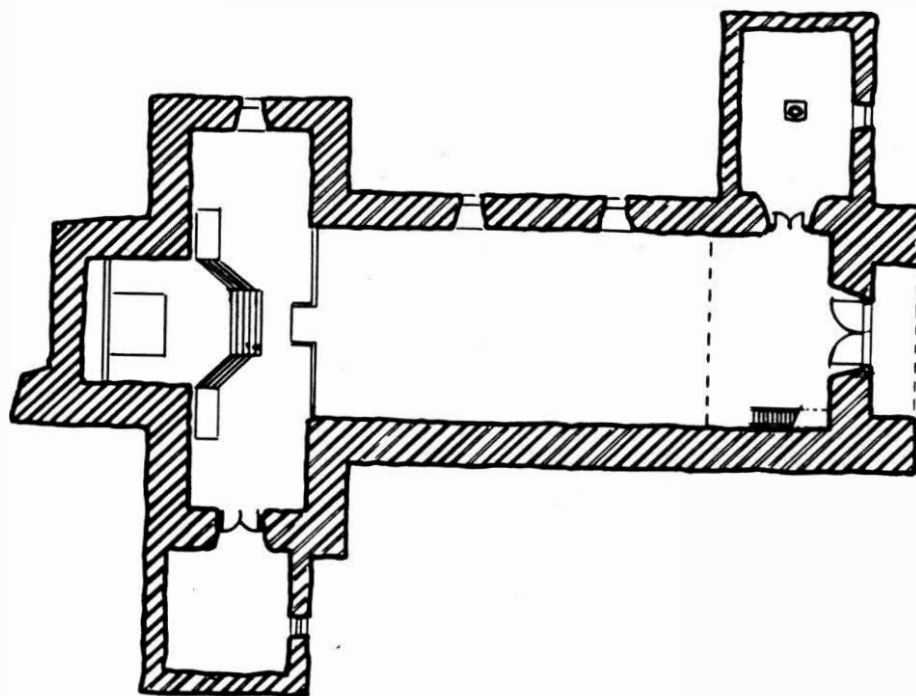
The entire structure is built from adobe bricks on a cobble foundation. The thick (4-6 ft.), battered walls were built so as to accommodate their own weight. Original doors and windows were set into their frames on pintles during construction (see baptistery and sacristy doors). The flat roof is constructed of wooden tablas (ceiling boards) and vigas (roof beams), supported by corbels. The church is plastered inside and out with adobe plaster, which is a mixture of mud, straw, and water.

Lighting of the church interior is provided principally by two windows in the nave and one at the end of each transept, as well as the transverse clerestory window. The four nave/transept

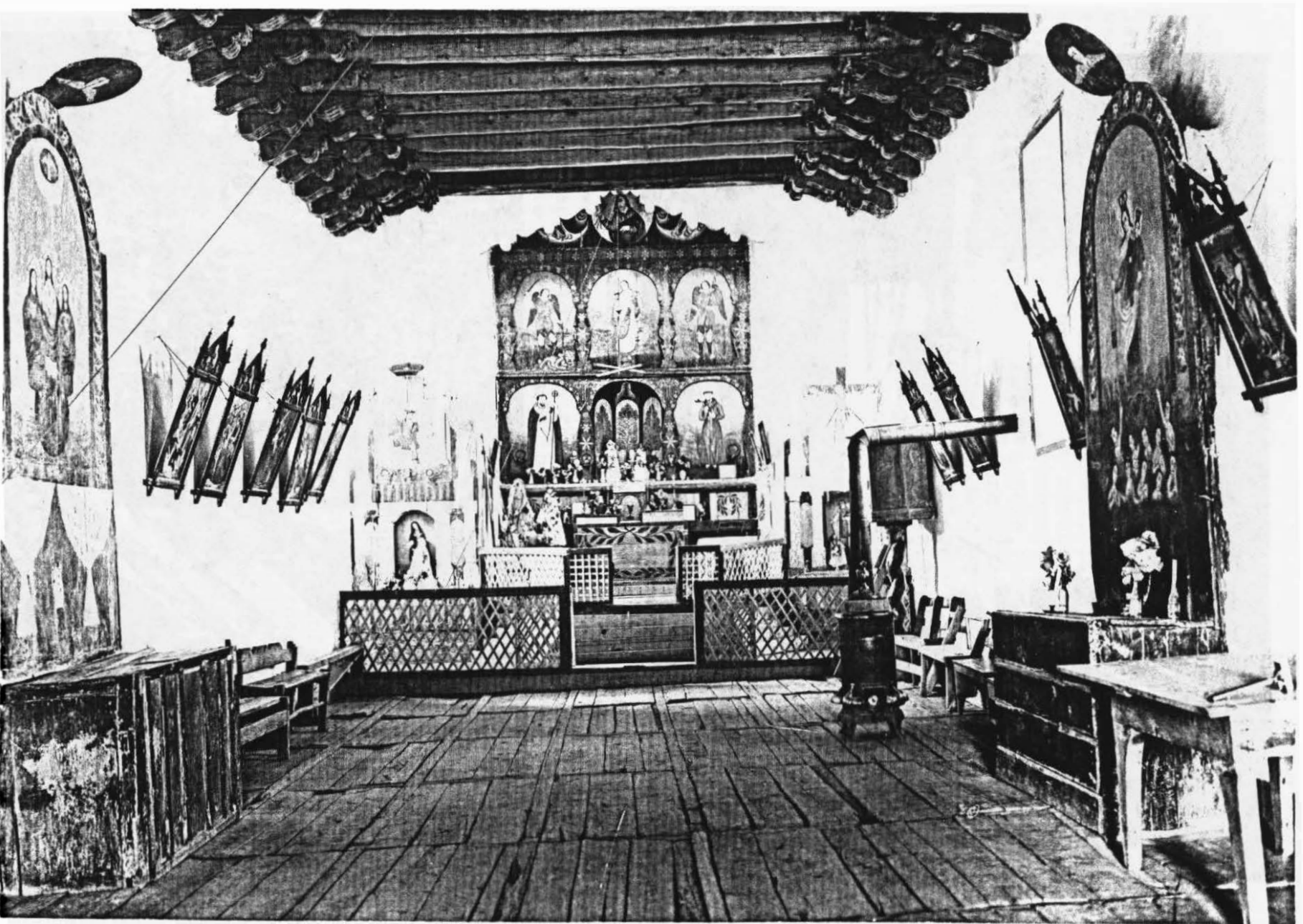


31. San José de Gracia, 1760s (Jesse L. Nusbaum, ca. 1912, courtesy Museum of New Mexico, Neg. No. 14164).

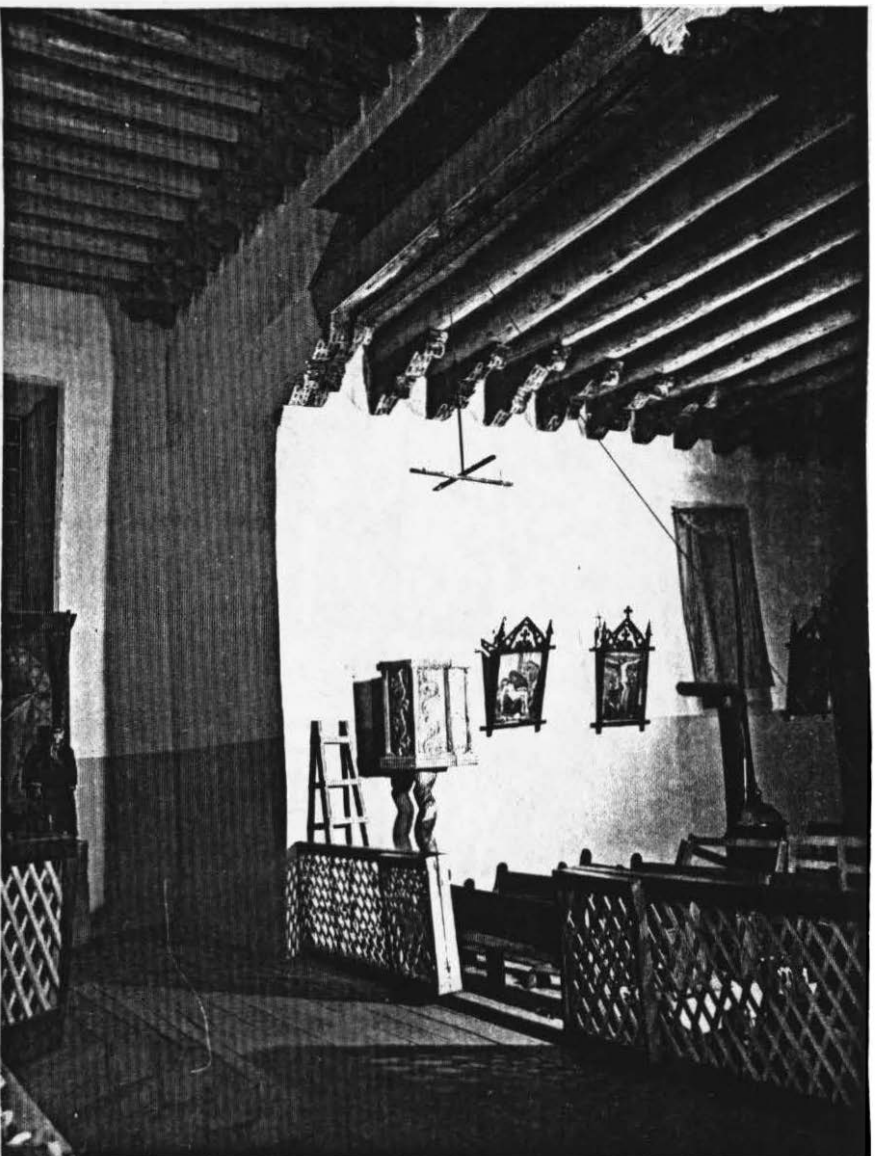
32. Plan of San José de Gracia, 1760s (Hesse).



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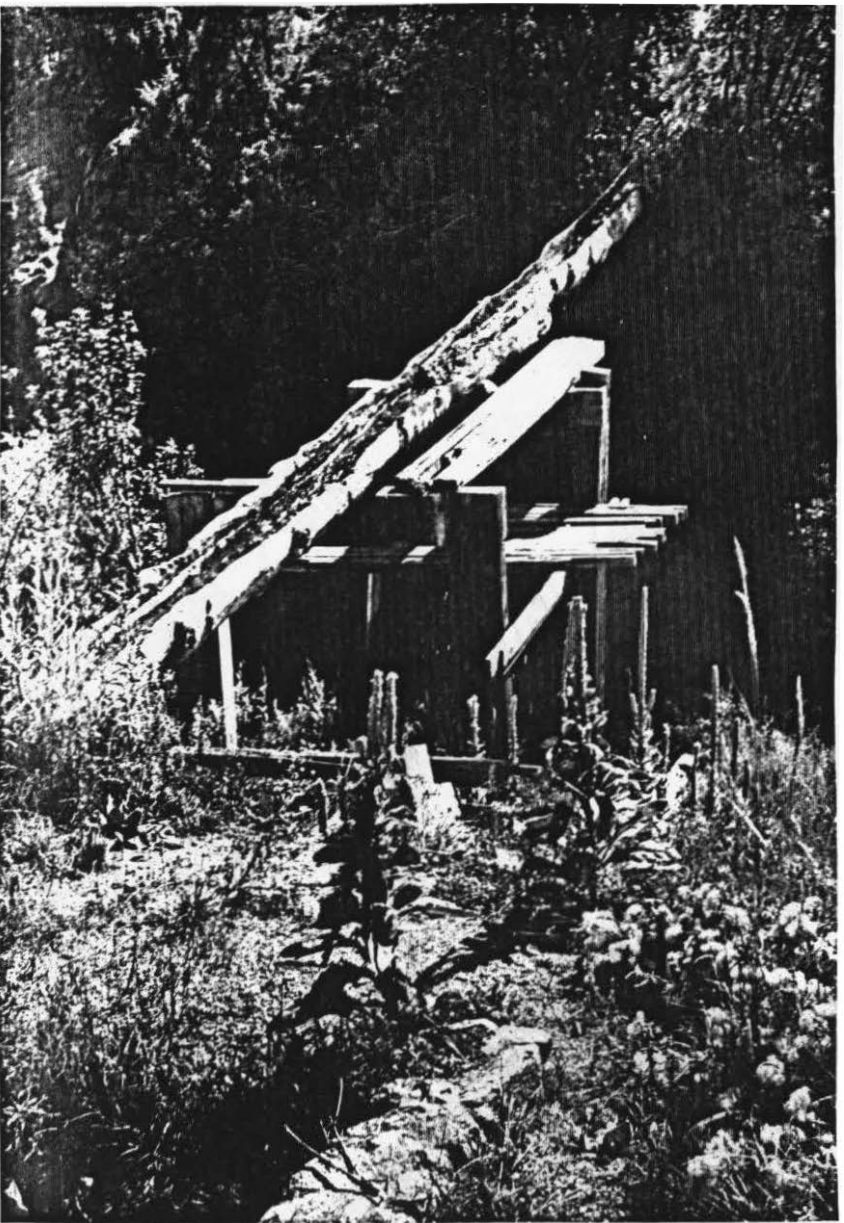


33. Interior, San José de Gracia, 1760s (T. Harmon Parkhurst, ca. 1935, courtesy Museum of New Mexico, Neg. No. 11531).



34. Interior, San José de Gracia, 1760s (Tyler Dinglee, ca. 1950, courtesy Museum of New Mexico, Neg. No. 73767).

35. Canoa (Wilson).



windows, originally about thirty inches square, were replaced late in the nineteenth century by the current, large windows. Where the nave roof steps up about three feet just before the transept, a transverse clerestory wall is created, into which a window is inserted to bring light directly onto the altar. The clerestory window of New Mexico churches is a translation of the European transept dome lighting scheme into the local flat-roofed construction tradition. As a general rule, the orientation of churches was changed from the standard western-facing to that of east or south in order to take advantage of the sun's position. The clerestory in San José de Gracia is one of the few functioning examples remaining in a colonial New Mexican church (most other examples have been covered by a pitched metal roof).

Although the church appears to have had fewer alterations than many in New Mexico, and does retain its original flat roof and clerestory, some modifications have been made over the years. When Dominguez visited the church in 1776, he noted two tower buttresses on which "there is no more than the beginning of towers." There was also an additional window on the Epistle side of the church. The existing pulpit is the original, as are the existing sacristy and baptistery doors and the entry door frame and jambs (possibly carved by the same craftsman who made the pulpit).

The six wooden altar screens were all installed between 1785 and 1800 and appear to be in their original locations. Although the same saints have continued to be represented, the altar screens were repainted in the 1860s by an artist named José de Gracia Gonzales, from Chihuahua, Mexico. The original floor of the church, which was undoubtedly adobe, was covered with wood planks in 1840-1850.

In the late nineteenth century churches all over New Mexico were remodelled in response to Archbishop Lamy's preference for the Gothic Revival and the wealth of new materials introduced by the railroad. The remodelling of San José de Gracia around 1880 involved the addition of pyramidal wooden roofs, topped by wrought-iron crosses, to the bell towers, the replacement of the balcony with a lattice railing and the addition of another above it, and the installation of the present windows and front doors. In addition, the corbels and beams supporting the coro (choir loft) were boxed-in with milled lumber. By the turn of the century, the adobe bell towers had melted down to the level of the windows, and new, stepped wooden steeples were added.

During the 1920s, the Society for the Preservation and Restoration of New Mexican Mission Churches learned of the church's need for a new roof. Instead of the metal gable one being considered in the village, they offered to pay for the repair of the flat roof. However, conflicts between the local priest and his congregation led to a postponement of work until 1931, when B. A. Reuter supervised the installation of a new roof over the nave and transepts, baptistery, and sacristy, as well as

the adjoining morada. In addition, new canales (drain spouts) were installed and the bases of the towers rebuilt (although the one remaining wooden belfry was removed), and new beams installed to support the balcony between the towers. New windows were also installed in the transverse clerestory, which was reinforced with large beams and metal tie rods. The Society's architect, John Gaw Meem, also designed a new, wooden balcony railing.

The next wave of change came during the highway controversy of the 1960s, when the very existence of the church was in doubt. The Las Trampas Foundation, a non-profit organization established to preserve the church and the village, selected Santa Fe architect John Gaw Meem to design, based on archival photographs, what he called "a pair of saucy little towers" ("and thus forestalled any possible criticism of their authenticity," according to Nathaniel Owings). In addition, the decision was made to continue mud plastering the church, in opposition to attempts to hard-coat the adobe with either stucco or fiberglass. The local congregation has continued the work of preserving the church, organizing a yearly replastering.

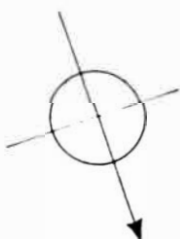
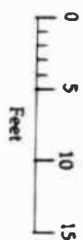
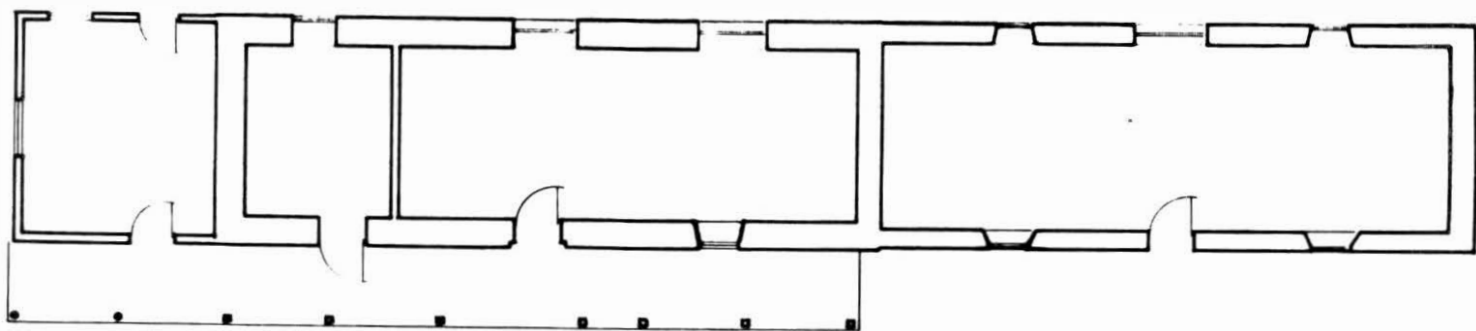
Morada. Sometime during the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries a Penitente morada, or meeting house, was attached to the end of the transept on the Epistle side of the church. It is still standing but was detached in 1966 and remains a separate building. The Penitentes are members of the Brotherhood of Our Father Jesus of Nazareth, a mutual aid society and lay brotherhood of devout Catholics dedicated to leading their lives in imitation of Christ's example. Within the community they often organize religious observances and processions surrounding saint's feast days, in particular Holy Week. Their penitential reenactment of the events of the Passion were suppressed after 1851 by French-born Bishop Lamy and sensationalized by early twentieth century artists and historians. The unobtrusive nature of the morada at Las Trampas, however, is perhaps a more accurate reflection of the quiet devotion of the Penitentes.

Moradas are generally one-to-three room structures, entirely domestic in scale. Within are found a chapel and a dining/meeting room; there is often a separate room or building for storage. Today moradas are distinguishable from residences by their few and small windows and a small cross or belfry above the entry, or several large crosses, known as maderos, that are used during Holy Week procession and stored on their sides against a wall of the morada. Often associated with the building is a calvario (Via Crucis or way of the Cross), a long, narrow walkway leading to a place sometimes marked by one or several crosses, which is used for processions and observances during Holy Week. The location of moradas varies. Some are located close to the town church and residences; others are isolated in a field or atop a hill. There are no other moradas, however, known to have been actually attached to a church as at San José de Gracia in Las Trampas.



36. La Tiendita and School (Wilson).

37. Plan of La Tiendita and School (Hesse).

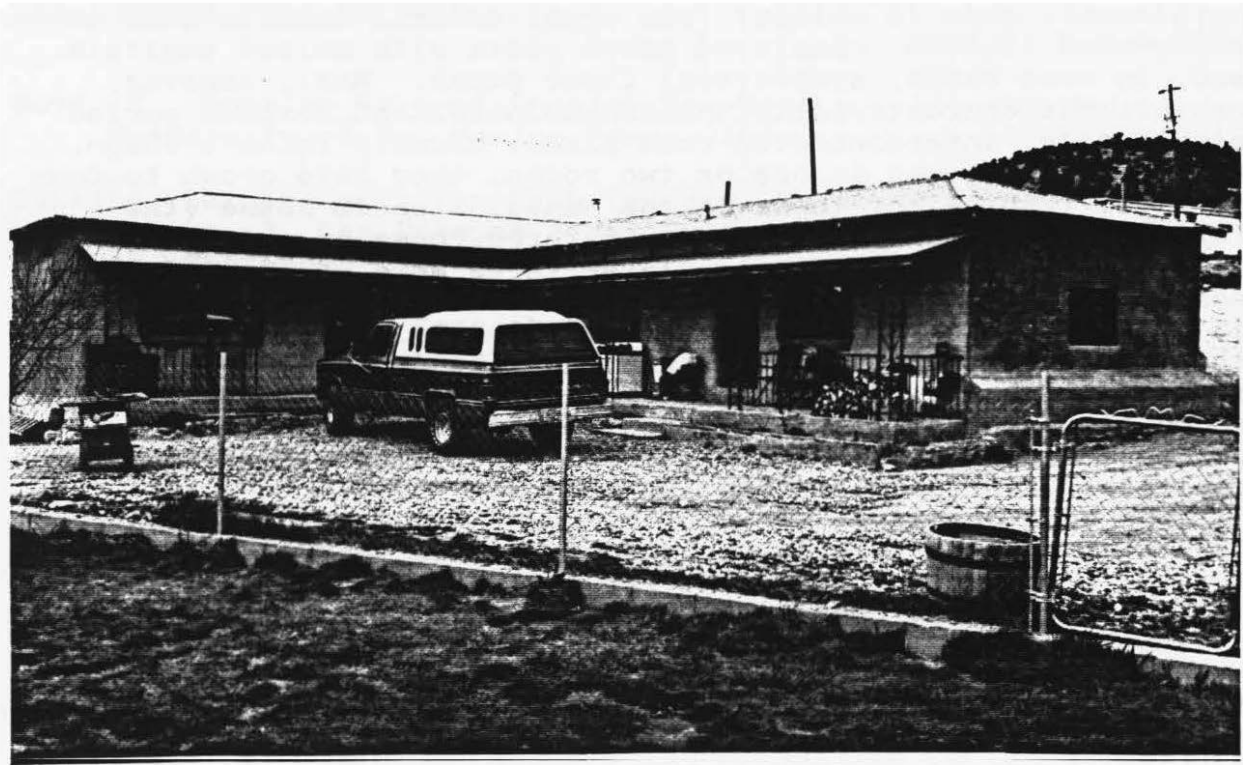


La Tiendita. Currently used as a gift shop (tiendita means "little store"), this structure, which used to be one of the houses on the south room block of the plaza, has subsequently been used as a bar, post office and store, and warehouse. It features a gable metal roof with shed roof over the portal. The columns of the portal are chamfered and painted in contrasting colors. The north facade features a simple, recessed panel door and a flush, wood double-hung window with splayed sides on the interior to allow for more light; both are surrounded by simple wood molding. The new door to the east of the store entrance was probably an older recessed door or window. The south facade features two (newer) wood casement windows. The original structure has been divided into a store section separated from a storage space by a frame wall. Interior features include a simple wood floor and milled roof beams and ceiling boards. In 1990, a one-room addition was built on the east side; it is constructed of adobe with steel columns supporting the porch roof in front. In the courtyard, there is an horno (beehive oven).

Schoolhouse. Formerly the Max Ilfeld Mercantile Store, the schoolhouse is only distinguishable from its surrounding residential structures by a belfry. The building is covered with a metal gable roof; the western (exposed) gable, with wood siding, features a small door for access to the attic. The symmetrical placement of the entry door (with belfry aligned directly above) and two flanking windows on the north facade indicates the influence of the Territorial Style. There are two other wood double-hung windows on the south side that also feature splayed openings to the interior to allow more light. The exterior window lintels, composed of simple built-up moldings, are particularly worthy of attention. On the interior, the ceiling consists of milled roof beams topped by boards laid in a herringbone pattern; the floor is also wood. A stove occupies the northwest corner near the blackboard on the west wall. The schoolhouse is currently used for village functions such as dances and meetings.

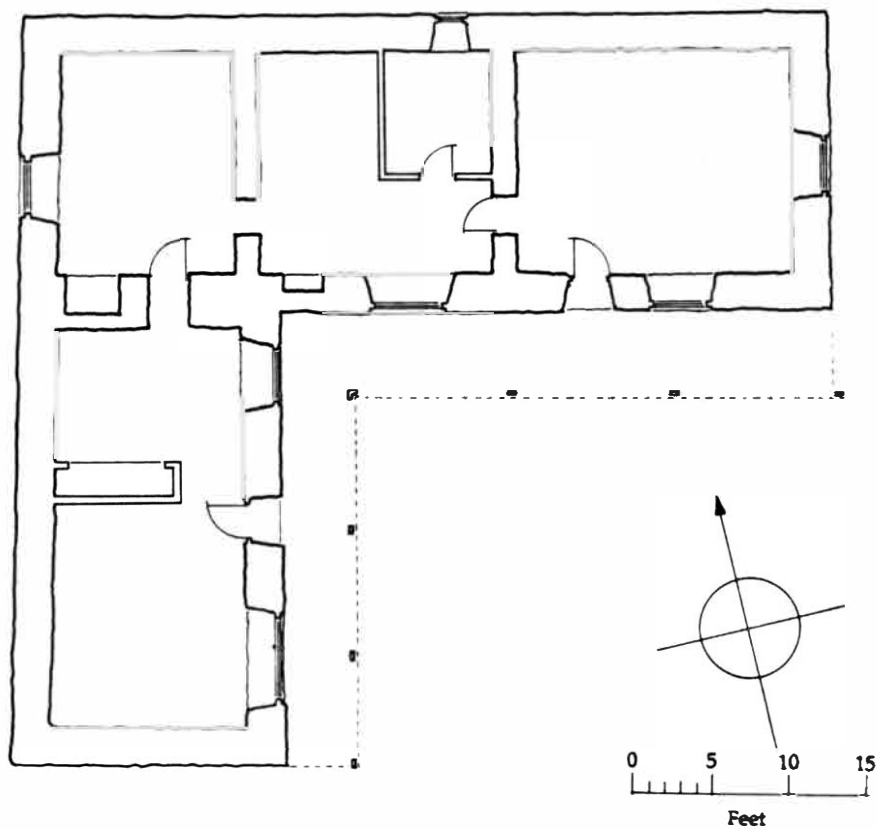
Canoa. Northwest of the plaza, on the east side of the highway, is one of the few remaining canoa or flumas in northern New Mexico. The structure consists of two logs, hollowed out with adzes to create a channel 12" wide and 6" deep, forming a 30-foot long flume, which is supported by a 20-foot high substructure of milled-lumber posts and beams. Originally, this substructure consisted of cribbed-log construction, probably with box notching. The canoa conveys the waters of the acequia over the arroyo; otherwise it would have to take a lengthy detour along the contours of the arroyo. Another, smaller canoa is located on the south side of the northwest road, to the east of the Ferdinand and Ofelia Lopez House.

Houses. To the northwest of the plaza there are a string of seven older houses that were probably built in the Territorial Period (1846-1912). In addition to their dispersed pattern of



38. Ferdinand and Ofelia Lopez House (Wilson).

39. Plan of Ferdinand and Ofelia Lopez House (Hesse).



settlement, this is evident from architectural details such as pedimented lintels, chamfered porch posts with molded capitals, and, in some cases, symmetrical floor plans. Most, however, exhibit the characteristic Spanish Colonial and Mexican period single-file, interconnected room plans, usually in an L-shape. Although most began as one or two rooms, they have grown to four or five. Typical of these is the Manuel Atencio House (the farthest down the road), the first three rooms of which were built around 1820 by Atencio; later three more were added by his son-in-law to form an L-shape; a final room was added on the east in 1912. Most of the houses were originally flat-roofed, with the corners of parapet walls swept up like a plow board, a local stylistic detail. Today, however, most have gable metal roofs, added above the original flat roofs, and shed porches. The porches often feature chamfered, milled columns with molded capitals, painted in contrasting colors.

Ferdinand and Ofelia Lopez House. This four room house is typical of those in this area. It was built in the shape of an "L," with the room comprising the short leg of the "L" probably having been added last. Originally flat-roofed, the house received a metal gable roof around 1960. More recently, the Territorial Style windows were replaced with aluminum sliders. However, characteristics of the older house -- the thick (3 feet) adobe walls, interconnecting, single file rooms, and exposed vigas (roof beams) with tablas (ceiling boards) -- are still in evidence.

Barns. Hispanic log barns are most often of horizontal log construction (fuerte, meaning fort or stronghold), although some are jacal (palisaded). Logs were often hewn square or rectangular; double box and saddle notches are most common. Barns usually started with a single, flat-roofed log crib, with hay being thrown on top for storage. Later, another would often be added a short distance away, and the two units bridged or connected with jacal construction. When metal sheets became available, gable roofs were added, and the gables either left open or sheathed with wood boards, with small wood doors for access to the attic.

There are several barns located in this area. Typical of these is the one situated just northwest of the church. It is a double crib log structure, with one crib covered with a metal gable roof. The round logs are box notched. Several other barns and storage structures are located near the Lopez residence. Most of these feature hewn sides, double-box notching, and flat roofs.

Las Trampas Bibliography

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History

Occupation of the Taos Valley dates back to at least AD 900. The earliest phase of the Puebloan Period is the Valdez Phase (900-1200), consisting of pithouses and pithouse villages. This eventually yielded to the Pot Creek Phase (1200-1250), which was characterized by population aggregation in numerous small "unit pueblos," a trend that continued during the Talpa phase (1250-1350), which in turn set the stage for the Vadito Phase (1350-1450). This period is known for the establishment of Cornfield Taos and Old Picuris, predecessors of current Taos and Picuris, both of which are Tiwa-speaking pueblos.

Some time around 1400, Cornfield Taos was abandoned and construction of Taos Pueblo on its current site was begun. By the time of European contact in 1540 by Hernando de Alvarado of the Coronado expedition, the basic features of the pueblo -- large, five-story room blocks -- had been established. Spanish visitation continued throughout the sixteenth century until Fray Francisco de Zamora was sent in 1598 by Oñate from the newly-settled colony of San Gabriel to establish a mission. The Spanish were very impressed with an annual trade fair between Pueblo and Plains Indians held at Taos every fall after the harvest, and they eventually gained control of and institutionalized this event by linking it with the celebration of the Feast of San Geronimo (September 30).

The seventeenth century witnessed growing hostilities between the Pueblo and the Spanish. In 1613, the Taoseños killed the priest assigned to them, and following another revolt in 1640, they fled east to the area of present-day Kansas. Eventually Spanish authorities convinced them to return and resettle the pueblo around 1660. However, continued animosity culminated in Taos' participation in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Despite a Taos pledge of allegiance to the Crown in 1692, Vargas was forced to return in 1694 and 1696 to suppress continued revolts.

Spanish settlement in the valley had begun as early as 1615, however, it was only after the Revolt and Reconquest that settlement began in earnest. As early as 1710 a land grant was transferred from a pre-Revolt resident to a new settler, and further records of grants occurred in 1715, 1716, 1723 and 1724. By 1730, the Pueblo had filed complaints of encroachment upon Pueblo land, and the Spanish were ordered to move three leagues away from the Pueblo. During this time, the valley was experiencing escalating raids from Comanche Indians from the Plains to the east. Ironically, Fray Atanasio Dominguez recorded in 1776 that local Spanish settlers had taken refuge within the fortified walls of Taos Pueblo during times of heavy raids. During the same year, he noted the construction of a fortified

plaza in a cañada (small canyon or lowland) in the Valley, which was probably the community of Ranchos de Taos, whose church was built around 1803.

It is difficult to determine the date of founding of the Plaza of Don Fernando de Taos, the third major settlement in the valley and core of the town of Taos. Although a grant was made in 1796 to 63 families, led by Alcalde Antonio José Ortiz, the town itself is located within the San Gerónimo de Taos (Pueblo) land grant, so it is hard to tell when the plaza itself was constructed. Even the name of the community varies from Don Fernándo or Fernández de Taos to San Fernándo or Fernández de Taos. In any case, the settlement was firmly established as a fortified plaza on the bluff above the Rio de Don Fernando by the early eighteenth century.

The Taos area's reputation as a trade center increased after Mexican Independence in 1821, which opened trade with the United States of America. In 1824 the first wagon train arrived from the east, and Taos soon became the terminus of the Mountain Branch of the Santa Fe Trail. Goods brought over the trail included building materials such as bricks, window glass, andterne-plate roofing as well as muslin cloth, which, tacked to vigas (roof beams), formed a ceiling (manta de techo).

During the eighteenth century, Taos also continued its resistance to outside authority. In 1837, José Gonzales, a Pueblo Indian from Taos, led insurrectionists against New Mexican Governor Albino Perez; this revolt was quickly quashed. After the American Occupation of New Mexico during the Mexican War in 1846, a coalition of Pueblo Indians and Mexicans assassinated newly-appointed Governor Charles Bent at his house in Don Fernando de Taos. In retaliation, American troops under Colonel Sterling Price broke the rebellion in a series of battles at Santa Cruz and Embudo and surrounded the retreating rebels in San Gerónimo (Taos Pueblo) Church; he then ordered cannon drawn up, which proceeded to breech the walls after numerous volleys. To ensure the peace, as well as repulse continuing Comanche attacks, Cantonment Burgwin, a mud-plastered jacal (palisaded) fort, was established in 1851 in the eastern part of the valley, and a military road (el camino militar) connecting it with settlements and forts to the south was soon constructed over "US Hill" nearby.

The U.S. presence introduced new building materials into the valley, including bricks, glass, and milled lumber (a sawmill was established by Wilfred Witt prior to 1860). Many examples of the Territorial Style buildings survive from this period. Additional construction materials became available when the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad established a stop at nearby Taos Junction in 1879. In addition, with the suppression of Indian raiding by about 1870, settlement became more scattered.

The town of Taos became the locus of a budding art colony, starting in 1898 when Ernest Blumenschein took up permanent residence. In 1914, Blumenschein and artist Bert Phillips founded the Taos Society of Artists. Soon, other artists and writers from the East sought refuge in Taos, including Mary Austin, Andrew Dasburg, and D. H. Lawrence. Many were attracted to the area by former New York saloniste Mabel Dodge Luhan, who had conducted the leading intellectual salon in Greenwich Village in the pre-War years. Mabel moved to the area in 1917 and married Taos Pueblo Indian Tony Lujan.

Meanwhile, tourism began to affect Taos Pueblo. The promotional campaigns of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway brought increased interest in Pueblo arts and crafts, which introduced many Taos Indians to the market economy. Local Anglos, headed by John Collier, who had been introduced to New Mexico by Mabel Dodge Luhan, supported the Pueblos in their effort to secure their traditional lands through the Pueblo Lands Act of 1924. With the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, passed through the efforts of Collier, then head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the federal government placed a new emphasis on Indian self-sufficiency and entry into the wage economy. This led in turn to an emphasis on individualism, the break-down of communalism, and ultimately to the construction of individual house units outside of Taos Pueblo's wall. Starting in 1906 with the creation of the Carson National Forest, Taos Pueblo waged a protracted fight to regain their sacred Blue Lake, which only succeeded in 1970.

The construction of a new highway to Taos in 1917 furthered links with the outside world. During the 1950s and 1960s this highway leading south out of the town of Taos developed into a commercial strip, complete with an earth-colored, mansard-roofed Kentucky Fried Chicken with "interwoven" (projecting from all four sides) vigas. The opening of the nearby Taos Ski Valley in 1950s contributed to tourism in the Taos Valley. During the 1960s and 1970s, Taos attracted many members of the counterculture (Dennis Hopper owned the Mabel Dodge Luhan House during this period), and several communes were formed: The Lama Foundation (1967-); The Family (1968-1970, one of the sets for Easy Rider); Five Star Commune (c. 1968-1970); LILA (1969-1973); Lorien Retreat (1969-1973); Morning Star East (1969-1973); New Buffalo (1969-); and Reality Construction Company (1969-1972).

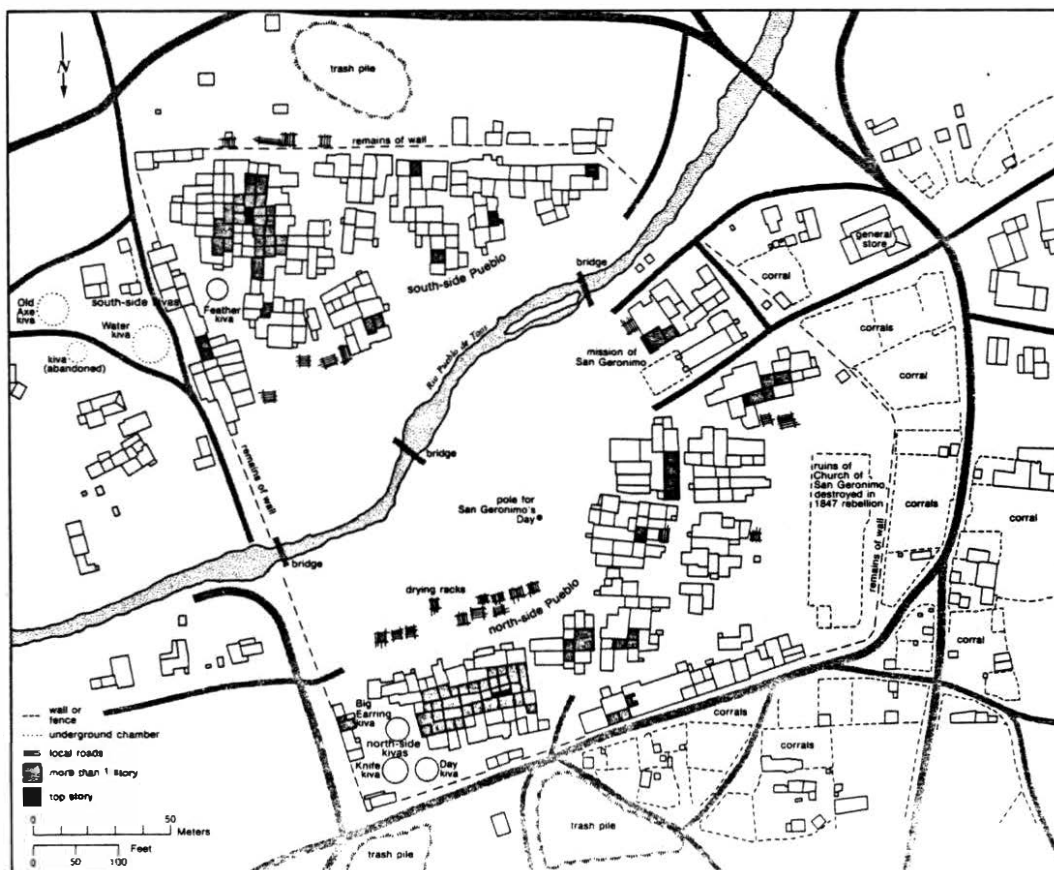
Taos Pueblo

Taos ("red willow place") Pueblo is one of the finest existing architectural monuments in the Southwest. Dating probably from the late 14th century, the pueblo itself is comprised of the north (Hlauma) and south (Hlaukwima) houses, which consist of multi-storied room blocks constructed of puddled adobe (in the lower parts of the older sections) and adobe brick. These two houses surround a central plaza bisected by Taos Creek,



40. Taos Pueblo (ca. 1930, courtesy Museum of New Mexico, Neg. No. 53799).

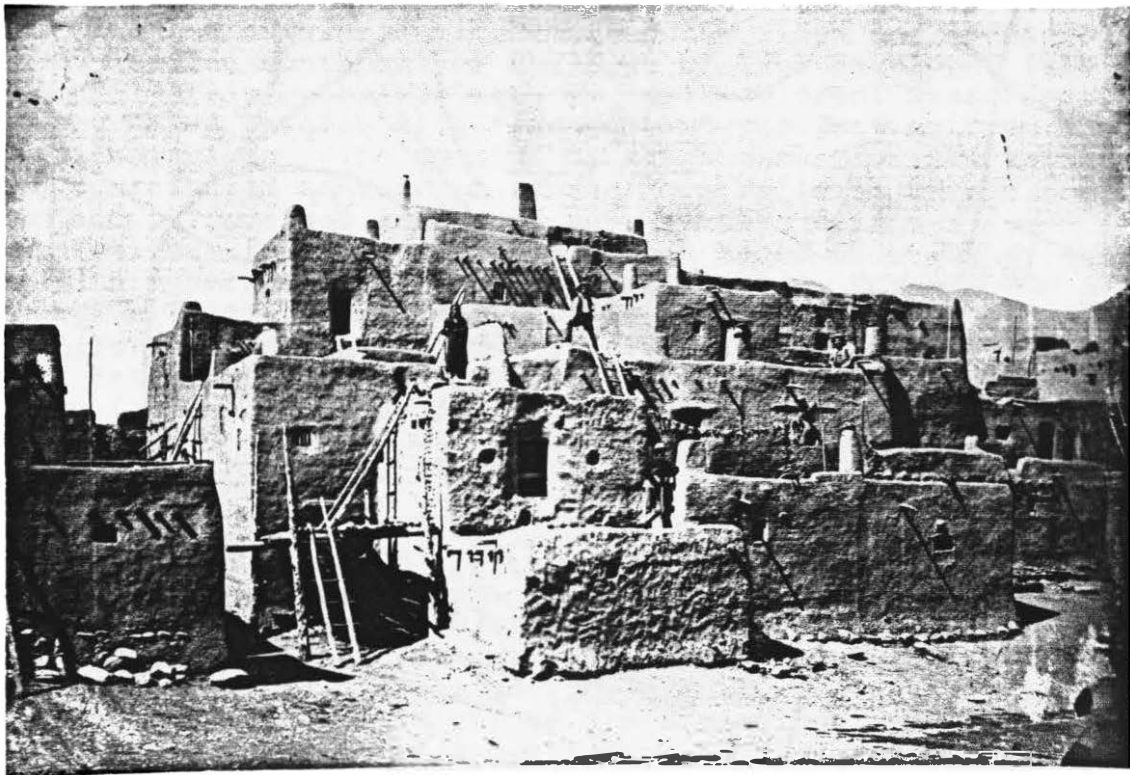
41. Plan of Taos Pueblo (from Bodine 1979, 257).





42. North Building, Taos Pueblo (John K. Hillers, 1880
courtesy Museum of New Mexico, Neg. No. 16096).

43. North Building, Taos Pueblo (ca. 1900, courtesy Museum of New
Mexico, Neg. No. 4596).





44. North Building, Taos Pueblo (T. Harmon Parkhurst, ca. 1935 courtesy Museum of New Mexico, Neg. No. 4526).

45. South Building, Taos Pueblo (T. Harmon Parkhurst, ca. 1935 courtesy Museum of New Mexico, Neg. No. 4573).



which runs from east to west. In addition, wooden frame ramadas constructed next to the house blocks offer shade as well as frameworks for drying corn, chilis, squash, and meats. To the east of both room blocks can be seen tall wooden ladders indicating the entrances to the six active round, semi-subterranean kivas (visitor access prohibited). The entrances to the three northern kivas have collars of wooden poles, while those of the southern ones have masonry enclosures.

The structure of the pueblo itself has changed over time. In 1540, when Hernando de Alvarado first saw it, the pueblo had

eighteen sections, each occupying as much ground as two lots. The houses are built very close together. They are five or six stories high, three of mud walls and two or three of wood frame. They become narrower as they rise. On the outside of the top of the mud walls each house has its small wooden corridor, one above the other, extending all around... (quoted in Boyer 1986).

Because defensive features were no longer needed after about 1870, ground-level doors and windows were introduced, the guard towers eliminated, and the tall, surrounding wall reduced to four feet or so. In addition, the wooden corridors or walkways that extended around each level have been eliminated.

Taos, or Red Willow, Creek is not only their source of drinking and washing water but also a sacred feature of the pueblo. Running from west to east just south of the north room block is a quarter-mile race track (Sun Road) that is used during ceremonies on San Gerónimo Feast Day. The wall that surrounds the pueblo not only delimits the extent of the historic pueblo (and, indeed, is the official boundary within which modern amenities such as electricity and running water are prohibited) but also serves to define sacred space. Just outside of the wall are four large trash middens, two of which lie just outside the north wall, one outside the south wall, and one at the southeast corner. These are considered sacred features, and often receive prayer offerings. Lying to the east is the site of Cornfield Taos, which the Pueblo considers to be an older portion of the pueblo. It is often used as the source of adobe mud for construction at the modern pueblo.

A final feature of the pueblo complex is the mission church, San Gerónimo. Priests had been sent to Taos as early as 1598, and church records indicate that a structure was being built by 1627. However, during the Taos revolts of 1631 and of 1640, and the all-encompassing Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the church was repeatedly damaged and priests killed. Work began on another church in 1706, which was either finished or another church built by 1726. This 1726 structure stood until 1847, when it was bombarded by American troops seeking to dislodge the rebels inside; the ruins are still visible outside the wall to the northwest of the pueblo. Around 1850 a new church was

constructed at its present location on the west side of the plaza. The facade of this church has been changed repeatedly through the ensuing 140 years.

Taos Pueblo was declared a National Historic Landmark in 1965. In 1987, the Pueblo was nominated to the World Heritage Society as one of the most significant historical cultural landmarks in the world. The Taos Pueblo Preservation Program was initiated in May of 1988, with funds from the Indian Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). It continued in 1989 with a \$330,000 HUD CDBG grant as well as \$100,000 appropriated by the Legislature of the State of New Mexico. However, the latter was held up by the Attorney General's opinion that it violated the state's Anti-Donation Clause (the Pueblo of Taos is a sovereign entity, not a sub-division of state government). In addition, the Pueblo has received private donations.

The preservation program seeks to refurbish walls and roofs as well as improve site drainage to prevent further erosion. In a unique agreement between pueblo, federal, and state governments, this is being conducted according to the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation, and is being accompanied by archaeological monitoring of excavations and disturbances. In sum, the program is attempting to respect the privacy and religious beliefs of the Pueblo residents while rehabilitating one of the most significant sites in the world.

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Martinez Hacienda

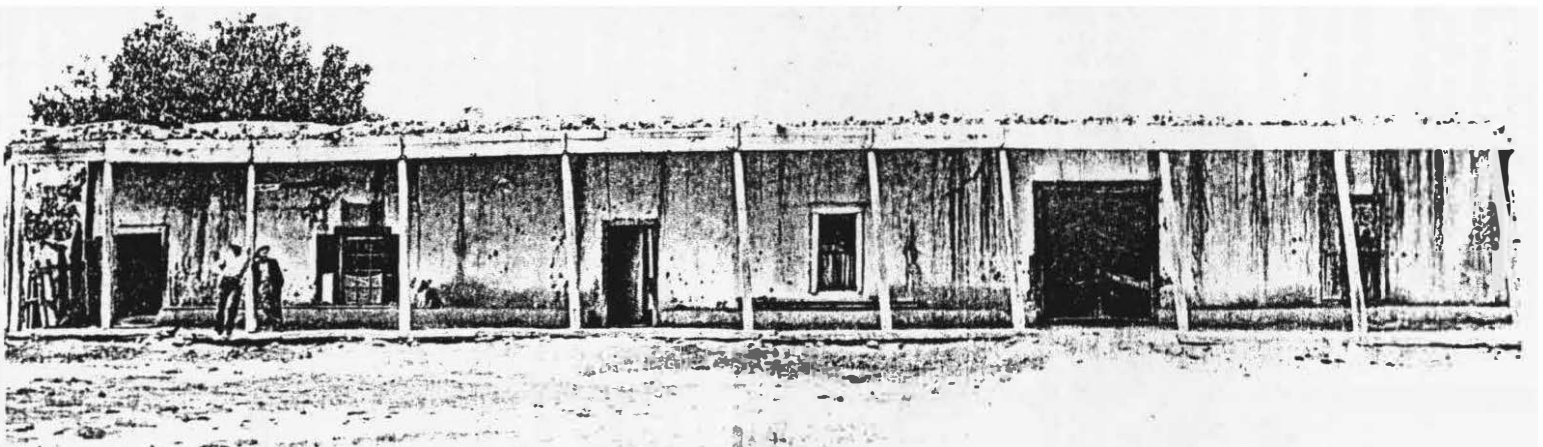
The Severino Martinez Hacienda, located near Taos, is one of the best surviving examples of a Spanish Colonial/Mexican Period placita-centered house. Completed by 1827, the house was the home for Don Severino and his son, Don Juan Pascual. Don Severino Martinez was born in Abiquiu and moved to the Taos area in 1804. From the evidence of his will, by the time he died in 1827 he had accumulated large holdings of land throughout northern New Mexico. Both he and his son Don Pascual traded goods with Chihuahua over the Camino Real. Another son, Don Antonio José (1793-1867), was the famous Padre Martinez of Taos, whose conflict with Bishop Lamy is immortalized in Willa Cather's Death Comes to the Archbishop. All three served in political offices: Don Severino as Alcalde (Administrative Justice) of Taos, and both Juan Pascual and Antonio José as members of the New Mexico Legislature under both Mexico and the United States of America.

Family tradition holds that the original portion of the house consisted of a three-room residence purchased by Don Severino from two Indians in 1804. These rooms (10, 11, 12, and 13; the partition between 11 and 12 is a later addition) have lower floors and ceilings (8 feet high as opposed to 11 in the other rooms) as well as being narrower in width (15' 3"). This portion of the house also had a higher parapet wall than the later additions, possibly with loop holes (tronecas), and as late as 1923 a hatchway with ladder is evident in the portal in front of these rooms. To this structure were added the nine rooms that eventually formed a full placita-centered house, as well as the rooms and courtyard to the rear.

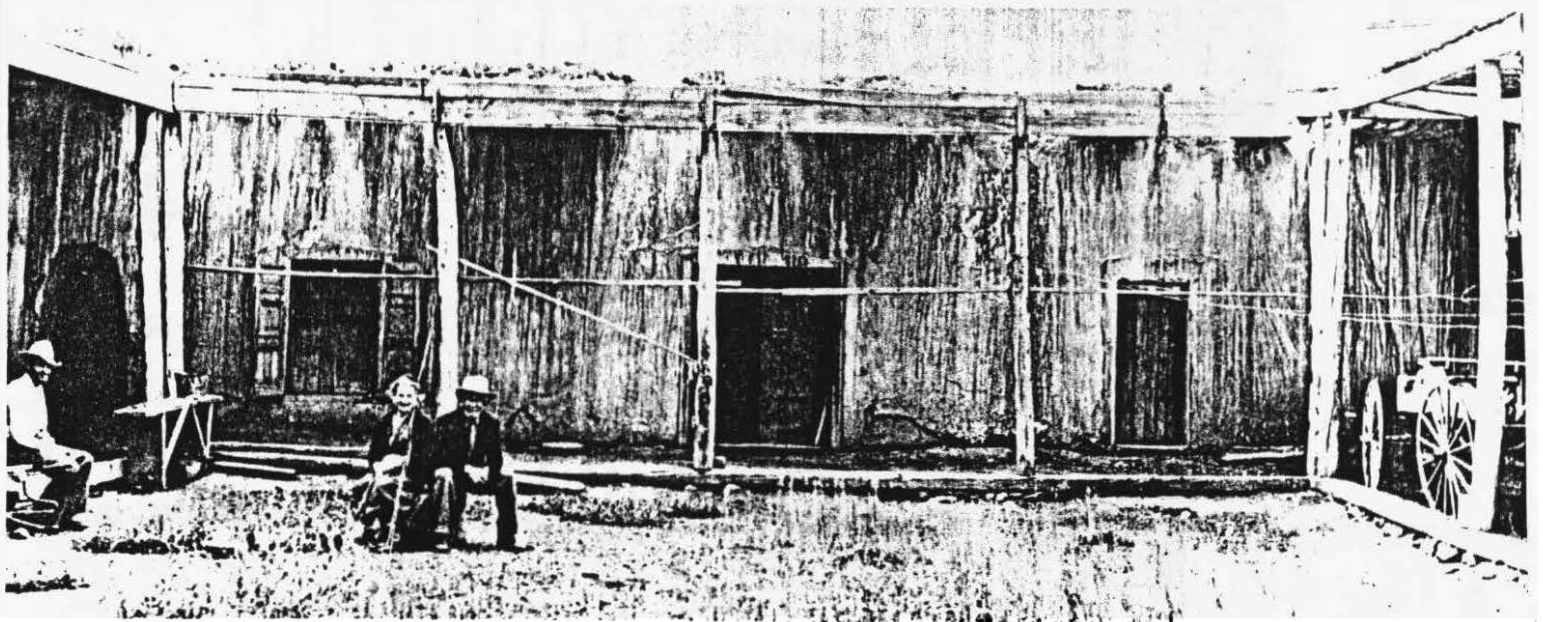
The structure, constructed of adobe, consists of a series of rooms located in a rough square around a placita, a small interior courtyard (51 by 65 feet). Originally, there were no exterior windows or entrances except for the well-fortified zaguan doors. The 11-foot wide zaguan (entry passage) is located near the north end of the east facade. It opens into the placita, which all of the rooms opened onto. Some of the rooms are connected by interior doors.

Around the time of the Civil War, two single doors and 11 windows were added to the exterior. Also about this time, a wooden portal, with simple log posts and milled lintels, was added along the main (east) facade and around the four sides of the placita. The refined, Territorial Style detailing of the doors and windows, as opposed to the rougher work on the portales, suggests two phases of construction.

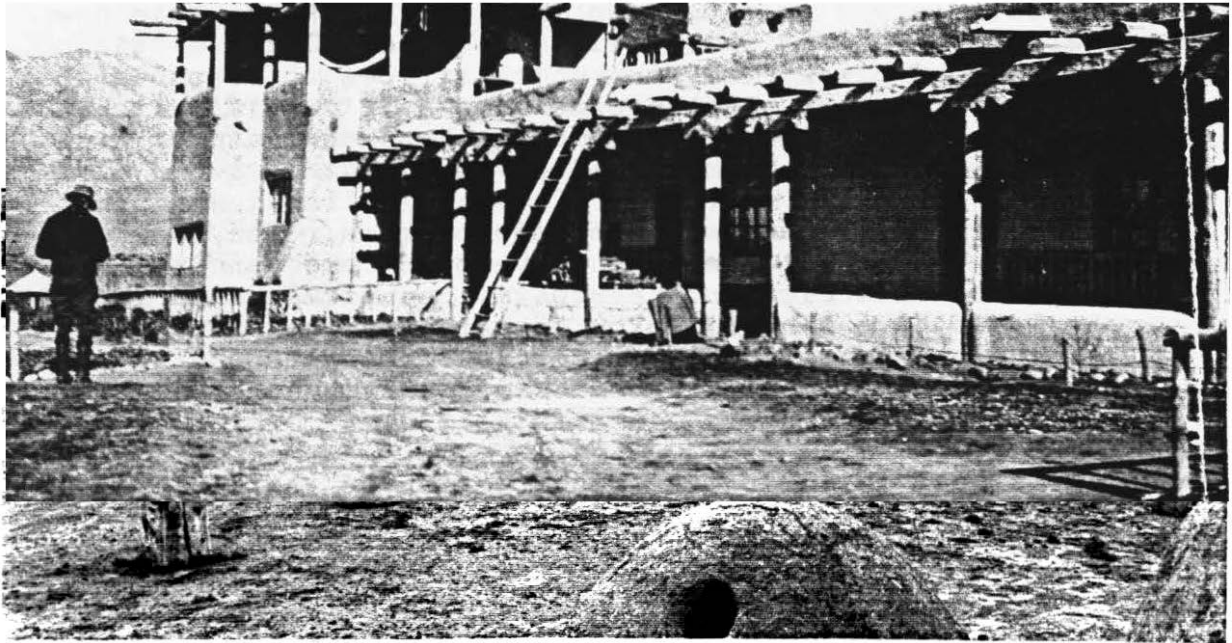
To the west of the main placita there is a secondary series of structures ringed around a minor placita. This served as a corral for livestock together with storage rooms. However, by the time the building was measured and photographed in the 1960s, all that remained of this service court were the ruins of



46. East Elevation, Martinez Hacienda (1923, courtesy Rowena Martinez).

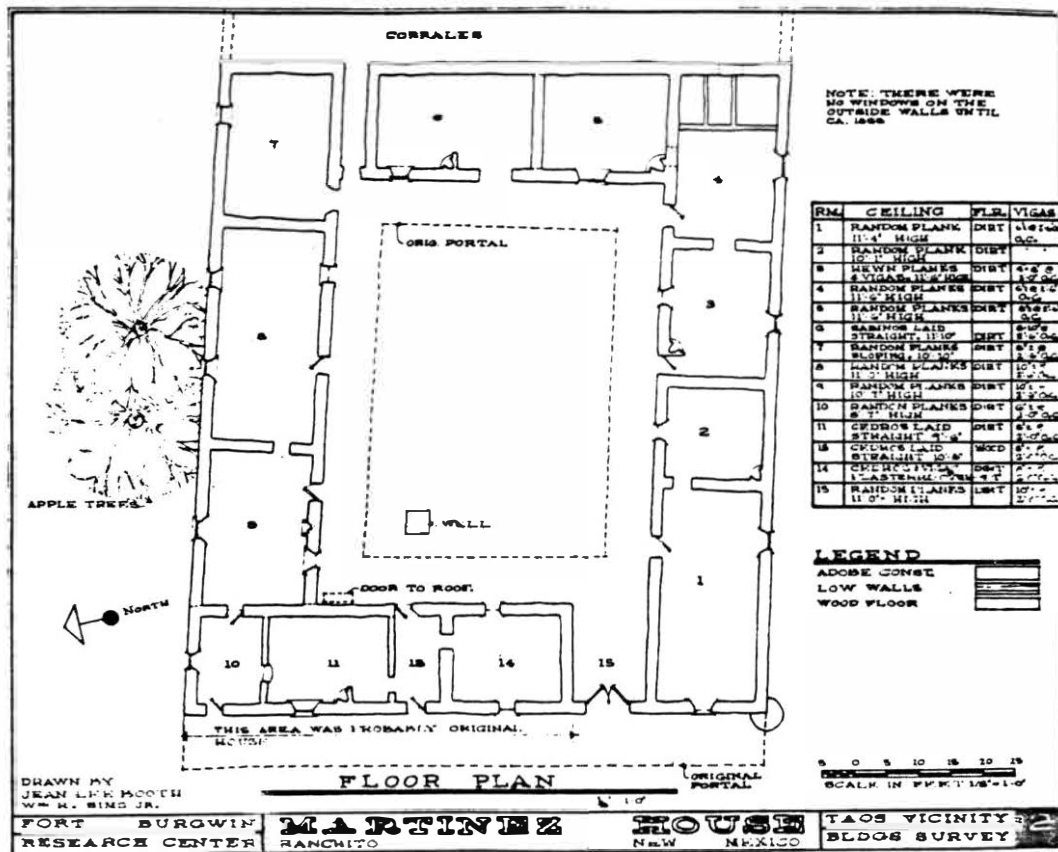


47. West Wall of Placita, Martinez Hacienda (1923, courtesy Rowena Martinez).



48. Martinez Hacienda, 1804-1827 (Wilson).

49. Plan of Martinez Hacienda, 1804-1827 (courtesy Fine Arts Library, University of New Mexico).

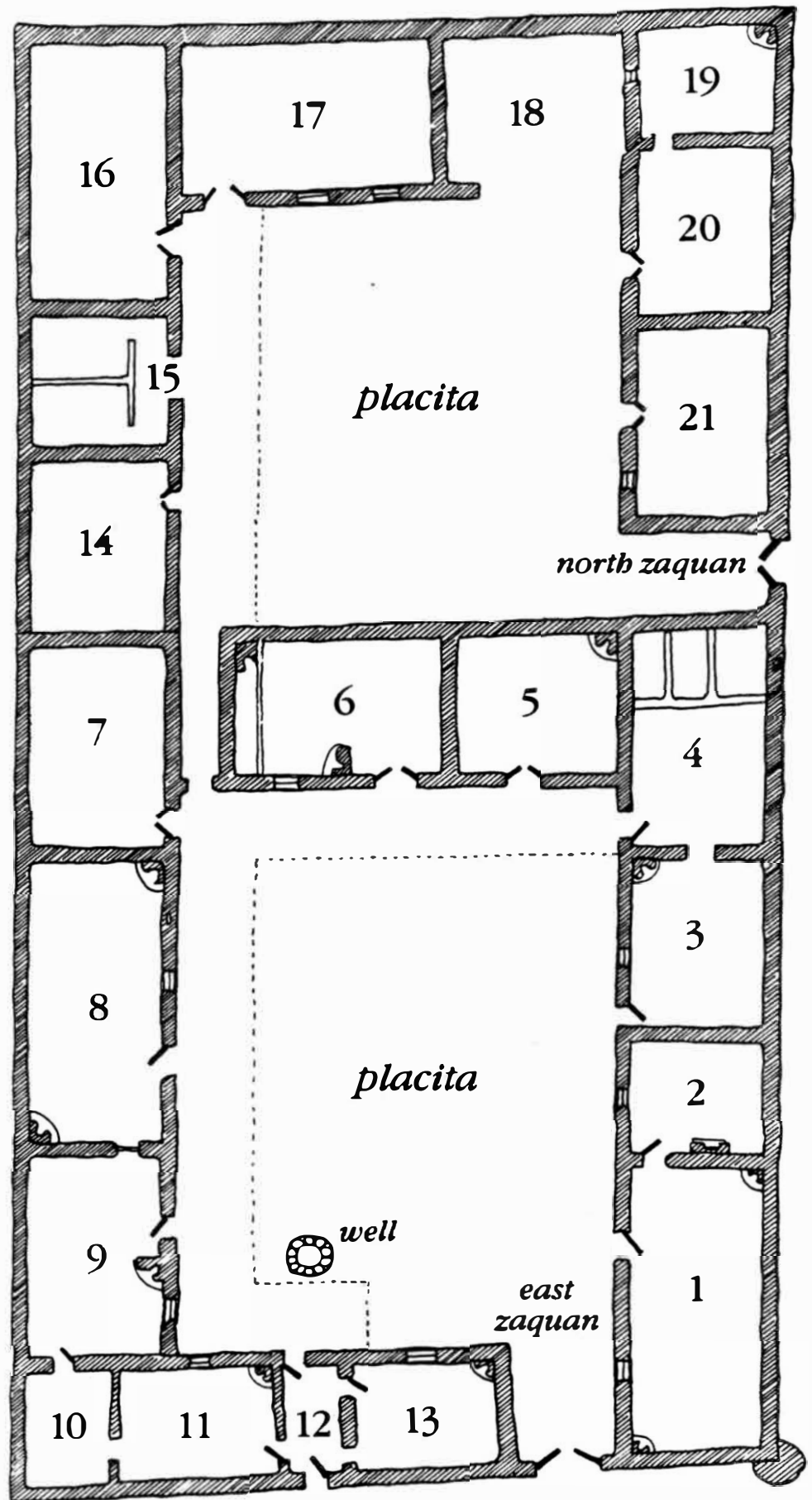


1. **SALA** The formal parlor for family and distinguished visitors. Split pine ceiling.
2. **BEDROOM** Probably Don Antonio's and Dona Maria's bedroom. The fireplace is unique in the house for its shape.
3. **WEAVING ROOM** Adzed beams and corbels might suggest a chapel: until historically verified, now a weaving room.
4. **GRANERO** The granary with three bins for the storage of grains. Split cedar ceiling.
5. **TRADE ROOM** Don Antonio's merchandise, brought from Chihuahua were displayed and sold here. Split aspen ceiling.
6. **LA COCINA** With its splendid shepherd's fireplace, this busy kitchen fed family and servants. Aspen pole ceiling.
7. **LA DESPENSA** A large pantry and cooler room for the storage of meat, fruits and vegetables. Split aspen ceiling.
8. **GRAN SALA** The hand adzed floor with a rugged surface for political meetings and gay fandangos. Split cedar ceiling.
9. 10. 11. **CLOSED TO PUBLIC**
These three rooms, with the Visitor's Center, were probably quarters for sons and daughters and their children.
12. **VISITOR'S ENTRANCE**
13. **VISITOR'S CENTER** Books and publications of historical interest, and information on other Kit Carson Foundation preservations.
The following rooms, off the rear placita, provided spaces for a blacksmith and carpenter shop, tack room, servant's quarters, storage rooms, stall and roosts.
14. **FURNACE ROOM** Closed to public.
15. **PUBLIC RESTROOMS**
16. **SPECIAL EXHIBITS ROOM**
17. **HACIENDA DISPLAY ROOM**
18. **BLACKSMITH SHOP** To be developed.
19. 20. **SERVANT'S QUARTERS**
21. **TACK ROOM** To be developed.

A note on restoration:

The Martinez Hacienda now includes contemporary utilities; however, all attempts have been made to adhere to the integrity of the past. All exterior and interior walls have remained finished with mud plaster. The pearl-white interior walls are finished in tierra blanca, a rare white micaceous soil found near Taos. Fourteen of the rooms have floors made of mud.

Designed by Jerome Milord 1985



50. Reconstructed Plan of Martinez Hacienda (courtesy Martinez Hacienda).

cobblestone foundations giving the rough dimensions upon which the restored rooms were built.

The Martinez family occupied the house until 1926; after that time it passed through the hands of several owners (and at least one unsuccessful attempt at preservation) before it was purchased by the Kit Carson Foundation of Taos in 1972. The structure has been thoroughly restored, partially through funds provided by Historic Preservation Grants-in-aid. Many features of the restoration were of necessity conjectural, most notably the rear courtyard and the addition of the shepherd's bed and fireplace (room 6). The perimeter doors and windows and exterior porches were removed to recreate the fortified Mexican-era appearance. Five of the six fireplaces present when the house was documented in the early 1960s were removed (only the mid-wall fireplace in room 6 is original) and eleven fireplaces were constructed in new locations. The contemporaneous courtyard porch was partially reconstructed, in a more rustic form than its 1860s appearance. The northeast portions of the porch were omitted to allow the zaguan passage to function as in the Mexican Period. There is also the typical house museum phenomenon of the display of more furnishings than would have been typical historically.

Martinez Hacienda Bibliography

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Mabel Dodge Luhan House

The Mabel Dodge Luhan House, constructed starting in 1919 on the eastern edge of the town of Taos abutting Taos Pueblo, is one of the finest examples of the eclectic Taos genre of the Spanish Pueblo Revival.

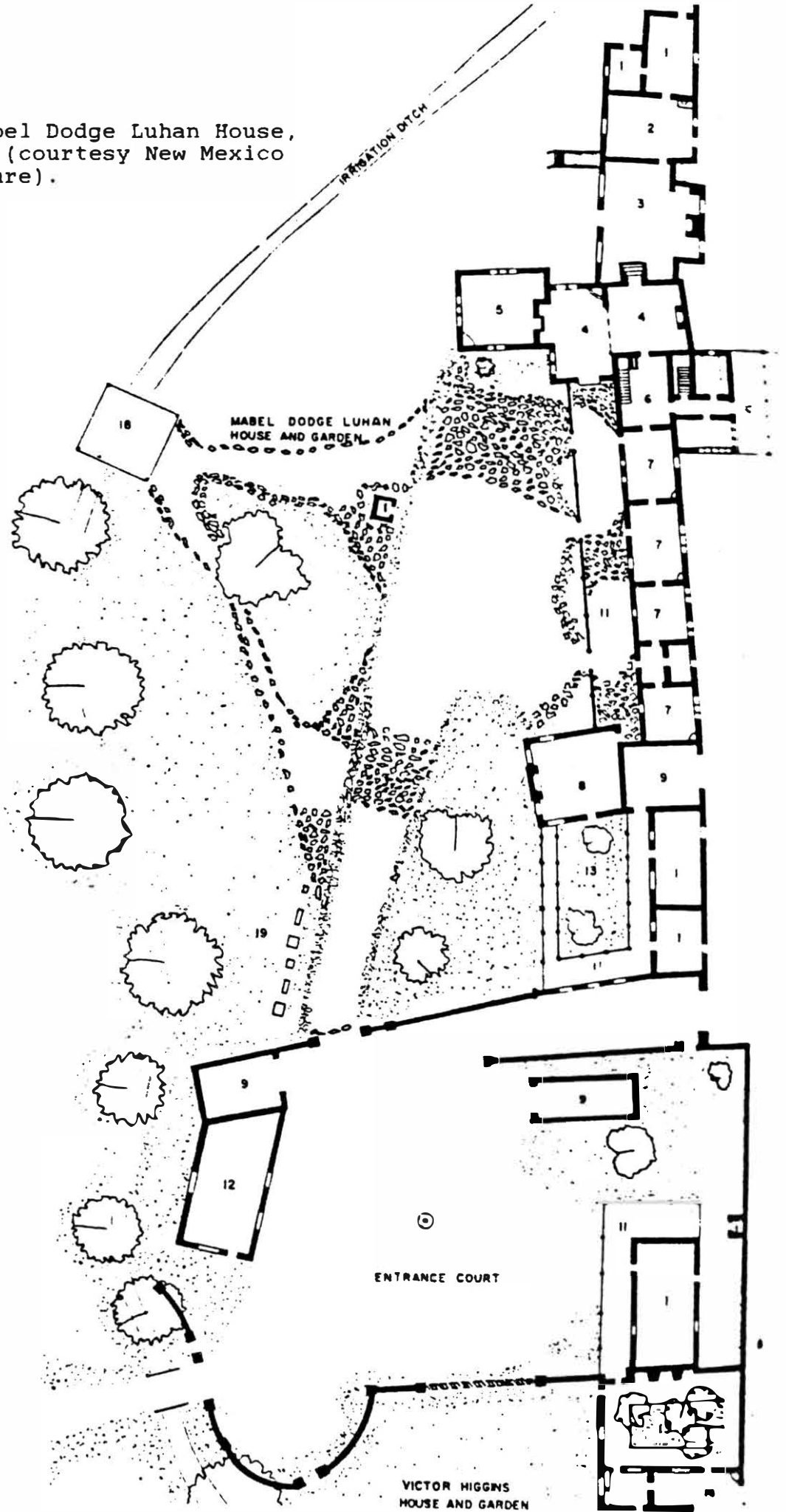
Mabel Ganson was born to a conservative Buffalo banking family in 1879. After marrying Karl Evans, at the age of 25 she was widowed with her young son. On a trip to Europe she met Boston architect Edwin Dodge, whom she promptly married. Together they restored the Villa Curonia in Florence (the setting for Gertrude Stein's 1912 Portrait of Mabel Dodge at the Villa Curonia). In 1912 she moved to New York and set up a salon at 23 Fifth Avenue, which attracted notable artists, writers, and politicians. She eventually met and, after divorcing Dodge, married artist Maurice Sterne, who came to New Mexico to paint Indians. At his urging she joined him, but ultimately Mabel stayed and Maurice left.

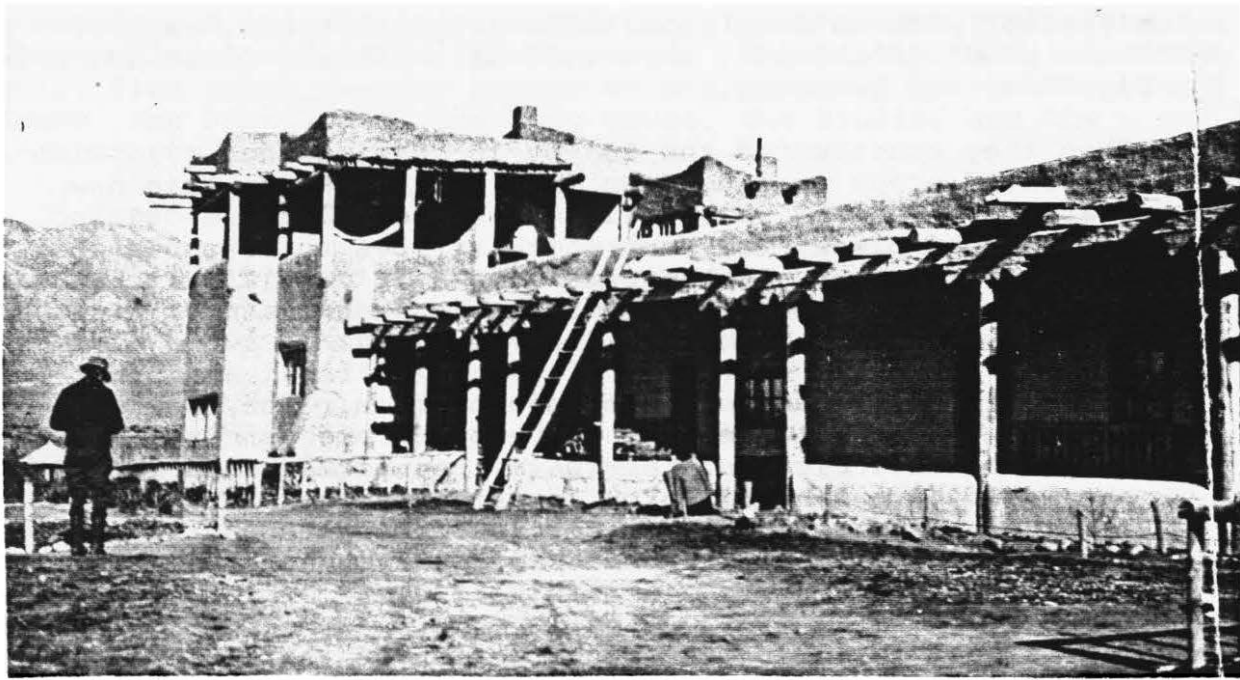
When Mabel Sterne arrived in Taos in December, 1917, she leased a house in town. A year later she bought twelve acres with improvements -- a small three- or four-room house, another, smaller house, an orchard, and an acequia with a large cottonwood tree. Eventually she enlarged the building into a 450-foot-long complex consisting of two main structures -- the Big House and Santa Teresa House -- roughly modelled on the north and south houses of nearby Taos Pueblo. The southern portion was sold to artist Victor Higgins about 1925. The principal building campaign for the Big House lasted from 1919 to 1922. It was conducted by Mabel and Antonio (Tony) Luhan, a Taos Pueblo Indian whom she married in 1923. Mabel Dodge Luhan continued to live there until 1949, when she moved into a smaller house to the south, where she died in 1962. After remaining in her son's possession until the late 1960s, it was sold to Dennis Hopper, recently made famous by the movie Easy Rider, who turned it into a commune. In 1977, it was bought by the present owners, Las Palomas de Taos, a non-profit foundation that uses the house as a conference/learning center.

The larger house on the property when Mabel purchased it was a typical single-file Spanish-Mexican house with multiple exterior doors (rooms marked 7). Mabel first added several rooms on the south side, including a 18' by 21' log structure with an exterior, cobblestone fireplace (8), built for her son John Evans. After these were completed in 1919, the Big Room (4), consisting of two rectangular areas 15' by 15' and 12' by 20' respectively, was added to the north side the next year. These spaces are separated by a paredcito (short, freestanding wall) with a fireplace nestled in its corner and several Solomonic columns above. Because the Big Room formed a wing, Mabel and Tony decided to add a portal connecting the west-side wings. Unlike the three- or four-foot wide porches of Hispanic houses, which served primarily as exterior corridors, the Luhan porch is

51. Plan of Mabel Dodge Luhan House,
1919-1925 (courtesy New Mexico
Architecture).

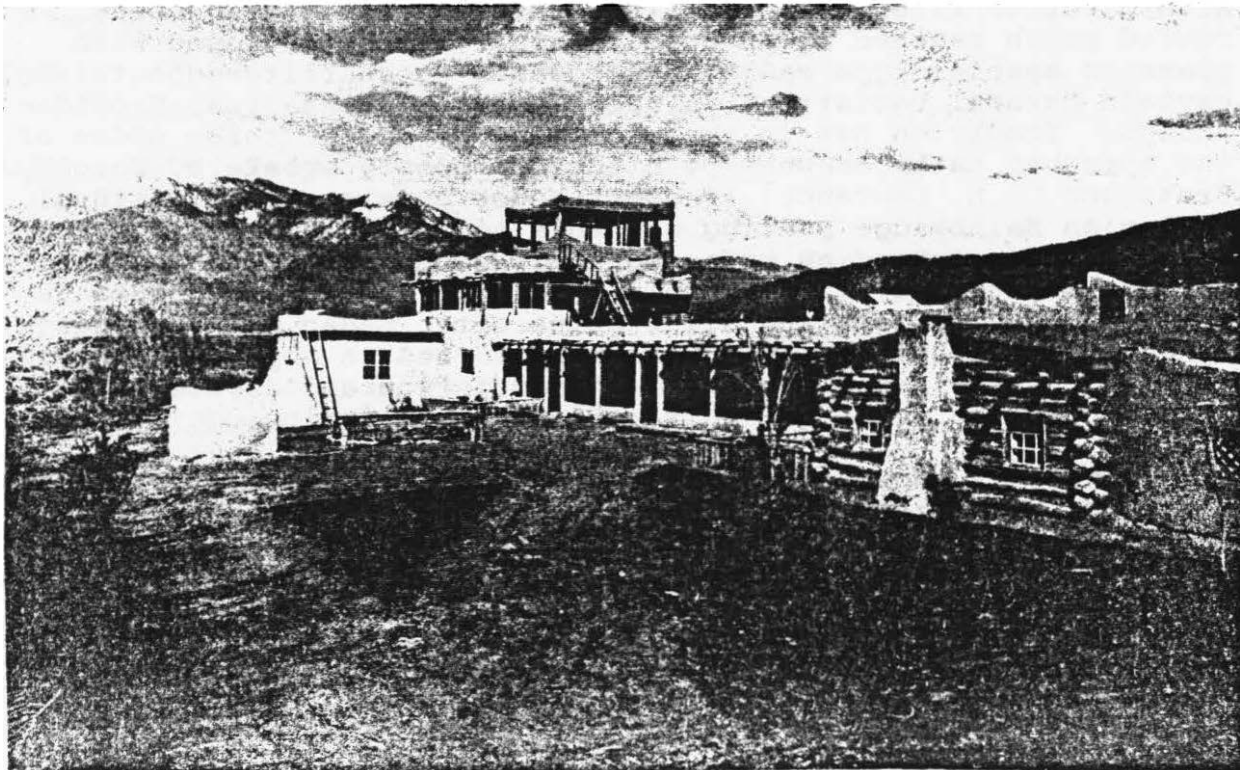
- 1 STORAGE
- 2 KITCHEN
- 3 DINING ROOM
- 4 LIVING ROOM
- 5 RAINBOW ROOM
- 6 HALL
- 7 BEDROOM
- 8 LOG CABIN
- 9 GARAGES
- 10 PORTE-COCHERE
- 11 PORTAL
- 12 WORK SHOP
- 13 ENCLOSED PATIO
- 14 KITCHEN
- 15 BEDROOM
- 16 LIVING ROOM
- 17 STUDIO
- 18 SUMMER HOUSE
- 19 PIGEON HOUSE





52. Mabel Dodge Luhan House, 1919-1925 (ca. 1922, courtesy Museum of New Mexico, Neg. No. 135246).

53. Mabel Dodge Luhan House, 1919-1925 (ca. 1930, courtesy Museum of New Mexico, Neg. No. 25808).



a twelve-foot wide outdoor room. The original rooms, each of which was about 12' by 12', were used as a library (just south of the Big Room) and bedrooms.

Then they constructed the 28' by 15' dining room (3), with its five round steps leading down from the Big Room; this new room featured a red and white tile floor and a latilla ceiling painted in broad black, red, and white stripes to resemble that of the Laguna Mission. At the same time a 15' by 18' kitchen was added to the north. Lady Dorothy Brett, an associate of D. H. Lawrence and friend of Mabel's, later recalled:

She gave Indian dances in her dining room. They would undress in the kitchen, and they would come dancing in in their dance clothes. Perfectly beautiful. And then she would have singers. You know they always dance to singing. Tony would have a circle of singers and the dancers would come in, and it was really beautiful. In the dining room (quoted in Lufkin 1980).

Perhaps the year following the construction of the dining room and kitchen (or possibly after 1925) the Rainbow Room (5), so-named for its pastel ceiling painted by local artist friends, was added to the west of the Big Room.

About 1921-1922, more bedrooms were added above the dining room and kitchen and the Big Room. Mabel's 24' by 28' bedroom, with its four distinctive Solomonian columns, also featured a sleeping porch and wide, exterior stair down into the garden. Tony's bedroom, located seven steps up from Mabel's, is small with a corner fireplace. The third-story aerie was an open, roofed porch reached by an outside stair, later enclosed with glass (a special type called helioglass, which filtered out certain harmful radiation); a narrow, interior stairway provides access. Tradition has it that the windows on the three sides of the attached bathroom were painted for modesty's sake by Dorothy Brett and D. H. Lawrence, frequent house guests. Architectural historian Bainbridge Bunting saw this addition, along with other decorative features, as bringing the Taos house closer to Mabel's earlier house, the Villa Curonia. Here in Taos, as in Santa Fe in the 1920s, artists and dilettantes often began with a modest linear Mexican house. An addition patterned on a pyramidal, terraced pueblo added picturesque association and asymmetry to the composition.

Little is known about the construction sequence of the Santa Teresa House, which was built upon the other existing house. It was built simultaneously with the Big House, as a unified composition. In 1922 a studio and portal were added to the north end of the Santa Teresa House and the two house were joined by a large common entrance court. Other major features of the complex include the massive courtyard gates, which incorporated pieces of a hand-carved balcony salvaged during a remodelling of the Ranchos de Taos Church, the gatehouse where Mabel's maids

resided, and the distinctive Mexican pigeon houses (the place is also called Las Palomas [The Doves]). Eventually, Mabel and Tony built five other smaller houses on the property -- the Two-story House, the Pink House, the Tony House, the Studio, and the Architect's House.

The Mabel Dodge Luhan House occupies a unique position both spatially and culturally. Perched on a rise at the edge of the Hispanic/Anglo town of Taos, the residence also lies on the boundary of the Taos Pueblo Grant. Furthermore, located to the east of the residence, and visible from the sun room, is one of Taos' moradas (Penitente chapel/lodges), along with the calvario (way of the cross). With its eclectic mix of Italian villa concept, Pueblo form (stepped-back multi-stories and wide stairs imitating kiva entrances), exaggerated Hispanic detailing (paredcitos, corner fireplaces, Solomonic columns, and corner buttresses) and Mexican craft decoration (ceramic hens and roosters, as well as the pigeon houses), the building complex strives to bridge the varied worlds of Mabel Ganson Evans Dodge Sterne Luhan.

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III. OUT ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL/RAILROAD (Chris Wilson)

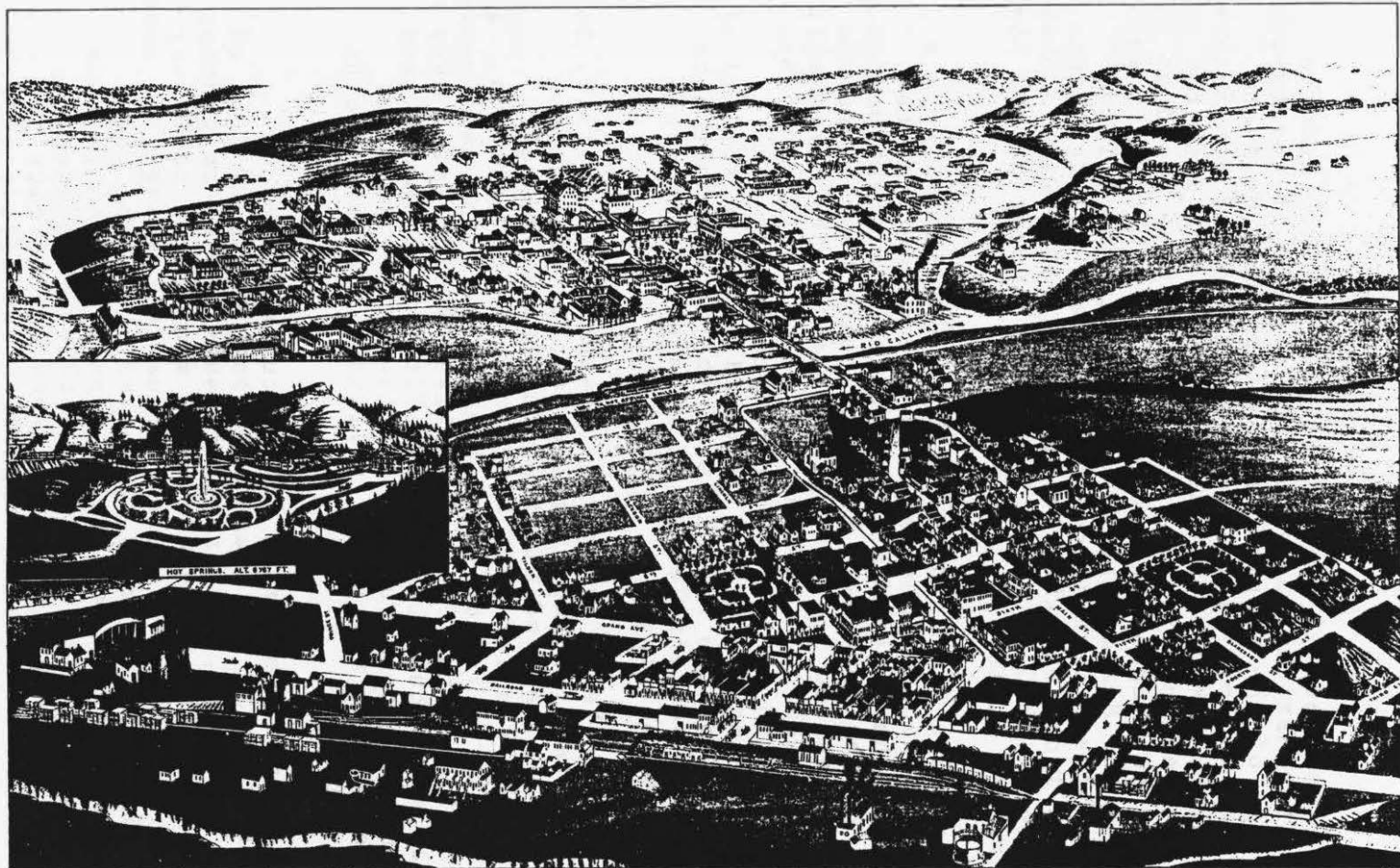
A. LAS VEGAS

Las Vegas (the meadows) was established in 1835 under a land grant from the Mexican government to a group of twenty-nine families. As part of the Spanish, and after 1821, Mexican expansion into the valleys along the eastern side of the Sangre de Cristo (Southern Rocky) Mountains, Las Vegas was intended as a self-sufficient farming village. Because it also stood as the first New Mexican settlement encountered by Santa Fe Trail wagon trains, it became the Mexican port of entry, and many local residents derived their livelihoods as teamsters and merchants. In this strategic location, the village grew from a little over a thousand people in 1860 to three times that number by the time the railroad arrived in 1879.

The railroad line was laid east of the Gallinas River, a mile from the old Mexican plaza, much to the chagrin of the plaza merchants who had subsidized the railroad's construction. The designation of the town as a division point meant hundreds of jobs in the roundhouse and on train crews. A new, primarily Anglo-American town was built around the depot and roundhouse. As the first large town in the territory reached by the railroad, Las Vegas emerged as the mercantile center for all of eastern New Mexico from the foothills of the Rockies out onto the plains as far as western Texas, an area where corporate cattle ranches were emerging.

Yet, even as Las Vegas prospered between 1879 and 1918, its trade area was gradually being whittled down as rail lines criss-crossed the plains, and Clayton, Tucumcari, Roswell, Carlsbad and a dozen smaller rail towns rose in competition. In 1906, with the construction of the Belen cut-off, the main east-west freight traffic of the Santa Fe Railway was diverted away from the Rockies and around Las Vegas. With its economic base undermined, commercial construction declined after 1906, although fine residences and public buildings continued to be built into the 1920's.

The international depression in agricultural prices following the First World War caused the bankruptcy of four of the community's six banks, and triggered substantial emigration from nearby agricultural villages. While many found their way to urban centers from Denver to Albuquerque to Los Angeles, some settled at the edges of Las Vegas, especially east of the railroad tracks and west of New Mexico Avenue. Although this immigration masked the city's economic decline, the Great Depression of the 1930's put a definite end to the city's prosperity. Decades of economic stagnation and modest growth have followed, through which Las Vegas has been sustained by its two largest local employers--the state hospital for the insane and New Mexico Highlands University.



- 1 Court House
- 2 Academy
- 3 Las Vegas College
- 4 St. Catharine's Church
- 5 Presbyterian Church
- 6 Mission Church
- 7 M. E. Church
- 8 Episcopal Church
- 9 First National Bank
- 10 San Miguel National Bank
- 11 One Works
- 12 Depot
- 13 Hotel House
- 14 Post Office

BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF
LAS VEGAS, N.M.

D.S. SAN MIGUEL COUNTY

1882

6900 FT. ABOVE SEA LEVEL

Copyright 1882, by J. J. Stone

- 15 New Mexico Planning Mills, Hope & Ballou
- 16 Planning Mill, John B. Wooten
- 17 Planning Mill, P. C. Taylor
- 18 Carriage Works, W. H. Shupp & Co.
- 19 Foundry
- 20 House & Barn
- 21 Hot Springs Hotel
- 22 Hot Springs Hotel
- 23 Plaza Hotel, Mrs. M. H. Jones
- 24 St. Nicholas Hotel, Keller & Young
- 25 Grand Central Hotel, John McKee
- 26 Western Hotel, H. A. Wooten
- 27 New York Hotel, T. A. Netherland
- 28 Depot Hotel
- 29 Commercial Hotel, Mrs. M. A. Maxwell
- 30 Grand View Hotel, J. H. Taylor
- 31 W. J. Taylor

Population and Rank Among New Mexico Cities

	Albuquerque	Las Vegas	Santa Fe
1850		(4) 1,550	(1) 4,846
1860	(6) 1,203	(8) 1,094	(1) 4,635
1870	(5) 1,307	(2) 1,730	(1) 4,765
1880	(3) 2,315	(2) 3,116	(1) 6,635
1890	(2) 5,518	(3) 4,697	(1) 6,185
1900	(1) 7,429	(2) 6,319	(3) 5,603
1910	(1) 13,163	(2) 6,934	(4) 5,072
1920	(1) 16,860	(2) 8,220	(3) 7,236
1930	(1) 28,196	(4) 9,097	(2) 11,176
1940	(1) 38,042	(4) 12,362	(2) 20,325
1950	(1) 96,815	(6) 13,763	(2) 27,998
1960	(1) 201,189	(11) 13,818	(2) 34,676
1970	(1) 243,751	(11) 13,835	(2) 41,167
1980	(1) 331,767	(11) 14,322	(2) 48,953

(1850 only--L.V. includes Upper L.V.; 1880--L.V. estimated; 1890 to 1940--old and new Albuquerque combined; 1890 to 1970--East and West Las Vegas combined)

East and West Las Vegas. After the arrival of the railroad in 1879, and especially after the incorporation of East Las Vegas in 1888 and West Las Vegas in 1903, the city developed as two distinct entities; only in 1970 were the two politically merged. To the west of the Gallinas River was the adobe Old Town, home of the descendents of the Mexican settlers of the area and of early Santa Fe Trail merchants; to the east, stood stone, brick, and wood-frame New Town, peopled by more recent immigrants from the East, the Midwest and Europe. The Land of Sunshine, a 1904 New Mexico Bureau of Immigration publication, sharply contrasts the two:

While portions of the old town have a quaint and picturesque appearance, adobe houses, narrow, crooked streets, old customs, handicrafts and occupations, always of interest both to local residents and tourists, yet it, as well as the new town east of the river, constitute distinctive modern cities. The streets are wide and well graded, while cement sidewalks line almost every street and many are lined with growing trees. Three parks, with lawns and trees, add to the beauty of the place, as do handsome and well filled stores, elegant residences with attractive environments and nice lawns.

Town Planning

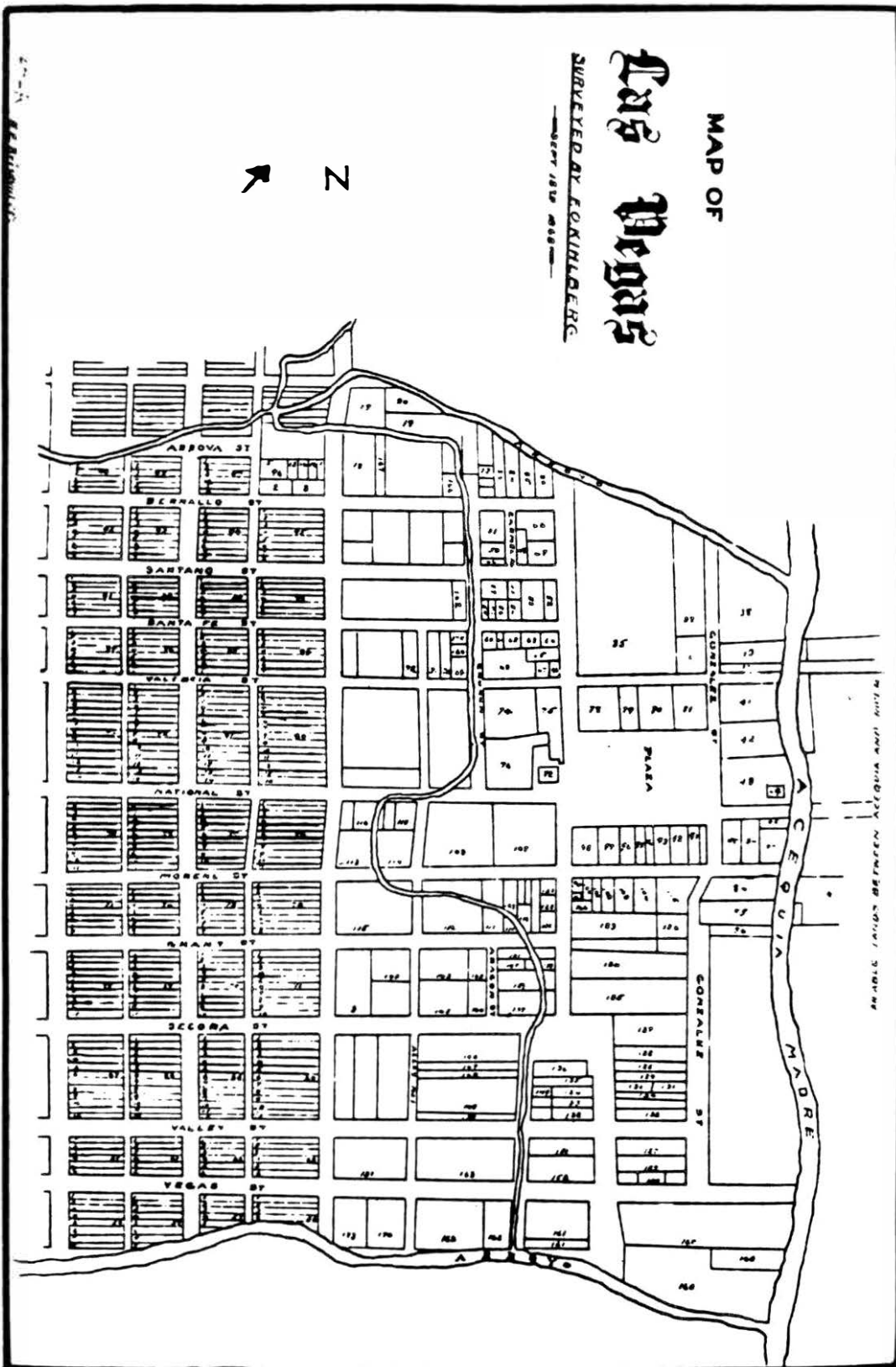
Because Las Vegas was founded during the Mexican Period, it was not directly shaped by the Town Planning Ordinances of the Laws of the Indies, which controlled Spanish Colonial settlement in the New World until 1821. The Ordinances' basic steps for locating and laying out a town had become general practice in

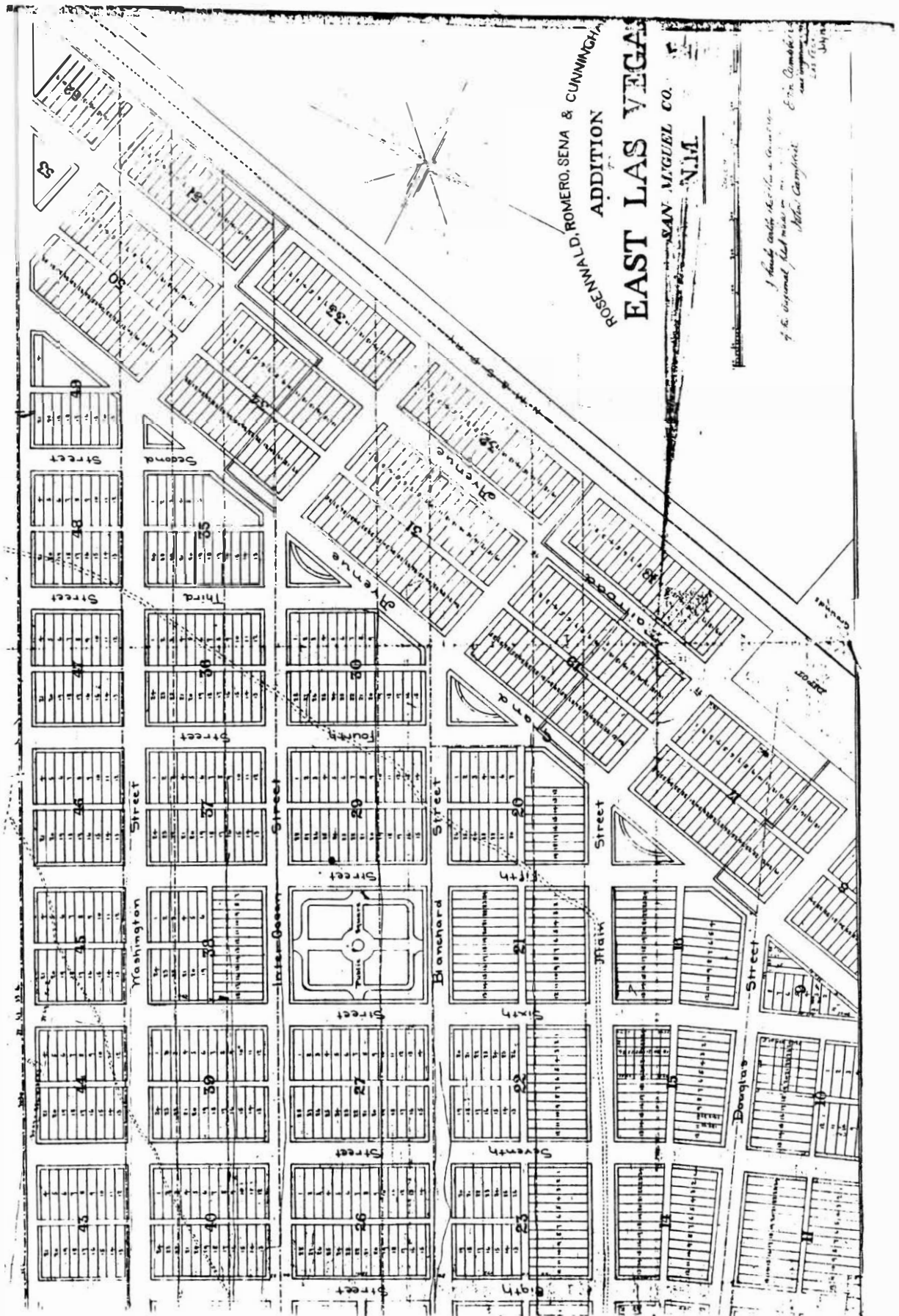
New Mexico, however, and many of the settlers as well as alcalde (administrative justice), who chose the site of Las Vegas, came from San Miguel del Bado, which had been established in 1794 and represented a provincial application of the Ordinances. The alcalde located the plaza on a rise just above the flood plane of the Gallinas River to ensure proper drainage for the buildings and so as not to intrude on potential farm land. Each of the 37 men among the settlers was allotted a field strip varying in width from 100 to 200 varas (vara = ca. 33"), depending on the width of the valley where their field was located. These allotments ran perpendicular to the river and stretched from the Creston (foothills) on the west to the first set of hills east of the river.

Although the Ordinances called for the sides of the plaza to be oriented to the cardinal directions, the alcalde adjusted the Las Vegas plaza's orientation somewhat to fit in the agricultural landscape of long fields. The land running from the plaza to the river was reserved as a public thoroughfare and access to the river, while the area directly west of the plaza went to the church. The river access, plaza and church property essentially formed a field allotment, while an additional 125 vara allotment north of the plaza was designated as a public garden.

Four streets (Hot Springs and South Pacific, South and North Gonzales) wander away from the corners of the plaza, following the terrain and irrigation ditches along the valley rather than forming the regular grid of streets prescribed by the Ordinances. As the area surrounding the plaza was urbanized, more regular east/west streets (National, Valencia, Moreno and Grant) were established along the boundaries of the field allotments. In 1868, an Anglo-American style, speculative grid was platted around the developed area, from New Mexico Avenue southwest, northwest from the **Arroyo Manteca** (roughly Bernalillo Street), and southeast from Tecolote Street.

The early orientation and boundaries of agricultural fields also underly the plan of the railroad town. In 1879, in anticipation of the arrival of the railroad, a large grid of streets was laid out east of the river. Although the grid appears uniform at first glance, it is, in fact, made up of over a dozen separate plats, each occupying a field allotment. Because many fields had been subdivided through inheritance, the width of the subsequent blocks vary. The east side grid maintained the general orientation of Old Town with streets running northeast to southwest, crossed by streets running northwest to southeast. Since this first east-side grid was oriented approximately 35 degrees west of north, a competing grid of streets was established later in 1879 when the railroad entered town along a northeast to southwest direction. In reconciling the two grids, a number of irregular blocks and triangular lots were created along the edge of Grand Avenue (the boundary between the two).





56. Rosenwald, Romero, Sena and Cunningham Addition to East Las Vegas, July, 1979.

By far the most popular town plan in the American West was the regular grid of streets with square or rectangular blocks. This was the quickest and most effective plan to make ready for sale. Although the block size varied in the platted East Las Vegas additions, the typical lot was 25-feet-wide and 150-feet-deep. This size accommodated a simple business block or worker's house, although two or more lots were combined for major business buildings and middle class homes.

Unlike the Spanish Colonial system that allocated choice plaza locations to the church and government buildings, the grid iron plan makes no special provision for religious or civil structures. Corner locations gave some prominence to banks, larger residences and churches; in Las Vegas, for instance the corner of 8th and National is known historically as Zion Hill. Schools, courthouses and other public buildings, such as the Las Vegas Carnegie Library, occasionally were placed, free-standing, on their own block. In contrast, commercial buildings built side-by-side at the sidewalk's edge gained their effect in combination with their neighbors. Business districts taken as a whole became the symbol of the aspirations and vitality of the community.

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West Las Vegas

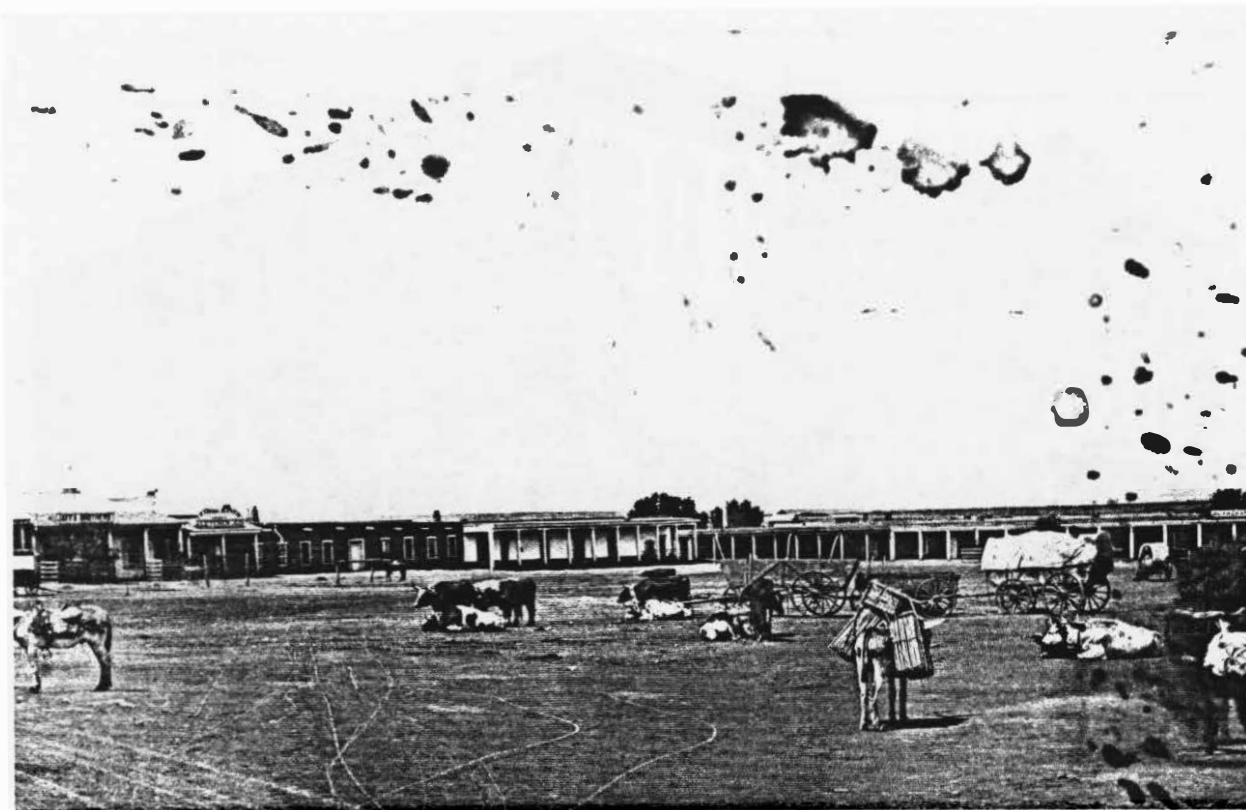
The first settlers built their flat-roofed, adobe houses one-room deep around the plaza to form a defensive enclosure, into which their livestock could be driven in case of Indian attack. So foreign was this architecture to the American

soldiers who occupied Las Vegas in 1846 that some had trouble discerning a city at first glance. "I saw, I thought, a great clay bank," one Lt. Colonel Phillip Cooke, "a singular one indeed, but I thought it must be an extensive brickyard and kilns. In fact it was Las Vegas; the dwellings being low square blocks, sides and tops of sun-dried yellow bricks or adobes; the streets, and large square, being of the same color." The subsequent interaction of the established Spanish-Mexican building tradition with this new American population and its own construction technology, styles and building types yielded a distinctive hybrid architecture.

Plaza architecture. The greatest change occurred around the plaza. As in Santa Fe, bricks and window glass hauled over the Santa Fe Trail, along with lumber from the first local sawmills, were used to remake existing buildings. New doors and windows appeared, while fresh, white porches took the place of the portals prescribed in the Laws of the Indies. Pedimented door and window lintels, and porch posts wrapped with pieces of molding to simulate classical columns, were a provincial form of the Greek Revival, known today in New Mexico as the Territorial Style. After the Civil War, as property values rose, some two-story, adobe business blocks with full, two-story porches were built, buildings that extended over a hundred feet back from the plaza.

Although the railroad by-passed the plaza, and some merchants began to relocate to the new town around the depot, the better-established merchants cast their lot with Old Town. In 1880, they replaced the dusty wagon yard of the plaza with a park enclosed by a white picket fence. The following year they erected the commercial Plaza Hotel, and by the mid-1890s had replaced most of their adobe buildings with modern business blocks. By the turn of the century, new business buildings also lined the old access to the river, now known as Bridge Street--the main connection to the new town.

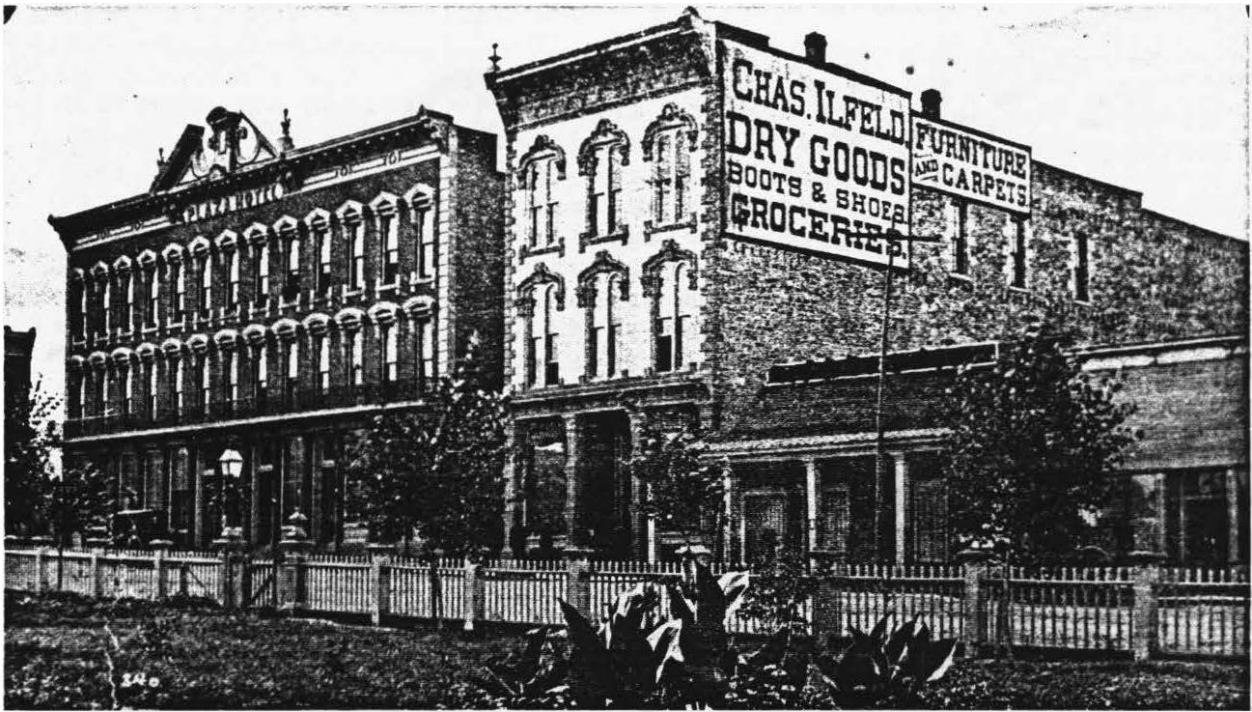
Around the plaza, as elsewhere across the country, a regional vernacular was supplanted after the arrival of the railroad by mass-produced materials and nationally-popular styles. The typical new business block had stores on the first floor with offices, a fraternal lodge, hotel rooms, or the merchant family's residence above. This mixed use was reflected on the facades by large, plate-glass display windows on the ground floor (made possible by cast iron columns) and residential-scaled, sash windows above. While the side and rear walls were built of utilitarian brick, unfinished stone or wood frame, the facades were lavished with ornament and finer materials. Heavy, Italianate windowhoods and bracketed cornices, mass-produced in the Midwest of pressed metal and cast iron, were imported by rail. By the turn of the century, a commercial main street, indistinguishable from a thousand others across the country, marched up Bridge Street and around the old Mexican plaza.



57. East corner of the plaza. (Furlong, c 1878, MNM #112937)

58. West corner of the plaza. (Furlong, c. 1882, MNM #67932)

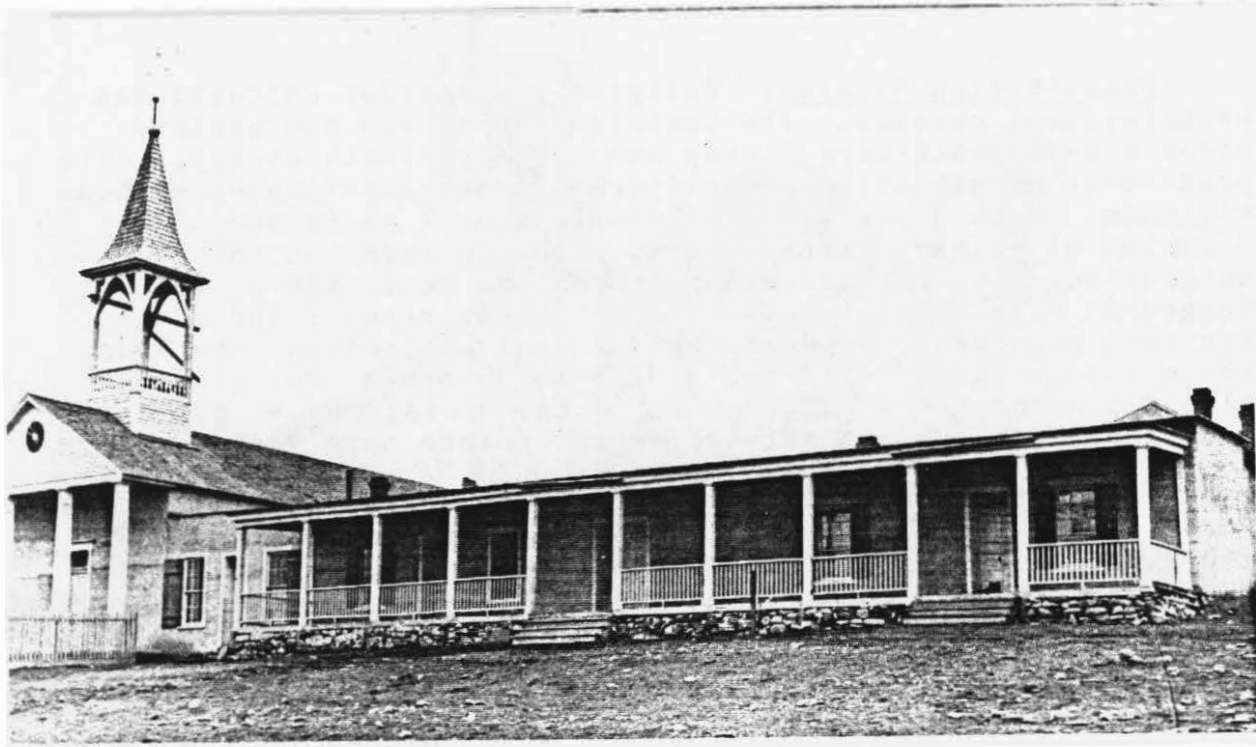




59. Plaza Hotel and Ilfeld Building, northeast side of plaza. (about 1885, MNM # 14719).

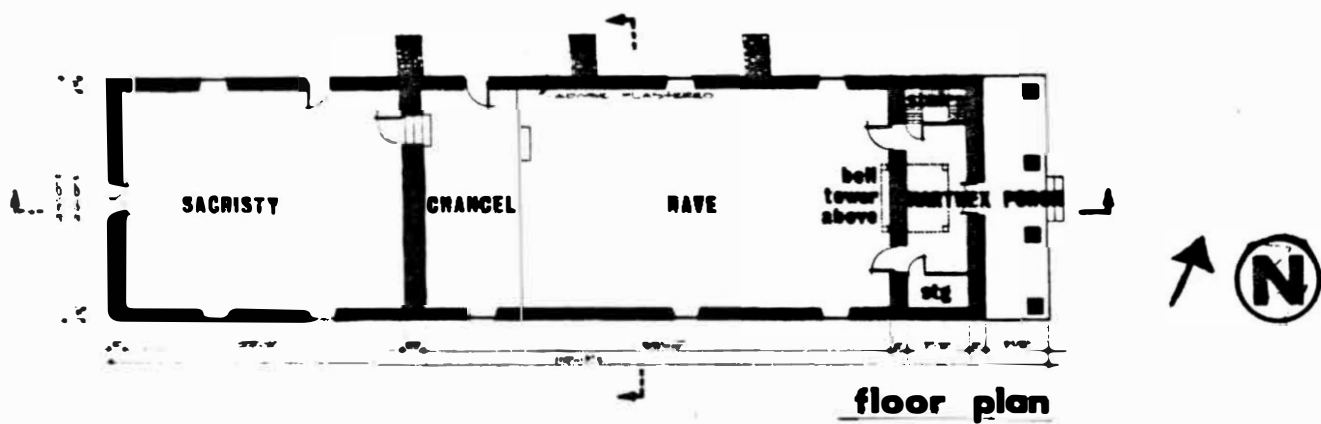
60. Looking southeast on Bridge St. (1892, MNM # 14720).





61. Presbyterian Mission and School, South Chavez, 1871-73.
(James Furlong, about 1880, MNM # 148838)

62. Plan of Presbyterian Mission. (UNM, Fine Arts Library)

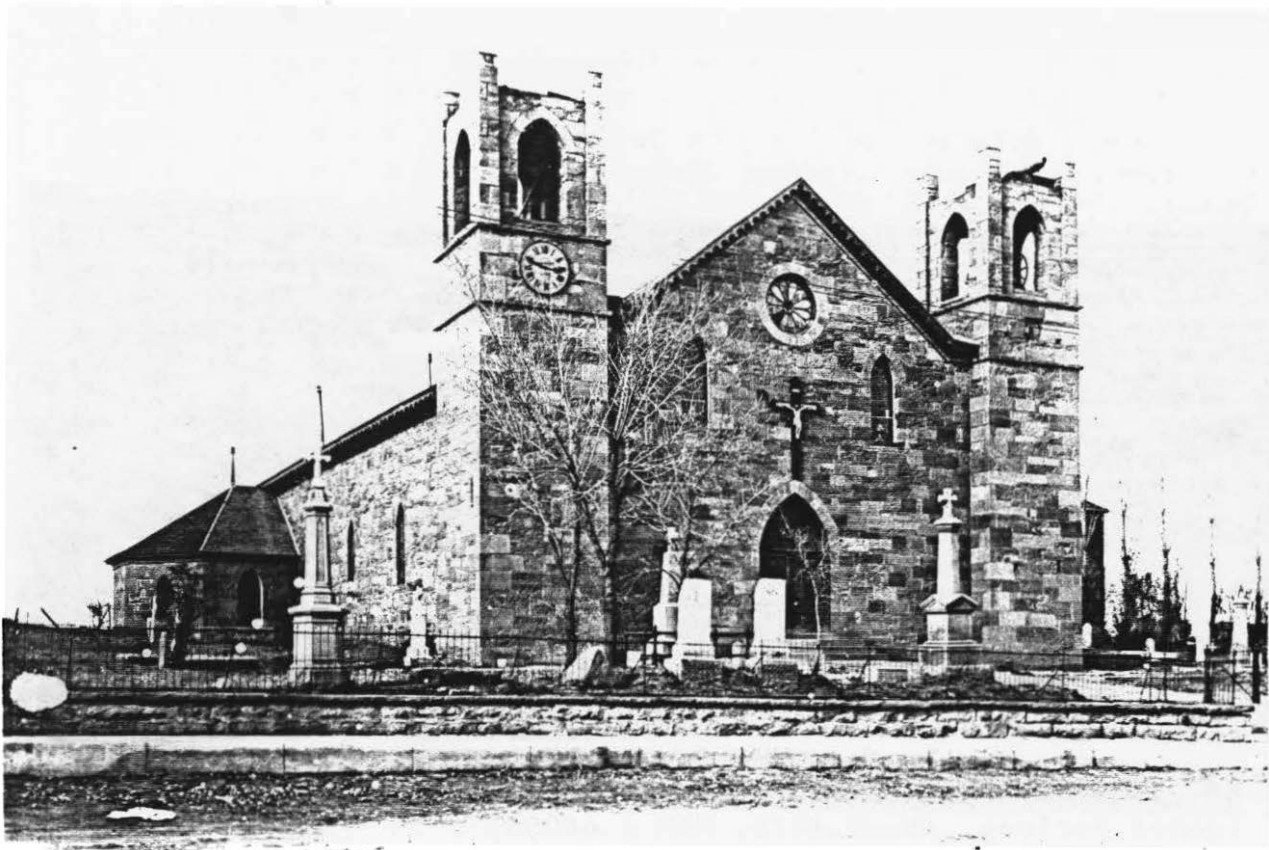


Presbyterian Mission. Religion saw similar cultural and architectural changes. The Catholic church was reorganized under a new French-born bishop and largely French clergy, while protestant missionaries proselitized in the established Mexican villages. Methodists and Presbyterians made an informal division of missionary territory, with Las Vegas as the headquarters for Presbyterian work on the east side of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. Through their schools and adult training programs in modern agricultural and business methods, the missionaries offered not just a more secular religion but also a program for acculturation to the social gospel of individual advancement through education and hard work.

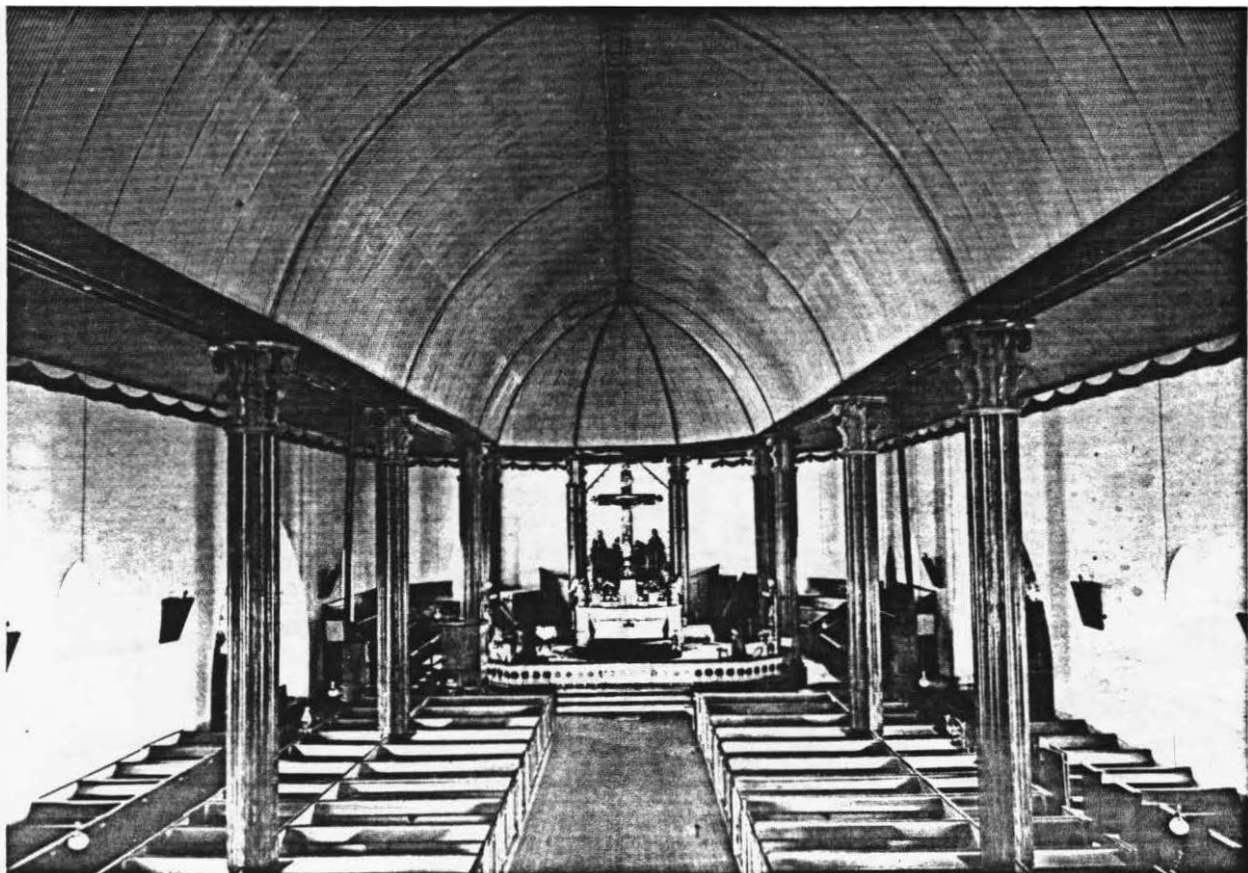
Erected between 1871 and 1873, the Presbyterian Mission was surprisingly similar to Spanish Colonial mission complexes of 250 years before in its adobe construction and single nave church with an attached residential/school courtyard (now demolished). While the Presbyterians probably had no knowledge of the Spanish missions, in Las Vegas they combined locally available materials, the simplest Christian church type, and the prevailing Mexican residential form. The progressive spirit, here as elsewhere in New Mexico, was expressed architecturally in the attempt to make new and remodeled adobe churches resemble the Greek, Romanesque and Gothic Revival churches of the East and Europe.

Architectural historian Bainbridge Bunting has called the Presbyterian mission New Mexico's "only attempt at a classical temple front during the Territorial period." Its pitched roof extends forward to form the pediment of the temple front entry. The four boxed, wooden piers, which taper slightly as they rise, have molding bases and capitals. The double entrance--an especially fine example of Territorial Style woodwork--is framed by endboards with molding capitals, which support a cornice with molding dentils. This cornice is repeated below the transom window, while the embrasure panels repeat the pattern of the door panels. A Stick Style belfry awkwardly straddles the roof ridge. The adobe walls of its 55 by 25 foot nave are 18 to 24 inches thick.

Our Lady of Sorrows. The original, Mexican period, adobe church stood on the high (west) side of the plaza, facing east, which allowed the optimal functioning of its transverse clerestory window. The foundations for the new church of Nuestra Senora de los Dolores (Our Lady of Sorrows) were laid in 1862 on church property one block to the northwest. Work progressed slowly until a concerted building campaign in 1868 and 1869 completed the church. Because its construction predates the railroad and the proliferation of industrial machinery, it represented a massive, devotional undertaking. The red-brown sandstone quarried 25 miles away near Anton Chico is laid in a random ashlar pattern with blocks finished in a variety of pecked surfaces.



63, 64. Our Lady of Sorrows Catholic Church, West National,
1862-69. (Jesse Nusbaum, about 1907, MNM #s 61252, 61253)





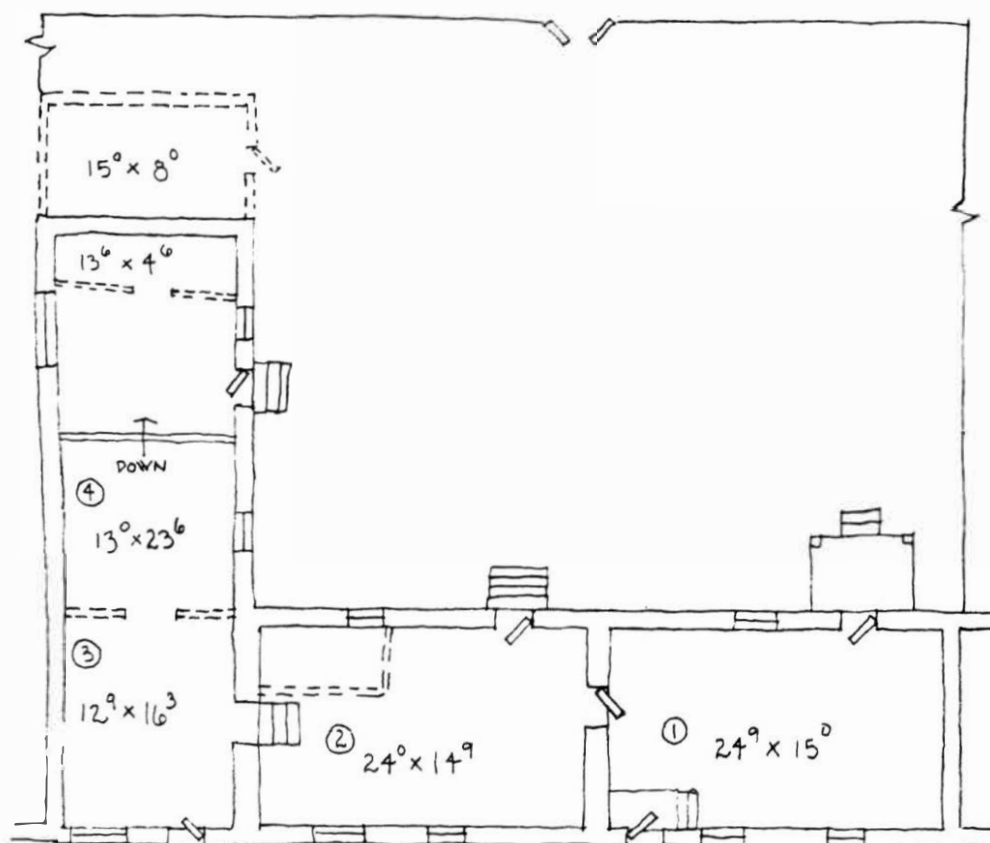
65. Looking northeast over South Pacific and Gallinas River.
(James Furlong, about 1878, MNM # 66005)

66. Same view, Pearce House (middle of photo). (about 1900,
MNM # 70698)





67, 68. South Pacific, Pearce House (middle of photo).
(Wilson, Govaars)



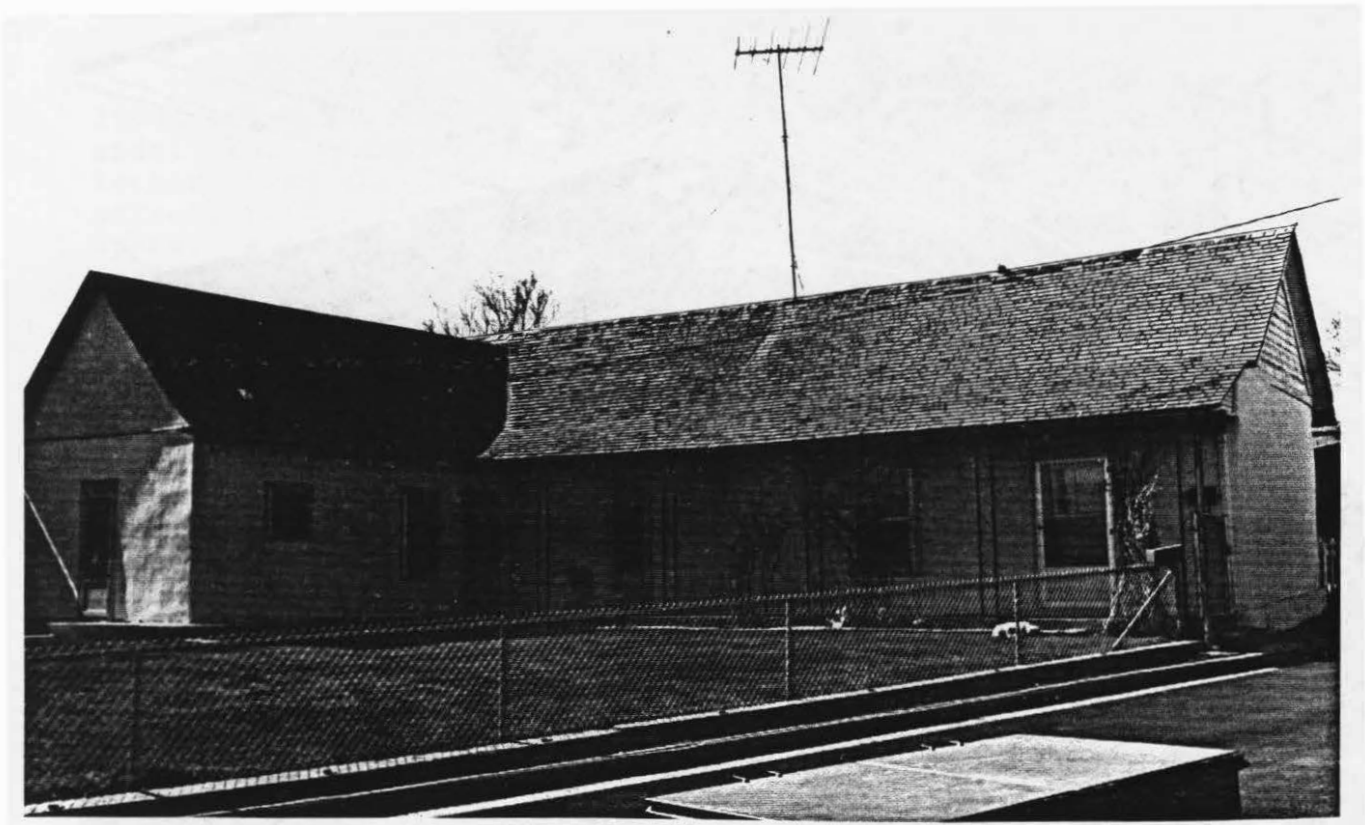
The provincial Gothic Revival design of Our Lady of Sorrows clearly reflects the tastes of the French-born clergy. The paired towers, nave walls and baptistry are all pierced by pointed, ogee windows. The facade and nave lancets and a small rose window are finished with stained glass. A cut-out bargeboard has been removed from the front gable, although wooden brackets remain under the eaves. A front porch added in 1969 matches the original materials with a rough-faced dark sandstone and terneplate roofing.

The nave, measuring 60 by 150 feet, terminates in a semi-hexagonal apse and is flanked by hexagonal side chapels. The Carpenter Gothic interior effects ribbed columns with wooden molding, along with cut-out capitals and pressed metal, vaulted ceilings over the nave and side aisles. "Stars" punched in the apse ceiling and the subtle, light blue paint scheme form a celestial ceiling, which is mimicked in the parish church of nearby San Jose.

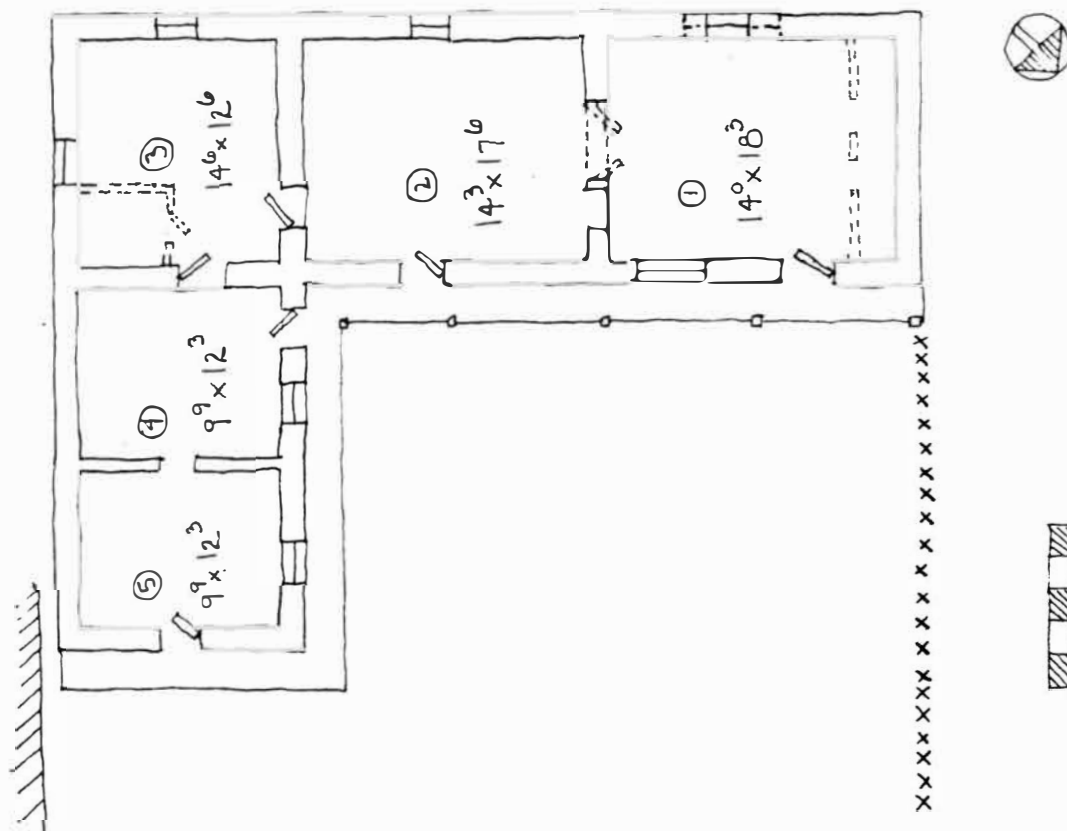
Residential architecture. Because of their number and chronological variety, the houses of west Las Vegas best represent the history of the mingling of Spanish and Anglo architectural traditions. The accompanying article gives an overview of this history, which offers a background for the additional comments here on two related houses.

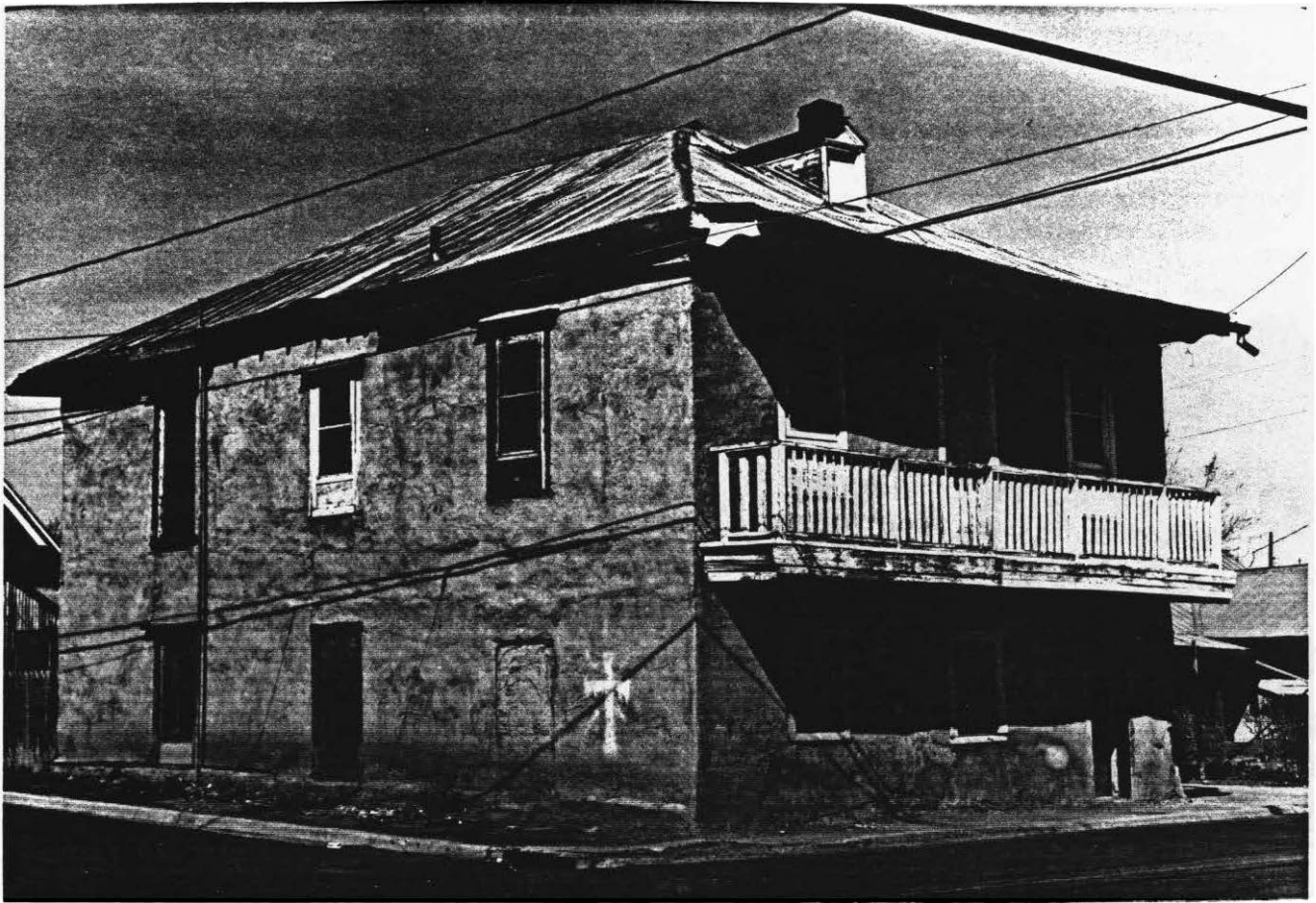
Rheua Pearce House. The long row of connected houses that line the east side of South Pacific below the plaza, many of which had Spanish-Mexican style portals in the earliest photographs, were likely built in the 1830s and 40s. The house at 1214 has long been the home of Rheua Pearce, for over forty years a leading historic preservationist. The two original rooms, measuring approximately fifteen by twenty-five feet, were subdivided early this century by wooden partition walls, which Pearce has since removed. The building sits directly on the ground, or perhaps on a loose stone footing, and it steps room-by-room with the slope of South Pacific, dropping over three feet between rooms three and two, and another half foot between two and one. The rear arm of the house and a similar arm that projected back from the house to the south once joined with an adobe wall to form a courtyard. Only one covered zaguan remains in the twenty houses facing onto South Pacific; most gain access to their courtyards from South Gonzales to the rear.

Torres-Montoya House. The history of this house reveals the great flexibility for expansion--and contraction--of houses in the Hispanic vernacular tradition. By 1890, it had grown into a side-facing, U-shaped house of about five rooms, situated at the street's edge. A covered passage through the longer wing at the street's edge led back to a courtyard formed by the house, an adobe wall along the street, and adjoining houses. The courtyard wall and the two arms of the house projecting to the northeast were removed between 1902 and

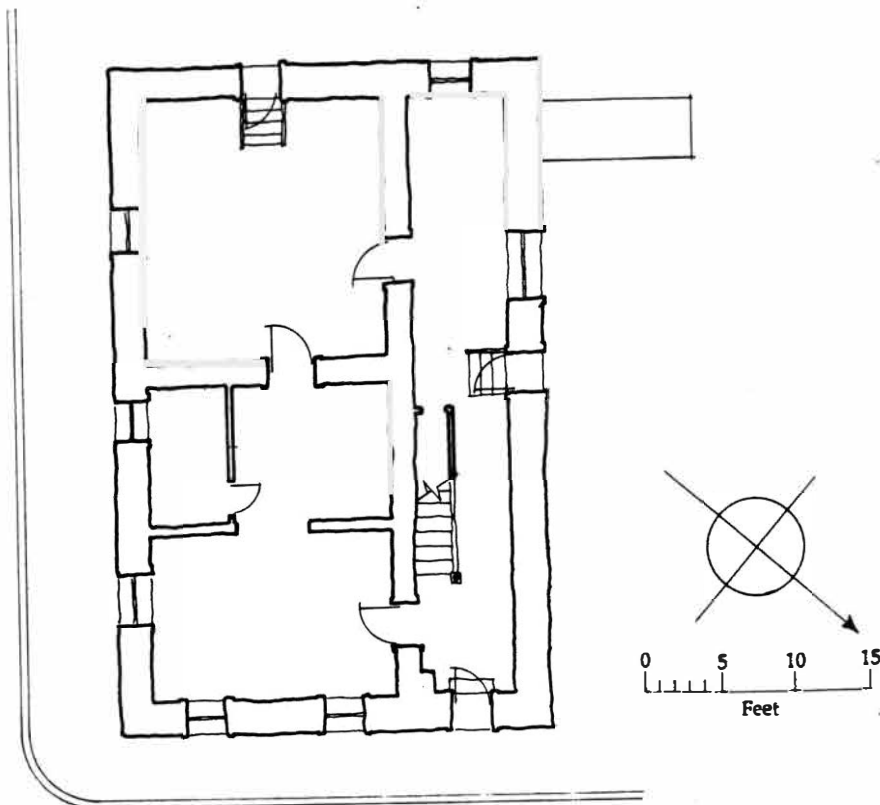


69, 70. Nic Montoya House, 325 Santa Fe. (Wilson, Govaars)





71, 72. Benigno Romero House, 2003 Hot Springs, 1874.
(Wilson, Baca/Hesse)



1908, leaving a single-file building with a full porch along its side. When the owners added rooms 4 and 5 about 1910, they located them to the rear of the building, thus opening it to the street, rather than at the street's edge to form a sheltered space, as the earlier tradition would have dictated. It is a small addition in the Hispanic manner, built of adobe and low to the ground, with a door on the end leaving open the possibility of a further addition. The trend toward smaller, specialized rooms, however, accounts for the subdivision of what would have been a traditionally-sized adobe room. The insertion of a wooden partition yielded two rooms 12 by 10 feet compared to the 14 by 18 feet of the original rooms 1 and 2.

When the current owner, Nick Montoya, purchased the house in 1931 it had dirt floors and cloth stretched over the vigas (mantas de techo) to catch dirt shifting down from the original flat roof. Besides modernizing these over the years, he has added a bathroom in the corner of room 3, replaced the wooden porch posts with wrought-iron supports, and opened up the public spaces with double doors between rooms 1 and 2 and new double windows in room one. While many builders awkwardly solved the need for more storage space with the addition of closets placed awkwardly in corners, Montoya reached a more elegant solution of building a full closet across the end of room 1.

Benigno Romero House. Before the arrival of the railroad, only in Santa Fe and the larger villages--Taos, Las Vegas, Albuquerque and Socorro--did rising property values push some business blocks and residences to two stories. While many had full Territorial Style porches, others had cantilevered porches, which resemble those of Spain, the Caribbean, Mexico and California. The Romero House has a side passage plan with a hallway along one side of the house, opening into two rooms on each floor. This house type represents two-thirds of the center passage plan type used for the officers' houses at U.S. Army forts in the late 1860s and for the nearby Romero de Baca House. While public and private functions were typically separated to either side in a center passage house, in side passage houses such as the Romero house, the living room or parlor and kitchen was on the first floor and bedrooms above.

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WHEN A ROOM IS THE HALL

by Christopher Wilson

Living and traveling in Northern New Mexico, in the villages and old sections of our towns, we see thousands of small adobe houses. While we are vaguely aware of minor differences from one area to another, we tend to class them all together as a simple folk or vernacular type. A closer study, however, reveals a more complex and varied history. How these buildings are constructed, how their rooms are laid out and used, how we approach such a house or receive a visitor, are all shaped by cultural values and attitudes. In one building we can see evidence of Pueblo Indian values; in another, Hispanic practices; in yet another, we find the two traditions mixed. If we are willing to put aside romantic preconceptions about the Spanish-Pueblo style, we even see that Anglo-American attitudes frequently play an important part.

Each area and each building is unique; each reveals the workings of a distinctive local tradition. A series of detailed studies of the folk houses of New Mexico would teach us much about the state's various cultures—their development, spread, and interminglings. This article presents the findings of one such study. Each of the approximately eight hundred houses of west Las Vegas, New Mexico, was examined from the outside. Twenty of these were selected as representative examples and studied in more detail, including the drawing and analysis of measured floor plans.

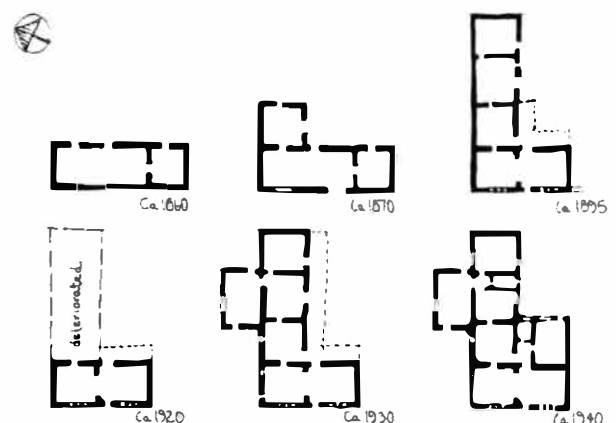
These buildings and related historical records indicate that a Hispanic style of building and a focus on one multi-purpose room provided the basis for local folk architecture. After the Civil War, Anglo-American buildings introduced new construction practices and house plans which separated public and private space. From 1870 to 1910 these new ideas were incorporated into the existing tradition. This hybrid tradition directed new construction up to 1940 and continues to affect house remodelings today (illus. 1).

There are two useful ways of interpreting Hispanic houses in New Mexico. One is to focus on the fully realized courtyard house; the other is to emphasize the individual unit, the room. The keenest observer of New Mexico in the 1850's, U.S. Attorney W. W. H. Davis, wrote in *El Gringo*, his popular account of the region, that all houses "whether in town or country, are built in the form of a square, with a courtyard in the center." This is an exaggeration caused, perhaps, by Davis' familiarity with the homes of the wealthy. The 1846 *Gilmer Map of Santa Fe*, for example, shows fifty-five complete courtyard houses, but also over a hundred U-shaped, L-shaped, and single-file buildings—the homes of common families. Of the two hundred fifty adobe residences on the 1882 *Bird's Eye View of Las Vegas* only two are

courtyard houses. The more numerous L-shaped and single-file houses were generally extended by adobe walls and by connected houses to form family courtyards. In fact, New Mexican Spanish acknowledged this situation by calling a courtyard surrounded on all sides by rooms, a *placita*, and a courtyard finished in part by a wall, a *plazuela*. *Placita* is now often applied to the courtyard house type and not simply the courtyard.

Both *placitas* and *plazuelas* lacked exterior windows and had only one large door, or pair of doors, which lead directly into the courtyard. Defense against nomadic Indian attack is the explanation commonly given for these unbroken exteriors. But in the cities and also in the heart of the settled area where the threat of attack was small, the actual explanation is less romantic. For example, W. W. H. Davis remarked: "There is a great dread of robbers among the people, and they will not always admit you before you are known." This comment is repeated by other early observers and seems to be the more plausible explanation.

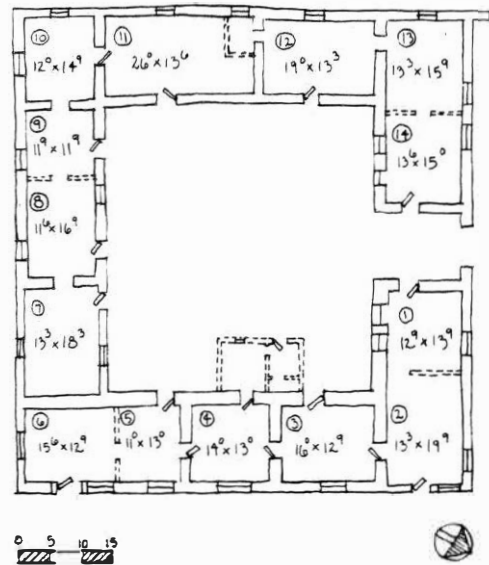
In addition to guarding against thieves, this arrangement provided a spatial and temporal distance between the threshold facing the public way and the family's private quarters. If a visitor was unacquainted enough with local custom to arrive during the *siesta*, the family could take whatever time necessary to compose themselves. In a wealthy household a servant might be sent to the door to conduct the guests to a large room, the *sala*.



Illus. 1. Sena-Silva House, 1906 North Gonzales. Stages of a changing tradition. 1860-95: piecemeal additions in the linear, Hispanic manner. 1895: Anglo-introduced symmetrical window/door/window facade. 1930: second entrance allows traditional Hispanic division into two households. 1940: Anglo organization of kitchen, bathrooms and first interior hallways.

Much more commonly, the host greeted the visitors at the exterior door, exchanged courtesies there, and then conducted the party across the courtyard to the *sala*.

The flat-roofed house of adobe or stone, built around a courtyard, has its roots in Mediterranean and Middle Eastern antiquity. Colonists carried it from Spain to central Mexico where a similar, indigenous type already existed. Spanish explorer/settlers and their Tlaxcalan Indian auxiliaries probably share credit for bringing the courtyard house to New Mexico about 1600. (Robert West, in an article on folk dwellings in Mexico, emphasizes the Indian role where others have traditionally given sole credit to the Spanish.) The persistence of the type in New Mexico is remarkable; one example remaining in Las Vegas, the Manuel Romero House (illus. 2) was not completed until about 1900. In 1882 this house was a flat-roofed, L-shaped building of three rooms (rooms 1-4; the frame partition between 1 and 2 is recent.) Rooms were added in stages, which completed the courtyard by 1902. The characteristic features of the Hispanic tradition are here: a single file of rooms forming an enclosure, a covered passage or *zaguan* leading in from the street, and a door for each room opening onto the courtyard.



Illus. 2. Manuel Romero House (Casa Redonda). South Pacific Ave. and Socorro St., ca. 1875-1900.

CULTURAL INFLUENCES IN THE ADOBE HOUSES OF WEST LAS VEGAS

Hispanic-American (1840-1900)	Anglo-American (1870-1900)	Hybrid (1870-1940)
1. room-by-room accretions	built at one time	multi-room accretions
2. linear or courtyard design	central hall or picturesque cottage	linear/central hall fusion
3. unwritten tradition	blueprints, builders' handbooks	unwritten tradition
4. inward, rear facing	street frontality	street frontality
5. at street's edge	set back from street	set back from street
6. connected to other houses	isolated	isolated
7. informal symmetry of openings to each room	overall exterior symmetry of openings	isolated symmetrical groups of openings
8. additions at edges (sides or rear)	additions at rear (maintain facade composition)	additions at rear (narrow lots)
9. rooms step w/slope	single-level foundations	single-level foundations
10. on ground	raised foundations	low to ground
11. rectangular, some square rooms	square rooms	square or divided rectangles
12. 13'-15' room widths	15'-16' widths	12'-13' widths
13. one exterior door per room facing rear	two entrances (front, rear)	one front door, many rear
14. one story	one and two story	one story
15. one room deep	two or more rooms deep	one room deep
16. flat roofed	gabled	gabled
17. courtyard and rooms for circulation	center hall organizes circulation	porch and rooms for circulation
18. one room for all uses	specialized rooms	specialized rooms
19. public/private combined	public/private separated	partial separation of public and private

The second approach to the Hispanic house has been most perceptively advanced by J. B. Jackson who emphasizes the importance of the individual room. In 1959, observing a still vital tradition in the upper Rio Grande area, Jackson wrote:

the house and the room are identical; the room is thought of and designed to be a completely self-sufficient unit with its own corner chimney (or flue), its own door, its own window; plenty of young Spanish-American working couples start married life in a one-room house standing by itself in a yard. They rapidly acquire a second room, it's true, and a third when they think they need it, but each of these additional rooms is pretty much of the same size, and built to be self-sufficient if necessary.

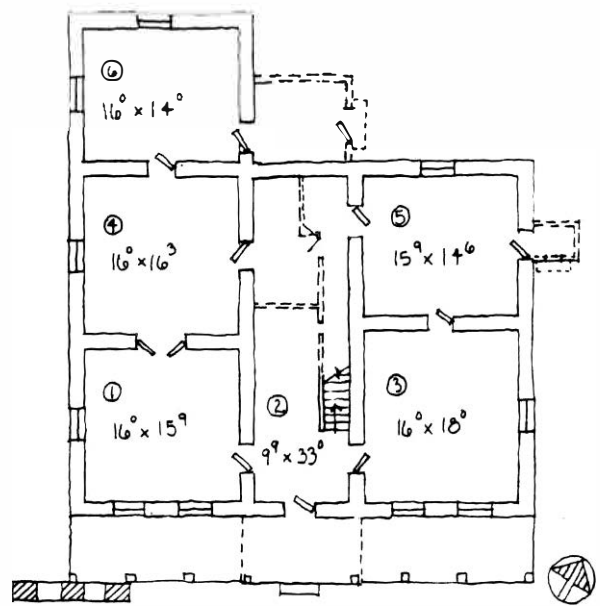
One way to elaborate this idea of the self-sufficient room is to consider how it is used. Santa Fe Trail travelers of the 1840's and 1850's were invariably struck by the use of a single, large room for every household function except food storage. Few had a more interesting first day in a New Mexican house than Lewis Garrard who later recounted his travels in *Wah-to-Yah and the Taos Trail*. Arriving at the Hispanic village of Taos late one day in 1846, he dined on potatoes with his hosts in their large *sala*. He declined an invitation to attend a *fandango*, and a mattress was unrolled from the wall for him. Shortly after he laid down, though, the dance commenced in the very room in which he was to sleep. Exhausted, he nevertheless fell asleep "amid a delicious reverie." He continues his tale the next morning: "At a late hour for a mountain man, I dressed by a blazing fire, although Señora St. Vrain and sister—a handsome brunette of some sixteen years—were in the room; they probably being accustomed by the 'free and easy' manners of the Valley to this liberty which they themselves took an hour before." In less than a day, Garrard had seen a single large *sala* used as a place for cooking, eating, entertaining, sleeping, bathing, and dressing. Other early travel accounts reinforce this picture of the multi-purpose *sala*.

These same accounts hint at another pattern, however. At a wedding in a wealthy household, W. W. H. Davis noted the use of adjoining rooms. Arriving at the house, he was conducted across the courtyard and through the *sala* to an adjacent room. There, he received refreshments before being invited back into the *sala* for the ceremony. Davis' general comment that "all rooms open directly into the patio except some that communicate directly with the *sala* and with each other" implies that rooms sometimes functioned in tandem. Additional evidence of this practice can be found in the original portions of several Las Vegas houses (ills. 1, 2, 7, 10) which pair a large rectangular room with a smaller square one.

But if one or at most two rooms served as the focus of family life, why were houses of up to twelve rooms built? Historically, some rooms stored food supplies. In a wealthy household, servants sometimes occupied a second set of rooms. Traveling the court circuit, Davis leased a room in a Socorro house: "The remainder of the building was inhabited by two families, one occupying the wing across the courtyard, while the other lived in the

sala." The generations of one extended family might organize and reorganize various households over the years and rent out unused portions of a courtyard house. The largest house in this study, the Romero House (ill. 2), was occupied by six families (four of which were related) in 1919. Each family rented a pair of rooms from the absentee owner. Today, the building's owner occupies rooms one to six across the front. Her daughter's family lives in rooms twelve through fourteen. A pair of two-room apartments are currently used for storage.

Anglo-American influences on architecture in New Mexico were slight before 1846. After the American occupation, however, a permanent military force and resident merchants and officials quickly began a campaign of modernization. By the end of the forties, sawmills were providing the territory's first milled lumber, doors, and windows. New windows, doors, and porches were used to reorient existing houses to the street. (*Portals* on the streets of Spanish colonial cities were primarily for commercial, not residential, use and were concentrated on the plaza.) New construction in Las Vegas after the American occupation continued to use adobe as the major material, however, and to follow the courtyard or linear house type. Only after the Civil War was a new center-hall house plan introduced by major construction projects at Ft. Union, twenty miles north, and at Ft. Marcy in Santa Fe. About 1870, the builders of the Julianita Romero de Baca House in Las Vegas (ills. 3, 4) closely followed the blueprints used at Ft. Marcy for officers' houses. They altered the rigid symmetry of the original by moving one interior wall to enlarge the parlor (room 3). Another concession to the local tradition was to place



Illus. 3. Julianita Romero de Baca House. 2008 N. Gonzales Rd., ca. 1870.



Illus. 4. Julianita Romero de Baca House.

the house low to the ground rather than on the two-foot high foundation indicated on the blueprints.

Of the 19th century floor plans brought to Las Vegas this centerhall plan was to have the greatest impact on the vernacular tradition. The picturesque cottage type (ill. 5), however, had some influence after the arrival of the railroad in 1879. These houses have asymmetrical facades, often with a front-facing gable to one side balanced by a porch across the remainder of the facade. Inside, the plan is informal, with the parlor and dining room opening into each other through double doors. To the rear, a short hall often organizes communication with the kitchen and bedrooms.

In contrast to the earlier Hispanic tradition, these new house types—the center-hall plan and the picturesque cottage—consciously address the street with full porches and symmetrical facades or balanced asymmetry. They were built all at once as self-contained units, set back from the street and apart from their neighbors. Hallways internalize the social distancing provided in the Hispanic tradition by the courtyard. Rooms begin to have spe-



Illus. 5. 1501 South Pacific Ave., ca. 1879–1882.

cialized uses. On the Ft. Marcy plan, for example, room three is designated as an office, room five a kitchen, rooms one and four merely as rooms (presumably bedrooms), and room six a store room. The hall allows movement within the house without passing through other rooms. This specialization of rooms and introduction of hallways combined to separate public and private spaces and functions within the house—a significant change from the multi-purpose *sala*.

In his groundbreaking social history of the family, *The Centuries of Childhood*, Phillipe Aries correlated similar developments in Europe to a reorientation of social structure from the medieval to the modern. He described a density of social contact in the late Middle Ages, different from today, but quite similar to New Mexico in the 1840's. The wealthy households, in which social changes first occurred, were composed of a married couple, their children, unmarried relatives, protégés, servants, and visitors, often numbering fifteen to twenty people. All households, whether wealthy or poor, dwelt in one general-purpose room. Here they ate and slept, danced and worked, entertained and cooked. As a new desire for isolation and a sense of individuality developed during the Renaissance, some wealthy families began to create a private realm, isolated from the incessant sociability of the wider public realm. The organization of houses began to change, yielding specialized rooms and open corridors; servants were separated from the family, public spaces from private. These changes occurred first in urban centers among the lower nobility and middle class. They spread only gradually to provincial and rural areas and to other social groups.

We know, for example, that these changes occurred in rural Virginia between 1750 and 1800. Henry Glassie in his structuralist study, *Folk Houses in Middle Virginia*, identifies them as evidence of a shift from an agrarian economy with of a sense of communal and familial obligation to a money economy with the disintegration of the community into smaller groups and ultimately to the isolated individual. This change was accompanied by the telltale division and specialization of space and by the appearance of symmetrical facades which he feels “suggested impersonal stability.” Such changes in society and house design, Glassie notes, were often accompanied by overt signs of social upheaval: in Virginia by the Great Awakening and the American Revolution, in Ireland by the revolution of 1916, and, it can be added, in Las Vegas from 1889 to 1892 by the farmers’ rebellion led by *Las Gorras Blancas*, the White Caps. This burst of overt resistance to social change in Las Vegas corresponds to the peak of experimentation and change in the local building tradition.

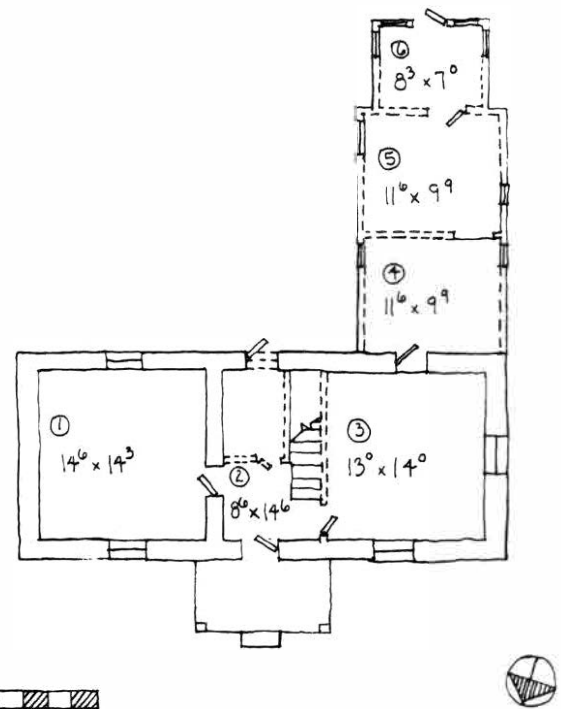
As early as 1870, Hispanic builders had begun to incorporate elements from the Anglo-American house types in their work. Evidence of the new attitudes often first appeared in small additions, alterations, or demolitions. The adobe walls forming the private courtyards of existing houses gradually disappeared. The addition of exterior porches completed the reorientation of once-private

Las Vegas houses toward the street. Groups of connected buildings were likewise broken into separate units by the removal of connecting rooms. The L-shaped house (ill. 6) was a popular design during this transitional period and continued to be built up to the Second World War. Constructed of adobe, with a linear organization of rooms, and each with its own door to the porch/hallway, this type clearly had its roots in the Hispanic tradition. But these houses were built in one or, perhaps, two stages; they face the street with porches, stand apart from other houses, and often rest on raised foundations—all indications of Anglo-American influence. While the asymmetrical massing of this design coincides with the picturesque house type, it is probably just that—coincidence—and not a case of direct influence.

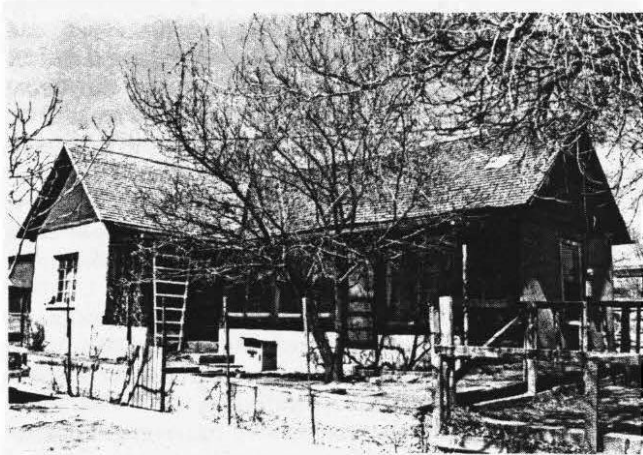
Among the most interesting houses of this period of experimentation from 1870 to 1910, are those which began as traditional flat-roofed, two-room adobes and incorporated the new influences in later additions. When the original core of the Rivera-Huie House (ills. 7, 8; rooms 1–3) was remodeled in the 1880's, its new facade was modeled closely on the symmetrical window/door/window grouping and centered gable of the officer's house. Inside, a hall was partitioned out of the original large room on the right, leaving it slightly smaller than the room to the left of the hall. Behind the symmetrical facade and beyond the centered entry hall, the builders continued to rely on Hispanic norms. Although the rear arm, like the second story, uses new wood frame construction, it takes the traditional form of a string of rooms, which serve as their own corridor and which step with the slope of the site. (Steps indicating changes in level between rooms are noted in the plan illustrations.)

The Tafoya-C. de Baca House began as a similar, flat-roofed, two-room adobe (ills. 9, 10; rooms 1, 2), but took a different direction as it developed. The original core was enlarged about 1890 by the addition of rooms three and four and of a wrap-around porch. The asymmetry of the facade and the wide opening between the new living room and parlor show the direct influence of the pic-

turesque cottage. The use of a window/door/window grouping from the center-hall house type is an isolated bit of symmetry. That grouping is shifted slightly to the right to balance the front gable and to create a symmetrical window placement inside. This subtle adjustment of the openings and the quality of the wood details reveal the hand of an inventive folk builder whose work is identifiable elsewhere in town. Subsequent additions show a less skillful builder at work. Rooms five through seven extend the original two-room portion in the traditional linear fashion. The separate newlyweds' house,



Illus. 7. Rivera-Huie House, 531 National St., ca. 1865–1890.



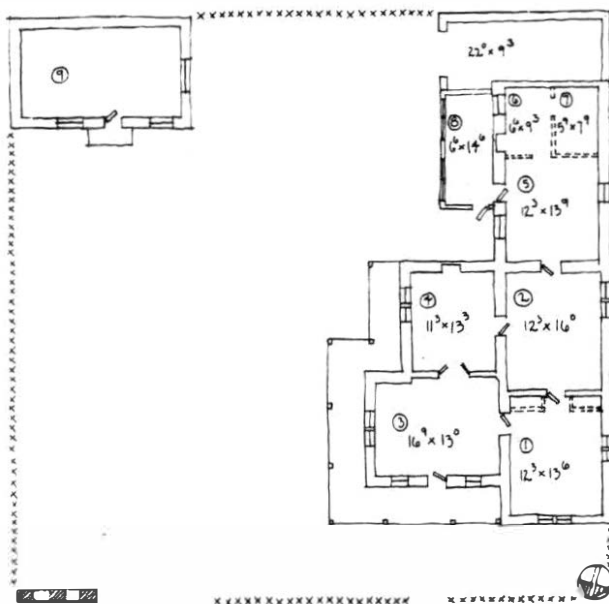
Illus. 6. 324 Perez Rd., ca. 1902.



Illus. 8. Rivera-Huie House.



Illus. 9. Tafoya-C. de Baca House. 411 Santa Fe Ave., ca. 1875–1925.



Illus. 10. Tafoya-C. de Baca House.

built in the 1920's reproduces room three of the large house—even repeating the off-center window/door/window grouping.

All of the houses studied have been remodeled inside to meet changing needs. (The wood frame walls of these remodelings are noted by dotted lines in the plan illustrations.) The most significant change has been the division of the large *salas* into smaller spaces. These subdivisions and additions to existing houses accommodated the new desire for specialized rooms. But because corridors generally were not also added, the rooms themselves double as hallways. Although the earlier uses of the *sala* had been parceled out to separate rooms, the adoption of linear circulation patterns continues to blur the distinction between public and private space.

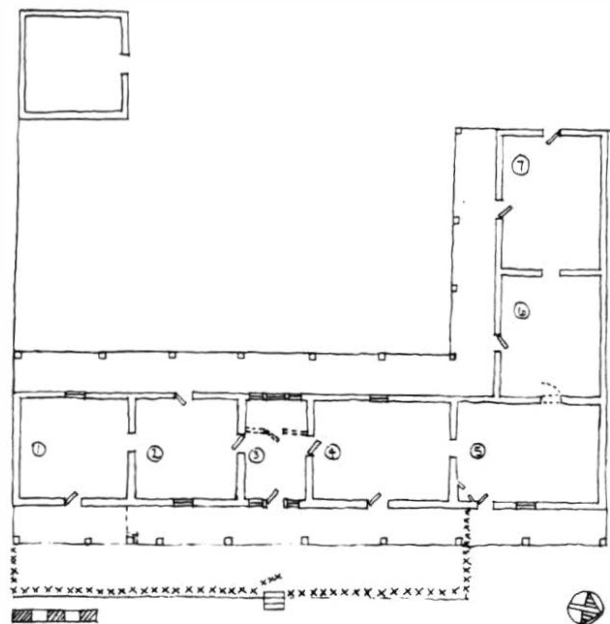
Starting in the 1920's, the installation of utilities fixed the location of modern kitchens in existing rooms. The creation of interior bathrooms has been less straightfor-

ward. In some cases (ill. 2), the bathroom was added on the outside, connected to one of the many existing doors. More frequently, it is cramped into the corner of a bedroom or beside the kitchen. In the three houses with center halls (ills. 3, 7, 11), the bath has been placed at the rear of the hall. This solution closes the corridor and forces circulation through the rooms.

The implications of this development are clearest in the Blanchard-Gallegos House (ills. 11, 12), because it was built by an Anglo-American family but remodeled by a Hispanic-American family. An elaborate Territorial Style entrance marks the original hallway (room 3) which organized a hierarchy of spaces: kitchen and parlor to either side, private spaces further removed. Today, with the bathroom inserted in the hall, this entrance is not often used. A chain-link fence fronting the house directs the visitor instead to a door-in the corner bedroom. The circulation pattern runs through the long file of rooms: from the bedroom, through the living room, across the hall, through the kitchen, and either to another bedroom or out to the back courtyard. This reassertion of linear circulation suggests the continuation of a close-knit family structure, rooted in a Hispanic tradition which has not entirely adopted values of individuality and privacy.

Given the choice, many families do move into new suburban tract houses north of town; but the old tradition lives on in the way the historic buildings are used and, here and there, in small building additions. It is difficult to know whether, in the adobe houses of Las Vegas, we are seeing merely the remnants and vestiges of the Hispanic way of building or the signs of a modified but still vital tradition.

Architects, planners, and historians in New Mexico



Illus. 11. Blanchard-Gallegos House, 1315 Chavez Rd., ca. 1875.



Illus. 12. Blanchard-Gallegos House.

should be aware of this question. We often claim to respect and support the continuation of New Mexico's cultural variety, but that sentiment too often goes no further than a romantic appreciation of folk architecture and the application of superficial Spanish-Pueblo styling to new buildings. A deeper response requires us to delve into the relationship between cultural values and architecture. Designers of low-income or senior citizen housing, city plans, or tract houses should consider the values of those who will be affected by their work. A handful of young Pueblo Indian architects and planners are working with their elders to infuse their work with their culture's values. It is more difficult, however, for a person of one culture to fully understand and design for people of another culture. In addition, the Uniform Building Code, HUD and FHA standards for new construction make demands based on unarticulated cultural values which constrain the designer. These difficulties may best be circumvented by emphasizing the rehabilitation of historic houses and neighborhoods as a direct way to sustain cultural variety.

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This article is an abbreviation of: "The Adobe Houses of West Las Vegas," in: Chris Wilson, *History and Preservation in Las Vegas*, Vol. III (Las Vegas, 1984). That work was funded in part by the New Mexico Historic Preservation Division. Field measurements, photographs, and measured plans of the houses studied in detail are housed at their offices in Santa Fe. Sven Govaars produced the measured plans.

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East Las Vegas

The Railroad Town. The economic importance to Las Vegas of the trade developed around the railroad was enhanced by the location here of a railroad division headquarters. The construction of a nine-stall roundhouse in 1880 meant that mechanics and right-of-way gangs, as well as the depot and train crews, would make Las Vegas home. As rail traffic grew through the years, the original roundhouse was enlarged to sixteen stalls by 1899. Businesses dependent on the railroad also congregated along the tracks: a foundry, lumber and wool scouring mill, and dry goods, grocery and hardware warehouses. North of the Castenada Hotel and depot is the prominent Brown and Manzanares Warehouse (now Hays Plumbing) built between 1898 and 1902, and southwest of the depot is the Neo-classical Gross-Blackwell (later -Kelly, and now PNM) Building built in 1919.

Santa Fe Bankruptcy and Revival. The Atchison, Topeka Santa Fe Railroad, like countless other businesses, was caught up in the headlong rush to develop the West after the Civil War. During the 1880s, in particular, the Santa Fe pushed its lines through a vast unpopulated territory. They sought to head off competing railroads and to claim extensive grants of land authorized by Congress to encourage the construction of trans-continental lines. Having made substantial capital outlays, but unable to sell most of its landholdings and lacking adequate traffic to sustain its operations, the Santa Fe went bankrupt in the depression known as the Panic of 1893. Two years later it was reorganized as the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway.

In 1896, Edward Ripley was named president of the line, a position he would hold until 1920. Two aspects of Ripley's background qualified him to lead the Santa Fe's recovery. First, as a member of the organizing committee of the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, he had been exposed to mass-market promotion and to the public relations potential of architecture. Second, he had built a reputation as an innovative railroad manager. Under Ripley, the Santa Fe became a national leader in corporate image-making and in modern efficiency management (Taylorism on the rails).

Architectural Image-making. The Columbian Exposition structure that most influenced the Santa Fe Railway was the California Building, which ecclectically combined elements from four Spanish Colonial missions in California. The Santa Fe soon began building depots, lunch rooms and track-side hotels in this romantic California Mission Style. The purpose was twofold: to increase passenger traffic by attracting tourists to the Southwest, and to improve the line's public image at a time when the Populist movement portrayed railroads as monopolistic and called for the regulation of their rates. These Mission Style hotels and



73. Castenada Hotel, Douglas and Railroad Avenues, Frederick Roehrig, 1897. (MNM # 14705)

74. Santa Fe Railway Roundhouse, south end Railroad Avenue, 1919. (Wilson)



lunch rooms have long been associated with the Fred Harvey Company, which managed them; after all, they were known as Harvey Houses. But although Mary Colter of the Harvey Company designed their interiors, it was the Railway that chose the Mission Style as its corporate image and financed, built and owned all the structures.

The first Mission Style buildings in New Mexico was the Castenada Hotel, designed by Fredrick L. Roehrig and built in Las Vegas in 1897. Its wood frame structure is sheathed in a buff brick veneer, although the depot here and in most other Harvey Houses were a light-tan pebble dash stucco. Both the Castenada and the depot, built shortly thereafter, employ the Mission Style's trademark red tile roofs, mixtilinear parapets, encircling arcades and, at the hotel, a romantic bell towers.

Shops and Operations. While the first Mission Style depots and hotels were being built at the turn of the century, steps were also being taken to reduce operational costs: larger locomotives were developed and the line was rebuilt for heavier loads and more gradual grades; shops were centralized at the most advantageous locations; employee bonuses and a pension program were begun; record keeping in the shops and supply stores became more detailed; and a system of apprentice instruction was instituted. All were aimed at improving efficiency and, thereby, reducing costs and increasing profits.

To understand what happened next, it helps to know a bit about the maintenance of steam locomotives, which provided the primary power for American railroads until the ascendance of diesel engines in the late 1940s and 1950s. Every 4 to 6 hours, a steam engine was rid of clinkers--the irregular lumps left after coal firing--and its moving parts and pipes were inspected, lubricated and, if necessary, repaired. Once a day, fire tubes, flues and smoke boxes were cleaned and boilers were washed out to remove mineral build-up. Each morning, the locomotive would depart from its home roundhouse for a run of 100 to 150 miles to the next division point. From Las Vegas, the division points were Raton to the north and Albuquerque to the south (with a small round house at Lamy for engines on the Santa Fe spur line and the helper engines for Glorieta Pass). There, in another roundhouse, inspections, lubrication and necessary repairs were made, and, outside, in adjoining ash pits, clinkers and ashes were dropped. After the return trip, daily maintenance was performed and the engine housed in its home roundhouse. Roundhouses were also equipped with drop pits and small machine shops to perform general repairs. Every 12 to 18 months, a locomotive was taken to a large shop, such as the one in Albuquerque, for a major overhaul consisting of complete disassembly, repair or replacement of parts, reassembly and extensive testing. While the Las Vegas

roundhouse would employ 380 in round-the-clock shifts, the Albuquerque locomotive shops and roundhouse employed 1,500 at its peak.

The bonus system and record keeping would have the greatest effect on new shop construction. First, standardized schedules were written to cover every step in the maintenance and repair of each locomotive type. Next, an ideal time was calculated for the completion of each step. Any worker who completed the work in less than one-and-one-half times the allotted period received a pay bonus. Ideal times were adjusted for each shop once it was discovered that local machinery and work place conditions effected efficiency. A leading trade journal, the **Engineering Magazine**, explained that: "exact comparison between performances of the same operation in different shops is permitted. Variations or defects of practice, methods or machinery are thus immediately apparent, and may be investigated and corrected." With methods increasingly perfected, the two remaining factors that most effected efficiency were the presence of overhead traveling cranes and adequate lighting. It therefore became possible to calculate that the cost of building modern shops, which incorporated these features, was justified by the resulting reduction of labor costs.

New Shops. The Santa Fe constructed a series of modern locomotive shop complexes at Topeka, Kansas; Albuquerque, New Mexico; Cleburne, Texas; and San Bernardino, California. Up and down the line, the first generation of stone and heavy timber roundhouses, brick and wood frame service buildings, and timber bridges were also replaced. Reinforced concrete, which had been introduced to the United States in the 1890s, was the new material of choice for industrial construction. It was fire-proof, required less maintenance than wood, brick or stone, dampened machine vibration better, and was quicker and more economical to build. Because the structure was reduced to a minimum, large portions of walls were left free for windows to better light the shops.

In 1917, a 34-stall roundhouse of reinforced concrete, steel and glass was built at the south end of the Las Vegas rail yards. This roundhouse followed a standardized plan designed by the Santa Fe's engineering department in Chicago. Such standardized plans detailed the construction of a single locomotive stall, which then could be multiplied to produce the number of stalls needed for each new roundhouse. The tall center section, cutting across the middle of each stall, allowed the addition of two improvements: clerestory windows, and a 7-1/2 ton traveling crane, which facilitated minor locomotive repairs. The crane consisted of a girder mounted on wheels that traveled along a set of rails set at opposite sides of the monitor roof. Motors powered both the movement of the crane along the overhead rails, and the heavy wench

that hung down from the traveling girder.

Steam Locomotive Decline. Traffic peaked on the Santa Fe in the 1920s, dropped sharply in the 1930s because of the Great Depression and the rise of the automobile and the trucking industry, and recovered temporarily during the Second World War. In 1935, the Santa Fe began experimenting with diesel engines, which proved to be more economical to operate, run longer distances and require less frequent maintenance than steam locomotives. Because of the difficulties it had always had supplying steam locomotives with coal and water on its western lines, the Santa Fe became a leader in the conversion to diesel. The Second World War halted the purchase of new engines and the Las Vegas roundhouse and Albuquerque shops experienced a final peak of activity. The switch to diesel was resumed after the war; 1,261 new engines had been purchased by 1952, the last steam engine was retired from the Santa Fe in 1956 and the roundhouses closed. Most have been demolished by the railroads intent on reducing their tax and maintenance expenses, while maintaining control of their rights-of-way. The Las Vegas roundhouse is unusual because it has passed into private hands and is now used as a garage and storage building for a feed supply company.

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The Single Family House. The arrival of the railroad in 1879 began an increase in immigration from elsewhere in the U.S. The vast majority of newcomers settled east of the river in New Town. They built with wood, brick and stone in a variety of primarily Anglo-American folk house types and new, nationally-popular styles. But more importantly, they introduced the free-standing, single-family house as the primary dwelling type. The pre-Civil War housing reform movement had advanced the family as the chief agent for moral improvement, and the single-family house as its physical manifestation--a private refuge from an increasingly turbulent world ruled by commercial competitiveness and industrialism. A low, front yard fence and raised foundation often gave a spatial expression to the insular, elevated role of the home. But while the new suburban houses following the Civil War were consciously picturesque in design, and were placed in quasi-rural settings of lawns and trees, their mass-produced details and the resources for their construction were based on the very commercial and industrial development that they turned away from. The house was generally viewed not only as a sign of a family's cultivation but also of its wealth and, by direct equation, its social status.

Residential Segregation. Street cars and commuter railroads after the Civil War fostered the flight from the industrial city to the suburb. It also accomplished de facto ethnic and economic class segregation. Although Las Vegas had a horse-drawn and later an electrical trolley system, it, and other New Mexican towns, were not large enough to develop distinct suburbs; Las Vegas' trolley served instead to link the old plaza to the depot, and the community to the Montezuma Hot Springs Resort five miles to the north.

Residential segregation in Las Vegas, never-the-less, became pronounced. The river between west and east formed a general ethnic boundary between Hispanics and Anglos. Within West Las Vegas, those wealthy Hispanics who built fashionable middle class houses, clustered next to the Catholic Church, and along South Pacific and Hot Springs Boulevard leading out of town. At first in East Las Vegas in the 1880s, wood frame workers' cottages stood shoulder to shoulder with stone Italianate villas. This was particularly true south of Douglas Avenue, near Lincoln Park, which developed first because it had irrigation water for lawns. But by the 1890s, economic segregation became more pronounced. The other side (southeast) of the tracks and the blocks aligned with the railroad tracks were primarily working class, while the broad hill north and northwest of Library Park became distinctly middle class. After the Second World War, there was a gradual ethnic integration of East Las Vegas and, in northern New Mexican towns in general, a notable Hispanic movement into the professions and Middle Class neighborhoods.



75. 700 Block Sixth Street (developed 1880-1900). (Jesse Nusbaum, about 1907, MNM #61244)

76. 1000 Block Sixth Street (developed 1898-1907). (Jesse Nusbaum, about 1907, MNM # 61286)



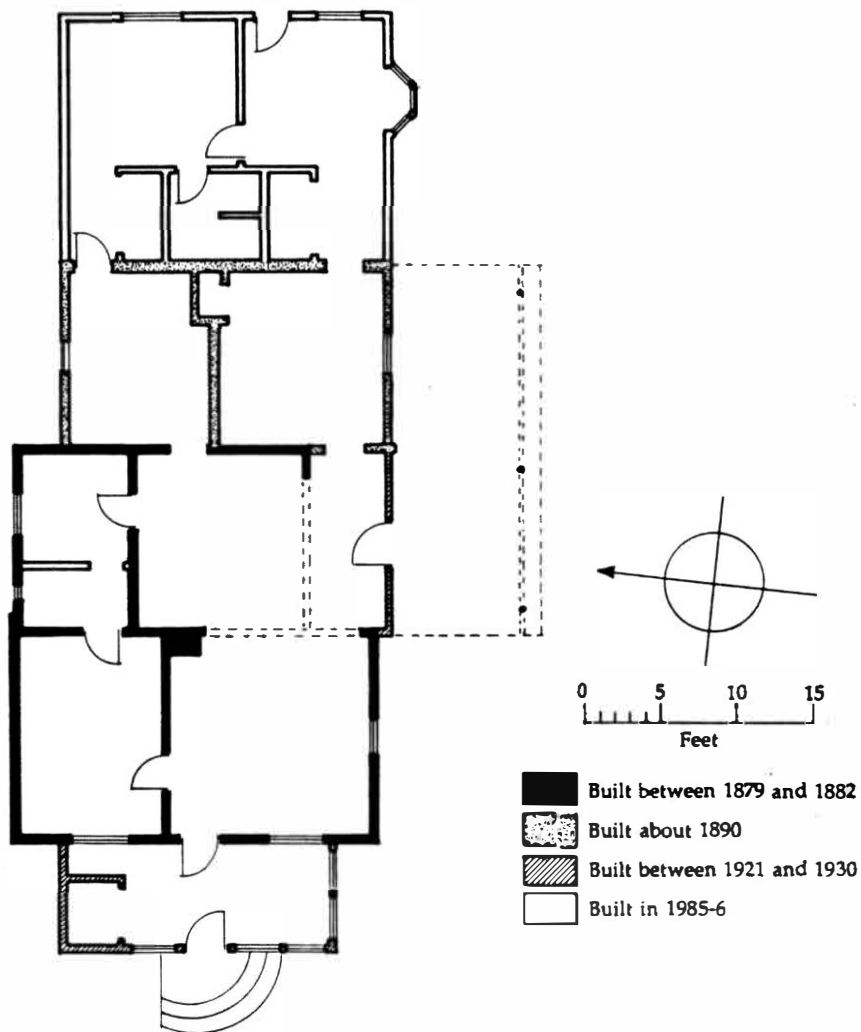
Streetscape Improvements. The symbolic importance of the middle class neighborhoods for the city's self-identity is best seen in an early postcard, ^{c. 1905} and the passage quoted earlier comparing west and east Las Vegas. Improving the appearance of the city had been one of the first concerns of the new city government of East Las Vegas after its incorporation in 1888. Streets were graded to improve drainage, and residents were ordered to construct plank sidewalks. Stone gutters were installed, and starting in 1898, brick and flagstone sidewalks began to be laid, followed within two years by the first cement sidewalks. During the 1890's, the city bought elm, maple and elder trees in lots of a thousand for the city parks and for sale to residents. Picket and wrought iron fences protected the first lawns, although, after the turn of the century, they were dispensed with and the lawns along north Sixth, Seventh and Eighth became a continuous semi-public space. The development of utility systems, which were viewed with great civic pride, brought modern amenities into the home: a water system (1880), gas lights and the first telephones (1881), a sewer system (1880s) and electric lights (1891). Most middle class houses also had coal-burning, hot air furnaces in their basements.

Folk House Types. Perhaps half of the new houses in the first decade after the arrival of the railroad were one-story, of wood frame construction, and used a variety of folk house plans: the hall and chamber, and a one-room deep center passage plan (both usually with a kitchen to the rear), the cross gable cottage (especially the L-shaped plan), and the shotgun house. They were typically gable roofed with clapboard siding and little ornamentation; some had raised foundations, the majority did not. Their modest size suited them to a single, twenty-five-foot-wide lot. Those that survived through the years were typically expanded to the rear and improved with larger porches in the then-prevailing style, be it Italianate, Queen Anne, Classical, Bungalow or wrought iron.

The McElroy House at 906 Fifth Street was constructed between 1879 and 1882 as a hall and chamber house. To the right is the hall, a hall in the old English sense of the word--a public, multipurpose space functioning as a living room to entertain visitors, a passageway from the door to the other rooms and a place for children or a relative to sleep. To the left is the main bedroom--the chamber. Behind the hall/living room was the original kitchen, to its right a small porch and to its left a small room, probably originally used as a storage pantry. About 1890, a pair of rooms were constructed along the back. In the 1920s, a faintly Bungalow Style porch was added and the side porch enclosed. At this point, the rooms were probably used (from front to back) as a living room, dining room and a kitchen on the right, and a bedroom, closet, bath and bedroom on the left. In 1985-86,



77, 78. McElroy House, 906 Fifth, 1879-82. (Wilson, Hesse)



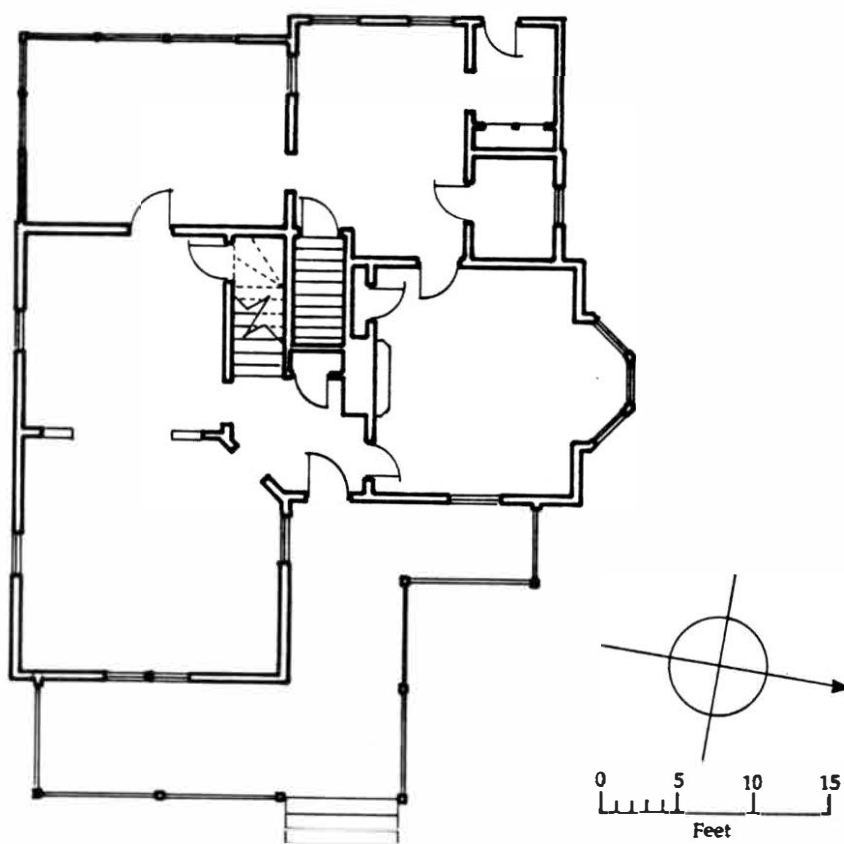
the McElroys added another set of rooms to the rear: a breakfast room to the right off the kitchen and a bedroom and bath to the left. They also included two good-sized closets to make up for the shortage (by contemporary standards) of storage space. This separation of the public rooms and exterior doors to one side, and private rooms to the other, is a typical telescoping of the separation of public and private functions in the hall and chamber house. This pattern also characterized the succession of middle class/workers' house types in New Mexico and much of the country: at the turn of the century, the hipped-roofed, four-square cottage with the living room and kitchen to one side and a pair of bedrooms to the other, and, from 1905-35, a typical bungalow plan with a living room, dining room and kitchen to one side, and bedrooms and a bath to the other.

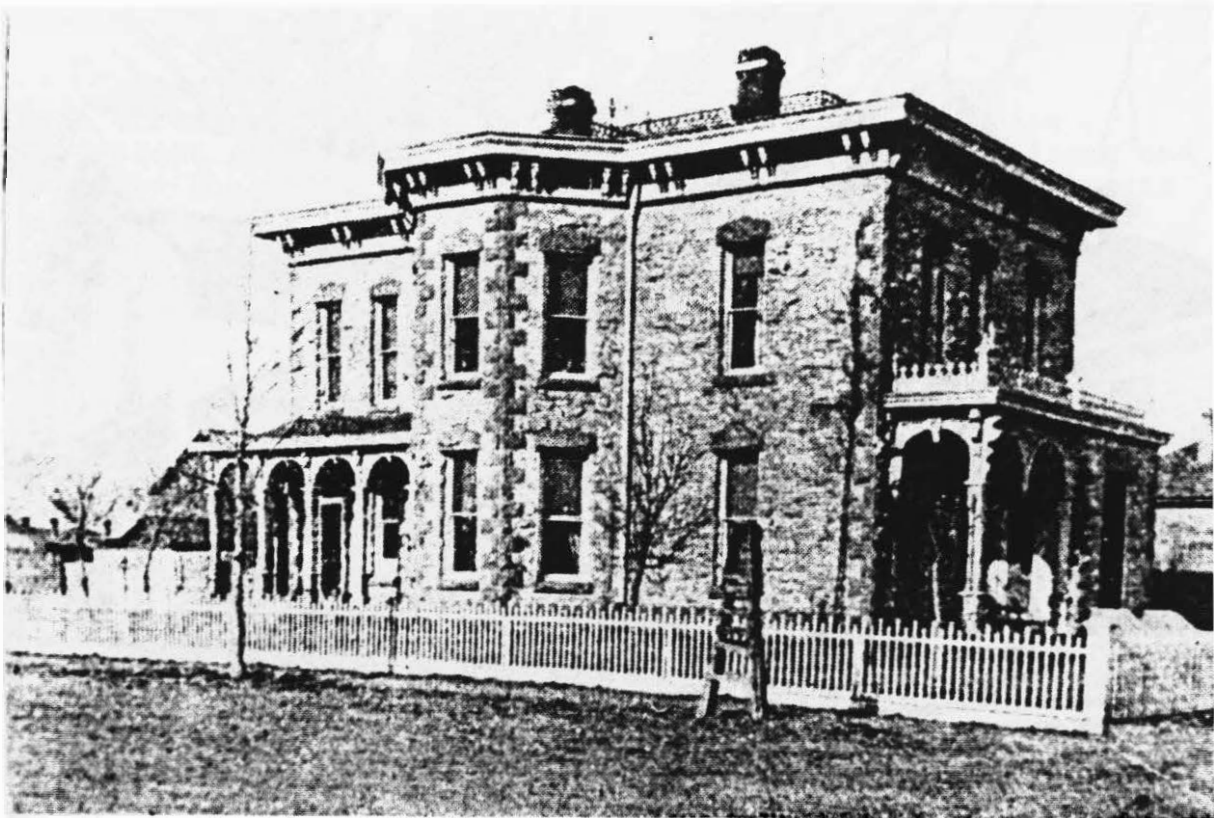
The middle class house. Larger Anglo-American folk house types, such as the I house and the double pile plan, appear only occasionally in New Mexico's railroad towns. Those with the resources to build a larger house overwhelmingly adopted the middle class forms popularized by house pattern books. A typical example, such as the Santa Fe Railroad's Superintendent's House built in 1882-83, separated functions into a set of specialized rooms. An elaborate hierarchy organizing gradations of public to private space progresses from the front to the back, and from the street level to upper floor. The public realm ends at the sidewalk where a fence often defined the semi-private lawn. Steps lead up to the porch, which opens into an entry hall that includes stairs to the second floor. To the left, at the front, is a large room once used as a parlor for entertaining visitors, and behind it a smaller family parlor. To the right, is the dining room, with its trademark bay window, which connects to the kitchen at the rear with a pantry (now bathroom) and service porch and stairs (now removed). The wholly-private second floor consisted of three family bedrooms and a servants' room above the kitchen. The alley to the rear allowed service deliveries to the basement coal chute and the kitchen porch. The quality of detailing and finish materials, both on the porches and inside the house, are typically highest in the front, public areas; they diminish in the family bedrooms and are entirely utilitarian in the kitchen/service core to the rear.

Picturesque styles. The architectural styles popular across the country for a generation after the Civil War and, in New Mexico, for the twenty years following the arrival of the railroad, were picturesque in their asymmetric composition, their rich mixture of materials and details, and in their historic evocations. Although the vocabulary was simplified and stylized by the time it reached New Mexico, a few Italianate brackets evoked Tuscan villas; wood shingles and thin lathe-turned columns, the medieval-tinged Queen Anne; and a mansard roof, the fashionability of Second Empire



79, 80. Santa Fe Railroad Superintendent's House, 919 Sixth Street, 1882-83. (Wilson, Hesse)





81. Lewis Lutz House, 601 5th St, 1884. (NMN # 132805)

82. Queen Anne style cottage. (c. 1895, MNM # 132776)



Paris. In place of the hand-crafted Greek Revival details of the preceding years there was a proliferation of wooden ornament, mass produced by steam-driven lathes and saws. Lathe-turned columns, balustrades and spindle friezes, cut-out brackets and finials, and wrought-iron cresting were freely combined with a rich mixture of wall surfaces--stone, brick, shingles and clapboard. The three shades of sandstone available from a quarry near Tecolote, south of town--a purple brown, a dark brown and a buff--were used to good polychromatic effect. Wooden houses, too, were often painted in more than one color to accentuate their detailing.

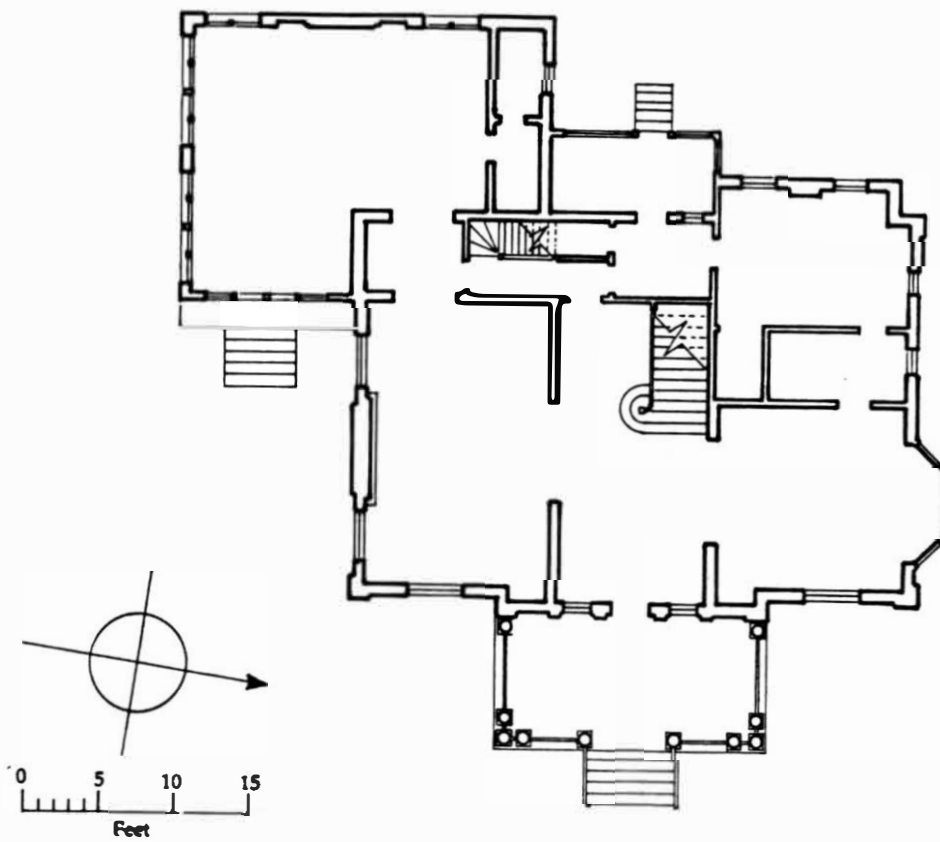
Rooms often pinwheeled out from the core to allow windows on several sides, and to form an irregular exterior massing. More elaborate houses had asymmetric, yet subtly balanced, compositions of intersecting gables, bays, porches and details, although a simpler device is to balance a front-facing gable against a longer side-gabled wing, with a porch set in their intersection. The modest entry porches of the 1880s in New Mexico were followed in the next decade by verandas that swept around corners. The small porches of many older houses, such as the Lutz and Superintendent's houses, were enlarged or replaced. The original porch of the Superintendent's house fronted the entry hall and a portion of the dining room. It was replaced in about 1900 with one roughly four times longer. The walkway was originally approached the right side of this new porch, which put a picturesque jog in the route of entry, and placed the left side of the porch to the side for use as an outdoor room.

Classicism. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the pendulum of taste swung away from picturesque irregularity toward classical restraint. The projecting, asymmetrical massing and multiple intersecting gables of the picturesque gave way to symmetrical, cubic houses topped by hipped roofs with perhaps one or two symmetrically placed dormers. Wrap-around porches were replaced by smaller, centered porches. At the same time, building suppliers shifted from cut-out brackets and slender columns to heavier scroll brackets and stouter Classical columns. The streetscape, too, became more open and less cluttered as people began to forego elaborate front yard fences. The many transitional houses that adopted Classical detailing but continued the asymmetry and rich mix of materials of the Queen Anne were termed Free Classic.

The Herman Ilfeld House, built between 1902 and 1908, has the new, more-compact massing and a truncated hipped roof. Its symmetrical facade, red brick with white Classical detailing, intimation of a Palladian window on the second floor and elliptical window above combine to give it a Colonial, even Georgian, Revival styling. The similarity of certain details to other buildings designed by Isaac H. and William M. Rapp--the projecting keystones with recessed



83, 84. Herman Ilfeld House, 1029 Seventh Street. 1902-08.
(Wilson, Hesse)



centers (shared with the Carnegie Library) and the projecting brick corner "quoins" (like the YMCA, 612 Sixth)--suggests that this house was probably designed by the Rapps or, possibly, by a builder who had worked with them.

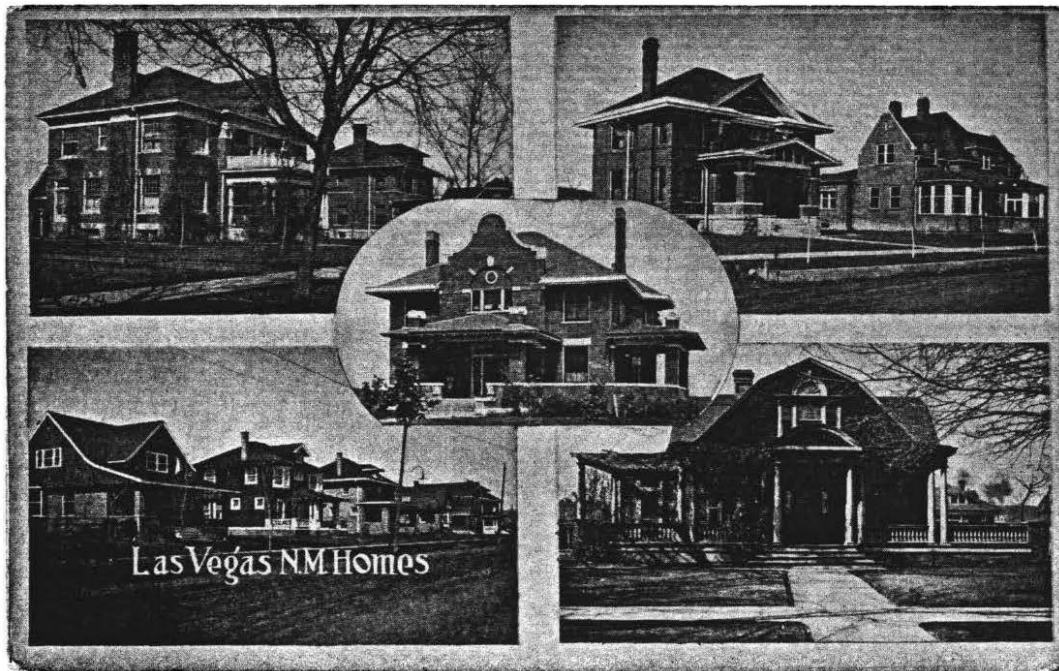
Although the double pile, Georgian form of the house implies a center passage plan with a pair of symmetrical rooms to either side of the hallway, that plan type is adjusted here to allow a larger living room to the left and service stairs to the rear. The formal, axial approach to a centered porch and hallway departs from the picturesque houses of a generation earlier. Nevertheless, (after the 1920s addition to the left rear), the spatial hierarchy of the house is remarkably similar to the Superintendent's House of twenty-five years earlier: an entry hall with staircase opens on one side to a living room and, behind it, a family room, and opens on the other side to a dining room, pantry and kitchen. The private rooms, again, are above, although the extra floor allows the separation of the family bedrooms on the second floor (with a billiard room in the 1920s addition) and the servants rooms on the third floor. The simplest detailing is on the third floor; more elaborate door surrounds were used in the kitchen and family bedrooms, where there are also fluted door knobs. Wood paneling, parquet floors, elaborate light fixtures, and beaded and egg-and-dart moldings are concentrated in the entry hall, living and dining rooms. The orange blond woodwork of the hall ascends to a large landing and, just beyond view from the first floor, the light enamel finishes of the upper floors begin. Although a prominent feature, such staircases were not meant to invite visitors up to the private quarters; instead, they formed a gracious backdrop for the appearance of the hostess at parties. There is also a general increase in conveniences: built-in cabinets, larger closets, a clothes chute to the basement laundry room, five bathrooms (three on the second floor), a two-car garage and outdoor swimming pool.

Wealth, Refinement and Cultivated Taste. Fine homes such as this were seen as the outward manifestation of the virtue and industry of the town's population. "No town of its size can produce a better educated, more refined and cultivated people," boasted An Illustrated History of New Mexico in 1895. "Thrift, energy, and enterprise are visible on every hand, while the beautiful homes adorned with shrubs and flowers denote a people of wealth, refinement and cultivated taste." While An Illustrated History spends some 200 pages on the history of the territory, its cities and resources, it devotes another 450 pages to honorific biographies of the territory's eminent men, presenting a secular hagiography--a catalogue of living saints. This was a vanity publication with inclusion predicated on taking a subscription to the book. Most of the men included from Las Vegas had arrived with the railroad in 1879--the younger sons of eastern families and the relatives of German Jewish



85. Adin H. Whitmore House, 827 7th, 1899-1900. (MNM 51656)

86. Las Vegas N.M. Homes (north 5th, 6th, 7th and Hot Springs Boulevard). (post card, about 1910, Pratt Col.)



merchants already established in Old Town, men looking for opportunity. They had prospered with New Town during the 1880s, but their fortunes slumped in the Panic of 1893.

The publication of An Illustrated History amid the depression reassured them that they had prospered through their industry and virtue. Mr. N.L. Rosenthal, a merchant, for example, "owes his success to his industry and to the liberal and honorable methods with which he has always conducted his business. In this way he has not only acquired a handsome fortune, but has also secured the good will and high esteem of his fellow citizens. Such a record is creditable alike to him and to the city in which he has been able to achieve success." The vocabulary is formulaic, the honorific phrases virtually interchangeable; Mr. Smith is "successful," "honorable," "industrious," "intelligent," "public spirited," "thoroughly reliable," "of unquestioned business ability and integrity," and has "secured the esteem and confidence of the people."

When the economy improved near the end of the decade, and resources became available to put these sentiments into a more substantial form, East Las Vegas witnessed an unprecedented period of residential construction, roughly from 1898 to 1913. This equation of a man's industry and virtues with his success and the grandness of his home is made explicit by the descriptions in An Illustrated History of Las Vegas quoted above. The vocabulary was different than that used in the biographies, but the grand two- and three-story brick houses, their columns and entablatures said the same thing--this man is industrious and a success. In this regard, the city's builders and architects performed the same function as the anonymous biographer of An Illustrated History of New Mexico.

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Commercial and Civic Buildings. The shift to Classicism was seen also in the detailing of business blocks. Ornate bracketed, Italianate cornices and windows gave way in popularity to more restrained Classical friezes with dentils and modillions, and shallow pressed-metal reliefs of garlands and balustrades. Locally, projecting bands of brick enliven corners and classical piers. The Romanesque Revival of the City Hall (622 Sixth, Kirchner and Kirchner, 1892), the opera house (demolished) and the Masonic Temple (see below) was also superseded by Classical civic buildings. The Carnegie Library (Rapp and Rapp, 1903), for instance, employs the same freehand Georgian Revival vocabulary of red brick and white Classical detailing as the Herman Ilfeld house. Its domestic scale, four-column entry, encircling entablature, partial balustrade, and dome set on a hexagonal drum clearly recall Thomas Jefferson's Monticello.

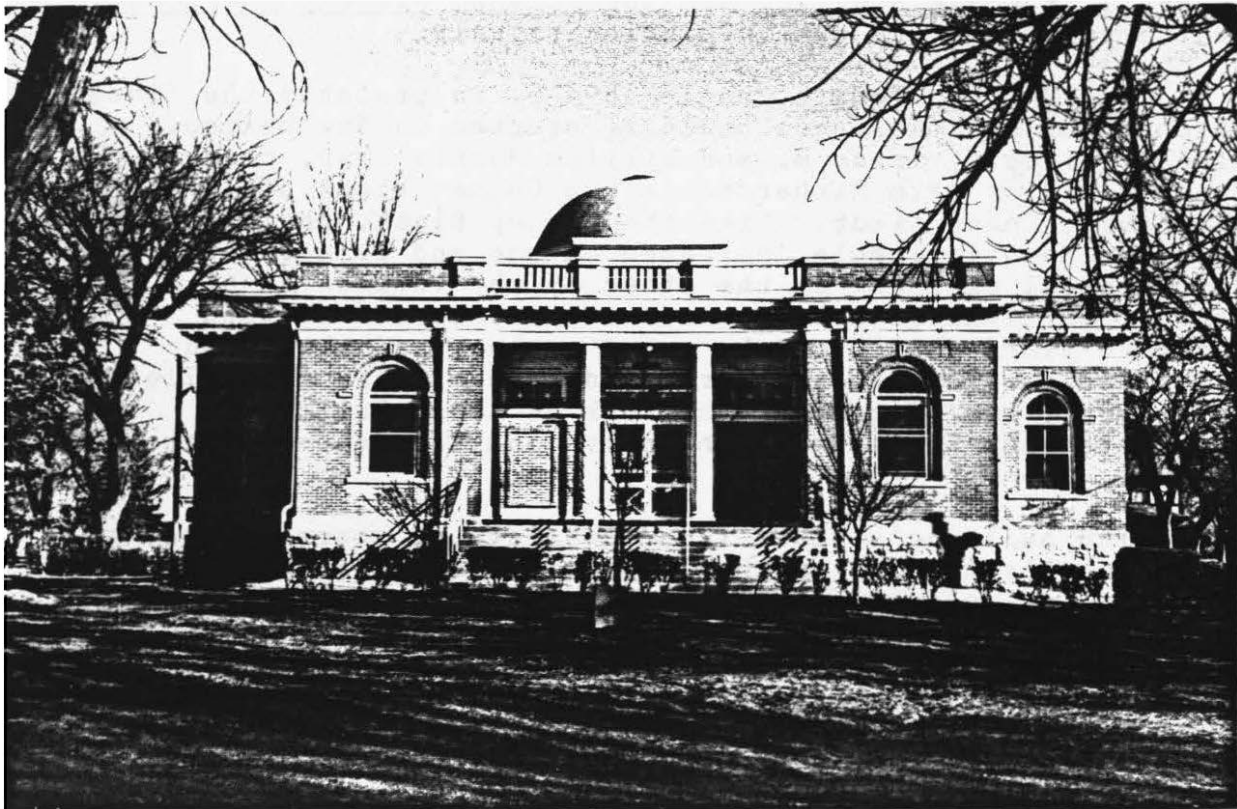
Fraternities. Most newcomers to Las Vegas, Santa Fe and the other New Mexican towns after the American occupation of 1846 were single men. Those that were Catholic--primarily Italians, the French and Irish--typically married a local woman and integrated into the social and religious life of the Catholic, Hispanic working class. Although the Protestant and Jewish immigrants might in time return to the states or Germany for a wife, during the long years that they sought to build their fortunes, most remained single. They banded together in fraternities, primarily the Masons, the Odd Fellows and the Grand Army of the Republic. Insurance, mutual aid programs and burial in fraternity cemetery plots were attractive benefits for men who had left their support networks behind them. Fraternities offered companionship, and an opportunity to make business contacts in the city and neighboring communities. Active local members included attorneys George Hunker and Andreius Jones (also a U.S. Senator), merchants Simon Bacharach, Charles Ilfeld, Sigmund Nahm, Daniel Stern and a half dozen Rosenwalds, and architects John Hill and Isaac H. Rapp.

The better part of their meetings were taken up with elaborate initiation rituals, which embodied moral and spiritual lessons in symbolism and gradually-revealed mysteries. Masons, the most important fraternity in Las Vegas, begin with a series of three rituals, known as degrees, performed in a local Blue Lodge. Many stop here, but those with the inclination continued in the separate lodges of the York Rite (Knights Templar) degrees or the Scottish Rite with its additional twenty-nine degrees. The resources required for this degree work limited participation to the upper middle class. Nationally, these Masonic rites, and the rituals of tens of other fraternities were greatly elaborated in the years following the Civil War. Ornate costumes, theatrical staging, scripted speeches and historical props characteristically evoked the Old Testament world of prophets and pyramid builders, and the Medieval



87. Masonic Building, 514 Douglas, Rapp and Rapp, 1894.
(Wilson)

88. Carnegie Public Library, Library Park, Rapp and Rapp,
1903. (Wilson)



Europe of pilgrims, crusaders and cathedral builders. Other fraternities ranged into Indian ceremony (the Improved Order of Redmen, and the Order of Iroquois, developed by ethnographer Lewis Henry Morgan, who would write *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines* in 1881) and to Imperial Rome (the Tribe of Ben Hur, set up with the help of novelist Lew Wallace, a former New Mexico territorial governor).

Many became fascinated with these rituals, joined more than one fraternity and spent substantial money and time away from their families, taking degrees evenings and weekends. The best estimates put fraternity membership in the U.S. in 1900 at between fifteen and forty per cent of the adult male population. Las Vegas had active lodges of the Masons (a Blue Lodge, which also had the York Rite), the Odd Fellows, the Knights of Pythias and the Order of Redmen. The Elks, who gave more emphasis to social activities that included wives and children, locally also had Hispanic members and served as a cultural meeting ground.

So popular were the fraternities, especially with the emerging urban middle class, that the Catholic church responded in 1882 with its own fraternity, the Knights of Columbus, which had its own rituals for four degrees of Knights. An early Las Vegas lodge of Catholic Knights of America was superseded in 1904 by the Knights of Columbus. These were complemented by mutual aid societies in many New Mexican towns such as La Union Protectoriva, El Auxiliario Femenil, the S.P.M.D.T.U. and the Alianza Hispano Americana, which practiced its own initiation rituals.

The Masonic Temple, built 1894-5, is probably the finest Richardsonian Romanesque building erected in New Mexico. The architects, Isaac H. and William Morris Rapp, clearly were familiar with Richardson's own Cheney Block of 1875-6 in Hartford, Connecticut. Like the Cheney Block, their design for the Masonic Temple is framed on one end by a tower with pyramidal cap, and on the other by the intimation of a tower; vertical groups of windows are recessed between massive piers and topped by round arches, and the facade finished in rough-faced, dark sandstone. Foliated, relief stonework, reminiscent of the work of Louis Sullivan, decorates the capitals of the piers and the deep-set tower entry.

The building's first floor consists of store spaces, which were remodeled in the 1920s with walk-thru display windows, reflective, black tile and Art Deco motifs in the transoms. The second floor was originally leased to the Montezuma Club--a group of wealthy bachelors which included among its first members Miguel A. Otero, soon to be named Territorial Governor (1897-1906). The club finished the second floor with a hall for dinners and dances, a reading

room and a music room, which were subsequently used by the Commercial Club and the USO. The largely intact Masonic Lodge room on the third floor is furnished with dark Gothic Revival furniture--sets of throne seats on podiums at the middle of each wall facing a short wooden pier with a triangular altar in the middle of the room. The cushioned theater seats on two tiers along the long sides of the room were added this century.

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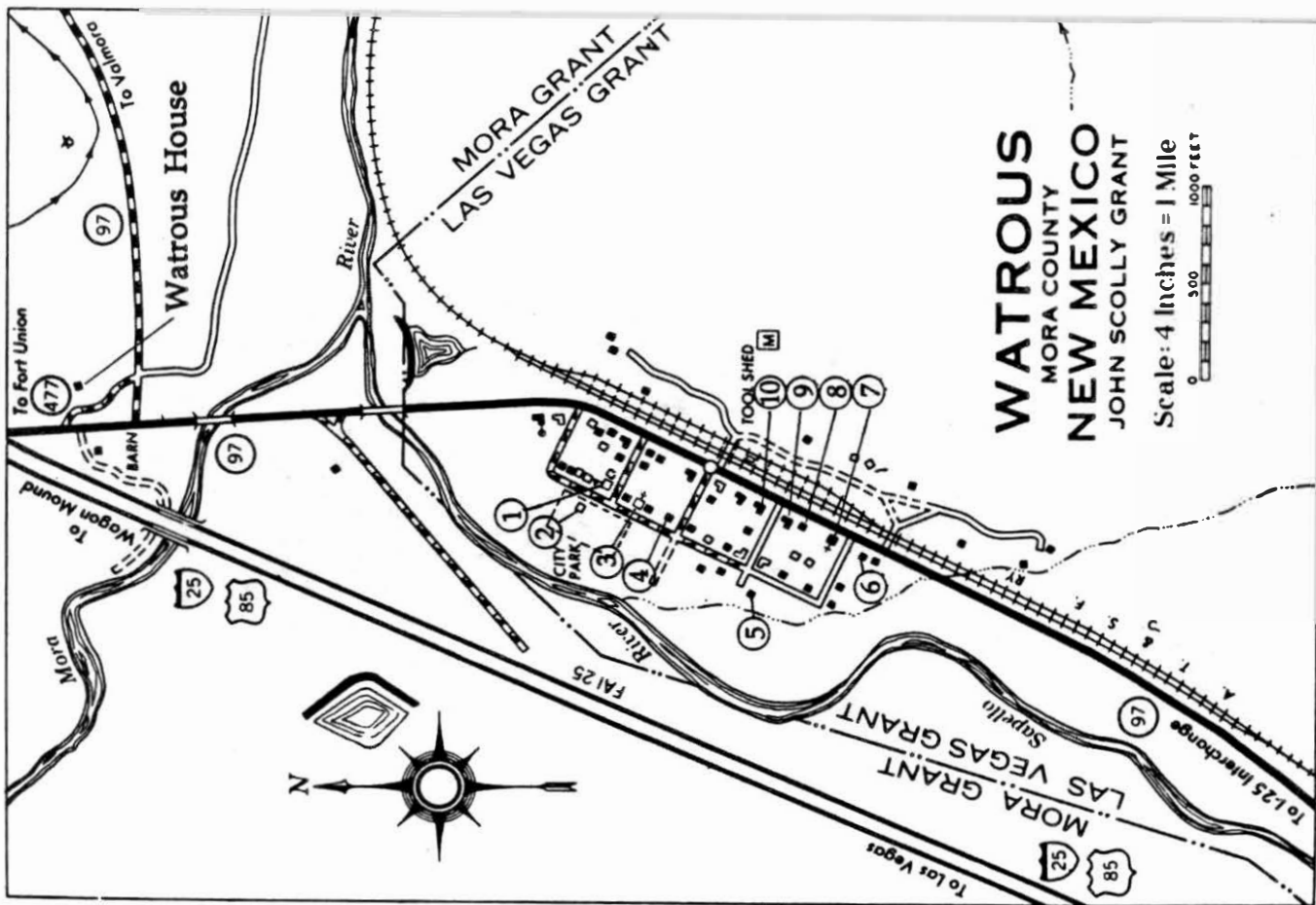
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B. WATROUS

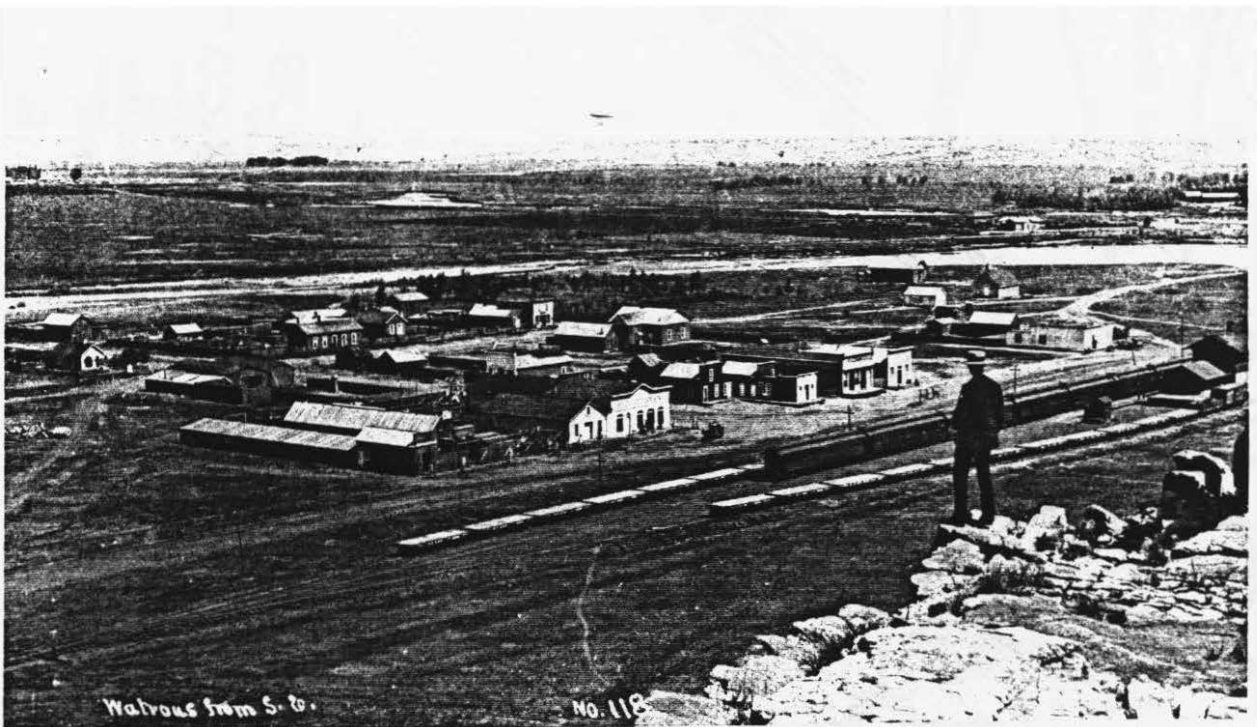
The broad valley of La Junta de los Rios (the Gathering of Rivers) is formed by the convergence of the Mora and Sapello rivers. Here too, the Mountain and Cimarron Branches of the Santa Fe Trail, which divided in southwestern Kansas, reconverged--a second Junta. The valley was parcelled out in overlapping Mexican land grants: the 1835 La Junta Grant to James Boney and the 1843 John Scolly Grant. In 1848, Alexander Barclay purchased a portion of the Scolly Grant and built a large adobe fort above the rivers' confluence. It did not succeed as a trading post and the property passed to William Kroenig in the mid-1850s. In 1864, Kroenig built the prominent Phoenix Ranch House at the southwest corner of the valley. Vermont-born Samuel B. Watrous and his New Mexican wife, Tomasita Crispin, had also purchased a portion of the Scolly Grant in 1846 and three years later moved their family and mercantile business to the valley from the mining town of San Pedro. The Watrouses built a sprawling trading post/residence on the north bank of the Mora, which formed the nucleus of a small village known as La Junta. Watrous also operated a major freight business in partnership with William Tipton. The Watrouses, their son Joseph, Kroenig and Tipton (each of whom married Watrous daughters), and a few Boney descendents developed the agricultural potentials of the valley. They supplied flour, produce and beef to Fort Union, the Army quartermaster's depot for the Southwest, located ten miles to the north. They also prospered through Kroenig's grist mill and Watrous' wool processing mill.

When the Santa Fe Railroad built through the valley in 1879, the Watrouses donated the depot site and platted a standard speculative grid, aligned with the tracks south of the Sapello River. The Santa Fe Railroad, which already had a La Junta station in southeast Colorado, insisted on the name Watrous. The town prospered as a trade center for the surrounding ranching country, and at its height boasted two churches, a school, saloons, a planing mill and lumber yard, a slaughter house, livery stable, newspaper, doctor, Masonic lodge, and blacksmith's shop. Its population grew from 100 in 1880 to 365 in 1890, dipped (following the closing of Ft. Union) to 244 in 1900, peaked at 435 in 1920 and stood at 256 in 1950, the last year it was reported. The four prominent, gambrel-roofed hay barns with cantilevered hoods on four sides (now removed from two of the barns), erected south of town by William Kroenig Jr. in 1913, attest to the continuing importance of agriculture into the twentieth century. A fire in 1917 destroyed the depot and other railroad buildings east of the tracks. In addition to the public buildings and prominent houses keyed to the map, Watrous has a few Anglo-American hall and chamber houses, and picturesque cottages, as well as several linear, Hispanic houses, which mostly date to 1880-1900.



89. Watrous. (State Highway Department, 1976/Hesse)

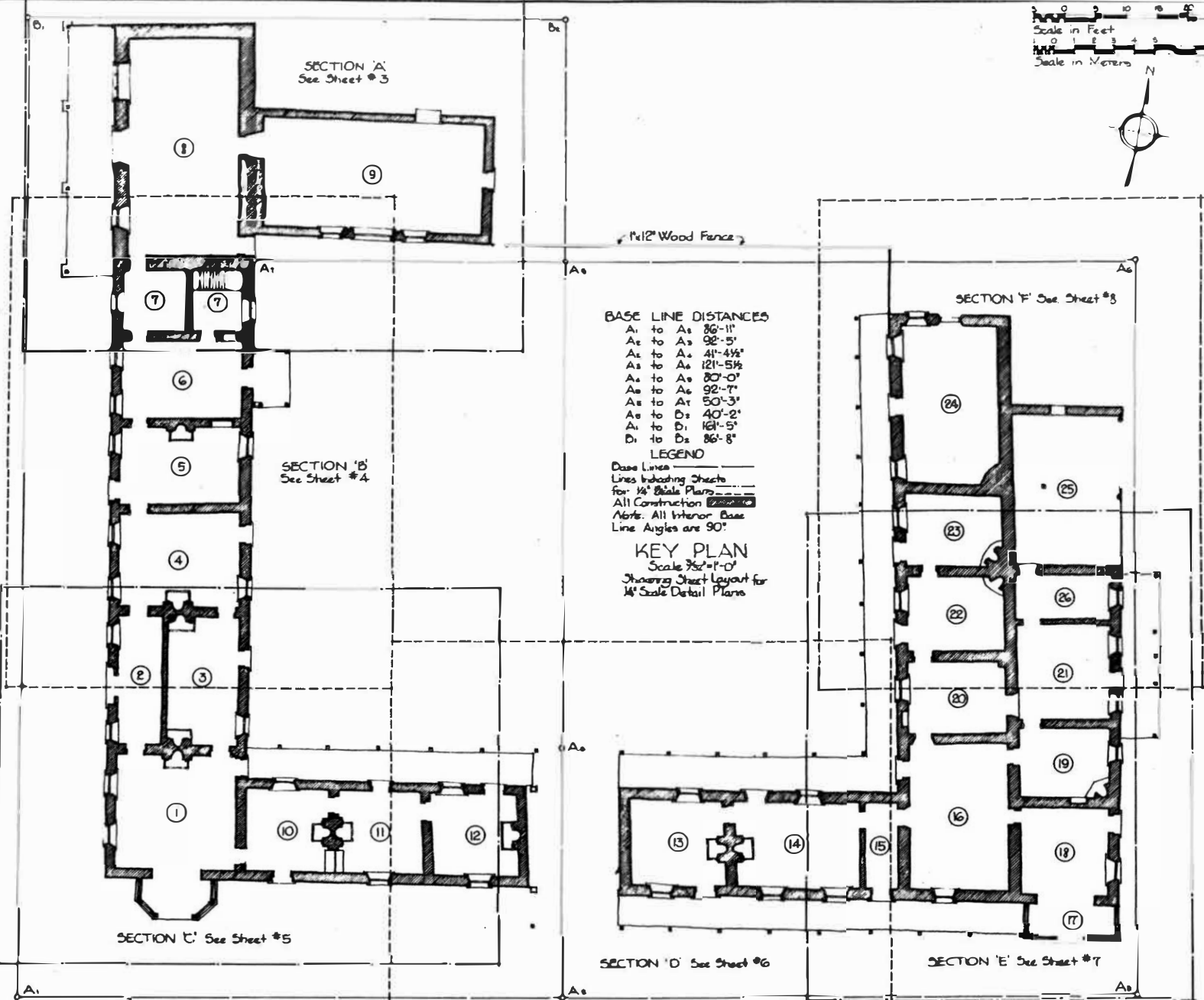
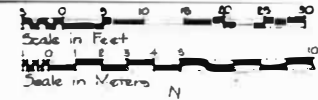
1. Old Methodist Episcopal Church, 1-story, local stone.
2. Watrous School, 1919-20, four classrooms, stone foundation, adobe bricks with cement mortar, built by Demecio and Marcelio Valdez.
3. Masonic Lodge, 1890-91, adobe building, rusticated stone facade with Moorish arches.
4. Two-story, wood frame, Queen Anne Style house, about 1890.
5. Calhoun-Reinken-Lyman House, 1882, adobe with Territorial/Italianate detailing; 1890 windmill.
6. Jessie Tipton House, 1918, adobe, two-story, four-square plan, lumberyard classical columns, served as boarding house.
7. Mision de Abril 1907 Catholic Church (originally Sagrado Carazon), built 1895, adobe, cruciform plan.
- 8, 9. Henry D. Reinken House and Store, 1907, stone construction of L-shaped, attached warehouse by Pettine Bros.
10. Hand Mercantile General Merchandise Store, 1921, Tudor Style gable.



90. Looking northwest over Watrous. (J.R. Riddle, c. 1884, MNM 35402).

91. Tomasita and Samuel Watrous House, 1849-70. (Paul Odor, about 1938, MNM #59161)





- BASE LINE DISTANCES**
- A₁ to A₆ 86'-11"
 - A₂to A₃ 92'-5"
 - A₃to A₄ 41'-4½"
 - A₄to A₅ 121'-5½"
 - A₅to A₆ 80'-0"
 - A₆to A₇ 92'-7"
 - A₇to A₈ 50'-3"
 - A₈to B₁ 40'-2"
 - A₁to B₁ 161'-5"
 - B₁to B₂ 86'-8"

LEGEND

Base Lines
Lines Indicating Sheets
for ¼" Scale Plans
All Construction
Note: All Interior Base
Line Angles are 90°

KEY PLAN
Scale ¾"=1'-0"
Showing Sheet Layout for
¼" Scale Detail Plans

Raymond
Lovelsky
Delmar

1940 PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION PROGRAM
FEDERAL PROJECT 498-A
RECORDED SEPT 26 1940
UNDER SUPERVISION OF UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE BRANCH OF PLANS AND DESIGN

WATROUS VICINITY

WATROUS HOUSE
MORA COUNTY

NEW MEXICO

SURVEY NO.
NM
18

HISTORIC AMERICAN
BUILDINGS SURVEY
SHEET 2 OF 25 SHEETS

DESIGNED BY CHARLES
WATROUS

Samuel and Tomasita Watrous House

Although this house is often called the Samuel B. Watrous House and discussed as his accomplishment, that may not be entirely appropriate because his wife, Tomasita, had previously demonstrated her own abilities when she successfully operated their store in San Pedro during his three-year-long illness, and because New Mexican women often played a prominent role in the construction of houses. Indeed, the house that they built in stages between 1849 and about 1870 is a hybrid of Mexican and Anglo-American traditions.

The first portion on the east (rooms 16, 18-24, which are now demolished) was a flat-roofed adobe building with a single- and double-file plan, exterior doors to all but one of the rooms, and adobe, corner fireplaces--all traditional Mexican features. The varying ceiling heights, and mixture of floor and ceiling treatments in this section, when the house was documented by the Historic American Building Survey in 1940, suggest that this wing was built in stages. The simple pedimented lintels and framing boards without moldings were much less elaborate than the later sections, but they still suggest the work of an Anglo-American carpenter. The original store was housed in room 24.

A new store and storeroom (8,9) may have been built next. The incline of the store's ceiling rafters to the rear suggest that it, too, was originally flat-roofed. Most of the balance of the house (1-7, 10-12) and the unifying pitched roof over the new store appear, by the consistency of their wood detailing, to have been built at once. The adobe chimneys and somewhat different detailing of the windows and fireplace mantels of rooms 13 and 14 (now demolished) suggest that they were built at another time. In any case, when it was completed in the years just after the Civil War, the house and a portion of (adobe ?) wall formed a traditional Spanish/Mexican courtyard house complete with a covered zaguan passage between rooms 12 and 13. Traditional adobe construction, and a single file plan with multiple exterior doors prevails throughout.

The fireplaces, too, were all of a traditional adobe design, although most of their chimneys are sheathed with stone above the roof. In the newer section on the south and east, they are moved to the middle of walls in Anglo-American fashion and finished with carpenter Greek Revival mantels. The Anglo-American contribution to the house is clearest in this Territorial style wood detailing: the fireplaces, the porch posts with molding "capitals" and "bases," the pedimented and molding lintels, and the side lights and transom of the main entrance. This door opens to a shallow entrance hall that leads to a room on either side. The quality of detailing--ceiling moldings, door surrounds, fireplace mantels, and a bay window--is highest here in the entry hall, the rooms to either side and the next room around the corner (2, 4, 1, 10).

Materials and details diminish in the successive rooms, implying that the first rooms were the most public. (The awkward placement of the wall between rooms 2 and 3, next to a pair of fireplaces, suggests the possibility that it may have been added after the original construction, although the lack of ceiling moldings and elaborate mantels in room 3 and the presence of interior doors to the rooms on either side from both 2 and 3, suggest that they were divided from the start.)

Two years after the HABS documentation of the building in 1940, a Mr. Shoemaker purchased the house. During the nearly thirty years he owned it, he moved the large window from the old storage room (9) to the north end of the store (8); extensively remodeled two rooms (5, 6), including the addition of picture windows and a sandstone fire place; removed the bay window (1) and courtyard fence; and allowed the older, eastern half of the house to substantially deteriorate. When James and Barbara Doolittle purchased it in 1971, this half had lost its roof and only in rooms 13 and 14 did the walls still approach their original height. Rather than restore this half, they chose to demolish it and build anew. They roughly followed the original building footprint and roof pitches, and modeled new doors and windows on those of the remaining, west section of the house. This allowed them to incorporate modern conveniences--a kitchen with a breakfast nook, two baths, a bedroom, a large living room, an indoor swimming pool and a two car garage--while also adding a historic touch with a partition wall made from the plank platform of the old Watrous freight depot. They also replaced the dilapidated, original window shutters with aluminum approximations. The old store had lost its shelves and counters even before the HABS documentation, and Shoemaker had given it a rustic treatment with a cobblestone fireplace and moose head. The Doolittles replaced these with dark wooden paneling and a Renaissance Revival fireplace hood taken from the men's smoking room of the Baldwin estate in Colorado Springs. (This Neo-classical mansion in the Broadmoor section, the design of which was begun in 1904 by Stanford White and finished by Colorado Springs architect Thomas McLaren, is known locally as the Trianon and today houses the Colorado Springs School.)

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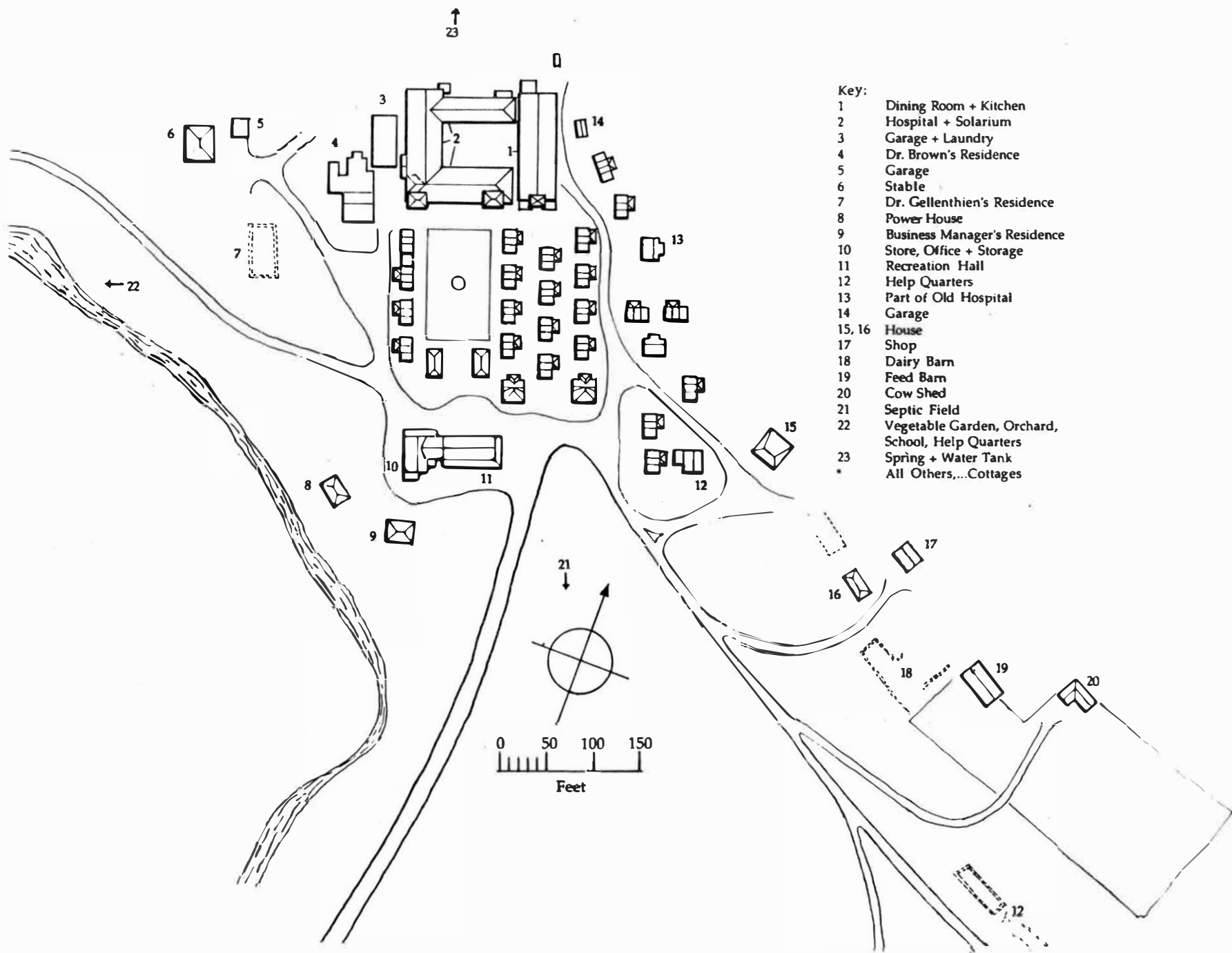
C. VALMORA

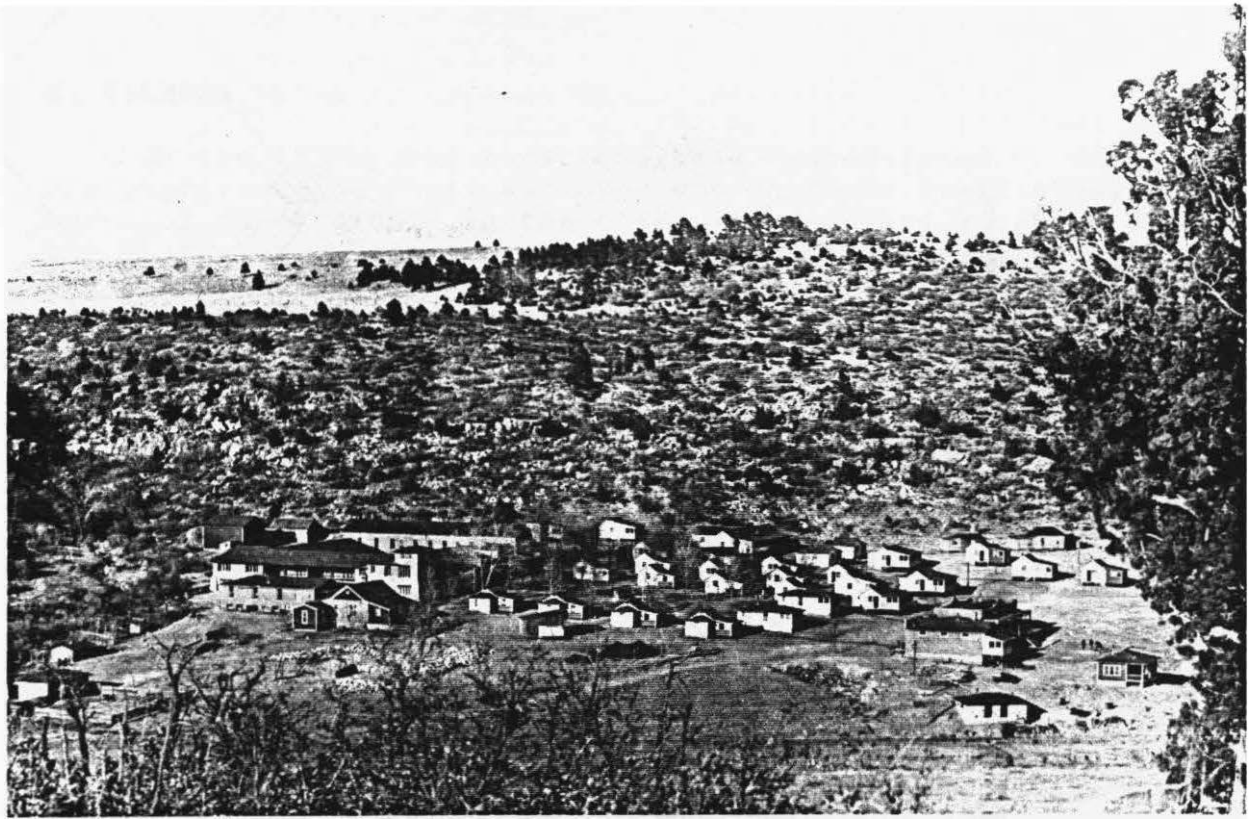
In the 1830s, the first coughing, ashen-faced consumptives made their way over the Santa Fe Trail chasing a cure for tuberculosis in the clear, dry air and sunshine of the Southwest. This attraction to climate was reinforced by the altitude theory, which held, in the late nineteenth century, that germs did not flourish above 5,000 feet, and, in a revised version this century, that lower air pressure aided recovery from lung diseases. After the arrival of the railroad in the 1870s, Colorado Springs, New Mexico and Arizona became meccas for TB treatment. Up to the Second World War, the treatment of TB was a major business; in 1920 an estimated 2-1/2 to 10 per cent of New Mexico's population of 360,000 were health-seekers. By the teens, the tourist promotion of New Mexico as an exotic Land of Mañana--a land beyond the rush of the modern industrial world--was also linked to sanatorium promotion.

While those with few resources put up in boarding houses and third rate hotels, many hospitals and sanatoria were built for the more affluent, military veterans and members of religious groups. After the turn of the century, as the germ theory of disease gained acceptance, sanatoria were increasingly established at isolated locations. In 1905, Dr. William Brown established the Valmora Sanatorium at the site of an early cattle ranch on the Mora river. It foundered financially and in 1910 Brown reorganized it as the non-profit, Valmora Industrial Sanatorium with support from such leading Chicago firms as Armour and Co., International Harvester, Marshall Field, the Chicago Daily News, and Sears, Roebuck.

By the 1915 annual report, Dr. Brown could report to his corporate supporters that of the 109 employees they had sent to Valmora (who had finished their stay) 73 were back at work, 13 were not working, the dispositions of 5 were unknown, and 18 had died, most of whom had arrived with an advanced case. "It is maintained [by 54 of the largest corporations]," reported the Las Vegas Optic on March 20, 1922, "for the great middle class of people who under favorable conditions are self supporting but who due to sickness find themselves in straightened financial circumstances. When one of the supporting companies sends a man or a woman to the institution it pays all of the expenses and gives a little spending money while the regular weekly check is sent to his or her family."

As it developed between 1910 and 1920, Valmora followed the typical sanatoria pattern of that era: an isolated location, a central hospital and administration building (with a separate kitchen/dining hall), surrounding cottages, and extensive verandas and porches for air and sunlight. The south-facing slope with cliffs to the north, which Dr. Brown





94. Valmora Sanatorium from the Southwest. (T. Harmon Parkhurst, about 1925, MNM # 44139)

95. East side of the Lawn. (Wilson)



selected, gave protection from the prevailing winds and reinforced the southern orientation of the screened, sleeping porches. The self-sufficient hospital boasted its own pharmacy, laboratory, X-ray, operating and physical therapy rooms, as well as a staff of a lab technician, two doctors, three nurses, and nurses' aids. Also in keeping with hospital design following the acceptance of the germ theory, all ornamental wood moldings were dispensed with at Valmora and non-absorbant, scrubable finishes were used: enamel paints in the cottages and hospital rooms, and fine-grained concrete for the floors, walls and ceilings of the clinic.

At Valmora, TB treatment included fresh air, rest, moderate exercise, a nourishing diet including a pint of milk at each meal, the surgical removal of diseased organs (most often lungs), if necessary, and, in many cases, heliotherapy--an hour of nude sunbathing a day, year round, taken in a roofless solarium attached to the northwest corner of the hospital (and now demolished). Brown's son-in-law and successor as director, Dr. Carl H. Gellenthien, wrote in a 1941 promotional booklet, "Being out of doors in the sunshine for so much of the time, the patient gradually acquires a tanned, light-absorbing skin, in place of his white, light reflective one. There is mental stimulation, too; greater cheerfulness is evidenced in keener appetite, more restful sleep, and a marked improvement in general health." Other diseases susceptible to these therapies--arthritis, ulcerative colitis, sinusitis, allergies, asthma and migraine headaches--were also treated at Valmora. The staff of forty attended the eighty or so patients, who stayed nine months on average.

The community of Valmora, too, was self-sufficient with its own flag stop on the Santa Fe Railway, a post office, Western Union telegraph office and general store, a recreation hall where movies were shown, a water system fed by springs in the cliffs to the north, and an electrical power plant. To the south was a large septic field for the disposal of the community's sewage. Medical staff residences were west and southwest of the hospital, and service staff houses to the southeast. There was no cemetery, however; the bodies of those who succumbed were shipped back to the Midwest for burial. The barn to the north housed riding horses, while hiking and horse trails led from the sanatorium into the surrounding canyons and mesas.

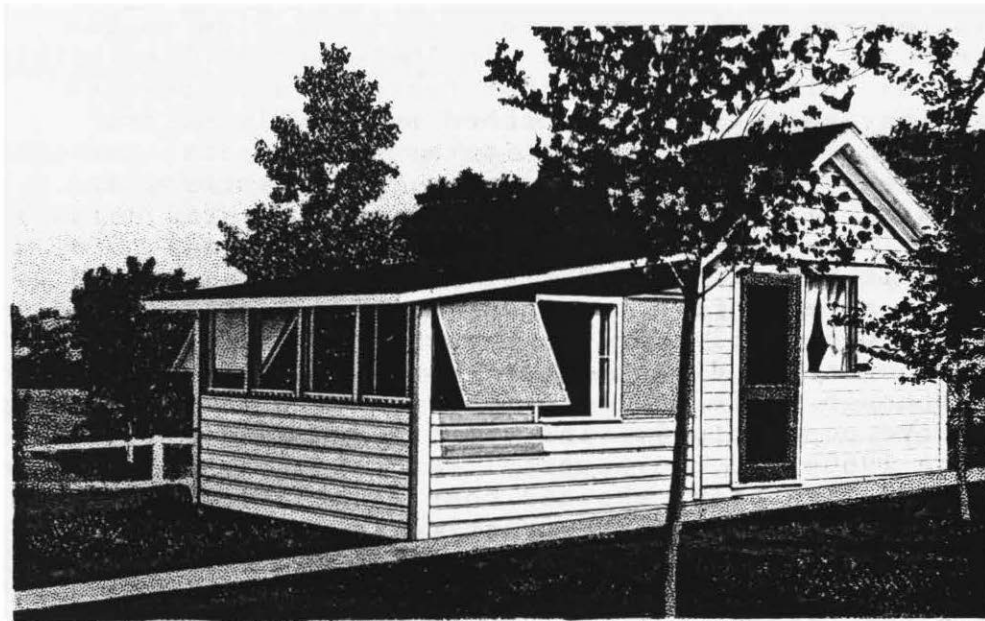
A large, irrigated field to the southwest provided vegetables in season, while the substantial need for milk was filled by the community herd, housed in a dairy barn to the southeast. Other provisions were shipped in by member companies: the meat-packer Armour and Co., and the wholesale food distributor Sprague, Warner and Co. In 1919, Dr. Brown purchased the Gascon Ranch, thirty miles to the west in the Sangre de Christo Mountains, which produced beef and

vegetables for the Sanatorium. Brown built six rustic cabins there beside the ranch complex for the company doctors who would come out from Chicago each summer to check on their patients before vacationing at Gascon.

The structuring of space and time at Valmora parallels other institutional communities in nineteenth and early twentieth century America: the military post, the company town, the college campus and the Protestant camp meeting. The most prominent structure--the hospital--and the professional staff residences are positioned at the high end of the site. The formal lawn with a fountain at its center resembles the military parade ground, the college quad and the camp meeting ground. The rigid daily schedule at Valmora commenced with breakfast at 7:00; a rest period at 8:00; exercise at 9:00, if ordered; a rest period at 10:00, recreation at 11:00; lunch at noon; a mandatory nap from 1:00 to 3:00; a free period for a stroll, to check for mail or buy something from the general store, before dinner at 5:00; the taking of pulses and temperatures at 7:00; and a second free period before the generator was turned off and every one went to sleep at 9:00. A bell atop the dining hall, the gable-end tower of which resembles a church or meeting hall, called people to meals at 7:00, 12:00 and 5:00.

The rectangular, gable-roofed form of the first Valmora cottages, with the door in the gable end, resembles other temporary dwellings from a basic army tent to the camp meeting and spa cottage, and from Henry Thoreau's cabin at Walden to the refugee shacks erected following the 1906 San Francisco earthquake. Indeed, the gabled, rectangular form is a basic northern European type with the door placed in the gable end of many smaller examples for greater head room. The single-room cottages built at Valmora in 1910 were enlarged with sleeping porches on their south sides by 1914, and by the addition of bathrooms to the rear in 1918 (which superseded a community bath house). The rows of cottages were offset to provide better views and air circulation to the porches. The original tongue-and-groove walls were covered with asbestos siding in the 1950s for greater fire resistance.

With construction of the hospital in 1919-20, Dr. Brown began to tie Valmora's image to the tourist promotion of the state. He engaged Carlos Vierra, the artists who had played a leading role in defining the Santa Fe Style. Vierra's design patterned the hospital after a Spanish hacienda, ringed by open air porches with corbel capitals patterned after ones recently documented in the Roque Lobato (Morley) house in Santa Fe. In 1925, Brown ordered 5,000 copies each of a set of six post cards of the sanatorium. He also supplemented Sanatorium income by purchasing Indian arts, especially from the Navajo, for resale in Chicago. Brown was a founding member and his son-in-law, Dr Gellenthien, was a

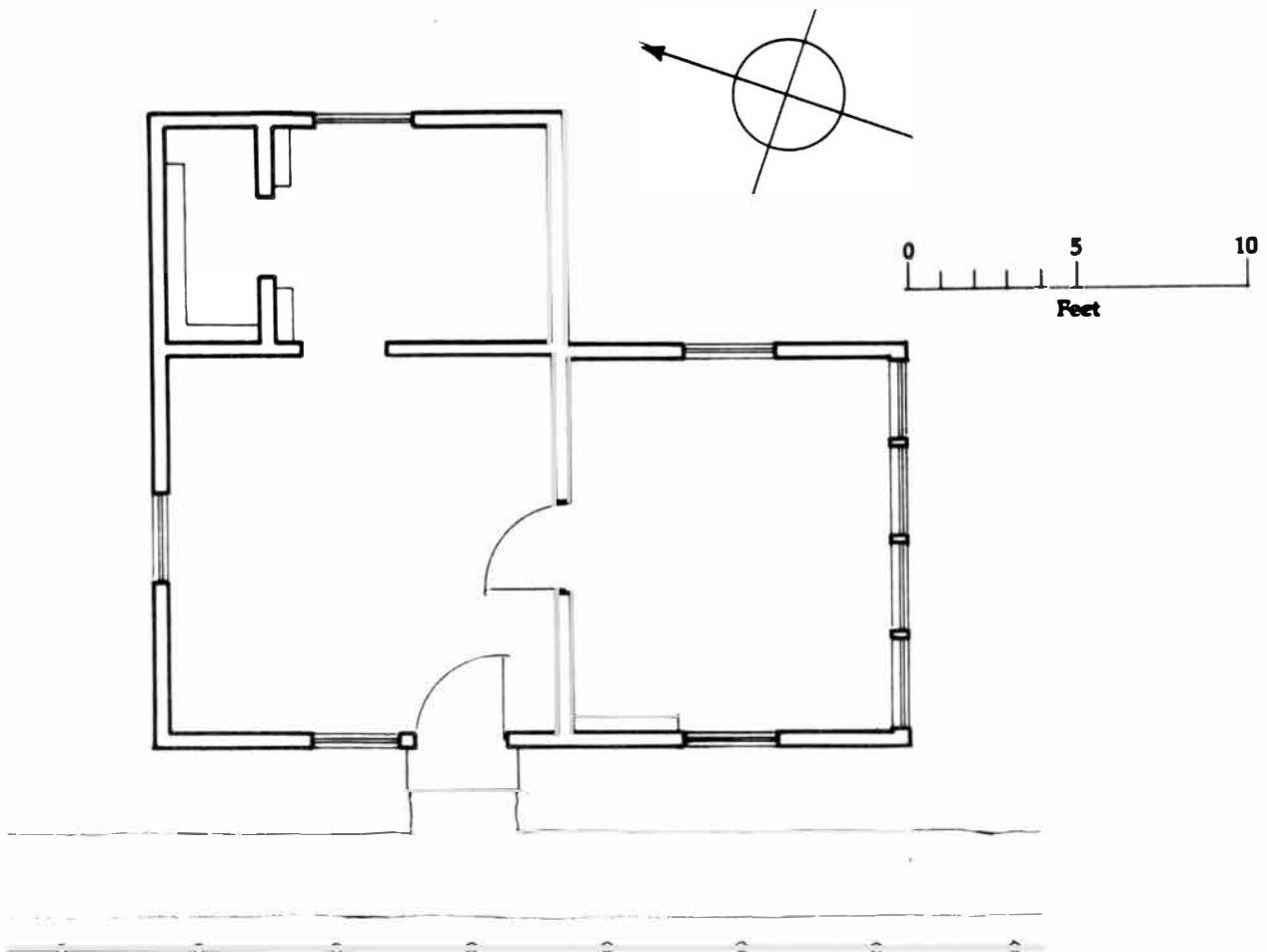


COTTAGE, VALMORA SANATORIUM, VALMORA, NEW MEXICO.

49832

96. Cottage. (Curt Teich post card, about 1925)

97. Cottage 7, northeast corner of Lawn. (Hesse)



member of the prestigious Santa Barbara, California club, Los Rancheros Visitadores, which sponsored an annual ride to the old Spanish ranches in that valley. In 1941, Gellenthien produced a lavish Valmora booklet that featured a sombreroed campesino napping against a sun-drenched adobe wall on its cover, and, inside, mixed photos of its modern hospital and comfortable cottages with arid landscapes, dude ranches, and Spanish and Indian villages

In 1943, it was discovered that antibiotic streptomycin was an effective treatment for TB. Antibiotic treatment linked with public health X-ray screening and skin tests for TB brought the disease under control in the U.S. by about 1960 (although it is making a resurgence in the AIDS/HIV-positive population). The Valmora Sanatorium declined in the 1960s and the hospital was closed in 1973. Afterwards, Dr. Gellenthien, who had come as a patient in 1924, conducted a private medical practice in the clinic to within four months of his death in December of 1989, at the age of 89. The property has been on the market for over a year with no buyer, and an auction of the furnishings and cottages is scheduled for June of 1991. Ironically, today, the combination of sunshine and fresh air with the romantic appeal of the Land of Mañana are beginning to attract HIV-positive and other health-seekers to a growing community of alternative, holistic practitioners centered in Santa Fe.

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IV. SANTA FE

HISTORY AND TOWN PLANNING.

The Santa Fe River valley was occupied by the Anasazi--ancestors of the modern Pueblo Indians--beginning before 600 A.D. in a series of camp sites and later villages, the last of which were abandoned a century before the Spanish arrived. In 1610, the Villa of Santa Fe was founded as the capital of New Mexico under a Spanish royal decree. Following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the city was built into a three- and four-story Indian Pueblo, which housed an estimated population of 1,500 when the Spanish colonists returned for good in 1693. The town that they reestablished after driving out the Pueblo Indians was a recognizably Spanish Colonial settlement in its plan and architecture.

Town Planning. Santa Fe resembled other Spanish Colonial cities largely because of the standardizing influence of the City Planning Ordinances of the Laws of the Indies. Issued in 1573 by Phillip II, the Ordinances codified the first seventy years of Spanish town planning experience in the New World, which had drawn inspiration from a variety of European sources: Renaissance and Roman planning theory, monastic complexes and the military encampment form developed during the Spanish reconquest of the Iberian peninsula from the Moors. The Laws of the Indies provided specific, practical instructions for the selection of a town site, the laying out of a regular grid of streets with a central, public plaza, the placement of religious and governmental buildings on the plaza, and the distribution of town lots and the surrounding farming lands, among other subjects. The Ordinances remained in effect for over 200 years, being last published in 1781 in an almost unaltered form. Virtually every city established in the Spanish domain during this period was shaped by the Ordinances, although in the American Southwest--an isolated, underfinanced, frontier area--its dictates were imperfectly realized.

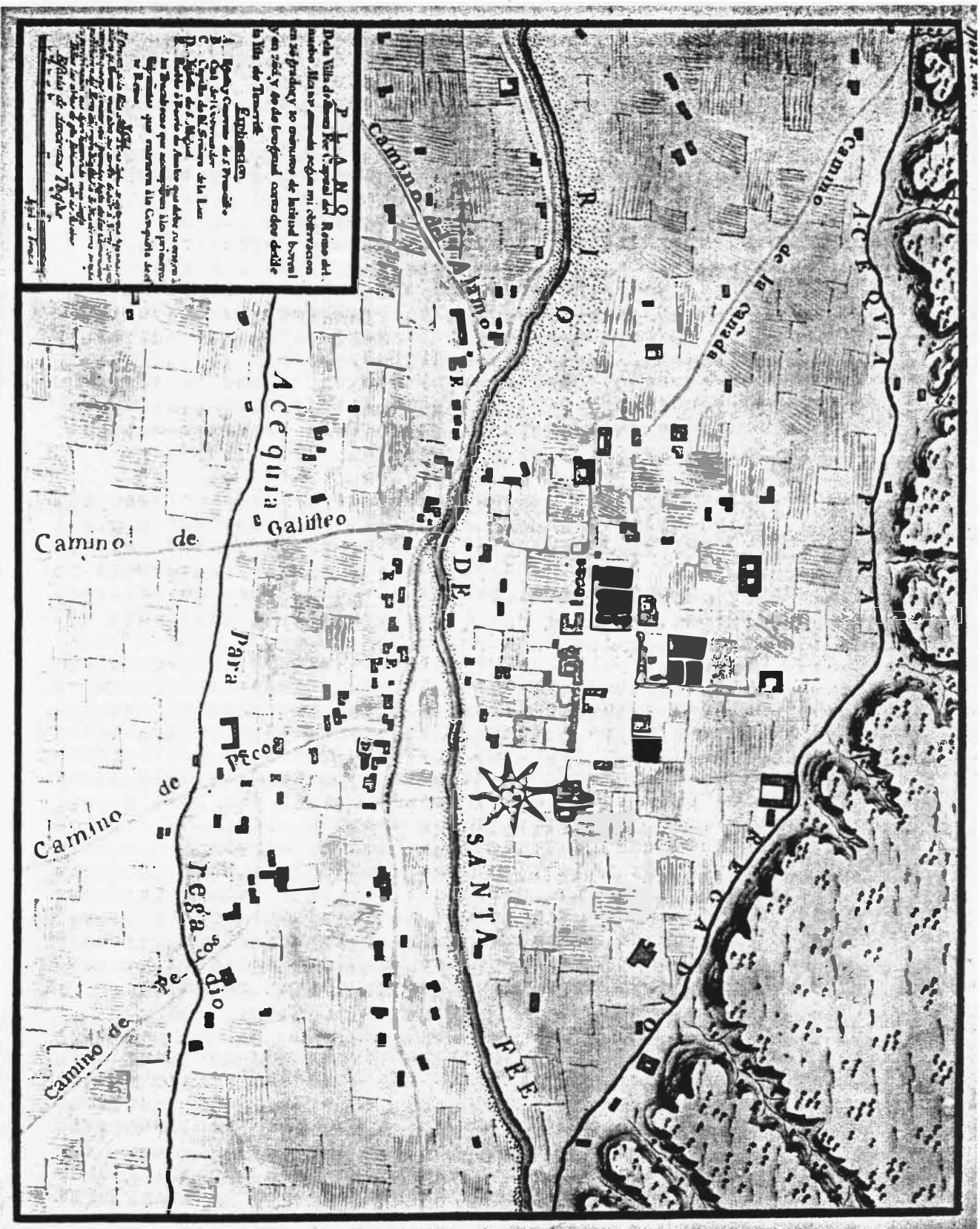
Because the conversion of Indians was the Spanish Crown's chief motivation for expansion in the New World, the Ordinances specified that new towns be located near native populations but not encroach on their lands. Other factors in site selection summarized in the Law of the Indies included: the town must be "in an elevated and healthful location; with means of fortification; fertile soil with plenty of land for farming and pasturage; have fuel, timber and resources; fresh water, a native population" Santa Fe met all of these requirements and in some ways was better than the Rio Grande Valley, where their first capital, San Gabriel had been located in 1598. It was higher by 1500 feet and an average of five degrees cooler in summer. It was protected on the northeast by mountains. The open, rolling hills in the other directions revealed the approach

of strangers and allowed the free use of horses on which Spanish military superiority was predicated. Like the Rio Grande Valley, it was well supplied with water and farming land, while nearby mountains offered abundant grazing land, fire wood and building timbers.

With the site for the new capital selected, Governor Peralta undoubtedly turned again to the Law of the Indies for direction in laying out the town. However, the extent to which his plan conformed to the Ordinances is conjectural because most of the documents that might shed light on Santa Fe's early appearance were destroyed in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The earliest definitive plan of Santa Fe is a map drawn in 1766 by Lieutenant Joseph Urrutia. Scattered archival references indicate that during the first half of the 18th century Santa Fe's plan had been similar to that shown in the 1766 map, whereas before the 1680 revolt the city had more closely followed the the Laws of the Indies. Some of the changes wrought during the thirteen-year-long Pueblo occupation seem never to have been fully reversed.

Judging from the Urrutia map, the instruction to organize buildings into a defensive barrier went unheeded, and the grid of parallel streets forming regular blocks, called for by the Ordinances, had less effect than the proverbial winding lanes descended from game and livestock paths. In 1766, such lanes were focus of settlement on the south side of the river. The most striking feature of the Urrutia map is this wide dispersal of structures among the cultivated fields. By the early 1700s, correspondence between the governor and the viceroy in Mexico City show that New Mexican settlers often refused to stay in tightly-built communities for defensive purposes; instead, they lived near their fields. The other officially constituted villas (towns) of Spanish Colonial New Mexico--Santa Cruz de la Canada (near Espanola, N.M.), Albuquerque, and El Paso del Norte (modern-day Ciudad Juarez)--were just as loosely arranged as Santa Fe.

In contrast to 18th century Santa Fe, the Planning Ordinances direct that: "the main plaza is to be the starting point for the town . . . inland it should be at the center of the town. The plaza should be square or rectangular in which case it should have at least one and a half its width for length inasmuch as this shape is best for fiestas in which horses are used. . . ." The land surrounding the plaza was reserved for "the buildings of the church, royal houses [cases reales] and for city use. . . ." The rudiments of a plaza appear in two places on the Urrutia map: in front of the church of San Miguel (marked D on the south side of the river) and the rectangular main plaza on the north side of the river surrounded by two churches (A, C) and the governor's house (B). Beyond the shape of the main plaza and the location of churches and government buildings, the



objectives of the Ordinances went largely unrealized. Two houses intrude upon the eastern half of the plaza in the 1766 map. By the time the next map of the city was drawn in 1846, buildings had completely filled the eastern half of the original, larger plaza. Although this left the main parish church off of the plaza, a shift in the location of the post-Reconquest church did place it at the head of San Francisco Street.

Beginning in the 1520s, the Mexico City municipal council required property owners to build portales (porches) fronting their buildings for the use of merchants. The practice was widespread by the time the Laws of the Indies required portales around the plaza and on all commercial streets. Property owners were obligated to build and maintain portales in return for choice locations and, in more heavily developed Mexican towns, for the right to build upper floors over the public space of the portal and to collect rents from merchants. In Santa Fe, one-story portales were constructed of rough-hewn log columns, sometimes topped by carved ornamental brackets (zapatas), which supported horizontal beams. They provided protection from the sun and rain, and an edge along which people naturally gathered and where the public market occurred.

The Spanish/Mexican Town. In the late Mexican and early American periods, the market was located under the west end of the Palace of the Governor's portal and under four trees planted in the plaza in 1844 by Governor Mariano Martinez. The U.S. attorney in the early 1850s, William Davis, found the market still under the western end of the palace portal:

. . . where the country people sell meats, fruits, and vegetables they bring to town. The supply . . . consists principally of mutton, an occasional porker, red peppers, beans, onions, milk, bread, cheese, and during the proper season, grapes, wild plums, and wild berries. In the winter, Indians and others bring in, almost daily, fine venison and wild turkeys, and now and then the carcass of a large bear is exposed for sale The meats are hung upon a line made fast to two posts of the portal, while vegetables are put on little mats or pieces of board on the ground, . . .

Santa Fe grew from a population of about 1,500 in 1760 to 2,542 in 1790, and by the first U.S. census of 1850 stood at 4,539. None of the province's secondary administrative and trade centers--Taos, Abiquiu, Santa Cruz and Albuquerque--reached much above a population of 1,000 during the colonial period. As the territory's civil, religious and social center, Santa Fe attracted many of the the region's economic elite--ricos (wealthy), as those with large land or livestock holdings in the region were called. Agriculture was the primary occupation of heads of Santa Fe households in the

1790 census: 262 were farmers (46% of total) with another 60 (11%) day laborers, who would have been engaged primarily in agriculture in season. The military garrison averaged about 100 soldiers at the end of the eighteenth century. The city also boasted a range of specialized trades: 40 barrel maker/wood workers, 27 weavers and craftsmen, 18 carpenter/cabinetmakers, 13 cobblers, 12 blacksmiths, 9 mule drivers and 8 tailors. That no butcher or wood hauler, and only one adobe mason is listed in the census indicates the extent to which many skills were widespread and most households largely self-sufficient. The population in that 1790 census was identified as 67% Spanish, 24% mixed race (Indian-Spanish), 6% Indian and 3% Mulatto. The designation Spanish, however, was more a social, rather than purely racial categorization being applied to many people of mixed ancestry who were culturally Spanish and who had a certain standing in the social hierarchy.

Americanization. Santa Fe disappointed most Americans. Private Daniel Hastings, a volunteer in the army that occupied the city during the Mexican-American War in 1846, wrote in his journal: "Great indeed was the contrast between the beautiful and magnificent city which my imagination had pictured, and the low dirty and inferior place which I then beheld. . . . perfect contempt was my predominant impression while beholding Santa Fe for the first time." Hastings and most other Americans judged every aspect of Mexican culture by the standards and values of their own culture, and found it inferior. In the American reactions to New Mexico there is an ethnocentric equation made among dirt architecture, decaying walls, loose women, addiction to gambling, cowardice (as seen in the inability to mount a defense against the American invasion), and immoral clergy. Decaying walls were seen as equivalent to, or perhaps symptomatic of, the decline of Christian civilization in New Mexico.

The American quickly set about remaking the town. Two weeks after the American occupation, George Gibson, a soldier in the army of occupation, observed in his journal: ". . . lumber is high, from three to four dollars per hundred, and has to be obtained by whip saw. The general has ordered the machinery of a mill, which is expected out this fall, and they are preparing to have everything ready for it when it comes." Glass was also shipped over the Santa Fe Trail and, once lumber became available locally, windows and larger doors began quickly to be cut into existing adobe buildings. Milled porch posts replaced the tree trunk columns and rough hewn beams of Mexican portales, only two of which remained on the plaza by the early 1860s. The expense of freighting fired bricks over the Santa Fe trail was high, so they were used sparingly for fireplaces and flues, and as cornices to protect the tops of adobe walls.



99. Southeast corner of plaza. (about 1855, MNM # 10685)

100. South side of the plaza. (about 1889, MNM # 14758)



Most new construction was executed in a simple version of the Greek Revival style, known today in New Mexico as the Territorial style. Brick cornices were laid to resemble Greek dentil courses. The boards framing doors and windows approximated columns, entablatures and pediments. Pieces of molding wrapped around the tops and sometimes the bottoms of columns evoked the capitals and bases of classical columns. In the rest of the country, wooden approximations of Greek architectural details had long constituted a widespread carpenters' vocabulary, which was easily adapted to Santa Fe. The fortuitous combination of the Spanish portal with the white-washed columns of the Greek Revival produced a Classical colonnade, which remained popular in the major towns of New Mexico until the coming of the railroad in 1880.

The cathedral. The newly appointed Bishop of Santa Fe, French-born Jean Baptiste Lamy, shared the Americans' distaste for the local adobe architecture and vigorously pursued his own campaign of church modernization. In the late 1850s he remodeled the main parish church, the parroquia, at the head of San Francisco Street. Adobe crenelations capped the walls, large, rectangular windows were cut into the nave and side chapel, and a round window placed above the main entrance. Most strikingly, the three-tiered towers of the Mexican period were replaced by shorter brick towers, pierced by pointed arches and capped by more battlements--all to give it a hint of the European Gothic cathedrals that inspired Lamy. By the 1860s, Lamy had recruited thirty-one French priests out of a total fifty-one under his direction, and together they began to remake churches throughout the territory.

Lamy's own efforts focused on erection of an appropriate cathedral for Santa Fe. Stone masons and a father-son architect team, Antoine and Projectus Mouly, were recruited from France. Foundations were laid around the old parroquia in 1869. Being from the south of France, Lamy and the Moulys were familiar with both the medieval Romanesque cathedrals of the region and the preeminent French Romanesque Revival building of the mid-century--Leon Vaudoyer's Marseilles Cathedral of 1845-93. Not surprisingly, the design Lamy elicited from the elder Mouly, with its Romanesque arches, its polychromatic stonework, and (although never built) its transept dome and domed towers, is a provincial cousin of the Marseilles Cathedral emigrated to the New World. When the facade and nave of the stone cathedral were finished in 1886, they were tied to the adobe apse and side chapels of the parroquia. The old church was then dismantled beam by beam and brick by brick and carried out the new doors. A more vivid symbol of Lamy's taking control of the Catholic Church in New Mexico is hard to imagine. The debris was used to fill low spots in the streets and the wooden beams and corbels, taken away by parishioners, can still be seen reused in houses around town.

The railroad. The main line of the Santa Fe Railroad by-passed the city as it was built across New Mexico in 1880, leaving Santa Fe stranded at the end of an eighteen-mile spur line. The booster community, Anglo- and Spanish-American alike, avidly Americanized the city. Three sides of the plaza were ringed with two-story Italianate business blocks by the mid-1890s, while Italianate, Queen Anne and, later, Colonial Revival residences were built along fashionable upper Palace Avenue. The Catholic Church particularly preferred the Second Empire style for its hospital and schools. Civic buildings such as the 1900, Neo-Classical territorial capital, employed styles imported from the East to suggest that New Mexico had Americanized to the degree that it deserved to be admitted as a state. Never-the-less, the city was at such an economic disadvantage being off the the main rail line that Santa Fe entered a steady decline, losing ten per cent of its population each decade from 1880 to 1910, falling from 6,635 to 5,072 people.

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THE SPANISH PUEBLO REVIVAL

In 1912, the newly-formed Santa Fe City Planning Board called for the development of tourism as the best way to stem the city's economic decline. To accomplish this they proposed the preservation of what remained of the historic town and the reconstitution of what had been lost through the use of the Santa Fe style. The job of defining the revival style fell to the staff archeologists and artists of the Museum of New Mexico, which had been established in 1909. Although lathe and plaster pseudo-pueblos had been erected at American World's Fairs and at tourist stops in the Southwest since in the 1890s, the Anglo-American newcomers on the museum staff, primarily Sylvanus Morley and Jesse Nusbaum, focused first on the Hispanic architecture of Santa Fe. They began by making a photographic survey of the city's remaining Spanish Colonial and Mexican-era dwellings. Their first formulation of the revival style drew from this Spanish tradition as it existed before 1850. The museum prescribed flat-roofs, one-story adobe construction (or at least an adobe stucco appearance) and the faithful reproduction of Spanish Colonial wood detailing. The formal variety of the residential type--a symmetrical U-shaped house with a portal set between the wings--was favored as a prototype over the more irregular houses that clustered on the hills about town. At first, the purely Spanish phase of the revival in Santa Fe lasted only from 1912 to 1915, and produced designs such as the the 1912 Forest Service building and the highly speculative, 1913 recreation of the porch of the Palace of the Governors.

The Palace of the Governors. First built in 1610, modified during the Pueblo occupation of 1680, and rebuilt after the Spanish reconquest of 1693, the fabric of the two-room-deep Palace of the Governors largely dates to the Spanish Colonial era. Between 1909 and 1912, Jesse Nusbaum oversaw a general rehabilitation of the building, and by the fall of 1912 attention turned to the plaza facade. No sketches or photographs exist of the Spanish era portal, which had been replaced in the 1850s with a modest Territorial style porch, and then in 1877-78 by one with heavier columns and a classical balustrade. The Museum's regents and staff both agreed that something more appropriate to the building's Spanish history was in order. If their renovation had been carried out ten or even five years earlier, the building might well have received a California Mission style arcade. Instead, a New Mexican Spanish-style portal was erected.

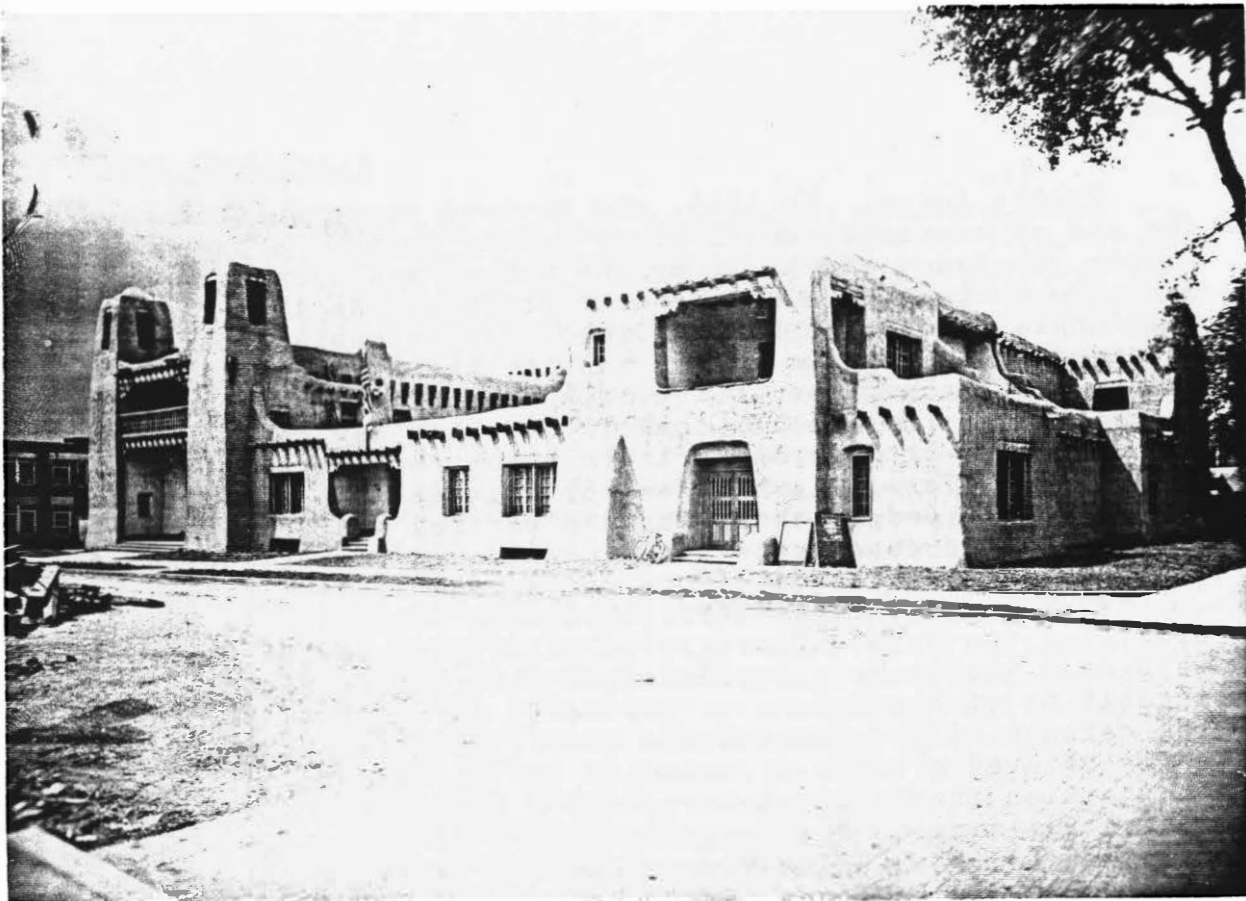
Although the Museum staff based their restoration on the 1766 Urrutia map and a wooden corbel found embedded in an internal wall during the building's remodeling, the 1913 portal can be best characterized as a speculative or perhaps interpretive recreation based more on contemporary aesthetics

and on well-intentioned guesswork than on what was definitively known about the building's Spanish Colonial appearance (see Wilson 1982).

The Fine Arts Museum. The building erected by the State of New Mexico at San Diego marked a new stage in the development of the Spanish Pueblo Revival--a passage from pseudo-pueblos and the quasi-archeological reconstruction of the Palace portal to an eclectic synthesis of elements drawn from various New Mexican prototypes. The architect brothers Isaac H. Rapp and William Morris Rapp employed the Acoma mission for the building's general plan: with the church form on the left, a one-story cloister with recessed entryway in the middle and a two-story, open gallery to the right. A balconied facade with tiny horns capping its towers was drawn from the San Felipe Pueblo Mission, although the larger horn at the middle of each tower was an elaboration.

The New Mexico Building was so popular that its design was elaborated by the Rapps in permanent materials the following year, 1916, at Santa Fe for use by the Museum of New Mexico. Perhaps the best example of the new style, this Fine Arts Museum is a classic application of picturesque eclecticism. As Sylvanus Morley explained in true eclectic spirit (for the New Mexico Building, but which applies equally to the Museum): "...the introduction of the second story balcony between the two towers of the church considerably relieves the monotony of the facade and lightens an otherwise too massive effect [of the Acoma mission]." The Rapps also added a side entrance patterned on the Laguna mission, and terraced massing on two sides based on Pueblo villages. "Six of the ancient Franciscan mission churches, three hundred years old, are reproduced in its facades," wrote Santa Fe lawyer and historian Ralph E. Twitchell, "without destroying the unity of its appearance; they are Acoma, San Felipe, Cochiti, Laguna, Santa Ana and Pecos." And this does not even take account of the terraced Pueblo forms or the corbel brackets and other wood detailing patterned after historic examples documented in the 1912 survey.

These components were combined into a pleasing, picturesque composition. Seen from the plaza, the open loggia at the corner forms the pivot of the composition, balanced on either side by the church facades. From Lincoln Street, the Laguna mission is the pivot, flanked on either side by pueblo forms, which step out slightly at the opposite corners. Vigas, canales, chimneys, windows and secondary masses are used as further accents to refine the asymmetrical, yet subtle balanced compositions. "The symmetry is that of mass, not exact form," wrote Twitchell on the museum's completion. "No matter which way one looks, or from what vantage point, there is a different architectural composition, a new charm, a different pattern and design, in which sunlight and ever-moving shadows have a determining part."



101. Fine Arts Museum, northwest corner of plaza, Rapp and Rapp, 1916. (MNM # 38336)

102. La Fonda Hotel, southeast corner of plaza (compare with 99), Rapp, Rapp and Hendrickson, 1920. (MNM # 23103)



Pueblo forms. In 1915, the revival style shifted toward the use of terraced, multi-story Pueblo forms. A pseudo-pueblo, designed and built by the museum and sponsored by the Santa Fe Railway as a midway attraction at the 1915 Panama-California Exposition in San Diego, was enthusiastically received by fair goers. As a result, the staff realized that the tourists they hoped to attract to Santa Fe were more interested in the Pueblos than in Hispanic New Mexico. At the same time artists and writers began to be attracted to Santa Fe and Taos. In New Mexico, figures such as Witter Bynner, Mable Dodge Luhan, Marsden Hartley and Georgia O'Keeffe would constitute the transplanted romantic wing of the New York intelligentsia. Just as the English romantics John Ruskin and William Morris had once embraced the medieval spirit of the Gothic Revival, so this group touted Pueblo ways as a wholesome pre-industrial alternative to the insanities of the modern world, newly personified for them by the carnage of the First World War. Pueblo architectural forms offered greater opportunity for asymmetric, picturesque composition than Spanish forms and a larger prototype for modern buildings. The Santa Fe School for the Deaf (Rapp and Rapp, 1916), the Carlos Vierra House (Vierra, 1921) and the tourist hotel, La Fonda (Rapp, Rapp and Hendrickson, 1920), epitomize this infusion of Pueblo forms.

By the early 1920s, an unwritten community consensus limited new construction to the Spanish Pueblo Revival and to a revival of early Territorial-era architecture. Because of its Greek Revival roots, this Territorial Revival provides a regional Classicism, which, since the 1930s, has been especially popular for civic architecture, best seen in the State capitol complex. When a generation of young, Modernist-trained architects violated the unwritten consensus, the City responded in 1957 with a formal historic design review process. The large historic district has been substantially remade in the revival styles, including the return of the plaza portales in 1966.

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WESTSIDE VERNACULAR

Quite apart from the revival style remaking of the tourist district and the primarily-Anglo east side, the Spanish-Mexican vernacular building tradition has continued to evolve uninterrupted, especially on the west side. Unlike the Pueblo Indians who retained at least a partial economic base when their Spanish land grants were recognized as reservations by the U.S. government, Indo-Hispanic settlers lost 80 per cent of their land by 1912 through what some have characterized as the unfortunate differences between Mexican and American land laws and others attribute to outright legislative and judicial chicanery. Although Mexicanos sought to maintain ties to their home villages in northern New Mexico, economic necessity increasingly forced them to enter the low-paid, migrant work force. The international depression in agricultural prices following the First World War triggered substantial emigration out of the small farming villages and into urban centers. In Santa Fe, these villagers and a smaller group of recent Mexican immigrants developed a large Hispanic working class district between the World Wars known as the Guadalupe/Westside neighborhood. Until this century the Westside was primarily an agricultural area, with only a scattering of houses along the roads leading out of town. When the Santa Fe Water Company purchased and preempted water rights in the area in the late teens, the Westside was opened for residential development. Because Santa Fe had steadily declined from 1880 to 1910, the Westside was the first large new Hispanic neighborhood since the coming of the railroad.

An owner-built, vernacular tradition emerged on the Westside which incorporates popular, Anglo-American influences into an on-going Hispanic tradition. Westside builders continue the Spanish-Mexican tradition of masonry construction and room-by-room accretion. While the eighteenth and early nineteenth century norm was to place houses at the street's edge and orient them toward private courtyards to the rear, in this century, Anglo-American-introduced frontal-orientation, and front- and side-yard setbacks have been partially adopted on the Westside, and in other Mexican-American neighborhoods across the Southwest. Three aspects of how people have built their houses on the Westside are treated here: front yard setbacks, house plans and the aesthetics of color and materials.

Front yard set back. In the Spanish and Mexican eras, doors and windows faced into placita courtyards for defensive reasons, with only one passage, the zaguan, opening to the outside. The lack of exterior openings allowed placitas to be built side by side without modifying the basic plan. Brought to the edges of streets, the houses of Santa Fe formed walled corridors, relieved only by the heavy zaguan doors. In the 1846 map of the city, portales ring the plaza

and line the south side of San Francisco street. Although there were no portales away from the plaza, on exclusively residential streets, the residential courtyards in the plaza area provided the first model for a space in front of the house orientated toward the street.

Mid-nineteenth century residential streets in the earliest portions of the Westside (just west of Guadalupe Church) had a front stoop space higher than the drainage of the road and marked by a stone rubble curb or boardwalk. In a sense, this space in front of the house is a faintly defined extension of the typical, four- to five-foot-wide portal. Low adobe walls were widely used in Santa Fe to enclose agricultural fields, and a few early houses that were set back a bit from the road used a low wall to define their front yard. If this set back occasionally occurred in the Spanish and Mexican eras, it became more common under the influence of Anglo-American houses built between 1875 and 1900, which generally were set back five to twenty feet from the street and fronted by picket fences. By the turn of the century in Hispanic neighborhoods, the practice of setting houses back and defining the yard by a fence was already becoming common. The possibility of a small setback with a low wall was contained in the local Spanish tradition, but it was encouraged and became dominant on the Westside under Anglo-American influences. House plans appear to have evolved in a similar fashion as a secondary Spanish house plan became the predominate one used this century in part because of its similarity to popular Anglo-American house plans.

House Plans. The most common Spanish-Mexican house plan (already treated in the Las Trampas and Las Vegas sections) consisted of single rooms, one-deep, arranged into single file, L-shaped, U-shaped or courtyard plans. A less common variant masses rooms two-deep. The best known example of this double file plan in New Mexico is the Palace of the Governors. By the mid-nineteenth century, as population and land values rose, and settlement became more dense, the double-file plan became more common. This form satisfied the traditional requirement that each room have an exterior door by placing doors both to the front and to the rear.

Most lots available on the Westside in the 1920s and 30s were narrow: those in platted subdivisions, fifty feet wide, while others were even narrower, the result of family plots being subdivided again and again through inheritance. The most common response to narrow lots were houses two-rooms wide and two or sometimes three rooms deep, generally built by the owner a room or two at a time, and had an exterior door for all or most rooms. The emergence of the two-room-wide plan on the Westside was reinforced by the four-square house plan (two-rooms-wide and two-deep, often with a hipped roof), which appeared in New Mexico about 1900. Houses two-

rooms wide remained popular until the Second World War through a simple Bungalow style plan (two-rooms-wide and from two- to four-rooms-deep). The more affluent families hired builders while others worked from plans available from the local building supply yard, but most continued to build their own homes without drawn plans.

Aesthetics. While Hispanic-Mexican builders in Santa Fe and elsewhere in the Southwest typically employed a ten- to twenty-foot front-yard setback, they have continued to define the sidewalk's edge with low masonry walls, or masonry piers linked by picket fences, wrought iron, chain link or decorative block. These owner-built enclosures and the houses themselves reveal a taste for vivid colors--blues and greens as well as lighter pastels and whites--and a taste for textured stucco, polychromatic brick work, wrought iron, miniature grottos, shrines and ornamental stone veneers. This vibrant aesthetic is quite at variance with the muted, Arts-and-Crafts palette of earth tones that predominate on the wealthy, Anglo east side along Canyon Road and Camino del Monte Sol.

Jose N. Trujillo is the master of the Westside Vernacular. Born and raised in Ledoux on the east side of the Sange de Cristo Mountains, he first moved to Santa Fe in 1935 to work in the Civilian Conservation Corp camp, where he learned stone masonry while building retaining walls along the river and check dams up the arroyos. After stints on the railroad in Wyoming and in the Army during the war, he returned to Santa Fe, where he worked over the years as a maintenance foreman for the city housing authority and, longest, as a salesman at Big Joe Lumber.

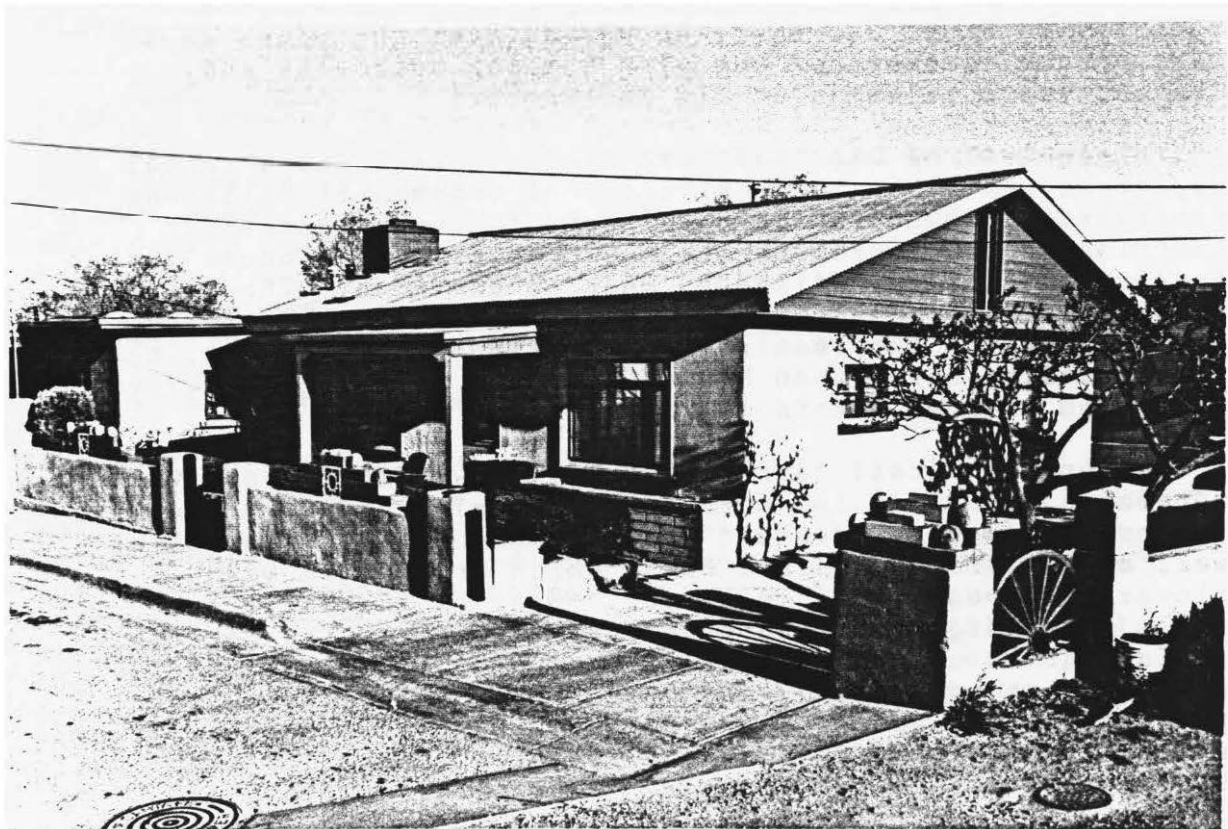
Since 1947 he has built two family houses and a rental duplex along with an extensive set of ornamental walls and courtyards (his house and yard shown in the illustration comprise about one fourth of this complex). His house was built in stages out of adobes made on the site. The two room along the front came first, followed by the two adjoining rooms, then the two-room rear L addition, and, finally, the free-standing three-room house. The circulation path winds from room to room within the main house.

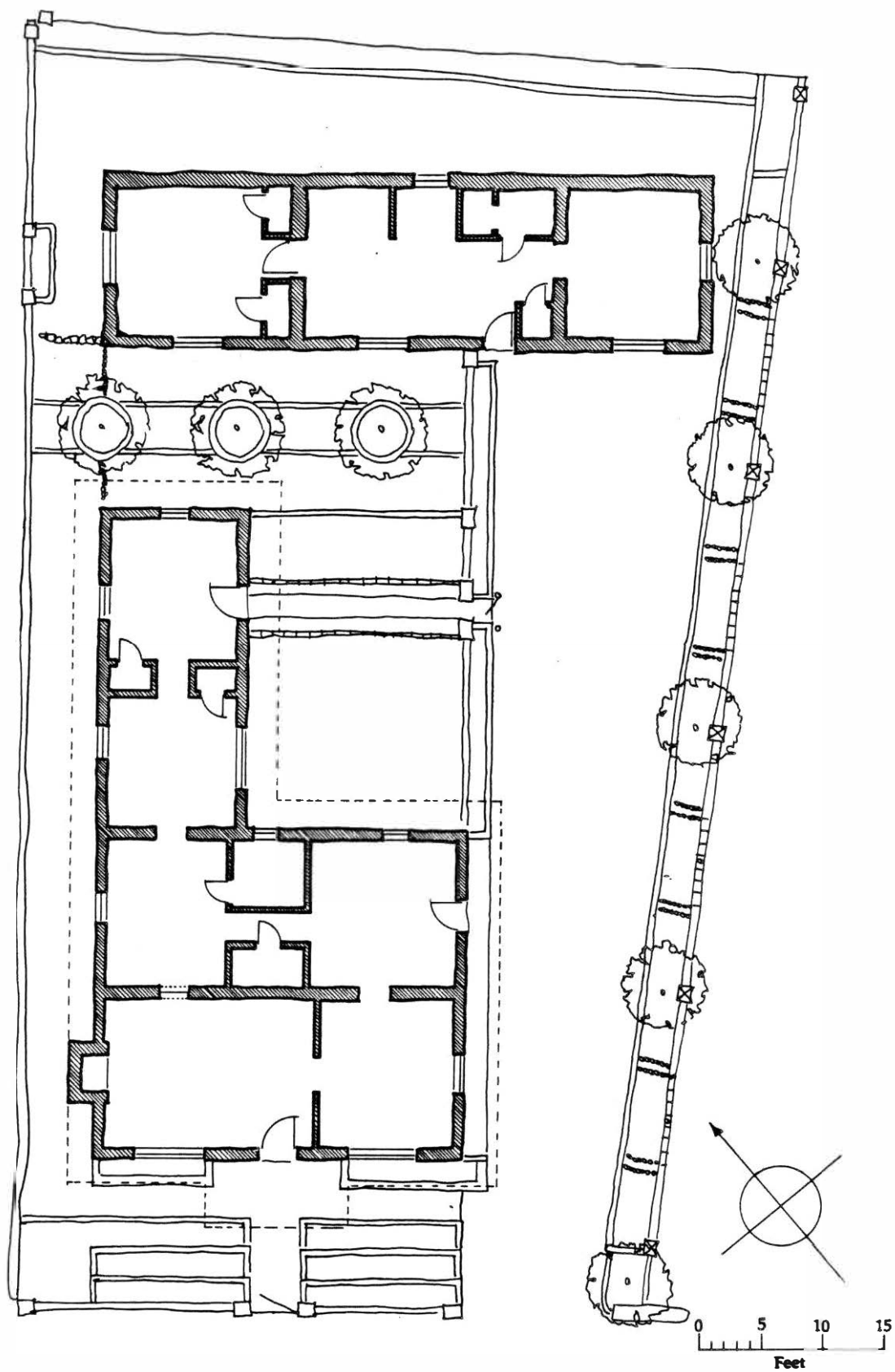
A series of tall courtyard walls, lower front yard walls, retaining walls and low curbs meticulously subdivide the property into car yards and hard-packed-dirt courtyards, as well as surface and raised beds, which are filled with flowers and vegetables in summer. Many of the walls are built waist-high with stepping details to make the materials go further to make them look higher. Trujillo combines scavenged stonework and wooden architectural details, metal tractor wheels, auto wheel hubs, bowling balls, and the like with sculpture from friends and invented treatments such as his incised pebble-dash stucco. His use of standard and



103. West Manhattan Street. (Wilson)

104. Jose N. Trujillo House, San Lorenzo, 1947 to present.
(Wilson)





105. Jose N. Trujillo House. (Sattler, Sprick, Hesse)

decorator concrete block, and a palette of light brown, dark red-brown and turquoise paint unite the compound. "It's just a bunch of monkey business," Trujillo likes to explain. "I say to my wife, if you can have all your monos [monkeys, an endearment] in here," he once said to me, gesturing to the living room cabinet filled with photos of their ten children and thirty grandchildren, "then I can have my monkey business outside."

Gentrification. Some of the conspicuous new wealth produced by the Reagan tax restructuring has been attracted to Santa Fe by the spate of national publicity which projected the city as a sort of Tahiti in the desert and reduced Santa Fe to a chic style of interior design. Million dollar residences and time-share condominiums have been built in abundance while the shortage of affordable, low and middle income housing has mushroomed. As property values escalated elsewhere in Santa Fe, the Westside became attractive to young, primarily Anglo-American professionals and the barrio began to rapidly gentrify. It is not uncommon, today, to see a BMW and an Isuzu Trooper parked next to a recently remodeled Santa Fe revival house, and next door a banged-up 67 Chevy in front of an owner-built house. Gentrified properties typically have a new six-foot-tall, adobe-colored wall or a pole fence at the sidewalk, the better to create a romantic Spanish courtyard. (These Pole fences are generally called palito fences by long-time residents, and coyote fences in real estate/builder parlance.) Some long-time residents have complained that this is destroying the face-to-face interaction and sense of community fostered by the low walls. This ironic inversion finds Anglo newcomers cloistered behind high adobe walls and the Hispanic working class building houses that open emphatically to the street.

Although the Hispanic architectural vernacular has remained vital and continued to evolve, it has not been widely regarded in the neighborhood as an expression of cultural identity or much noted by aficionados of Santa Fe style. In 1983, the city's Historic Design Review process was extended to the eastern half of the neighborhood, formally mandating the revival styles. Ironically, the revival style, which is based in part on an earlier stage of the Spanish-Mexican vernacular tradition, is now helping to legitimize the social and spatial transformation of this Hispanic neighborhood.

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CHRONOLOGY (Boyd C. Pratt)

- ?-? Pre-Basket Maker: Archaic hunter-gatherer populations using caves and rock-shelters and maybe shallow pit-structures as seasonal headquarters (homes) -- no apparent permanent villages.
- ?-300 Basket Maker II: a semi-nomadic, pre-Pueblo culture; first agriculturalists, excellent at basket making.
- 300-700 Basket Maker III: first sedentary group, who built crude sub-surface slab houses; cultivated corn, squash, beans, and tobacco; and produced first pottery in the Four Corners Anasazi area.
- 700-900 Pueblo I: a development from the Basket Maker people and their culture; introduction of horizontal masonry and the bow and arrow.
- 900-1150 Pueblo II (Developmental Period): surface unit-type house becomes small village or group dwelling.
- 1150-1350 Pueblo III (Classic or Great Period): large, multistoried masonry buildings and great circular kivas; in particular, the Anasazi developments at Chaco Canyon, Mesa Verde, and Kayenta.
- 1350-1700 Pueblo IV: Dispersal of former Anasazi world and re-aggregation into present Pueblos -- many large plaza-oriented villages of 500-1,000 people (Rio Grande [Isleta, Picuris and Taos], Acoma, Hopi, and Zuni). (The current phase, 1700 [or possibly from Spanish contact] to the present, is called Pueblo V.)
- 1539 Fray Marcos de Niza, along with a Black named Esteban, "discover" the "Seven Cities of Cibola" (Zuni).
- 1540 Coronado enters New Mexico in quest of Quivira.
- 1598 Don Juan de Oñate establishes San Gabriel de Yunque Yunque, the first capital of New Mexico, across from San Juan Pueblo.
- 1610 Governor Pedro de Peralta founds the City of Santa Fe according to the Law of the Indies.
- 1680 Pueblo Revolt, Spanish colonists forced to abandon Santa Fe and New Mexico; El Paso del Norte (current Ciudad Juarez, Mexico) established as a villa.

- 1692 Santa Fe visited by Governor Diego de Vargas on his reconnoitering trip. A year later, after a fierce siege, Vargas retakes Santa Fe. Following generation witnesses turbulence among Pueblos; abandonment, consolidation, and establishment of villages.
- 1696 The Villa de Santa Cruz de La Cañada established by Vargas.
- 1706 The Villa de Alburquerque [sic] established by Governor Francisco Cuervo y Valdes.
- 1740s Plaza de San Buenaventura (Plaza del Cerro) in Chimayo founded.
- 1751 Las Trampas Grant made to twelve settlers and their families from Santa Fe.
- 1760 License is granted to build San José de Gracia Church in Las Trampas.
- 1790 Expansion begins out of Spanish hearth on upper Rio Grande.
- 1816 Santuario de Esquífulas constructed in Potrero (Chimayo).
- 1821 Mexico declares independence from Spain; Santa Fe trail opened; first window glass, brick, and metal roofing material brought in on trail.
- 1824 Land and three-room house near Taos purchased by Don Severino Martinez; he subsequently develops it into a twelve-room "hacienda."
- 1846 As part of the Mexican War, the Army of the West, led by Brigadier-General Stephen Watts Kearny occupies Santa Fe and declares New Mexico a Territory of the United States of America.
- 1847 First saw mill is put into operation at Santa Fe; first provincial Greek Revival, locally called Territorial Style, remodelings begin.
- 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo officially recognizes the cession of New Mexico to the United States.
- 1849 Samuel Watrous begins construction of his house and trading post at La Junta de Los Rios.
- 1851 Jean Baptiste Lamy assumes the Bishopric of Santa Fe.
- ca. 1855 Palace of Governors remodelled in Territorial Style.

- 1858 Santo Niño Chapel in Potrero (Chimayo) constructed.
- 1862 Santa Fe briefly occupied by Confederate troops; territorial capital moved to Las Vegas.
- 1863 Third Fort Union constructed in the Greek Revival Style (later named Territorial Style); Santa Fe Plaza park constructed.
- 1869 St. Francis Cathedral in Santa Fe begun; importation of French architects and French and Italian stonemasons.
- 1874-83 Loretto Academy, St. Michael's College, other Catholic schools, and St. Vincent's Sanitorium constructed.
- 1879 Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad (AT&SF) arrives in Las Vegas; wholesale importation of materials, styles, and building experts from East and Midwest begins; first fired brick made in Santa Fe.
- 1880 Spur line connects Santa Fe to AT&SF. New Mexico Territorial Assembly passes "An Act for the Incorporation of Cities" (reenacted in 1884).
- 1881 First water, gas, and telegraph systems in Santa Fe.
- 1887 Texas, Santa Fe and Northern, later Denver and Santa Fe, Railroad reaches Santa Fe from north.
- 1890 Santa Fe Indian School established; Presbyterian mission schools for Hispanics.
- 1891 City of Santa Fe incorporated; first power plant.
- 1893 Depression known as "Panic of 1893" bankrupts many over-extended western businesses including Santa Fe Railroad.
- 1895 City of Las Vegas reincorporated, but this time only encompassing East Las Vegas.
- 1896 Reorganized Santa Fe Railway emphasizes operational efficiency and corporate image-making (California Mission Revival Style).
- 1900 Suit is filed for the partition of the Las Trampas Grant, ultimately resulting in the alienation of the ejidos (common lands) from the grantees.
- 1905 Valmora Sanitorium established by Dr. William T. Brown.
- 1906 Remaining public domain in northern New Mexico declared a national forest; Taos Pueblo begins fight to regain Blue Lake.

- 1908 Hodgkin Hall on the University of New Mexico Campus in Albuquerque remodelled in the Spanish Pueblo Revival Style.
- 1909-13 Palace of the Governors renovated and facades remodelled in "Santa Fe Style" (1913).
- 1912 Statehood. Santa Fe City Planning Board and New/Old Santa Fe exhibit propose the revitalization of Santa Fe through tourism, preservation, and revival architecture; 80 percent of Spanish and Mexican grant lands alienated by this date.
- 1916 Spanish Pueblo Revival Style Museum of Fine Arts building begun on Santa Fe Plaza.
- 1917 New Santa Fe to Taos Highway by-passes mountain villages.
- 1920-4 Mabel Dodge Luhan expands the three-four-room house on her recently-purchased property into a large residential complex.
- 1921 La Fonda Hotel, on southeast side of Santa Fe Plaza, designed by Rapp, Rapp and Hendrickson.
- 1921-4 Agricultural depression initiates depopulation of Indo-Hispanic villages.
- 1929 John Gaw Meem addition to La Fonda initiates new, more sculptural and monumental phase of the Spanish Pueblo Revival Style.
- 1931 John Gaw Meem proposes to restore portales (porches) on the Santa Fe Plaza.
- 1932 Indian Claims Commission established to return lost reservation lands.
- 1937 Territorial Revival Style State Supreme Court Building in Santa Fe designed by Gordon Street.
- 1941 The Denver and Santa Fe Railroad abandoned; Manhattan Project takes over the site of the Los Alamos Ranch School for development of atomic bomb.
- 1940+ Kirtland Air Force Base and Sandia Nuclear Weapons Lab contribute to Albuquerque's emergence as regional center; 1940 population 35,449; 1980 population 331,767.
- 1943 Antibiotic treatment of tuberculosis begins decline of sanatoria; Valmora Sanitorium closes 1973.

- 1945 Successful atomic explosion at Trinity Site 150 miles south of Albuquerque.
- 1950s Diesel engines replace steam engines, round houses closed across the country.
- 1957 Santa Fe Historic Zoning Ordinance adopted.
- 1961 Work is begun on a new hard-top road through Las Trampas and other mountain villages; completed in 1967.
- 1964-66 Territorial Revival Style State Capitol ("The Roundhouse") constructed.
- 1966 Indo-Hispanic land grant movement crests with raid on Tierra Amarilla courthouse; Urban Renewal Agency founded in Santa Fe, demolishes large historic areas 2-5 blocks west and southwest of Plaza; portales returned to Santa Fe Plaza.
- 1960s Passive solar design integrated with New Mexican regionalism.
- 1980s Spate of international publicity projects Santa Fe as a 'Tahiti in the Desert' and raises it to a chic style of interior design.

GLOSSARY (Boyd C. Pratt)

This glossary provides the reader not familiar with north central New Mexico with definitions of common words descriptive of architecture and landscape. Standard architectural terms are assumed to be common knowledge. Spanish and Pueblo words are underlined; they are Spanish unless otherwise indicated.

acequia -- Moorish-derived word referring to an irrigation canal; acequia madre, literally "mother ditch," was the principal supplier from which water was diverted into laterals (called contra acequias or sangrias).

adobe -- Moorish-derived word for sun-dried brick made of earth and straw; the mud used to make these bricks or plaster walls; a building constructed of adobe mud or bricks.

Anglo -- everyone who is not Indian or Hispanic.

arroyo -- dry river or stream bed, subject to flooding after rain storms.

atrio -- walled forecourt of a church.

banco -- bench along a wall, usually constructed of adobe.

bosque -- riverine forest, usually composed of cottonwoods.

bulto -- three-dimensional statue of a saint.

bu-ping-geh -- (Tewa) "center-heart-place," ceremonial plaza.

California Mission Revival Style -- twentieth century revival style based on California Mission architecture and distinguished by the use of curvilinear and mixtilinear parapets, quatrefoil and bull's-eye windows, espadañas, arcades, white stucco, and red tile roofs.

camposanto -- literally "holy ground," a cemetery usually located within a wall or fence in front of a church.

cañada -- small canyon or lowland.

canal(es) -- roof drainspout projecting through a parapet wall.

casas reales -- literally "royal houses," the official residence and offices of the Governor, although it can also refer to other government buildings; in Santa Fe the Palace of the Governors.

cedros -- split juniper ("cedar") poles, often used for latillas.

center passage plan (center hall) -- house with a centered door and hallway down the middle with rooms placed symmetrically to either side; ranging from a two-story, two-room-deep (double pile) form to a one-story, one-room-deep type with side-facing gable.

ciénega -- swamp or marsh.

convento -- priest's residential courtyard, usually directly attached to the church.

cross gable plan (cross-wing) -- house with two wings that intersect to form an L- or T-shaped plan; the simplest manifestation of asymmetric, picturesque composition.

dendrochronology -- the science of dating structures through the study of the growth rings in trees.

ejidos -- common lands shared by members of a land grant.

espadaña -- curvilinear parapet of a church facade with a cut-out for bell.

fogon -- corner fireplace (often misnamed "Kiva fireplace").

fuerte -- horizontal log construction of buildings, also used for a stronghold or locked room for valuables often built of logs.

genizaro (also jenizaro) -- derived from the term Janizary, a Hispanicized nomadic Indian, usually a captive rescued from one of various nomadic tribes and brought up in a Spanish household; comprised an estimated 30% of Hispanic population of New Mexico in 1800.

hacienda -- large landed estate or property; also refers to large residences associated with these; in New Mexico, the term was sometimes applied to courtyard-centered houses, although rancho and placita were more common terms.

hall and chamber plan (hall and parlor) -- two-room house with entry into the multi-purpose, public hall with a private bedroom chamber to the side; sometimes with a sleeping loft and/or kitchen to the rear; generally with a side-facing gable.

horno -- out-door beehive-shaped adobe oven, introduced by the Spanish.

jacal -- structure made of logs set vertically in a trench and chinked or plastered with adobe mud; palisaded construction.

kiva -- Pueblo Indian ceremonial room.

latilla (latia) -- wood saplings laid on top of roof beams (vigas) to support an earthen roof covering; see also cedros, savinos, and tablas.

Law of the Indies -- comprehensive set of laws concerning the Spanish colonization of their New World possessions, including town planning ordinances, first promulgated by Philip II in 1573, and the whole codified in 1681 (Recopilacion de Leyes de las Indias).

long lot fields (vara strips) -- long, narrow Hispanic fields between irrigation ditches and streams, resembling French long lots.

mission -- historic: church/convento complex; contemporary: a Catholic church without a resident priest.

moiety -- an anthropological term for one of two units into which a group is divided; in the case of the Pueblos, usually Summer and Winter people.

molino -- mill; Spanish mills distinguished by the horizontal millstone that turned counter-clockwise, usually housed in a fuerte.

morada -- meeting house for the Penitentes; often with associated features of a Via Crucis (Way of the Cross) and calvario, representing Calvary where Christ was crucified.

mudejar -- Moorish influence on Spanish art and architecture, dating from their occupation of the Iberian peninsula from 13th-17th C; translated to New Mexico and other Spanish colonies in the form of abstract geometrical ceiling designs, corbels, etc.

nansipu -- (Tewa) see sipapu.

nicho -- recessed or hollowed-out space in a wall used to hold a statue.

oratorio -- private chapel.

paredcito -- short, freestanding wall, often used to support a corner fireplace.

parroquia -- parish church.

Penitentes (also Los Hermanos Penitentes or Cofradia de Nuestro Padre Jesus Nazareno) -- lay Roman Catholic brotherhood of Indo-Hispanic origin that observes certain rites related to the Passion of Christ and performs various mutual aid services, burials, etc.; their meeting house is called a morada.

placita (plazita) -- small courtyard or plaza surrounded (usually on all four sides) by a complex of buildings or rooms.

plaza -- public square; the term can also refer to a fortified community or simply a settlement.

plazuela -- courtyard-centered house, usually with room blocks on two or three sides and walls enclosing the remainder.

portal(es) -- long porch or portico with roof supported by vertical posts, facing either a plaza, placita, or plazuela.

presidio -- permanent garrison of soldiers, often with formal fortifications.

pretil -- parapet wall.

pueblo -- originally a Spanish term referring to a "people" or "settlement," in New Mexico this word refers to either the ethnic groups or their settlements, including the structures; in English generally reserved for Pueblo Indians.

raja -- split poles.

ramada -- arbor or covered shade.

rancho -- ranch, isolated farm/ranch house.

reredos -- screen or wall facing set behind an altar.

retablo -- two-dimensional representation of a saint or saints.

Solomonic column -- column carved in a twisted rope form, allegedly patterned after the columns of Solomon's temple described in the Old Testament.

savinos -- full sapplings, often of juniper ("cedar"), used for latillas.

selenite -- slabs of clear gypsum mineral used for glazing.

shotgun house plan -- house one room wide and two or more rooms deep with a front-facing gable and circulation through the rooms (without a separate hallway); although this is an Afro-Haitian form introduced into the U.S. through New Orleans, in the West it became a generic worker's house.

sipapu (nansipu in Tewa) -- earth navel, "belly root," symbolic center of world, point of emergence.

Spanish Pueblo Revival Style -- revival style (1905 to present), featuring flat roofs, cubistic massing, portales, projecting vigas, and canales; also chauvinistically called the Santa Fe Style.

tablas -- adzed boards of short lengths, often used for ceiling boards.

Territorial Style -- New Mexican term for the Greek Revival Style as applied to adobe architecture during the Territorial Period (1846-1912); featuring brick dentil courses, pedimented lintels, and portales with chamfered columns with molding capitals.

Territorial Revival Style -- stylized revival (1920 to present) of Territorial Style.

terron(es) -- bricks of cut sod, usually taken from marshy areas (ciénegas).

Tewa -- one of three subgroups of the Tanoan language spoken by Pueblo Indians in north central New Mexico: Tewa (Nambe, Pojoaque, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Santa Clara, and Tesuque); Tiwa (Isleta, Picuris, Sandia, and Taos); and Towa (Jemez).

torreon -- round tower, often two stories, used for defensive purposes.

transverse clerestory window -- window formed by the difference in elevation between the nave and the transept or altar area, used for the purpose of illuminating the reredos or altar screen.

tronecas -- loopholes in a parapet wall, used for defensive purposes.

vara -- standard Spanish Colonial linear measurement, approximately a yard (33 inches); x varas of land refers to width of long lot fields.

viga -- horizontal roof beam, often projecting beyond the exterior wall surface.

zaguan -- covered hallway joining separate buildings or rooms; often used to refer to a large double-door entrance to a fortified plaza or placita.

zambullo -- Spanish Colonial door hung by means of pintle hinge, i.e., where the stile on one side is extended beyond the top and bottom rails to form tenons that fit into mortises in the lintel and sill.

zapata -- wooden double corbel capital; a bolster.

ANNOTATED SUGGESTED READINGS

Banham, P. Reyner. Scenes in American Deserts. Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 1982; Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989.

Although Albuquerque, Santa Fe and Taos Pueblo appear only at the edge of Banham's desert Southwest, that's reason enough to include this book for the joy of reading his brilliant aesthetic/cultural analysis and hearing his erudite, yet unmannered, voice again.

Bunting, Bainbridge. Early Architecture in New Mexico. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976.

Bainbridge Bunting, for many years the leading architectural historian in and of New Mexico, wrote several books about the architecture of the region. This is the best general introduction covering Prehistoric (Pueblo) architecture to the coming of the railroad.

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A compelling, richly evocative novel, even if Chicano revisionists have demonstrated that it reveals more about the 20th century Anglo-American romantic attraction to Pueblo Indians and the desert landscape, and denigration of Spanish/Mexican culture than it does about actual historical events.

Crawford, Stanley. Mayordomo: Chronicle of an Acequia in Northern New Mexico. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988;

Long-time mayordomo (ditch boss) Crawford describes the workings of a community irrigation ditch more as a social institution than as a mere cultural landscape feature in this

winner of the Western States Book Award for Creative Nonfiction.

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Hillerman, Tony. The Great Taos Bank Robbery and Other Indian Country Affairs. 1973; rpt. Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1989.

Before he began writing his nationally-acclaimed murder mysteries featuring the Navajo detectives, Jim Chee and Joe Leaphorn, Tony Hillerman was the editor of the Santa Fe New Mexican. This collection of stories and historical anecdotes about New Mexico, ranging from the cover story to the continuing presence of the black plague and the discovery of Folsom Man, indicates what a fine journalist and writer he is.

Kessell, John L. The Missions of New Mexico Since 1776. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980.

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This classic study was noted art historian George Kubler's Ph.D. dissertation. Prefaced by a brief historical introduction, the work describes general architectural characteristics, discusses specific structures, and contains over 200 photographic, plan and section illustrations.

Markovich, Nicholas C. et al. eds. Pueblo Style and Regional Architecture. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1990.

A varied collection of essays, the primary defect of which is the (typical romantic Anglo) omission of the Spanish/Mexican contribution from the title and all but a few of the essays. Useful articles on Pueblo architecture (Swentzell, and Ferguson, Mills and Seciwa), southwestern revivals (Gebhard, Wilson) and environmental design regions (Rapaport).

Nabokov, Peter and Robert Easton. Native American Architecture. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Contains a succinct introduction to Pueblo architecture, tracing it from prehistoric antecedents (Mogollon, Hohokam, and Anisazi) to the present. Case studies include Taos, Santa Clara, Zuni, Hopi, and Acoma, the latter based upon Nabokov's Architecture of Acoma Pueblo: The 1934 Historic American Building Survey Project (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1986).

New Mexico: A Guide to the Colorful State, compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Projects Administration in the State of New Mexico. 1940, rpt. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989.

The WPA guide is still one of the best introductions to the state with a notable section on architecture written by leading regional architect John Gaw Meem.

Nichols, John. The Milagro Beanfield War. N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974; N.Y.: Ballantine Books, 1976.

A richly comic novel of the struggle of an Indo-Hispanic mountain village to defend its community and its water rights. While the recent movie sometimes snags on stereotypes, Nichols' original is rich in telling contemporary detail and characters.

Ortiz, Alfonso. Handbook of the North American Indians: Volume 9 Southwest. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian, 1979.

An exemplary encyclopedia with authoritative essays on historical themes and specific tribes, first-rate illustrations, and an exhaustive bibliography.

Pratt, Boyd C. and David H. Snow. The North Central Regional Overview Santa Fe: State Historic Preservation Division, 1988. 2 volumes, 994 Pages.

A monumental synthesis of the existing scholarship (both published and archival) on the historic archeology, history and architecture of the region, supplemented by targeted field work. One of a series that now covers the entire state, most by Pratt and a series of collaborators. The place to start any research.

Reeve, Agnesa Lufkin. From Hacienda to Bungalow: Northern New Mexico Houses, 1850-1912. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988.

A largely descriptive and anecdotal treatment of twenty houses that exemplify the cultural changes occurring during the Territorial Period.

Scully, Vincent. Pueblo/Mountain, Village, Dance. N Y: The Viking Press, 1975;

Reyner Banham says it best: of Scully "prepared to execute bold intellectual maneuvers in very exposed locations," and of this book "the most splendid and disastrous of all paleface attempts to focus 'the Indian phenomenon.'" Although the central analogy of Greek and Pueblo architecture ritual and landscapes falters, Scully's fine descriptions of ceremonies in their architectural and landscape settings, coupled with excellent photos, provides a rarely matched environmental portrait.

Sheppard, Carl D. Creator of the Santa Fe Style: Issac Hamilton Rapp, Architect. Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1988.

Although the title overstates the case a bit, this is a solid monograph on a pivotal turn-of-the-century architect.

Spears, Beverly. American Adobes: Rural Houses of Northern New Mexico. Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1986.

A perceptive look at the (primarily exterior) formal language of the Hispanic vernacular of adobe and pitched metal roofs; has become a source book for a new revival style genre around Santa Fe.

Taylor, Lonn and Dessa Bokides. New Mexico Furniture, 1600-1940: the Origins, Survival and Revival of Furniture Making in the Hispanic Southwest. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1987.

An excellent survey based on the analysis of collection pieces as well as furniture still in New Mexican homes. This beautifully illustrated book describes the Spanish tradition,

its evolution under Anglo-American influences and revival during the twentieth century.

Weigle, Marta and Peter White. The Lore Of New Mexico. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988.

A splendid compilation of material from archival and published sources, with contextualizing analysis, covering, among other things, roads, houses, place names, music, folk tales, settlement patterns, entertainment and public ceremony.

Williams, Jerry ed. New Mexico in Maps. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986

One-hundred-thirty or so maps each with a two page essay covering natural environments, history, economic and population characteristics, culture and government. If you love maps and the geographers' inclusivist approach, this is for you.

Wilson, Chris and David Kammer. Community and Continuity: The History, Architecture and Cultural Landscape of La Tierra Amarilla. (Santa Fe: Historic Preservation Division, 1989.

This study of a cluster of six mountain villages provides the most detailed look at the Spanish/Mexican cultural landscape to date. Includes a day's worth of self-guided, driving tours of the area.

Yates, Steven A. Ed. The Essential Landscape. Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1985.

While J.B. Jackson's influential magazine Landscape first appeared in 1951 with the subtitle "Human Geography of the Southwest," it soon shed the subtitle and became known for its editor's catholic interests and perceptive essays, which, perhaps more than any other writing, raised the ordinary cultural landscape to a serious topic. His early Landscape essays on the American Southwest and the Mexican northern frontier are collected here with a new introduction and an eclectic selection of contemporary photos of the New Mexican cultural landscape.

Maps. The most useful quick reference is The Roads of New Mexico (Fredricksburg, Texas.: Shearer Pub., 1990) a large format 128 page road atlas, which covers the most obscure dirt roads, irrigation ditches, 20 common building types (outside towns), windmills, oil and gas wells, and much more. To compensate for its lack of topo lines take along "The Highroads Map of North Central New Mexico" which is color coded for elevation.