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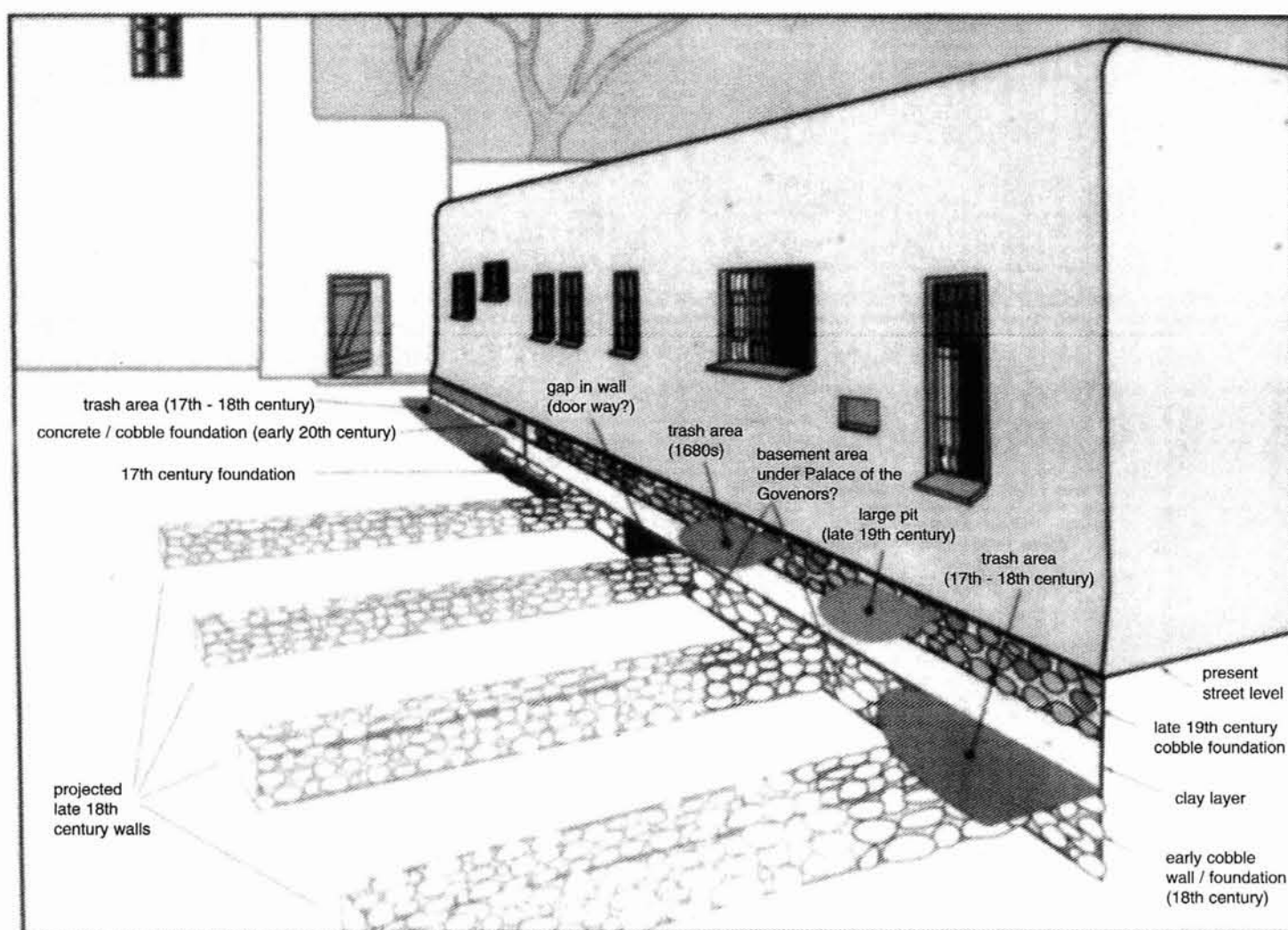
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no. 59

March 2003

Issue Number 59

The Foundations of New Mexico History: At Work Behind the Palace of the Governors

by Steven Post



Excavation of north wall, Palace courtyard, January 14, 2003

Over the last three and one-half months, the Museum of New Mexico has conducted an archaeological assessment and architectural stabilization along the north wall of the Palace of the Governors patio offices. The project is a joint effort by the Office of Archaeological Studies and the Palace of the Governors with engineering and construction expertise supplied by Conron-Woods Architects of Santa Fe and Longhorn Construction of Albuquerque. Archaeological study and architectural stabilization are the first step in preparing the site for the construction of the long awaited New Mexico Museum of History Annex, which will fill the current museum administration building parking lot and replace the museum administration building and part of the Palace Armory.

The archaeological study is multi-phased with the current work limited to a 2 m wide and 40 m long strip along the foundation. The second phase will expand into the parking lot beginning in the late spring 2003. The archaeological work was completed by eight staff from the Office of Archaeological Studies and 30 volunteers who contributed almost 1,000 hours on site.

The excavation strategy was dictated by the architectural stabilization. This mainly entailed the fabrication of a 40 m long, subterranean, cement and rebar reinforced grade beam. Installation of the grade beam, while minimizing the risk of further damage to the north wall, required staged excavation with our one-by-one-meter excavation units placed at four meter intervals. Once, a series of ten

excavation units were excavated, including the area 20 cm deep cavity under the existing foundation, then the cavity was filled with rebar and concrete. This created a 30 cm thick foundation that ultimately ranged from 0.70 to 1.20 m high. We are continuing in this manner through three phases, until a complete beam is installed, by the end of February 2003.

The project is guided by three main research directions that apply to at least 700 years of human occupation within and around the Palace of the Governors. We expected that the excavations would confirm some aspects of existing descriptions and fill in some of the knowledge gaps pertaining to the architectural layout of spatial organization of the area immediately north of the Palace of the Governors. From the artifacts and various organic and geologic samples recovered, we may examine changing social and economic patterns and interaction between the three cultures that shaped New Mexico's history and still determine its directions today. Finally, archaeological information from the downtown area, especially within and adjacent to the Museum of New Mexico grounds will be compiled into database that can be used for archaeological and historical research and to manage cultural resources that may remain in the area. This article will describe excavation results that relate primarily to the changing architecture and site structure of the Palace of the Governors.

For the period from A.D. 1200 to 1600, ancestral Pueblo use of the Palace of the Governors is always subject to

review. Over the years, there has been a quiet debate concerning the presence of a "mythical" pueblo that the Palace of the Governors was built on. In 1993 Cordelia T. Snow emphatically states that the Palace of the Governors was never built on a prehistoric pueblo, as some had previously suggested. While, agreeing that it is unlikely based on previous excavations, most notably 1974-1975, it is a possibility that cannot be completely discounted given the incomplete state of our knowledge. The 2003 excavations have not found any architectural evidence of a prehistoric pueblo in the area. Pottery, flaked stone, grinding implements, and fragmentary non-domesticated animal bone from the prehistoric period were found in low numbers across the excavation. This does indicate a prehistoric occupation in the downtown area and substantially supports C.T. Snow's observation that the most likely source of these materials is from LA 1051, the Schoolhouse Pueblo identified by H. P. Mera. The second excavation phase will continue to look for a prehistoric pueblo to the north, but it is unlikely that one will be found.

One of the major research questions asked if part of the earliest Casas Reales might still remain behind the Palace. To that question we can answer a resounding "Yes!!!!" In the east end of the 40 m long excavation area, we have exposed at 1.20 m deep, a 12 m long massive cobble foundation at least two courses high and two to three rows wide. The foundation occurs with pre- and early-1600s ceramics, as well as domesticated animal bone. Based on

these associated deposits, we currently believe that this foundation remains from an early seventeenth century wall or a building that enclosed part of the Palace grounds on the north. Without a map of the buildings and no new archival evidence in many years, this foundation is the first major addition to our knowledge of the pre-Pueblo Revolt Palace, since Cordelia T. Snow's 1974-1975 Palace excavations.

What about the post-Conquest configuration of the Palace, are there any architectural remnants from the eighteenth century? As it turns out, 20 to 30 cm above the seventeenth century foundation, we have exposed a 34 m long foundation. It is similar to the lower one in its cobble construction and adobe mortar. It is associated with deposits that date to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Abundant ceramics made by Pueblo potters for Spanish use along with sheep, goat, cattle, pig, chicken, and even fish bones are found with this foundation. Early 1700s documents talk about one and two story buildings enclosing the north side of a courtyard behind the governor's quarters and offices. These buildings would have been erected soon after the Reconquest of 1692. According to translated documents the Casas Reales were remodeled or rebuilt by four or five governors by the middle of the 1700s. The size and layout of these buildings is not known from maps and the written descriptions are sparse, making our excavation data some of the most comprehensive available to historians or archaeologists that will study the Palace in the future.

Interestingly, it is a combination of stratigraphic evidence and the Jose Urrutia map from 1767 that lead us to believe that the building or wall represented by the eighteenth century foundation was at least partly demolished by the early 1760s. The first indication that the enclosing buildings or walls were removed is from the Urrutia map. It shows the main Palace of the Governors building along the north side of the plaza, but no enclosing buildings or walls to the north, except for one building that is located to the northwest. In our excavations, we found that ash and charcoal lenses mixed with abundant artifacts lie on top of and spill over the foundation in the east 12 to 15 m of the excavation. This layered deposit has yielded more than 30,000 artifacts from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Obviously, the only way that these deposits could occur on top of the foundation is if the wall covering it had been removed. The fact that the lowest artifacts appear to date to the 1780s and the upper layers may date to the early to middle 1800s suggests that part of the building was demolished and never rebuilt. The resulting space was co-opted for what appear to be primarily kitchen and maintenance activities. This evidence is important because it confirms the historical evidence that the Palace of the

(continued on page 5 columns 3 & 4)

BENAVIDES REVISITED: FRANCISCAN LOBBYIST OR MEDIEVAL VISIONARY?

Paul Kraemer



*La V. Madre Sor María de Jesús de Agreda
Santo Domingo, N.M.*

MARÍA DE JESÚS DE AGREDA

Fray Alonso Benavides is probably the most famous of the Franciscan friars of New Mexico. His fame rests on two eye witness accounts or "Memorials" describing New Mexico that he wrote in 1630 and 1634.¹ He wrote the first one just after he completed four years of service as prelate of the Franciscans in New Mexico.² The Memorial of 1634 is a revised and expanded version of the Memorial of 1630. Together, the two booklets are by far the most comprehensive descriptions available of early seventeenth century New Mexico.

Benavides' reports reflect a period of spectacular success for the Franciscan Order in New Mexico. He had brought twelve more friars with him in 1625, roughly doubling the number already there, and the twenty-nine new friars who arrived in 1629 more than doubled the roster again.³ By the time Benavides had gone to Spain to present his Memorial of 1630 to Philip IV, the Order had built some thirty churches and established a presence in essentially all of the villages of the Pueblo Indians. Benavides' Memorial of 1630, describing all this, was evidently a smashing success and in 1631 the king agreed to a formalized mission supply service and an ongoing roster of sixty-six friars funded by the royal treasury.⁴ At this pinnacle of success, the Franciscan Order was famous throughout the Catholic world for its work with the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. Some historians have referred to this period as the "Golden Age" for the Franciscans in New Mexico.⁵

Benavides' fame among historians

is longstanding. Essentially all historians that have addressed seventeenth century New Mexico in any general sense have considered fray Alonso Benavides and cited his Memorials. Indeed, much of what we know was published as early as 1698 by Augustin Vetancurt.⁶ The Memorials, of course were not written for the edification of historians. Fray Alonso's objectives and intended audiences have been very much a part of the more recent historiography.⁷ Nevertheless, major gaps remain both about Benavides himself and about the historical context of his Memorials. This paper will briefly review the available material and then attempt some speculative interpretations.

Side by side comparison of the two Memorials show that the majority of the sections in the Memorial of 1630 have closely equivalent sections in the Revised Memorial of 1634. Since the former version was addressed to the civil authorities of Spain, while the latter version was addressed to the Pope and other religious authorities in Rome, differences between the versions undoubtedly reflect Benavides' different strategies in achieving his goals in dealing with the two groups. For instance, a major section in the Memorial of 1630 is an extremely optimistic description of the "Mines of Socorro." He says, "this area is very rich and prosperous in silver and gold" and, "the ease with which the silver from this hill (at Socorro) can be taken out is the greatest and best in all the Indies," and goes on to describe how the King can recoup all the wealth he is spending on the missionary program.

This brazen appeal to the King's cupidity is omitted from the Revised Memorial of 1634.⁸ In addition, in the section on the Quivera and Aixoas Indians far to the east, an extensive geopolitical discussion involving gold and the heretical English and Dutch colonies is inserted in the 1630 version and omitted in the revised version.⁹

Reciprocally, the Revised Memorial for the Pope and the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Propaganda Fide), is significantly expanded in describing the martyrdoms of Franciscans killed by the Indians and in providing information about specific friars. Several sections of the Revised Memorial are rewritten to reflect Benavides' interest in encouraging a continental vision of all the native peoples of North America. For example, in the section describing the Indian rituals, in 1630 he refers to the "nearly eighty thousand" Pueblo Indians that had been converted, but in 1634 wrote that 500,000 Indians had been converted, that more than 150 churches had been erected, and describes a much broader geographical area.¹⁰ Throughout both versions of the Memorial, as Kessell gently remarked, Benavides seems "prone to pious exaggeration."¹¹ He seemed to be mainly interested in the non-Pueblo groups as judged by the large amount of the text devoted to Athabaskan, Manso and Jumano groups and to the frontier Pueblos that could serve as springboards to approach these groups. With the advantage of hindsight it seems clear that Benavides had a roseate view of what had been accomplished during his tenure. Both Memorials claim that the conversion of the Pueblos was complete and that the conversion of the other groups was well underway, two propositions that proved to be wildly inaccurate.

When combined with other data, the two memorials give a clear view of fray Alonso's working life during his four year residence in New Mexico. It appears that as prelate he was an affable and effective administrator of the missionary enterprise. He maintained a cordial relationship with the governor and although he was New Mexico's first Commisary of the Holy Office, he utilized the powers of the Inquisition very sparingly. These characteristics did not earn him great admiration from France Scholes, a major historian of seventeenth century New Mexico. However many other historians have a different view.¹² For example, Warren Beck wrote, "He (Benavides) was too busy traveling, inspecting the already established missions and aiding in the development of new fields to be concerned about the trivial questions that too many of his fellows were to take up during the century. It was unfortunate that there could not have been available more clerical leaders of his caliber."¹³

Busy he certainly was. During an eighteen month period he wrote that he made nine round trips of 100 leagues from mission headquarters at Santo Domingo Pueblo to the missions that he was establishing himself in the Piro and Tompiro areas.¹⁴ That is about 2500 miles on foot. During his prelatecy he supervised twenty-six friars who he used to establish three new missions in the Tano and Southern Tiwa Pueblos, to

stabilize missions at Picurís and Taos Pueblos and to reestablish missions at the Jémez Pueblos, the latter which had completely unraveled due to intertribal warfare. He also had a new church built for the Spanish colonists in Santa Fe. In 1629, after the arrival of the replacement prelate, the returning fray Estevan Perea, Benavides moved his residence and the lightly utilized Inquisition headquarters to Santa Clara Pueblo where he established a new mission.

This last project at Santa Clara before he left New Mexico in late 1629 was consistent with his overriding strategy of expansion into non-Pueblo conversions. Santa Clara Pueblo, and all of the other Pueblos that merited his most energetic personal attention were frontier pueblos that had the most interaction with the non-Pueblo groups including Navajo, Apache, Jumano, Manso and Suma Indians. From time immemorial, the rule for converting pagans has been, first, convert the king.¹⁵ Benavides tried to follow this dictum in the case of several Athabaskan chiefs, as he relates in detail in the Memorials. In pursuing these outreach programs, Benavides relied on a small cadre of hyper-zealous friars including Pedro Ortega, Juan Salas, Martín Avide, Francisco Letrado, Ascensio Zárate, and a few others. After Benavides left New Mexico these men continued these efforts, penetrating deeply into Texas, Nueva Vizcaya and Sonora.¹⁶

Benavides' career in New Mexico is inextricably linked to the legend of The Lady in Blue and to the charismatic Spanish nun who initiated the legend, Sor María de Jesús de Agreda. Confined at the age of fifteen by her mother to a disclated Franciscan cloistered convent in the small Spanish town of Agreda, Sor María vowed to follow in the footsteps of Saint Teresa of Avila (1515-1582, canonized 1622). In the early 1620s, Sor María began to report miraculous visions to her confessor, fray Juan de Torrecilla. The visions occurred during trances, were frequent over a period of some years and involved her being transported by angels to New Mexico where she preached to the Indians in their own languages. The visions were detailed and highly specific as to geography and people. For instance she could see specific friars but unlike the Indians, they could not see her. Through her confessor, these claims of miraculous bilocation quickly became common knowledge in Spain.¹⁷ The story got to the New World at least by 1627 and is mentioned in fray Gerónimo Zárate-Salmerón's Relaciones that was probably written in that year.¹⁸ Legends of this nature travel like smallpox, that is, faster than the official governmental and ecclesiastical communication systems. Benavides did not hear of it until 1629 after the Archbishop of Mexico, Francisco Manso y Zúñiga, sent a request for information along with the 29 new friars that arrived in New Mexico in the spring of 1629.¹⁹ As Kessell says, "it was grist for (Benavides') propaganda mill."²⁰

Both the Memorial of 1630 and the revised Memorial of 1634 placed repeated emphasis on the alleged miraculous nature of the missionary program in New Mexico. Conversely, setbacks in the program were generally

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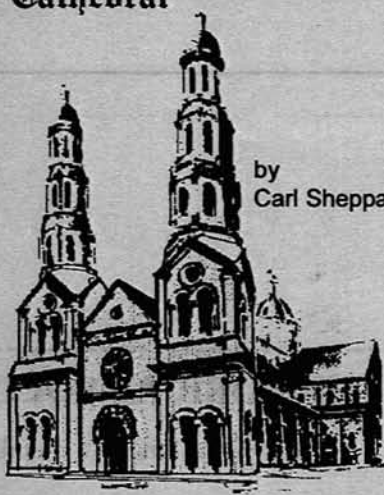
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Mary of Agreda preaching to the Indians of New Mexico
From an eighteenth-century engraving

attributed to the clever machinations of the devil. To an extent these characteristics are common to many missionary chronicles of that time. But in relating the "Miraculous Conversion of the Jumano Indans," Benavides goes well beyond the usual piety associated with such reports. He had long targeted the Jumano for conversion because these itinerant traders visited the Isleta Pueblo every summer and had asked for friars to visit them in what is now Texas. And sure enough, the Jumano Indians who came to the Isleta Pueblo that year (1629) as well as numerous Indians of various groups that were encountered on the subsequent evangelical mission of Fathers Juan Salas and Diego López all reported that they had been instructed by the Lady in Blue.⁹¹ Benavidas reports that the expedition was a huge success, although other documents indicate that long term results were nil.⁹² Even Vetancurt, who believed every word that the Venerable Sor María claimed, suggested that the main motive of the Jumano Indians to seek Spanish alliance was to protect them from Apache pressures.⁹³

In the Revised Memorial of 1634, Benavides wrote of his personal interviews with Sor María when he went to Spain. These interviews confirmed to his complete satisfaction that she had indeed bilocated to the Jumano and other Indian tribes to the east of New Mexico. He also mentions another bilocating Spanish nun, Mother Luisa Carrión, who assisted with miracles to the west, that is to the Navaho, Zuni and Hopi tribes.⁹⁴

A more detailed view of Benavides' relationship with Sor María is found in a remarkable document commonly called "Tanto Que Se Sacó" from its first line of text. This is a letter that Benavides wrote to the missionaries of New Mexico after his extensive interviews of Sor María. The letter tells his former colleagues how succesful his Memorial of 1630 had been at the court of Philip IV and how much he hopes to return to New Mexico. However the bulk of the document is devoted to his two weeks of conversations with Sor María and how she convinced him that she had actually bilocated to New Mexico. Among many other details she claimed that she had been in attendance when he had baptised Indians at the Piro pueblos. His letter also included a long letter from Sor María to the missionaries of New Mexico, encouraging their efforts and confirming her claims of being physically transported to New Mexico by angels.⁹⁵

Benavides was completely enraptured by Sor María. She had a beautiful face, he wrote, with white but rosy complexion, and with large black

eyes To the modern mind, some of his observations are almost embarrassingly transparent: "I have the very habit she wore when she went to New Mexico. The veil radiates such a fragrance that it is a comfort to the spirit."⁹⁶ It should also be mentioned that by the time Benavides conducted his interviews with Sor María in May of 1631, he had already distributed four hundred copies of the Memorial of 1630. It is entirely possible that she had read the Memorial as well as other material on New Mexico by the time of the interviews when she exhibited her knowledge of the subject that so impressed fray Alonso.

In the New World, the legend of the "Lady in Blue" persisted well into the eighteenth century. Father Eusebio Kino and his companion Juan Mangé in Arizona, Father Junípero Serra in California and Father Damián Massanet in Texas all reported that Sor María's visits were remembered by local Indians. All three of these famous missionaries evidently accepted the miraculaous nature of Sor María's bilocatin.⁹⁷ As recently as 1953, a Holy Cross priest, William H. Donahue, wrote a scholarly article in support of this interpretation.⁹⁸ Other writers have not been so credulous. Shortly after 1730, a Jesuit priest, Miguel Guerrero, wrote a detailed critique of Sor María's claims.⁹⁹ Her most important modern biographer, Sir Thomas Kendrick, regarded her claims of bilocation "preposterous nonsense."¹⁰⁰ Historian David Weber suggested that she had hallucinations caused by a variant of anorexia nervosa (anrexia mirablis).¹⁰¹ One might guess that such visions were brought on by the fasting and competitive egocentric sanctity common in the followers of Saint Teresa of Avila.

At the time of her interviews with Benavides, according to her later testimony, she had already abandoned her participation (miraculaous or otherwise) in missionary work in the New World, and had gone on to other visions and pious endeavors. Already well known in Spain she became an influential and respected mystic, a personal friend of the King, and counsel to the rich and powerful people of Spain. Her major literary work, based on her visions of direct conversations with the Virgin Mary, *The Mystical City of God* caused enormous controversy and in 1635 and again in 1649, she was examined by the Inquisition. Evidently she passed these tests with ease, but in connection with the latter examination the probe included questions about her visions of New Mexico. Thus, many years after Benavides had left the scene, her letter to the Franciscan Minister General, Father Pedro Manero, revealed a lot about both Benavides and about Sor María. Her letter, which is a long one, basically retracts her claim that she was actually transported to New Mexico; she was pressured into signing the "Tanto Que Se Sacó" letter and that she was young, naive and didn't know what she was signing. But her letter reveals a very high defensive competence. She marshalls her arguments in a way to systematically discredit Benavides both personally and professionally. But never does she lose her poise or stoop to any lack of the respect she must outwardly show to a priest. It is hard to believe she was an innocent docile nun at the age of twenty-nine at the time she swept Benavides off his feet. At the same time the letter suggsts that Benavides also was pursing an agenda of his own.¹⁰²

This becomes clearer from a series of supplementary documents included as appendices in the Hodge, Hammond

and Rey translation of the Revised Memorial of 1634. Fourteen of these appendices are highly relevant to describing Benavides' career in Spain and Rome between August 1630 to February 1636, when the story ends.

Benavides went to Spain in 1630 ostensibly to argue for increased support and policy modifications for the missions of New Mexico. Evidently he was quite successful in these efforts. Not only did the king support a regularized mission supply service and enlarged the friar roster to sixty-six Franciscans, but also responded favorably to a detailed Benavides plea to exempt the Indians from tribute and personal service.¹⁰³ But it also quickly became evident that Benavides had grander goals and a personal agenda he was pursuing. In a nutshell, he had a truly continental vision: a bishopric centered in Santa Fe with himself as the first bishop, with a diocese that would encompass most of what is the present continental United States. He supported his aspirations on four arguments. First, geography: the advantages of using Matagordo Bay to supply New Mexico, the many Kingdoms to the west discovered by Coronado and Oñate and to the east all the way to Virginia which because it was "near New Mexico " would be a contaminating influence because of the Dutch and English heretics there. He recommended that Irish Franciscans be sent to Virginia to counteract this problem.¹⁰⁴ Second, populations: already, he wrote, 500,000 have been converted and are now being catechised, 86,000 have been baptized, and countless other populations are awaiting harvest. Third, miracles: his litany of miracles and unusual and startling things that had happened in New Mexico proved that God looked with special favor on this project and that God would help accomplish what seemed improbable. And fourth, the blood of martyrs: in the Revised Memorial of 1634 and in other documents he made a special point of focusing attention on the deaths of ten priests who he believed were true martyrs, thus invoking an additonal source of divine assistance.¹⁰⁵ There were also the more usual arguments about needing a bishopric because of the distance to Mexico City. But frontier Franciscans had always felt, since the special powers given them by Pope Adrian VI in 1522 and confirmed by many other popes, that they could do anything that bishops could do.¹⁰⁶ To argue for a bishopric for New Mexico in the 1630s needed extraordinary arguments.¹⁰⁷

In order to pursue that strategy, Benavides had to convince not only the king and his advisers but also the Cardinals who were leaders of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith (Propoanda Fide). At first, it looked easy. In April, 1631, the Council and the King's fiscal approved the proposed bishopric with a Franciscan as the first bishop, because, among other reasons, "these Franciscan friars are devoid of human ambition" (i.e., Franciscans were not thought to have personal agendas related to the acquisition of power or prestige). But the presentation by the Franciscan official claimed even more exaggerted figures than the Memorial of 1630 that had been recently presented to the king. There were statements claiming 150 Pueblos each with its own church and that 100 friars were working in New Mexico. So, in one of those famous marginal notes by "I the King", the Council was ordered to ask for more information about the whole idea

from the viceroy and Archbishop of Mexico.¹⁰⁸ By September, 1631, the Council had changed its tune, despite receiving further memorials and letters from Benavides. The Council advised the King to wait until all information had been received from Mexico; "for what the friar seems to aim at is that this bishopric be granted to him as can be deduced from his approaching some members of the Council to this effect. Furthermore, the things that he tells us in the printed memorial and by word are of such gravity and importance that their credence cannot be left alone to his Reverence."¹⁰⁹

Under the Royal Patronage agreement, while the king selected the candidates for bishop, the Pope with the advice of the Sacred Congregation had influence in whether there would be a new bishopric in New Mexico. Evidently the king, then and later, felt kindly towards Benavides. In late 1632 the king arranged a "make work" assignment that allowed Benavides to go to Rome and pursue his goals. He was in Italy for almost two years.¹¹⁰

In February 1634, Benavides presented his Revised Memorial, in the form of 58 hand written pages, to Pope Urban VIII. Two months later he presented a shorter verson of the memorial to the Sacred Congregation, this version giving more emphasis to his personal contributions to the missionary program in New Mexico and to his goal of establishing a bishopric.¹¹¹

As became evident much later the Sacred Congregation had already taken a look at ths proposal three years before. In regard to a request of the Dominican Order to send friars to New Mexico, the Sacred Congregation had carefully studied the printed Memorial of 1630. Their decree of July, 1631, called for a legal investigation of the claims made in the printed Memorial and in particular, proofs about the population figures (500,000 converted, 86,000 baptized) and the miracles described by Benavides.¹¹² Consequently, their reply to Benavides in August, 1634, cheerfully gave him everything he requested, but that implementation must await "obtaining greater certainty on the contents in the report of the said fray Alonso."¹¹³

Ever since Benavides came to Spain in 1630, he had on numerous occasions written that he wanted to go back to New Mexico.¹¹⁴ When he returned to Spain from Italy in the latter part of 1634, the king made all arrangements for expenses for him and a companion to return to New Mexico. He gave instructions to the Viceroy to favor Benavides and the New Mexico missionaries and soldiers, enacted cedulaas that Benavides wanted regarding the treatment of Indians and in general was very nice to him.¹¹⁵ But Benavides kept missing the sailing opportunities and it became evident that his desire to return to New Mexico was contingent on his returning as a bishop. For over a year he continued his correspondence with the Council and Sacred Congregation, becoming ever more specific and even strident in his requests and arguments, but to no avail.¹¹⁶ Finally in a rather cryptic document dated February 11, 1636 we learn that Father Alonso Benavides had departed from Lisbon to be an auxiliary bishop of Goa in Portugese India.¹¹⁷ No further information has ever come to light. In 1636, he was about 57 years of age and as far as the records show, he simply vanished from the face of the earth.

Any general evaluation of
continued on page 4

Benavides must include the fact that he was a very important contributor to this highly successful period in Franciscan mission history. Not only was he both a lobbyist and a somewhat medieval visionary but also an energetic and effective missionary during his time in New Mexico. In addition, his outreach efforts to convert non-Pueblo groups continued to inspire his colleagues such as Juan Salas and Pedro Ortega for many years after he left New Mexico. He was not nearly as "medieval" as, say, fray Juan Padilla, the leader of Coronado's friars of the previous century, who couldn't care less about the Indians but was mainly interested in finding the mythical Seven Cities of Antillia.⁴⁸ Within the context intended here, being "medieval," in addition to belief systems involving mythical geography, also includes millenary expectations, ascetic and mystical experiences, great interest in miracles and prophecies, and many other items. As Weckmann has pointed out in exhaustive detail, Mexico has a rich medieval heritage.⁴⁹ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this heritage was very evident among the religious groups, in particular the Franciscans whose origins in New Spain began with hyper-zealous friars of the Discalced San Pedro Alcántara group.⁵⁰ Thus, Benavides' emphasis on miraculous events, setbacks caused by the devil and the beneficial effects of martyrdoms, were not extreme for his time.

Benavides apparently lost credibility within a short time when he went to Spain. A facile, but probably incorrect explanation might posit that Spain in the 1630s had advanced beyond medieval belief systems. After all, Erasmus, who had consistently supported reason rather than speculative theology, had many followers in Spain and had gone to his reward a century before.⁵¹ But Benavides was not apt to lose credibility in Spain for any of his medieval traits. At this time, Spain, unlike much of Europe had retained many medieval tendencies, especially in religious attitudes. Extreme piety was characteristic of all classes, from the kings in palaces to the bandits in the forests. It was essentially expected that friars such as Benavides would emphasize martyrs, miracles and special visions in their arguments to the authorities.⁵²

But the Spain of Philip IV was not the Spain of Philip II.⁵³ During the earlier period (Philip II died in 1598), in New Spain eight bishoprics were established between Guatamala and Guadalajara (the latter in 1548). Then, no new bishoprics were established until 1621, the first year of the reign of Philip IV, when the bishopric of Durango was established with theoretical jurisdiction of all of the northern frontier including New Mexico.⁵⁴ Santa Fe was not even visited by a bishop until 1730.⁵⁵ At the time Benavides went to Spain, while the Spanish Empire was still the largest in the world it was in decline both economically and in terms of political and military power. For the king and his advisers to add bishoprics to the northern frontier of New Spain would not be done without careful consideration and certainly not within the time frame pursued by Benavides as he waited for a boat so he could return in triumph. It should also be noted that Benavides could not expect much support from his Franciscan superiors in Mexico City. The Holy Gospel Province kept a tight rein on the New Mexico Custody, not even allowing them to pick their own prelates at Chapter meetings; meanwhile the Custody of Zacatecas had long ago (1604) become an independent province.⁵⁶

The role of the Sacred Congregation

at this time is less clear. Benavides obviously thought these Cardinals' decrees were critical. While the Propaganda Fide was very important later in the establishment of missionary colleges in New Spain, this organization had only been established in 1622 and was probably still concerned about the prerogatives of the *Patronato Real*.⁵⁷ In any case, they also were not going to be rushed by strident appeals from Benavides. In sum, the evidence suggests that Benavides' primary goal in going to Spain was intrinsically unrealistic rather than being frustrated by any tactical error on his part. His character traits, in retrospect seem to be common ones of politicians of every time period: affability, somewhat vulnerable sexuality, energetic pursuit of visionary goals and to an extent, delusions of grandeur. He was nearly contemporaneous to Cervantes (1547-1616) and certainly, in thinking of Benavides' life, the word quixotic readily comes to mind.

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The original Spanish edition of the Memorial of 1630 has been reprinted many times including a facsimile in the Ayer translation listed above. It was translated into several languages within a few years of its original publication in Spain: Wagner, Henry R. *The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794* New York: Arno Press, 1967, pp. 227-233. An early English translation is included as Appendix 1 of: Read, Benjamin M. *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, translated from the Spanish by Eleutrio Baca. New Mexico Printing Company, 1912, pp. 657-714. Several other English translations have appeared in recent years.

The Memorial of 1634 apparently only exists as the original fifty-eight pages of handwritten manuscript of Benavides and the English translation cited above. Both of the Memorials cited above were "elaborately" annotated by Frederick Webb Hodge and the notes include many mini-essays on Indian groups, friars, and other topics. Since these notes were updated for the Revised Memorial of 1634 by Hodge in 1965, they provide a wealth of well indexed information including much data from Scholes, Bloom, and other historians of the seventeenth century.

2. Scholes, France. "Problems in the Early Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico." *New Mexico Historical Review* 7 (January 1932): 32-74; Scholes, France. "The First Decade of the Inquisition in New Mexico." *New Mexico Historical Review* 10 (July 1935): 195-242.

3. Scholes, France V. and Lansing B. Bloom. "Friar Personnel and Mission Chronology, 1598-1629." *New Mexico Historical Review* 19 (October 1944): 319-336 and 20 (January 1945): 58-82.

4. Scholes, France V. "The Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century." *New Mexico Historical Review* 5 (January 1930): 93-115, (April 1930): 186-210, (October 1930): 386-404.

5. Weber, David J. *The Spanish Frontier in North America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992, p. 98.

6. Vetancurt, Fray Agustín, *Teatro Mexicano*, 4 volumes. Madrid: Jose Porrua Turanzas, 1961, III: p. 261, IV: pp. 62, 253. Vetancurt obviously got much of his information about early New Mexico directly from the Memorial of 1630.

7. Kessell, John. Kiva, Cross, and Crown. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1979, p. 126; Weber, Spanish Frontier, pp. 98-100, 175.

8. Benavides, Memorial 1630, p. 18.

9. *ibid.* pp. 63-66.

10. *ibid.* pp. 30-34; Benavides, Memorial 1634, pp. 42-44.

11. Kessell, Kiva, Cross, and Crown, p. 129.

12. Scholes, . "Early Ecclesiastical History," pp. 53-54' Scholes, "The First Decade of the Inquisition," p. 201; Scholes, France. "Church and State in New Mexico, 1610-1650." *New Mexico Historical Review* 11 (July 1936): 283-294; Broughton, William H. "The History of Seventeenth-Century New Mexico: Is It Time for New Interpretations?" *New Mexico Historical Review*, 68 (January 1993): 3-12.

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14. Benavides, Memorial 1634, p. 62.

15. Fletcher, Richard. *The Barbarian Conversion - From Paganism to Christianity*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 199 pp. 6, 89, 95, 236.

16. Kraemer, Paul. "Retrograde Franciscans in New Mexico (1625-1652)." *La Crónica de Nuevo México*, Historical Society of New Mexico, No. 56, March 2002.

17. Vetancurt, *Teatro Mexicano*, I: p. 214, III: p. 261, IV: pp. 250, 353; Benavides, Memorial 1634, p. 316-318n136; Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794*, pp. 349-356; Colahan, Clark. *The Visions of Sor María de Agreda*, Writing Knowledge and Power, Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1994.

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19. Benavides, Memorial 1634, p. 93.

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21. Benavides, Memorial 1630, pp. 57-63; Benavides, Memorial 1634, pp. 92-96.

22. Hickerson, Nancy. *The Jumanos, Hunters and Traders of the South Plains*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994, pp. 86-102.

23. Vetancurt, *Teatro Mexicano*, III: p. 261.

24. Benavides, Memorial 1634, p. 79.

25. Benavides, Memorial 1634, Appendix XI, pp. 135-149.

26. *ibid.*, p. 142.

27. Benavides, Memorial 1634, pp. 317-318n136; Manjé, Juan Mateo. *Luz de Tierra Incognita*, translated by Harry J. Karns. Tucson: Arizona Silouettes, 1954, pp. 115-16, 265; Bolton, Herbert E. *Rim of Christendom*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1936, pp. 417-418; Engelhardt, Zephrein. *The Missions and Missionaries of California*. San Francisco, 1912, p. 101.

28. Donahue, William H. "Mary of Agreda and the Southwest United States." *The Americas* 9(1953): 291-314.

29. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest*, p. 349.

30. Cited in Kessell, Kiva, Cross, and Crown, p. 527n69.

31. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, pp. 98-100, 396n22-26.

32. Colahan, . *The Visions of Sor María*, pp. 93-166; Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest*, pp. 349-356; Trevor Davies, Reginald. *Spain in Decline 1621-1700*. London: Macmillan & Co., 1957, pp. 58-64. Philip IV And Sor María both died in 1665 after exchanging some 600 letters over a period of twenty-two years. Lynch describes her correspondence with Philip IV as "highly politicized" and that she had a "nagging pen." Lynch, John. *Spain Under the Hapsburgs*. Volume Two., Second Edition. New York: New York University Press, 1984, p. 126. Her book, *The Mystical City of God*, after her death, became a favorite "pious text" with many people including Father Antonio Margil, the famous eighteenth century roving missionary: Arrivicita, Juan Domingo. *The Franciscan Mission Frontier in the Eighteenth Century in Arizona, Texas and the Californias*, translated by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, 2 volumes. Berkeley: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1996, I: pp. 70, 171, et al.

33. Benavides, Memorial 1634, Appendix XVI, p. 168-177.

34. Benavides, Memorial 1630, pp. 63-66; Benavides, Memorial 1634, Appendix XIII, p. 151, Appendix XV, p. 167, Appendix XXII, pp. 197-198.

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37. Benavides, Memorial 1634, p. 16, Appendices XX-XXII, pp. 190-198.

38. Benavides, Memorial 1634, Apendix XIII, pp. 150-151.

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41. *ibid.* Appendix XIV, pp. 159-166.

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46. *ibid.* Appendices XX -XXI, pp. 190-194.

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Kraemer Notes continued:

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54. Gerhard, Peter. *The Northern Frontier of New Spain*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982, p. 19.
55. Kessell, u. pp. 325-329.
56. Arlegui, José. *Cronica de la Provincia de N.S.P.S. Francisco de Zacatecas* reprint of 1737 edition. Mexico: Complide, 1851. p. 43.
57. Canedo, Lino Gómez. "Franciscans in the Americas: A Comprehensive View" In *Franciscan Presence in the*

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Paul Kramer, *Los Alamos*, is a frequent contributor to *La Crónica de Nuevo México*. See his articles "Shifting Ethnic Boundries in Colonial New Mexico," January, 2000 (No. 51) and "Retrograde Franciscans in New Mexico, 1625-1622," April 2002 (No. 56).

Book Review:

Valencia County, New Mexico: History Through the Photographer's Lens.

by Margaret Espinosa McDonald, and Richard Melzer. The Donning Company, Virginia Beach, Virginia: 2002. 160 pp., bibliography, index. \$30.00. Valencia County Historical Society, 104 North First Street, Belen, New Mexico 87002

Reviewed by Jo Tice Bloom

Among the first eleven counties created by the territorial legislature in 1852, Valencia County was originally bounded by Texas on the east and the Colorado River on the west. Over the next century its size diminished to the present configuration, bounded by Isleta Pueblo, Bernalillo, Tarrant, Socorro and Cibola counties. As land was lost, population increased, and Los Lunas and Belen have become important economic centers, especially Belen where the train yards provide employment and constant sounds of switching engines and cars.

Margaret McDonald and Richard Melzer have put together a very nice, profusely illustrated part of that history. A time line on the end pieces lists major events in the history of Valencia County, New Mexico, and the United States from A.D. 700 to 1986, enabling readers to correlate historic happenings. The photographs in the book cover only a portion of that history, from the 1870s to the 1970s.

Over the years, McDonald has acquired a collection of about 20,000 photographs, mostly of Valencia County. From this collection as well as collections in the National Archives of the United States, the Rio Grande Historical Collections at New Mexico State University, the Center for Southwest Research at the University of New Mexico, the Valencia County Historical Society and other collections, the authors have selected a small number to illustrate the development of Valencia County. The photographs are supplemented by a well-written, succinct text.

The authors had four goals: 1) "to correct the historical neglect of the Rio Abajo in particular and Valencia County in general"; 2) "to preserve the photographic history of Valencia County;" 3) "to capture the essence of this place and its identity for those who live here"; and 4) to share the past with others, thus clarifying what is most important to preserve. They have succeeded admirably in their goals.

Agriculture is the subject of the first chapter, starting off with the earliest economic activity of people. Both livestock raising and farming are included, discussing changes over the years. From reaping wheat to Indian corn processing to the digging of irrigation ditches and leveling the land, the photos bring alive past agricultural

practices. Rolling mills and wineries illustrate the processing businesses.

Businesses discussed include mercantile establishments, banks, hotels, meat markets, and drug stores, with discussion of various ethnic groups involved. John Becker, Felix Chavez and Louis Huning are among the merchants discussed.

In all chapters the ethnic mix of the county is discussed, demonstrating that New Mexico, while predominately Hispanic includes Germans, English, Basques and many others. Short biographies of individuals, sometimes in picture captions, sometimes in the text are included throughout the volume.

The chapter on transportation is especially interesting as Belen becomes a center of railroading in the state. Early horse and mule wagons are not neglected, but the twentieth century story is told in the history of railroads. One nice addition here would have been a map of the railroads, showing the Belen Cut-Off.

Each chapter is well organized and fully illustrated. Religion, schools, sports and architecture each receive full treatment. Thumbing through the chapters a reader's eye is regularly caught by interesting photos, which have excellent captions, drawing one into the text and the next photos. The selection is fine; some may quibble about who or what was left out, but there are only so many pages.

In capturing the past, McDonald and Melzer have given us more than a picture book. They have given Valencia County residents a glimpse into its past and more reasons for learning their history. It is only by knowing the past, that we can understand why we are and what we are. McDonald and Melzer have provided some of that grounding. Margaret McDonald has not only provided a photographic history but she has also donated a large portion of her collection to the Rio Grande Historical Collections for permanent preservation. The future is well served by Margaret McDonald and Richard Melzer.

In particular, this book is impressive for the very few typographical errors. The bibliography and index are very helpful and make this a better book. All in all, this a valuable addition to the histories of New Mexico and will serve as a help to anyone working in New Mexico history. JTB

Jo Tice Bloom recently retired after forty years of teaching, including several years at New Mexico State University where she taught New Mexico history in addition to United States history.

Palace, continued from page 1:



17th and 18th century foundations.

Governors experienced numerous renovations during the 1700s with the large portion of the architectural footprint obliterated by the middle of the century.

Further surprising evidence of eighteenth century renovation was found in the west half of the site, where we have uncovered four north-south massive cobble cross-wall foundations. These four foundations about the mid-eighteenth century foundation and appear to be from walls that filled in the space between the building shown to the north of the Palace on the Urrutia map and the eighteenth century east-west wall exposed by our excavation. Based on the associated artifacts, my current speculation is that these were built during the Presidio construction in 1790 and 1791. Again, the available map of the Santa Fe Presidio does not show these cross walls, but it is possible they were left off the map that was drawn from verbal descriptions in Chihuahua, Mexico. If these walls were for work areas or stables they may have been omitted. Again our work adds

new detail to a somewhat incomplete picture of the Palace's architectural history.

Finally, the Territorial period (1846-1912) has left its mark on the site. We have excavated numerous large pits, fence and support posts, shallow and insubstantial foundations (probably from a bell tower), and may have exposed a basement or cellar that is not mentioned in any published descriptions. Ore, assay cups, and crucibles remain from the Territorial Assayer, who judged the purity of precious metals brought to the Palace from surrounding mines. Ink wells from the various administrative writing that took place. Even an identification tag from the notorious Territorial Governor William Pile, who in 1869 ordered the old documents in a Palace room to be sorted and many were discarded. Out the window went an unknown, but probably, critical part of New Mexico's Spanish Colonial and Mexican past. This done at a time when land grants were changing hands so fast it boggled the mind and left many Spanish-speaking natives landless.

Initial consideration of the archaeological investigation suggests that it will contribute substantive new information on architectural and economic patterns from all historic periods of the Palace of the Governors. This initial work combined with the expanded excavation in May 2003 will provide a wide range of new data for Palace archaeologists and historians to analyze, interpret, and discuss for years to come.

Stephen Post, OAS Project Director
Office of Archaeological Studies (OAS)

On The Lookout For Former Civilian Conservation CORPS Members By March 29, 2003

The New Mexico Heritage Preservation Alliance is working with other agencies and programs that profited by all the hard work of the CCC between 1933-42 in this country. We are hopeful of finding men who served in the CCC during that time either here in New Mexico or elsewhere in order to give them recognition, praise and thanks for what they did which is still being utilized by thousands today. On March 29, 2003 there will be a special event in Santa Fe at the National Park Service Regional Building on Old Santa Fe Trail between 2-4 p.m. and we want to find as many as possible to be there. It will be the 70th anniversary of the creation nationally of the CCC and this recognition is long overdue-----many are no longer with us to receive it.

Many are not aware that a national CCC alumni association does exist and has an active chapter in Albuquerque but we are hopeful of finding other men who are not members possibly due to lack of awareness. Please help us find these individuals so we can invite them to join all of us on March 29, 2003.

They can contact Project Coordinator, Kathy Flynn, who is the Executive Director of the National New Deal Preservation Association at P. O. Box 602, Santa Fe, NM 87504, newdeal@cybermesa.com or call

(505) 473-3985 or 473-2089. Check their website at www.newdeallegacy.org.

The other groups participating in the planning of this event include the National Park Service, NM State Parks and Monuments, NM Heritage Preservation Alliance, US Forest Service, State Historic Preservation Office, State Museums, Congressional office representatives, UNM via Dr. Richard Melzer, CCC historian and author, State Historian, Youth Conservation Corps, Boy Scouts of America and the NM CCC alumni Chapter 141.

The theme for this is "Continuing the CCC Legacy: Youth Service Then and Now." We will also be giving recognition to and information about the youth work programs of today that are modeled after the CCC program and continue to carry out their legacy. For those who are not aware of what they are doing, this event will give you that information.

Please help us find our "missing CCC men" and come join us on March 29, 2003.

(New Mexico Preservation Alliance Newsletter, February 10, 2003)

This Newspaper is published by
**HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF
NEW MEXICO**
P.O. Box 1912
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87504

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La Crónica de Nuevo México

Number 59

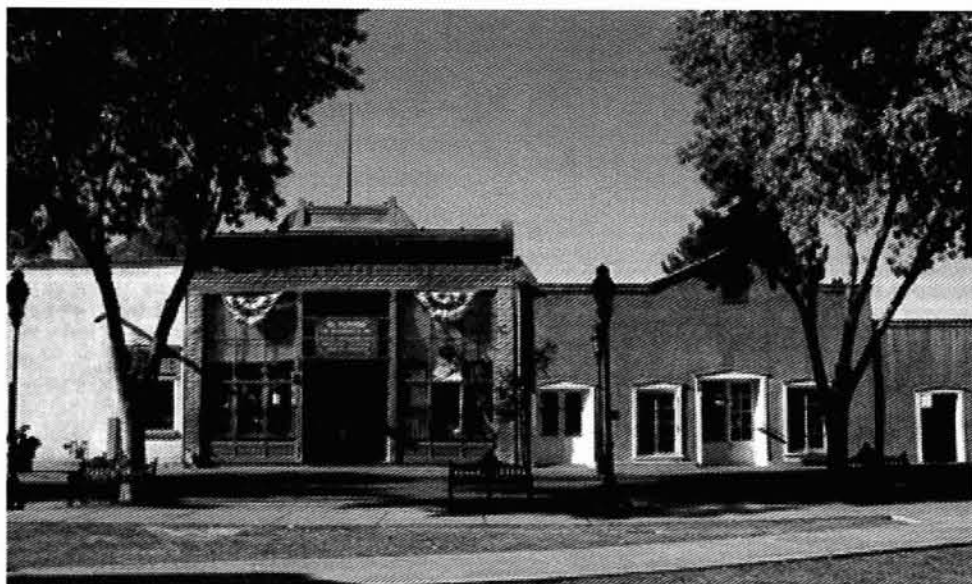
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J. Paul and Mary Taylor Donate Historic Mesilla Property to Museum of New Mexico



Barela/Reynolds Historic Property, La Mesilla Plaza

The Board of Regents of the Museum of New Mexico unanimously approved Representative J. Paul Taylor (D-Doña Ana) and Mary Taylor's gift of the Barela/Reynolds Historic Property on the plaza in Mesilla, N.M., on November 21, 2002.

The Taylors are giving the historic Reynolds Store (currently operated as El Platero), the historic Barela Store (currently operated as La Zia), and their current residence while retaining a life estate. The Taylors' bequest includes some of the furnishings and objects now in the historic house.

The Taylors' devotion to New Mexico is well known. The couple has raised seven children in the Mesilla home, who, their father said, "were involved in the decision to gift the property and deserve credit for their generosity." J. Paul, served as a Museum of New Mexico Regent from 1980-1986 and he began his eighth term in the New Mexico House of Representatives in January 2003.

The new state monument will come under the administration of the New Mexico State Monuments, part of the Museum of New Mexico, which is a division of the Office of Cultural Affairs. Once the property becomes a state monument, admission to it and the hours of operation will be in accordance with established procedures at other state monuments.

"This gives the Museum of New Mexico a great opportunity to have a strong outreach arm in the southwestern part of the state," said Taylor. "Mary and I have loved this

home, and know that the Monuments will honor it in a way we feel it deserves. This also is a tribute to the lasting feelings that we Taylors have to the people of the Mesilla community."

The Barela-Reynolds property is part of the historic colony of La Mesilla that was established in early 1852 by the government of the Republic of Mexico in the aftermath of the U.S.-Mexico War. Situated at the northern boundary of the State of Chihuahua, it provided for those families who preferred the rule of Mexico to the government of the United States following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The status of the New Mexico colony was short-lived. It was on the plaza of La Mesilla on November 15, 1854, that the Mexican flag was lowered and the flag of the United States raised, following the Gadsden Purchase of the land south to the International Boundary.

Today, many of Mesilla's population of nearly 2,200 residents are direct descendants of Mesilla's early settlers. As such, they have retained many of the "heartly folk" qualities of the original founders. Mesilla has a rich and diverse heritage with the integration of Indian, Spanish, Mexican and Anglo-American cultures. Perhaps the greatest import of the past history is the physical character of the community itself.

The structures occupying the property date to the 1850s and are listed on the State Register of Cultural Properties, the National Register of Historic Places, and is part of the Mesilla National Historic Landmark. (Museum of New Mexico News)

Dr. Sabine "Uli" Uliberri Dies

Dr. Sabine "Uli" Ulibarri, professor emeritus from University of New Mexico died on January 4, 2003, at the age of 83. According to an article in *The Albuquerque Journal* written by Paul Logan, Dr. Ulibarri was a pioneer in the field of bilingual books. He was also a well known author and poet. Alfred Rodriguez said that Ulibarri was one of the few "true Chicano writers" who wrote in Spanish. In 1947, Dr. "Uli" joined the UNM faculty, where he taught courses in creative writing for Spanish students and was chairman of the Department of Modern and Classical Languages from 1971-1980. He wrote approximately 15 books, including "Tierra Amarilla: Cuentos de Nuevo Mexico."

Sabine Ulibarri's books offered his readers an avenue for learning about New Mexico culture and also about the linguistic and cultural values of bilingualism.

Ulibarri received a Distinguished Flying Cross for his service in World War II. He received his doctorate in Romance languages from the University of California at Los Angeles. In 1987, he was honored with a Governor's Award, the state's highest artistic recognition. In addition he received the UNM Regents Meritorious Service Medal in 1989 and the Zimmerman Award in 1992 from the UNM Alumni Association.

CL

Santa Fe Historian Pedro Ribera-Ortega Dies

Ribera-Ortega is best known for leading the revival of a colonial Catholic tradition, which reveres La Conquistadora. According to an article in *The Albuquerque Journal*, he died in Santa Fe on January 7, 2003. The seventy-one year old teacher, researcher and author "was a walking legend who generously shared his wealth of information regarding New Mexico's Spanish colonial and Catholic history," said Stuart Ashman, executive director of the Spanish Colonial Arts Society Museum in Santa Fe.

Ribera-Ortega's interest and efforts brought back the traditional procession of the small statue of Our Lady of Peace during Santa Fe's fiesta. He was mayordomo of La Confradia de Nuestra Senora del Rosario, the organization that cares for the statue and all of its history, for 10 years and was a member of the organization for 45 years. The 2002 Fiesta de Santa Fe was dedicated to him. He founded the Ortega Research Center in Truchas, which includes many books from his collection. In 1956, Ribera-Ortega helped establish Los Caballeros de Vargas, another organization dedicated to the

memory of the reestablishment of Santa Fe by the Spanish.

In 2001, Ribera-Ortega was named one of Santa Fe's Living Treasures for his unflagging dedication to documenting the city's 400-year history. He was also honored with a Governor's Award for Excellence in the Arts. A funeral mass was celebrated at St. Francis Cathedral with interment following at Rosario Cemetery. (Information from *Albuquerque Journal*, January 9, 2003) CL

Pedro Ribera-Ortega means a deal bit more to the Historical Society of New Mexico. The first issue of this newspaper was published in June, 1976. The heading at the top was "¿WHAT SHALL WE CALL IT?" Inside the new newspaper were simple rules of a contest seeking a name. Many suggestions were received, offering a wide spectrum of ideas.

Pedro gave us the name you still see atop the Society's newspaper. For his efforts Pedro received a certificate and the promised prize: *Acoma, Pueblo in the Sky* by Ward Alan Minge.

The Board of Directors in 1976 was delighted, and we all still, truly, like it. Thank you Pedro. JPC