1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: San José de los Jémez Mission and Gíusewa Pueblo Site

Other Name/Site Number: Jémez State Monument/LA679 (New Mexico Laboratory of Anthropology site number); San José de Gíusewa

Designated a National Historic Landmark by the Secretary of the Interior October 16, 2012

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: 18160 New Mexico State Highway 4 Not for publication: N/A

City/Town: Jémez Springs Vicinity:

State: New Mexico County: Sandoval Code: 043 Zip Code: 87025

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property	Category of Property
Private:	Building(s):
Public-Local:	District:
Public-State: X	Site: X
Public-Federal:	Structure:
	Object:

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing		Noncontributing	
buildings	0	buildings	0
sites	1	sites	0
structures	0	structures	0
objects	0	objects	0
Total	1	Total	0

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

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing:

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

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

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

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

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

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

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	Sub:
Religion	Religious Facility
Religion	Sub:Church-Related Residence
Funerary	Sub: Cemetery
Domestic	Sub:Village Site
Current: Recreation and Culture	Sub: Museum

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Colonial/Spanish Colonial

MATERIALS:
Foundation: Stone/limestone; Earth/adobe
Walls: Stone/limestone; Earth/adobe
Roof:
Other:

Summary

San José de los Jémez Mission and Gíusewa Pueblo National Historic Landmark includes the remains of an early seventeenth-century mission complex and a Jémez Indian pueblo importantly associated with the Spanish colonial and Native American history of the nation. The site is nationally significant for its association "with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained." The site is nationally significant under NHL Criterion 1, in the areas of Exploration and Settlement, Religion, Social History, and Ethnic Heritage. The NHL is an important reminder of the indigenous peoples' and Spain's long tenure in the Southwest before the founding of the United States. The site enriches our understanding of the region as a "zone of interaction between two cultures" and reveals the transformative nature of the early relationship between the Hispanos and native peoples, which impacted the region's character and institutions and is a major focus of study today.[1]

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

The nominated site of San José de los Jémez (pronounced HAY-mes) Mission and Gíusewa (pronounced GEE-say-wah) Pueblo[2] occupies an area of about 3.8 acres and includes the remains of a seventeenth-century Spanish mission church and its associated facilities, as well as a portion of a precontact/early historic (A.D. 1450–1500) Native American (Jémez [Towa]) pueblo, or village.[3] The church in the north-central portion of the site is a large, roofless, stone ruin with 6′- to 7′-thick walls rising 28′- to 29′-high. At the rear, an octagonal bell tower stands 52′ above the floor of the building.[4] Adjoining the church on the east is the multi-room stone *convento*, which held the friar's living quarters and rooms utilized for a variety of purposes relating to operation of the mission (marked by stone wall remnants and other features) laid out around a patio. The church faces an open area on the south that contained the church cemetery or *campo santo* and a large plaza. Remains of a secular Spanish building, probably a *casa real* (a civil administrative building), are west of the church. The pueblo adjoining the church on the west displays stone rubble mounds, excavated roomblocks, and three kivas.

Located in Sandoval County, 43 miles west of Santa Fe, in north-central New Mexico at an elevation of about 6,300′, the mission and pueblo are situated near the bottom of Church Canyon and its associated creek, on a terrace with dramatic views of the surrounding piñon pine-covered hills, high mesas, and 10,000′-tall mountains[5] (see Figure 1 and Photograph 1). Writing in 1943, Hewett and Fisher extolled the beauties of the area:

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[1] David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 10-11.

[2] In this nomination, the term "mission" refers to all of the resources developed by the Franciscans at the site, including the church, *convento*, and other associated features such as the *campo santo*. The term "pueblo" refers to dwellings, kivas, plazas, and associated facilities of the Jémez people. Much information in this section is derived from Penny Gómez, *Jémez State Monument Giusewa Trail Guide* (2005) and the revised and edited edition (2010). Portions of Michael L. Elliott's 2006 draft National Historic Landmark nomination for the site also were utilized in Sections 7 and 8.

[3] The estimated date of the pueblo is based on the presence of Rio Grande Glaze-Paint wares ("Glaze D") dating to the late 1400s–early 1500s and Glaze F, dating from 1650–1700 found in the ceramic assemblage recovered during various archeological excavations at the pueblo. These ceramic types have been securely dated by dendrochronology at other Southwestern sites. The village was occupied until at least 1680. Michael L. Elliott, "San José de los Jémez Mission; Gíusewa Pueblo," National Historic Landmark nomination, prepared for New Mexico State Monuments (Santa Fe: Jémez Mountains Research Center, 2006, draft).

[4] James E. Ivey, "Un Templo Grandioso: A Structural Assessment of the Mission Church at Jémez State Monument, New Mexico," 1991, Ms, New Mexico State Monuments, Santa Fe, 17.

[5] Church Canyon (about 1400′-deep at Jémez Springs) is a side canyon of San Diego Canyon, a deep erosional feature cut through hundreds of millions of years of geological activity. The rock at the top of the canyon is volcanic tuff from eruptions of the Valles Caldera over a million years ago. Below the tuff is red sandstone of the Abó formation (about 250 million years old), and farther down

> From Jémez to Jémez Hot Springs, the site of the mission ruin, is a journey of rapturous delight to anyone sensitive of the glory of magnificent landscape which runs to titanic proportions and vivid coloring. The mesa in back of Jémez [Pueblo] is blood-red and in the setting sun glows like molten lava. In the distance, crest rises above crest, the farther peaks being clothed in evergreen. The cañon narrows down more and more.[6]

The Jémez River flows 492′ west of the site, and there are thermal, cold, and mineral springs in the area. Vegetation is a piñon-juniper woodland receiving about 17 inches of average annual precipitation, but the site itself is covered with grasses, cacti, and wildflowers in season. Part of New Mexico's Jémez State Monument and located within the boundary of the small community of Jémez Springs, the site is administered by New Mexico Monuments, a division of the Museum of New Mexico. A visitor's center just outside the NHL boundary at the southwest corner contains related historical information and exhibits. Features of the site are discussed below. The accompanying sketch map shows the location of resources (identified by map reference numbers) and photograph locations.

San José de los Jémez Church; completed ca. 1625–26; Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, architect; Map Reference 1; Photographs 2 through 14.[7]

Near the north-center of the NHL site is the massive San José de los Jémez Church, designed by Franciscan priest Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón and erected by the Jémez people (see Figure 2). Initial construction of the church occurred about 1621–23. Following a fire about 1623–24,[8] portions were built and reconstructed during about 1625–26.[9] The friar planned the church to fit on a challenging site between the existing pueblo roomblock on the west, the ca. 1598–1601 church and *convento* on the east, the steep hillside on the north, and Church Canyon on the south, while achieving as large and impressive an appearance as possible[10] (see Photograph 2). The remains represent one of the largest seventeenth-century mission churches built in New Mexico, with an interior measuring approximately 33′ wide and 110′ long (12 x 40 *varas*).[11] The church walls are composed mostly of fossiliferous yellow limestone, with some sandstone and tuff, and are 6′ thick on the west and south and 7′ thick on the east. Mortar used in the construction incorporated midden soil containing ash, charcoal, and broken ceramics.[12] Portions of the walls are clad with mud plaster. The building is cut into the slope of the rocky hill at the rear to accommodate its grand size and plan.[13]

The church faces south, and the front wall features an 11′-wide center entrance with a deep reveal and square-hewn wood lintel (see Photograph 3). The central portion of the upper story is missing; the void is flanked by segments of wall at the outer corners. At the southeast corner is an inset bay with projecting beam remnants,

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is limestone formation of the Pennsylvanian age, about 300 million years ago. (Elliott, "San José de los Jémez Mission; Gíusewa Pueblo.")

[6] Edgar L. Hewett and Reginald G. Fisher, *Mission Monuments of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1943), 178.

[7] It appears Fray Alonso de Lugo established a mission at Gíusewa in 1598 and erected a church and convent by early 1601, part of which may be incorporated in the 1620s complex. The primary documentary evidence for the construction dates of the church is found in Zárate Salmerón's *Relaciones,* the two *Memoriales* of Benavides, and other brief references. These sources place initial building of the church in about 1621–23, followed by a partial burning ca. 1623–24, as indicated by the archeological excavations, and the reconstruction and completion of the church about 1625–26.

[8] Ivey, "Un Templo Grandioso," 28.

[9] Ibid., 5, 10. In a structural assessment of the church, James Ivey reported, "The structural evidence offers no hint that the first plan of the church and sacristy were different from the present plan. He assessed, "The church [interior] burned out, leaving the stone walls and virtually nothing else." There are surviving wood beam fragments, which were used in construction dating. It is possible the church was not finished until after the arrival of Fray Martín de Arvide about 1628.

[10] Ibid., 4.

[11] A *vara* is a Spanish unit of measurement (in this case 2.75′) employed in the design and construction of the church.

[12] Richard M. Reycraft, personal communication, 2011.

[13] Ivey, "Un Templo Grandioso," 4.

originally the location of stairs to a choir loft. Fragments of wood beams project outward at the top of the inset. The first story of the front wall is stepped slightly forward, and there are slightly projecting, thin wood poles above the first story at each end of the façade (see Photograph 7).

The west wall, at the south end along the foundation, displays short remnants of pueblo rooms it adjoined (see Photograph 4). There is a horizontal log embedded at the top of the first story level at the south end. A filled window with a wood lintel is high on the wall near the façade. Farther north along the upper wall are openings marking the locations of three extremely large lateral clerestory windows, with wall remnants between the windows. At the north end of the west wall, a small side chapel projects to the west and has a window with a wood lintel at the center of its west wall.

The rear (north) wall sits on the uncut bedrock. The octagonal bell tower at the rear is unique among New Mexico's surviving Spanish colonial missions (see Photograph 5). The stone tower rises against the rear wall of the church on a bedrock platform, a design that produced an imposing appearance with less construction required.[14] The upper stories of the tower are stepped in above the platform. At the center of the tower's south wall is a long, narrow vertical aperture at the location of the entrance (see Photograph 10). There are small, narrow, rectangular windows on the top story of the tower on the east, north, and west.

At the northeast corner of the church is a projecting bay that contained the sacristy (the room used to store sacred objects), priest's chapel, and the staircase; the east wall of this bay has a rectangular window with a wood lintel (see Photograph 6). Farther south, on the east wall, are three extremely large lateral clerestory windows on the upper wall of the nave corresponding to those on the west wall (see Photograph 7). An entrance with a wood lintel near the center of the east wall below the third window leads into the *convent* (the priest's residence). Walls of some rooms of the *convento* were attached to the east wall of the church.

Interior. The central façade entrance provides access to the long single nave (main space of the interior of the church) (see Photograph 8). The deep reveal of the entrance displays large wood beams across the top. Leading through the center of the nave floor are stone slabs. The dirt floor slopes upward toward the elevated main altar. Twelve evenly-spaced, square stone pedestals 18″-high are along the walls flanking the nave (see Photograph 9). There are square-hewn, horizontal wood members embedded at the sill level of the walls flanking the windows.

From the north end of the nave, seven stone steps flanked by stepped stone side platforms reach the main sanctuary platform, which faces the main altar (E)[15] (see Photographs 10 and 11). Four central steps from the sanctuary lead to the altar platform.[16] Rooms also accessed by stone steps flank the sanctuary. West of the sanctuary is a ca. 1625 side chapel (F) displaying a splayed window on the west wall (see Photograph 13). East of the sanctuary, lie the remains of the two-story sacristy (D) built before the fire,[17] where priests and acolytes vested their sacred garments and stored items such as books, linens, and candles used in worship services (see Photograph 14). The vesting sacristy has an entrance into the priest's private chapel (C) to the north, where the friar held his devotions out of public view. The private chapel includes a splayed window on the east wall and accesses what was a rear stairwell room with beam remnants that contained a staircase to the no longer extant second floor (see Photograph 12). Rising above the stone rear wall of the church is the octagonal bell tower (A), which contained a spiral staircase leading to the bell that played an integral role in mission life.

[14] Ibid., 6.

[15] Letters refer to annotations in Figure 3.

[16] Steps to the side chapel, sanctuary and altar were originally thin, fired adobe brick, perhaps the earliest fired brick in New Mexico. (Ivey, "Un Templo Grandioso," 7).

[17] Ivey, "Un Templo Grandioso," 18.

Alterations and Stabilization. During the centuries after the ca. 1639 abandonment of the mission, the church experienced natural deterioration resulting in collapse of the roof and portions of the upper walls and destruction of interior finishes. Treasure hunters also caused some damage to the building, including altar details.[18] Stabilization of the church began in 1922, following its excavation.[19] At that time, some repairs were made flanking the main entrance and in other places to prevent breaking and undermining of walls. The work was described as consistent with the original type of architecture.[20] During 1935–37 Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) efforts resulted in placement of a new lintel at the main entrance and new masonry above. Masonry veneers were rebuilt on the exterior and the tops of the church walls and the tower doorway received concrete mortaring. Crews built a spiral staircase in the tower.[21] Dr. Richard Reycraft indicated at least half of the east wall was rebuilt during this period.[22]

In 1965 crews plastered the entire church with mud, with Jémez women and men completing most of the work by hand. Some new stones were laid and the walls were capped to prevent erosion.[23] The mortar, made from mud and debris, including chips of pottery, obsidian, and charcoal, was left in place and protected with plaster during stabilization.[24] In 1974, steps in the sanctuary and altar were stabilized with tinted cement and covered with a veneer of limestone slabs.[25] A major stabilization project in 1977–78 resulted in reconstruction of the masonry veneer on a badly deteriorated portion of the west exterior wall. The new section is distinguished by inclusion of a large amount of basalt cobbles, while the old is mostly limestone masonry. Two side altars in the nave flanking the steps to the sanctuary were reconstructed due to deterioration.[26]

Convento; ca. 1598–1601 and 1621–26; Alfonso de Lugo and Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, architects; Map Reference 2; Photographs 15 through 24.

The *convento*, which included the friar's quarters and a variety of other rooms and facilities associated with operation of the mission, is connected to and lies east of the church; it included an enclosed patio. The *convento* consists of as many as 22 rooms (half have been excavated) dating from varying periods. Zárate de Salmerón erected the bulk of the convent during 1621–26, but material evidence indicates it may have incorporated portions of the 1598–1601 temporary church and *convento* erected under Fray Alfonso de Lugo.[27] Ivey found, in comparing it to missions of its own period, the *convento* at Gíusewa was "relatively large and spacious" and displayed higher quality workmanship than some others.[28] Several *convento* rooms are described below.

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[18] Ibid., 9.

[19] Excavations before the 1930s seemed to consist of little more than clearing walls and removing inhumations and large artifacts. The archeologists who conducted the excavations and stabilization projects of 1935–1937 recorded more details than the previous investigators. Their notes and diagrams indicated deposits within the pueblo rooms were a meter or more in depth, and the kiva deposits were almost two meters deep. Blanke stated debris within the church "was at places ten feet high." (John H.D. Blanke, "The Jémez Springs Expedition of 1922 at Gíusewa," Hewett Collection, Museum of New Mexico History Library, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 24.)

[20] Lansing B. Bloom, "The Jémez Expedition of the School," *El Palacio* 14 (1923): 19.

[21] J. Andrew Darling, "A Survey and Excavation History of Jémez State Monument (Gíusewa, LA 679), 1985," Ms., p. 44, New Mexico State Monuments, Santa Fe.

[22] Reycraft, personal communication, 2011.

[23] Albert G. Ely, "Stabilization of a Mission," *El Palacio* 72:4 (1965); and Darling, "A Survey and Excavation History of Jémez State Monument," 44.

[24] William H. Holmes, "Notes on the Antiquities of the Jémez Valley, New Mexico," *American Anthropologist* 7 (1905): 205-206; and Reycraft, personal communication, 2011.

[25] Darling, "A Survey and Excavation History of Jémez State Monument," 44.

[26] Jémez State Monument, "Maintenance and stabilization report, 1977–78," Ca. 1978, Jemez State Monument records, in the files of Coronado State Monument, Bernalillo, New Mexico.

[27] Ivey, "Un Templo Grandioso," 5.

[28] Ibid., 2.

From an entrance at the south end of the sacristy (D), a long hallway (the area between D and N) (see Photograph 15) incorporates what may be a room of the ca. 1598–1601 mission at its south end.[29] This section has a blocked-off doorway and a limestone pilaster (perhaps part of a baptismal font). The east wall of the later church incorporates the west wall of this room.

South and east of the hallway are excavated *convento* rooms dating to ca. 1598–1601 that appear to represent a variety of functions, including: an office/sacristy (O) with a window on the north with a wood lintel and an entrance on the east into a small rectangular bedroom (P), as well as a long, narrow portal-like room (M) later remodeled, perhaps as a refectory (dining area)[30] (see Photograph 17).[31] A group of three rooms adjoining the Lugo construction on the north (never officially excavated) were part of a nineteenth century dwelling on the site (Q) and were recorded in historic photographs (see Figures 7 and 9).[32] The house included an entrance and two windows on the east wall (still present).

Rooms at the south end of the *convento* include a kitchen (L), a ca. 1598–1601 pantry (U) displaying a splayed rectangular window on the east, and a south door into the secure storeroom (V), which has a large window on the south (see Photographs 18 through 20). Excavations of the pantry in the 1930s revealed several layers of floors indicating re-occupations of the site. A round buttress is present at the southeast corner of the room; its eastern wall abutted a corral. Although 1930s scholars theorized room V was a chapel, Ivey's research suggested it provided secure storage for foods and seeds during a time of famine.[33] After the ca. 1639 abandonment of the mission, one room (K) in the *convento* was modified by the Jémez in the 1640s or 1650s to serve as an above ground square kiva (a sacred place used for ceremonies and social gatherings), reflecting a reassertion of traditional Native spiritual practices[34] (see Photograph 21). Archeological investigation in the 1930s found the kiva included a stone bench along the east wall, a hearth with an altar, and a ventilator shaft on the west wall.

Extending along the east and north sides of the patio were other rooms utilized in operation of the mission for purposes such as workshops, stables, and sleeping quarters (see Photograph 22). At the northeast corner of the patio are excavated *convento* rooms (R, S, T) reused in the nineteenth century (see Photograph 23). West of these rooms is a recreated example of a simple enclosure constructed of branches. A *ramada* (shelter roofed with branches) protected livestock during inclement weather. A low stone wall extends from these rooms westward, enclosing the *convento* site (see Photograph 24).

Alterations and Stabilization. After abandonment of the mission, a square kiva was erected in one of the *convento* rooms, probably in the 1640s or 1650s. Natural deterioration impacted the roofs, walls, and interior features of the *convento*, causing collapse of roofs and upper walls. By the mid-1860s a small building and *ramada* (an open-sided shelter) were present inside the *convent*.[35] Some rooms were excavated in the 1920s. It appears some of the *convento* walls were built up with stone during stabilization undertaken by the CCC in

[29] Room N originally measured 15′ x 17′. It contains a roof beam dated to 1596. The room was later extended to the north and it is now 15′ x 60′.

[30] Ivey, "Un Templo Grandioso," 4.

[31] Two adobe buildings no longer visible were also part of the Lugo church and *convento*.

[32] Tree-ring dates appear to indicate these rooms were built about 1865 as a private house. The house later received a gabled roof (no longer extant) and may have been utilized by archeologists during excavations in 1921–22. Darling, "A Survey and Excavation History of Jémez State Monument," 17.

[33] As Franciscans in New Mexico built this type of room during a 1668–72 famine, Ivey believes this room may be evidence of continued, if occasional, use of the mission by missionaries "through at least 1670." (Ivey, "Un Templo Grandioso," 23.)

[34] Reycraft, personal communication, 2011.

[35] Michael L. Elliott, "Pueblo at the Hot Place: Archaeological Excavations at Gíusewa Pueblo and San José de los Jémez Mission, Jémez Springs, New Mexico, 1991," Ms., p. 4, on file, New Mexico State Monuments, Santa Fe.

1935–37.[36] In 1965 and 1977–78 during construction of a water pipeline, excavations and stabilization were undertaken in the *convento.* The 1977–78 work included buttressing, partial reconstruction, or capping with new masonry several areas of walls, and installation of clay drainpipes. Buttressing walls were built on the east and south. To protect *convento* walls from erosion of the arroyo, a change was made in its course by creating a new channel and covering the old course with a dirt embankment. Some areas were excavated to promote better drainage.

Campo Santo; ca. 1621–22; Map Reference 3; Photograph 3.
In front of the church is a level open space (about 120′ x 75′) occupied by the church cemetery or *campo santo* (J) (see Photograph 3). Traditionally at Spanish colonial Franciscan missions in New Mexico, Christian converts were buried in such cemeteries, which were enclosed by low walls. Today, the *campo santo* is covered with dirt, gravel, and patches of native grass. It has never been excavated and is intact.

Casa Real, ca. 1625–27; Map Reference 4; Photograph 25.
Remnants of thick stone and adobe mud walls, representing a Spanish colonial building erected facing the plaza about 1625–27,[37] are located on top of at least eight pueblo rooms west of the church. Based on his research on Franciscan missions in New Mexico and Arizona, Ivey believes this was of Spanish construction, serving as a civil administrative building (*casa real*). Such a building provided lodging for officials visiting the mission and included an office that may have been used for collecting tribute from the local people, as well as a storage area.[38] Archeological examination in the 1930s indicated an eastern room was probably a stable. This building was damaged and repaired during later construction of a water pipeline.

Gíusewa Pueblo; ca. 1450–1500 to ca. 1690s; Map Reference 5; Photographs 26-29.
Jémez people began moving into the region in the late 1200s and established Gíusewa Pueblo about A.D. 1450–1500, on the eve of Spanish efforts to exploit the resources and convert the inhabitants of the Southwest.[39] Immediately west of San José church are remains of the Gíusewa Pueblo, an ancestral village of today's Jémez Pueblo located 12 miles south of this site. Portions of the pueblo have been excavated and components of the site have been stabilized and interpreted for visitors.

Within the nominated area east of New Mexico Highway 4, about 200 ground floor rooms remain, including 62 rooms excavated in 5 main roomblocks, as well as detached rooms, rubble mounds, 2 plazas, and 3 circular kivas.[40] Visible pueblo features cover an area about 300′ east-west by 150′ north-south west of the church extending to the NHL boundary (see Photographs 26 and 27). The area within the boundary may represent less than half of the original pueblo, with the remainder lying to the west below the state highway and other development.[41]

The kivas were excavated—two in 1921–1922 and the other in 1935–1937—and one has been stabilized. Kiva 1 is a circular subterranean building with a flat, wood and earthen roof with *vigas* (roof beams) and *latillas* (sticks) that is supported inside by wood posts (see Photograph 28). A rectangular roof hatch allows people to enter and exit the kiva on a log ladder and for smoke to escape from the fireplace on the interior floor. Exterior cool air enters the kiva through a ventilator shaft. The 2′-thick walls, consisting of sandstone, basalt, and limestone, extend a short distance above ground and are clad with adobe plaster. Kiva 1 lies at the northern end

[36] Darling, "A Survey and Excavation History of Jémez State Monument," 44.
[37] Ivey, "Un Templo Grandioso," 20.
[38] Alternatively, it is possible that this was a privately owned Spanish building. (Ivey, "Un Templo Grandioso," 20.)
[39] Elliott, "Pueblo at the Hot Place," 3.
[40] The village originally included five kivas; two are no longer extant.
[41] Elliott, "Pueblo at the Hot Place," 2.

of the site of one of the pueblo's two plazas. Today the area of the plaza is an open space covered with bushes, grasses, stones, and Cholla cacti and intersected by the visitor trail.

East of the *casa real* and southwest of the church are the excavated stone wall remains of what was a three-story apartment-like block of pueblo rooms attached to a kiva (see Photograph 29). The Gíusewa Pueblo walls generally are constructed of "blocks of shaped volcanic tuff of a single thickness, averaging 10 to 12 inches thick."[42] Kiva 3 is a small depressed area west of the wall remnants.

Alterations and Stabilization. Archeological projects excavated and stabilized portions of the pueblo following centuries of deterioration. The pueblo once extended west of the highway in an area now covered by the Via Coeli Church and Monastery.[43] As Michael Elliott noted, "Because of the lack of adequate documentation concerning the early work at Gíusewa, we may never know for sure exactly how much of the site has been excavated." [44] Stabilization in 1935–37 included the pueblo roomblock that abuts the west wall of the mission and Kiva 1. In 1977–78 several pueblo rooms and a kiva were backfilled to preserve their deteriorated remains, and, in some cases, to promote drainage. Portions of two blocks where walls had or would have fallen were reconstructed.[45] In areas not visible from the visitor trail, plaster was applied thickly to cover all masonry, while in visible areas it was applied in a thin coat. Larger blocks of limestone were left exposed.[46]

Other Features of the Site

The site, operated as part of a state monument, includes a visitor trail providing a self-guided tour of the remains of the mission and pueblo. Sections of the trail are concrete aggregate-surfaced (see Photographs 27 and 28), while other parts are composed of flagstone or marked by dirt paths (see Photographs 15 and 17). Small, numbered markers along the trail identify components of the pueblo and mission. A low mud and masonry wall extending along the west boundary of the site was rebuilt during 1977–78.[47]

Historic Appearance of the Mission and Pueblo

San José de los Jémez Church

Physical remains of the church, as well as historic descriptions, drawings, and photographs, archeological evidence from a series of investigations (detailed in the historical background in Section 8), and comparisons with other existing missions, allow a conjectural description of the appearance of San José de los Jémez during the years of its operation (see Figures 1 through 3). The thick walls of the massive building were constructed of yellow limestone and coated with mud plaster on the interior and exterior, creating an impregnable appearance of permanence and safety.[48] Ivey reported the walls extended perhaps 39′ to the top of the parapets.[49] The flat roof of the church was constructed with wood *vigas*, perhaps 45′-long, extending east-west across the ceiling and probably supported by wood corbels. The beams extended through the completed stone walls.[50] The corbels may have been shaped and decoratively carved. A second layer of small poles (*latilla*s) or other pieces of wood were placed perpendicularly across or between the beams. The top layers of the roof consisted of such materials

[42] Darling, "A Survey and Excavation History of Jémez State Monument," 25.
[43] Elliott, "Pueblo at the Hot Place."
[44] Elliott, "San José de los Jémez Mission; Gíusewa Pueblo,"14.
[45] Jémez State Monument, "Maintenance and stabilization report."
[46] Darling, "A Survey and Excavation History of Jémez State Monument."
[47] Ibid.
[48] Marc Treib judged that "these stone churches derived their structural capacity from the straightforward laying of stone on stone, which thickened the wall as required to allow it to reach the level of the roof beams." (Marc Treib, *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 33.)
[49] Ivey, "Un Templo Grandioso," 17.
[50] Ivey ascertained that Spanish ships used hoisting tackle, which also probably was used in construction for lifting vigas into place. Treib, *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico*, 39.

as twigs, grass, or woven matting covered with a foot or more of earth or adobe.[51] Walls of the church formed a parapet above the roof of the nave.[52]

Ivey labeled the building technique displayed as "wall and beam," an ancient method employed in Pueblo architecture, consisting of "stone walls and flat, beam-supported, earth covered roofs…."[53] Following traditional Jémez building practices, women erected the walls and applied the mud plaster, with assistance from children who did light fetch and carry work. Gíusewa men constructed the roof, cutting and placing the wood roof beams and cross-pieces and covering them with the closing materials.[54] Men also created the interior woodwork.

The church, as built in 1621–23 and with portions built or reconstructed by 1625–26, included a post-1623 south wall with a central entrance accessing a porch topped by a choir loft. Inside, at the east end of the porch, fired adobe brick stairs led to the choir loft. A small side chapel was located on the west. A baptistry with baptismal font was at the front of the church. A wide central entrance opened into the nave, which appears to have had a wood floor destroyed in the fire and replaced with a puddled adobe floor over the charred wood. The height of the ceiling above the nave was about 33′ to 34′.[55] Three immense lateral clerestory windows high on the east and west walls of the nave were likely glazed with selenite, a translucent gypsum crystal used in place of glass. The window lintels consisted of wood pieces set side by side the entire thickness of the wall. The unusual windows allowed natural light to flood the nave, illuminating one or more *retablos* (an elaborately carved and painted screen behind the altar) and colorful frescoes ornamenting the walls. Other decorations might have included religious paintings and native weavings.[56] The long nave featured twelve pedestals along its sides that probably featured religious statuary (and later sconces or candelabra).

Steps at the north end of the nave led to the sanctuary platform; further steps from the sanctuary approached the elevated main altar, the ritual focus of the church. The side altars contained niches and may have had a wood finish and designs made of selenite.[57] Based on the appearance of altars at other New Mexican mission churches of the era,

> …its top and sides would have had a smooth surface of plaster or adobe clay, with the altar stone set into the top surface, centered near the front. Painted plaster probably decorated the front and sides of the altar…. During services the top of the altar and central area of its front would have been covered with a highly decorated altar cloth; a variety of these were shipped to each New Mexico mission by wagon train. The bedrock core with an adobe and plaster coat formed wings to either side of the altar itself, extending around the corners and along the side walls of the sanctuary. These wings formed a banco on which rested the *reredos*, a large, highly decorated wooden altar screen with a number of paintings and santos set into various sections.[58]

Adobe brick steps led to the west side chapel. On the east, an area of rooms reached by similar steps included a two-story sacristy, a priest's private chapel, and a rear room with a staircase leading to the upper story, where a trap door provided access to the roof, across which one traveled to get to the bell tower. The octagonal tower

[51] Treib, *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico*, 39. Ivey believed the roof was rebuilt after the fire as it had been before. (Ivey, "Un Templo Grandioso," 14.)
[52] Bloom, "The Jémez Expedition of the School,"18.
[53] James E. Ivey, "The Architectural Background of the New Mexico Missions," in Thomas J. Steele, Paul Rhetts, and Barbe Awalt, eds., *Seeds of Struggle/Harvest of Faith* (Albuquerque: LPD Press, 1998), 35.
[54] Elliott, "San José de los Jémez Mission."
[55] Ivey, "Un Templo Grandioso," 17.
[56] Treib, *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico*, 52-53; and Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 108.
[57] Ivey, "Un Templo Grandioso," 13.
[58] Ibid., 9.

with its spiral staircase stood at the rear. It contained a 200-pound bronze bell, an item usually crafted in Mexico or Spain, an iconic feature of Franciscan missions.[59]

Interior walls of the church displayed white plaster painted with frescoes in brightly colored designs, some of which simulated ceramic tile patterns[60] (see Figures 14 and 15). Archeological evidence indicates three different patterns were painted on the walls during the building's history. The earliest displayed semicircles bordered by a broad red band and a floral motif band with intertwined vines. A later design featured a diamond pattern of blue, green, yellow and white outlined in black and surmounted by a band of white fleur-de-lis bordered by black and white checked bands. A third design included a band of fleur-de-lis above a blue band, followed by a second fleur-de-lis pattern, and terminated by white, yellow and green bands. Other less elaborate wall painting fragments also have been documented in the sanctuary. Southwestern archeologist Marjorie F. Lambert theorized Native motifs of plants and animals decorated the altar before the fire and the other ornaments represent the era of the rebuilt church.[61] Parishioners stood or knelt on the floor throughout the worship service, as benches and pews were not included in New Mexican churches (except for prominent guests) until the 1900s.[62]

Convento

The priest and a small number of converted Jémez congregant-assistants lived and conducted work associated with the operation of the mission in the extensive *convento* attached to the east side of the church. The facility provided rooms for sleeping, cooking, eating, storage, administrative business, and other functions. In the *convento* the mission also offered the native people classes in trades useful to the church, as well as music, religion, and Spanish. Treib noted the complex of low buildings "acted as visual anchor for the larger volume of the church," enlarging the appearance of the sacred building.[63] He observed in the case of San José "the irregular topography forced a juggling of the spaces and a somewhat random layout."[64] Storage rooms were especially important, as supply trains arrived only triennially. The enclosed patio of the *convento* was likely encircled with a covered walkway or *ambulatorio*. The open space included gardens planted with fruits and vegetables that supplemented the products of larger fields in the valley below. Corralled or penned cows, goats, sheep, and pigs provided meat and dairy products and supplemented the game obtained from the pueblo's hunters.

Gíusewa Pueblo

During their occupied years, the pueblo roomblocks likely displayed the stepped, terraced appearance of modern pueblos like Taos or Acoma. The 1581 Rodrigues-Chamuscado expedition provided an early description of what is believed to have been Gíusewa, noting 100 houses two- and three-stories high.[65] Mainly from Blanke's description,[66] the core area of the pueblo of Gíusewa appears to have extended about 600′ east (near the west side of the mission) to west (across State Highway NM 4), and 180′ north to south. Pueblo room

[59] Treib, *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico*, 56.

[60] Marjorie F. Lambert, "Mural Decorations in San José de los Jémez Mission Church, Jémez State Monument, New Mexico," in Albert H. Schroeder, ed., *Collected Papers in Honor of Bertha Pauline Dutton*, Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico 4 (Albuquerque: Albuquerque Archaeological Society Press, 1979).

[61] Lambert, "Mural Decorations."

[62] Penny Gómez, *Gíusewa Trail Guide: Jémez State Monument* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, State Monuments, 2005), 12; and Treib, *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico,* 49.

[63] Treib, *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico* 47.

[64] Ibid.

[65] George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940).

[66] Blanke, "The Jémez Springs Expedition of 1922 at Gíusewa," 29.

sizes at Gíusewa were comparable to those at Unshagi,[67] which averaged about two by three meters: rooms excavated by Elmore averaged 6.02 square meters (65 square feet) in area, while those excavated by Baker and Tolouse averaged 8.52 square meters (92 square feet).[68]

The masonry walls of the pueblo received a mud plaster coating. The flat roofs of the buildings often served as work areas. Rooms were accessed by ladders, mostly through the roof, and did not have windows. Most pueblo rooms were used for food storage and would have been relatively dark. Other rooms provided space for sleeping, cooking and eating, and other activities during inclement weather, and included hearths, niches, and storage bins. On most days the plazas served as activity centers for the village.

Integrity

The San José de los Jémez Mission and Gíusewa Pueblo site retains integrity. Natural deterioration has impacted the architecture of the mission and pueblo, though it would be difficult to accurately quantify exactly how much of the mission building has been lost. There are no surviving paintings, drawings or measurements of the original church. Nonetheless, using the best information available, Ivey theorized the dimensions and appearance of the original building, as shown in Figures 4 and 5. Based on his premise, the walls of the almost 400-year-old church originally rose perhaps 39′ to the top of the parapets, while currently the walls extend 28′ to 29′-high.[69] Considering the missing roof and some upper architectural elements, it can be estimated that about 60-70% of the exterior of the church remains. Nevertheless, the surviving parts of these features have experienced little change since their construction and retain their historic character conveying the site's significance (compare Figures 7, 8, and 21). In this regard, archeologist Richard M. Reycraft, Cultural Resource Program Manager for New Mexico State Monuments, believes San José is one of the best preserved of the remaining seventeenth-century Spanish colonial missions.[70]

Archeological investigations during the first decades of the twentieth century resulted in the excavation of an unknown number of rooms occupied during the Late Prehistoric and early Spanish Contact periods. Unfortunately, the quality of the data recovered from these excavations does not meet present-day archeological standards, resulting in the irretrievable loss of information important to our understanding of the period of significance. Extensive construction activities conducted to the immediate west of the state monument additionally destroyed or damaged a large portion of Gíusewa. These actions together preclude consideration of Criterion 6 for this nomination, since existing archeological data are insufficient towards answering research questions at the national level of significance. However, these data support Criterion 1, by providing ample physical evidence indicating Gíusewa is importantly associated with the spread of Spanish contact during the late sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries.

Location

The integrity of location of San José de los Jémez Church and Gíusewa Pueblo is especially important because the location dramatically influenced the planning for and historic use of the site and the composition and design of its buildings. The site retains integrity of location, as none of its historic features have been moved since the period of significance.

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[67] Paul Reiter, "The Jémez Pueblo of Unshagi, New Mexico," *The University of New Mexico Bulletin*, Anthropological Series 3, no. 3 (1938).

[68] Francis H. Elmore, "Excavations at Gíusewa Pueblo, September 1936–October 1936," Ms. on file, Branch of Cultural Resources, National Park Service, Santa Fe, New Mexico; and Ele M. Baker and Joe H. Toulouse, Jr., Gíusewa Excavation Notes, Season May–October 1937, Ms. on file, Site Survey room, New Mexico Historic Preservation Division, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

[69] Ivey, "Un Templo Grandioso," 17.

[70] Reycraft, personal communication, 2011.

Setting

The seemingly timeless and exceptionally dramatic setting of the site retains substantial integrity. The principal components of the setting are the geographic features of mountains and hills, canyon and creek, and the terrace where the village and mission complex are located, which provided the elements of land and water necessary for sustaining an indigenous village and a Spanish mission and offered desired defensive advantages. Due to the site's early abandonment, the immediate setting received few alterations or additions after the period of significance. An interpretive trail with small signs provides information and keeps visitors on designated paths to prevent damage to the mission and pueblo remains. Adjacent to the NHL boundary on the southeast and within the site's view shed are the small two-story visitor's center and a parking lot associated with the state monument. In the valley below the mission terrace, a state highway, a modern Catholic church, and other buildings of the small community of Jémez Springs are present.

Design

The durable and substantial nature of the construction at the site preserved important components of the original design reflecting the plan, massing, materials and their texture, proportions, and fenestration of the buildings, which have been further illuminated by archeological investigation. Historic photos of the site show a ruin looking very much the same as it does today, with the exception of the central entrance of the church (see Figures 7 through 10). As Marc Treib asserted in his study of the religious buildings of colonial New Mexico, "The church of San José de Gíusewa, even in its fragmented state, provides an excellent picture of the sanctuary at the time of its construction in the early seventeenth century."[71] Other components of the site also embody important features of their historic design, including the pueblo, *convento*, and *casa real*, whose remains convey their original room plans and proportions, wall composition and thickness, and location and nature of some original entrances and windows. Excavation and stabilization efforts at the site in the twentieth century revealed and rebuilt certain features, such as the main entrance to the church, and preserved and protected the original designs.

Materials

The features within the site retain integrity of materials. The use of native stone, by far the dominant construction material, ensured survival of the features of the mission complex and the adjacent pueblo despite a long period of abandonment and exposure to natural elements. Wood beams employed as lintels represent original components or later replications of original features. Mud plaster covering walls duplicates the traditional composition of the material. Stabilization of the church, which involved a small amount of reconstruction (discussed above under Alterations and Stabilization), helped preserve the original fabric of the structure. Richard Reycraft, former manager of Jémez State Monument, estimated the stabilization affected less than 20 percent of the mission, which is borne out by the 1880 photograph of the site (see Figure 7).

Workmanship

The site retains integrity of workmanship, with the remains clearly providing evidence of the skills of Jémez builders laboring during the period of significance. The walls in the mission complex represent the work of native women laborers toiling to lay stone upon heavy stone in the early 1600s (and perhaps as early as about A.D. 1450 in portions of the pueblo). Construction in the pueblo demonstrates the Jémez employed wall and

[71] Treib, *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico*, 249.

beam construction in their native architecture. The height of the walls and the wide span of the church nave convey an understanding of the difficult task workers faced in completing the construction.[72]

Feeling

The site's combination of natural setting and its features reflecting human occupation produce integrity of feeling. The pueblo illuminates the daily life of the Jémez on the eve of the arrival of and during the occupation of the Spaniards. As the Franciscan friars desired, the towering stone church stands in stark contrast to the architecture of the adjacent Jémez village. The ambition of the friars' architectural vision and the immense physical effort required of the native builders is revealed at the site. The property testifies to the strength of the commitment of the Spanish Crown and the missionary order to subdue and convert the area's indigenous inhabitants, exploit its resources, and establish a foothold in the region, as well as attesting to the determination of the Jémez to be free of Spanish control. The *convento* provides an understanding of the lifestyle and administrative role of the transplanted religious leader. Friar Hans Lentz, in a study of seventeenth-century missions in New Mexico, found the isolated Spanish mission ruins the most eloquent pieces of evidence concerning the life of the friars.[73] The ruins bring into sharp focus difficulties inherent in the Spanish effort at conversion of the pueblo's inhabitants, and, by contrast, its impact on the daily lives of the Jémez people, who were active in resisting the missionaries.

Association

The site possesses the quality of association with the earliest interactions of Spanish missionaries and native people of the southwestern United States during 1598–ca. 1639 and retains the essential features and physical qualities to convey this association. This important theme in the nation's history is reflected in the extensive remains of San José de los Jémez Mission and Gíusewa Pueblo within the NHL boundary. These physical components, together with the important and substantially unaltered setting, provide a direct link to the historical events that occurred here, including: the occupation of the site by the Jémez people, arrival of Franciscan missionaries and their introduction to the existing pueblo community, planning and construction of the mission complex, operation of the mission and daily life of its congregants, interaction between the indigenous inhabitants and Spaniards, events leading to the abandonment of regular use of San José de los Jémez by the Franciscans about 1639, and the continued occupation of the site by the Jémez until about 1680. The site is also associated with the Jémez people's resistance to missionization efforts, including occasional retreats to remote locations, retention of traditional spiritual practices, and participation in the 1680 Pueblo Rebellion, and reflects Michael V. Wilcox's observation: "In nearly every area of Spain's colonial empire, the conquest and subjugation of Native peoples was neither instantaneous nor bloodless."[74]

[72] Recreating their traditional roles for a 1977–78 stabilization project, men of the current Jemez Pueblo mixed the mud by hand and delivered it to the women, who applied plaster by hand to the ruin walls. Jemez men also did some plastering and reconstructed some areas of masonry (Darling, "A Survey and Excavation History of Jémez State Monument."

[73] Quoted in James E. Ivey, *In the Midst of a Loneliness: The Architectural History of the Salinas Missions,* Southwest Cultural Resources Center, Professional Papers No. 15 (Santa Fe: Southwest Region, National Park Service, 1988), iv.

[74] Michael V. Wilcox, *The Pueblo Revolt and the Mythology of Conquest: An Indigenous Archaeology of Contact* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 18.

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
Nationally: X Statewide: __ Locally:__

Applicable National Register Criteria: A X B__ C X D__

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A__ B X C__ D__ E__ F__ G__

NHL Criteria: 1, Exception 1

NHL Theme(s):
I. Peopling Places
5. Ethnic Homelands
6. Encounters, Conflicts, and Colonization
II. Creating Social Institutions and Movements
3. Religious Institutions

Areas of Significance:
Exploration/Settlement
Ethnic Heritage
Native American
Hispanic
Social History
Native American
Religion

Period(s) of Significance: 1598–ca. 1680

Significant Dates: ca. 1598–1601, ca. 1621–23, ca. 1625–26, ca. 1639, ca. 1680

Significant Person(s):

Cultural Affiliation:

Architect/Builder:
Zárate Salmerón, Fray Gerónimo de (architect)
The Jémez people (builders)

Historic Contexts:
I. Cultural Developments: Indigenous American Populations
D. Ethnohistory of Indigenous American Populations
2. Establishing Intercultural Relations
e. Defending Native Homelands
f. Defending Native Religious Systems
g. Introductions to Foreign Religious Systems
3. Varieties of Early Contact, Conquest, or Accommodation
d. Changing Settlement Types
6. Missionized Settlements
II. European Colonial Exploration and Settlement
A. Spanish Exploration and Settlement
3. Southwest

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.[75]

San José de los Jémez Mission and Gíusewa Pueblo National Historic Landmark includes the remains of an early seventeenth-century mission complex and a Jémez Indian pueblo importantly associated with the Spanish colonial and Native American history of the nation. The site is nationally significant for its association "with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained." The site is nationally significant under NHL Criterion 1, in the areas of Exploration and Settlement, Religion, Social History, and Ethnic Heritage. The NHL is an important reminder of the indigenous peoples' and Spain's long tenure in the Southwest before the founding of the United States. The site enriches our understanding of the region as a "zone of interaction between two cultures" and reveals the transformative nature of the early relationship between the Hispanos and native peoples, which impacted the region's character and institutions and is a major focus of study today.[76]

In addition to seeking gold and other resources and establishing footholds of settlement in the northern frontier of New Spain, the Spanish supported an effort to convert indigenous peoples to Catholicism, leading them "out from the darkness of paganism and the somberness of death" and into the "Father of Light." As historian David J. Weber observed, the Spanish Crown "used the church as an instrument of conquest and consolidation, [and] provided the friars with resources and military support that enabled them to impose their will by force upon certain natives."[77] In exchange for a variety of promised benefits, including protection, new foods and technologies, and a more powerful religion, the Spaniards demanded native inhabitants contribute the labor necessary to erect, operate, and support their Franciscan missions. Established A.D. 1450–1500, Gíusewa Pueblo represented one of the larger and more important villages of the Jémez people and an attractive location for missionary efforts.

The Franciscan order led the mission-building activities in New Mexico, assigning to the pueblo Fray Alonso Lugo, one of the five priests accompanying Don Juan de Oñate's 1598 expedition. Following completion of a small stone and adobe church and *convento*, the first friar departed, stalling efforts to convert the Jémez between 1601–20. In 1621 Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón arrived at Gíusewa to design and direct the building of an imposing stone church and a large *convento*, which appears to incorporate portions of Lugo's earlier construction. The friar claimed, perhaps questionably, conversion of 6,566 Jémez, and subsequent missionaries utilized the complex he built on a regular basis through about 1639. The Franciscans attempted to impose a new religion, architecture, culture, and government on an unwilling and resistant indigenous population which had possessed its own sovereignty and forms of social organization, spiritual belief, culture, and architecture for hundreds of years.

The Indians resisted efforts to abolish their religion and culture, carefully selecting which newly-introduced concepts and products they would retain. They, in turn, transformed the ideas and lifestyles of the Spanish.[78] The Franciscans abandoned San José de los Jémez about 1639, although the Jémez continued to live at Gíusewa until about 1680, when they joined other Pueblo peoples in successfully driving the Spaniards out of New Mexico. Only seven other early seventeenth-century missions in the nation survive relatively intact, of which six are listed currently as NHLs.[79] None of the others exhibits the combination of architectural features;

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[75] This work drew upon the 30 December 2006 draft nomination prepared for New Mexico Monuments by Michael L. Elliott, Jémez Mountains Research Center, 2086 Placita de Vida, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87505.

[76] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 10-11.

[77] Ibid., 111.

[78] Ibid., 113.

[79] Ivey, *In the Midst of a Loneliness*, 2; and personal communication, 2011.

historical, cultural, and ethnic associations, and natural setting of San José de los Jémez. Former National Park Service architectural historian James E. Ivey judged it "one of the most significant pueblo and mission establishments in New Mexico."[80] The period of significance for the site extends from 1598 (the date the first Franciscan friar arrived to begin mission building efforts) to ca. 1680 (the approximate year the Jemez abandoned the site).

Criterion 1

The San José and Gíusewa site is nationally significant in the area of Exploration and Settlement for its association with the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century spread of Spanish rule northward in New Spain. The push into what is now New Mexico represents the initial movement of European culture into lands occupied by native peoples in the southwestern United States. This occurred in advance of the settlements at Jamestown (1607) and Plymouth (1620) and a century-and-a-half before the establishment of the first missions in California, Arizona, and Texas. A detachment of the Francisco Vásquez de Coronado expedition first encountered the Jémez in 1541, followed by exploratory parties in the 1580s and the founding of the San José mission in 1598. Mission-building attempted to impose Spanish rule over new territories and force indigenous peoples to adopt a new religion, language, skills, and lifestyle, as well as provide substantial labor to accomplish the newcomers' goals. In addition, the friars brought new domestic animals, plants, and products to the pueblos. As historian Herbert E. Bolton observed in 1917, the Spanish Crown pursued three goals vis-à-vis the native: "They desired to convert him, to civilize him, and to exploit him." The mission as a frontier institution played a critical role in achieving these aims, serving "not alone to Christianize the frontier, but also to aid in extending, holding, and civilizing it."[81] Examining early Spanish accounts of the missionization process, historian Michael V. Wilcox noted "the tensions between the parallel and contradictory motives of salvation and exploitation."[82]

The site is also exceptionally significant under Criterion 1 in the area of Religion for its association with the efforts of Franciscan friars to create and operate missions and spread Catholicism in North America. The missionaries were among the first persons to transfer Christian religious beliefs to America. The Franciscan order, established by St. Francis of Assisi in 1209, received principal responsibility for founding and operating mission complexes in the lands of northern New Spain during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Landscape architect Baker H. Morrow found the extant mission complexes of New Mexico "still speak to the strong Franciscan vision of what the Christian God should mean in the North American wilderness."[83] A small group of friars, usually only one per mission, fanned out across rugged and isolated terrain with the task of compelling indigenous peoples to renounce their long-held belief systems and embrace a new religion. Several of the Franciscans, including those at San José, succeeded in erecting a mission complex with tribal labor and, for a period, conducted traditional Catholic religious services. Interim New Mexico State Historic Preservation Officer Jan V. Biella deemed the site of San José de los Jémez and Gíusewa Pueblo "an early and important representation of the Spanish Colonial Mission system in America."[84]

The San José and Gíusewa site is also nationally important under Criterion 1 in the area of Social History for its association with the philosophies and events that produced a tremendous upheaval in the social organization and lifeways of the indigenous Jémez people in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Prior to the

[80] Ivey, "Un Templo Grandioso," 32.

[81] Herbert Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," *American Historical Review* 23(1917), 43, 47.

[82] Wilcox, *The Pueblo Revolt*, 7.

[83] Alonso de Benavides, *A Harvest of Reluctant Souls: The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630,* trans. and ed. Baker H. Morrow. (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1996), xiii.

[84] Jan V. Biella, Interim New Mexico State Historic Preservation Officer, Letter of support for Jémez State Monument designation as NHL, Santa Fe, January 6, 2010.

coming of the Spanish, the native inhabitants adhered to their own system of traditional spiritual beliefs, pursued agricultural practices compatible with the local environment, and lived in scattered pueblo villages. The Franciscan friars attempted to create a thorough disruption of the existing social order, displacing the established religion, changing marriage and sexual practices, introducing new skills, bringing in new domestic animals, and undertaking campaigns to concentrate indigenous populations at mission sites to more efficiently achieve their goals. The friars won the confidence of tribal leaders or replaced them and cultivated relationships with younger inhabitants to undermine the authority of elders. Indian labor supported the agricultural and material needs of resident friars. Spanish conquest of the area directly contributed to a drastic reduction in the population by forcing the Jémez to labor to produce food for the friars rather than for their families, through direct violence resulting from punishing natives in daily life and quelling rebellions, and as a consequence of introducing new diseases.[85] Art historian Robin Farwell Gavin observed there are few other sites in the nation that:

> so graphically embody the struggles between indigenous peoples and European conquerors. The fact that this site was not deemed historically significant in 1968 and is now being reconsidered is, I hope, testimony to our growing recognition as a nation of our diverse heritage and our growing understanding of the historical events that brought us to today. San José de los Jémez and Gíusewa Pueblo are fitting testimony to the delicate balance between cultures and religions that continues today.[86]

The site is further nationally significant under Criterion 1 in the area of Ethnic Heritage, for its importance to the history of both Hispano and Native American (Jémez) peoples in America. The mission system established in New Mexico is associated with the northward expansion of Hispano exploration and settlement, religious conversion, and colonization practices. The principal designer of the extant church at San José represents this influence: Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, a *criollo* (a child born in New Spain of Spanish parents). Hailing from the vicinity of present-day Veracruz, Mexico, Zárate Salmerón testified he converted thousands of native inhabitants on the northern frontier. The builders of the church and *convento*, the people assisting with the mission's operation and support, and the members of its congregation were the Jémez people. Their population was the reason for creating a mission at Gíusewa, the location of their pueblo determined the siting of the church, and their construction skills influenced the final appearance of the mission complex. Weber asserted that "the Spanish frontier cannot be understood apart from its non-Spanish neighbors who influenced it in countless ways. At the most basic level, for example, the character of indigenous societies determined which Spanish institutions would flourish and which would wither."[87]

San José de los Jémez Church, is a nationally important representative of the interaction, which Weber referred to as "contention and transformation," between Hispanos and Native Americans in the Southwest as one of only eight "substantially surviving" Spanish Colonial mission churches representing seventeenth-century design and construction in the United States.[88] It is also one of the older examples in the nation of non-native ecclesiastical design that retains its historic character. The building displays the stylistic influences, accessory components, response to limitations of the site, relationship to associated features, plan and materials, and construction technology representative of Franciscan missions established during the early 1600s in the southwestern United

[85] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 118.

[86] Robin Farwell Gavin, personal communication, 2011.

[87] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 13.

[88] Ibid., 12; and Ivey, *In the Midst of a Loneliness*, 2. In 1991 Ivey identified five other missions: San Estévan del Rey at Acoma and the four Salinas Mission Churches: Nuestra Señora de Purísima Concepción de Cuarac at Quarai; Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles de Porciuncula at Pecos; San Gregorio at Abó; and San Isidro and San Buenaventura de las Humanas at Gran Quivira (Ivey, "Un Templo Grandioso," 2). He later added two other sites: La Purísima Concepción at Hawikuh and San Bernardino at Awatovi (in Arizona) (personal communication, 2011).

States. It exemplifies the adaptation of traditional Spanish concepts of religious architecture to construction in a high, semiarid environment utilizing limited local materials and the skills of native builders. San José also exhibits distinctive or unique expressions of traditional elements distinguishing it from other substantially surviving Franciscan mission churches, as well as qualities that differentiate it from other periods of Spanish colonial mission construction. The building is important for representing the work of a Franciscan priest born of Spanish parents in Mexico, Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, who possessed prior design and construction experience. Also of note is the building's representation of the work of the church's builders, the Jémez people, who followed their traditional division of labor in its construction, with women erecting the stone walls and coating them with mud plaster and men building the roof and crafting its interior woodwork.

San José de los Jémez Church exhibits the stylistic influences, relationship to associated features, plan and materials, and construction technology representative of seventeenth-century Franciscan missions in the southwestern United States, which embodied accepted prototypes of Spanish religious architecture, as adapted to the environment, available materials and technology, skills of indigenous builders, and challenging construction sites. The missionary sect conveyed to those leaving for distant posts "the same general expectations about how their churches and *conventos* should be designed, built, decorated, furnished, and used."[89] While the Catholic Church and Franciscan order did not prescribe the exact shape and size of mission churches, they did establish several basic requirements that governed the design of San José. In her examination of Spanish colonial churches Gloria Fraser Giffords summarized, "The structure had to be built as a church and never used for any other purpose. It had to be permanent and to have the following elements: a sanctuary area (in sight of, but separate from, the congregation) for an altar and celebrants, where services could be performed, a nave for the congregation, and a choir for the singers."[90] Mission churches were authorized to conduct baptisms and had a baptismal font with space around it and a porch or other space for use at the beginning of the rite. The church had to be consecrated (or blessed in the case of an isolated mission) and include at least one consecrated altar, whose height and material were set forth. The mission church had a direct entrance from the *convento* into the church. Friars arriving at San José, like those of other Franciscan missions of the early 1600s, were aware of the functional components and design standards required and strived to ensure their architecture met these standards despite the constraints of conditions on the northern frontier. As Professor Marc Treib eloquently asserted, "In the tension between aspiration and reality resided (and still resides) the source of both the power and beauty of these buildings."[91]

The eight substantially surviving seventeenth-century mission churches display basic distinguishing characteristics that continued to be employed for ecclesiastical designs in the southwest into the nineteenth century and created an iconic architecture still familiar today. These features included wall and beam masonry construction employed by Franciscans and familiar in Pueblo culture, which consisted of vertical walls and a flat, beam-supported roof. Walls were composed of adobe or, as in the case of San José and several others, stone, and clad with a coat of mud plaster. The extremely thick and tall walls created a building with a substantial and imposing, fortified appearance connected solidly to its site. The church at Gíusewa is one of the larger of the remaining seventeenth-century buildings that exhibits this technology, with walls 6′ to 7′ thick.[92] The missions' flat roofs were constructed of large beams (*vigas*) overlain with closing materials including smaller pieces of wood; twigs, fibers, or other matting material; and a thick topping of earth. The churches contained a single nave, reflecting a basic form found in the Iberian province of Andalusia and elaborated and

[89] Ivey, *In the Midst of a Loneliness*, xiv.

[90] Gloria Fraser Giffords, Sanctuaries of Earth, Stone, and Light: The Churches of Northern New Spain, 1530-1821 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007), 43-44.

[91] Treib, *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico*, 2.

[92] Pecos, completed in 1622–29, is the largest example of this type of construction, measuring 39' x 146' and displaying walls 45′ to 50′ high and 9′ to 14′ thick.

expanded in Mexico before their construction in the northern frontier.[93] The single nave at Gíusewa was one of the widest of the colonial period, at 33′ 10″.[94] A choir loft was placed at the rear of the nave, as in the pre-fire church at Gíusewa, or in a balcony on the façade, as in the post-fire construction. A design convention of these churches was the articulated apse (sanctuary end of the church) with an elevated sanctuary, features displayed by San José.[95] Although architectural ornamentation in the mission churches was limited, plastered walls of the interior were sometimes decorated with brightly colored patterns. Excavation of the church at Gíusewa revealed rare fragments of these painted designs, importantly illuminating this aspect of mission architecture.

The layout and components of the site are clearly within the tradition of seventeenth-century Spanish missions, including the immense church with its specifically defined use areas, the adjacent multi-roomed *convento* with its spaces for a variety of mission functions surrounding an enclosed courtyard, and the open *campo santo* in front of the church. The location of the church in relation to the pueblo is also consistent with established mission planning, while also addressing the limitations of the site. In discussing the relationship between the church and pueblo in his seminal work, *The Religious Architecture of New Mexico*, George Kubler asserted San José "offers the clearest example" of the seventeenth-century mission churches established next to the pueblos.[96] The Jémez village, with its roomblocks, kivas, and two plazas is representative of the proportions, configuration, materials, and functions of the indigenous architecture built in this location beginning in about 1450 A.D. and continuing into the period of significance. The church's placement on the somewhat cramped site, limited by the canyon, the steep hill to the north, the existing pueblo, and the location of the earlier church and *convento*, provided challenges for the designer. Treib labeled the site "an instance of extremely inhospitable topographic conditions," due to the necessary cutting into the hillside for the nave and transportation of excavated material to level the site.[97] Some of the other missions also faced an immense expenditure of labor to establish suitable building conditions before construction began.

In its design and composition, the church displays qualities distinguishing it from missions built during other eras of Spanish colonial history. Through his extensive study of New Mexico's seventeenth-century mission church design, architectural historian James E. Ivey identified a "distinctive set of characteristics peculiar to the developmental period."[98] He concluded that these churches were "part of the general pattern of church development everywhere on the northern frontier and indeed everywhere in the Catholic Church."[99] Ivey grouped the designs of the pre-Revolt (1680) era into three phases of development labeled temporary, interim, and permanent. Temporary buildings represent the first churches built in New Mexico, including the chapel built at Gíusewa about 1598–1601. These buildings consisted of adapted pueblo rooms or newly constructed buildings with flat roofs above stone or adobe walls. The edifices often were quickly replaced with fairly narrow stone or adobe brick buildings with flat, beam-supported roofs and windows along the sides of the single nave, a fairly standardized design considered interim structures by the Franciscans.[100]

A significant change in New Mexican mission design began in the 1620s, when some of the more important pueblos received new missionaries who directed the building of churches in a much larger, "overwhelming style," according to Ivey. He cited Nuestra Señora de los Angeles at Pecos (ca. 1620–25, destroyed in the Pueblo Revolt) as the first of the New Mexico "Great Churches" and judged San José de Gíusewa the second

[93] Treib, *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico*, 25.
[94] George Kubler, *The Religious Architecture of New Mexico* (Colorado Springs: Taylor Museum, 1940; reprint, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 31.
[95] Ibid., 133.
[96] Ibid., 19.
[97] Treib, *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico*, 31.
[98] James E. Ivey, "The Architectural Background of the New Mexico Missions," in Thomas J. Steele, Paul Rhetts, and Barbe Awalt, eds., *Seeds of Struggle/Harvest of Faith* (Albuquerque: LPD Press, 1998), 43.
[99] Ibid., 51.
[100] Ibid., 44-45.

early example demonstrating the concept's popularity.[101] However, although both buildings (at Pecos and Gíusewa) have a "generic resemblance," appearing to be cruciform while actually having a single nave, Ivey found the two quite different in design philosophy.[102] The great mission churches of the seventeenth century were the largest ever built in New Mexico.[103] Features of these churches, such as their complexity of plan and elevation, simulation of transepts, inclusion of a transverse clerestory window, and introduction of highly decorated wall and ceiling designs, suggest that the driving inspiration behind this abrupt change in the design of mission churches in New Mexico was the arrival of Baroque Counterreformation aesthetics in the province about 1618 or 1619.[104] The use of these elements predated Baroque architecture in Mexico, leading Ivey to conclude:

> The Franciscans of New Mexico were apparently at the cutting edge of this new way of thinking about buildings and their relationship to people. It seems reasonable to propose that the new friars arriving in New Mexico about 1620, several of whom were from Spain, had been inspired by the intellectual movement just beginning to sweep through Europe, and that some of these men decided to design their churches in a larger, more permanent and dramatic style, as at Los Angeles de Pecos, San José de Gíusewa, San Estévan de Ácoma, or the unfinished San Buenaventura de Las Humanas, begun in 1660.[105]

Ivey asserted each of the Spanish colonial missions possesses "its own unique character, its own singular place in the history of Franciscan construction in the New World." Of these, he asserted the seventeenth-century churches are "especially distinctive," and several of them are "outstanding," including the church at Gíusewa. A number of qualities distinguish San José from other seventeenth-century churches, including the characteristics of its site, as well as its size, plan, and construction of yellow limestone. In place of transepts, the church has a projecting side chapel on the west and a bay containing the priest's chapel and other rooms on the east. Of particular note is the octagonal tower, representing the only such design among extant churches of the period. Kubler also found that the location of the tower at the sanctuary "breaks with all architectural tradition."[106] The mission's immense lateral clerestory windows are a significant feature unique within New Mexico.[107]

San José is also significant for its representation of the work of a Franciscan of Hispano heritage who possessed documented professional building experience prior to undertaking the design of a mission. Resident friars, who had gained familiarity with the basic appearance and elements of missions in their daily lives, designed and directed the construction of the seventeenth-century missions in New Mexico. It is unknown if any architectural training was provided to the friars before assigning them to the frontier.[108] Some men with less design and building experience probably consulted other Franciscans at nearby missions for advice, and officials of the order likely inspected construction and offered suggestions. As Ivey found, "Friars varied in their creativity, sense of balance and proportion, and even in their understanding of the technical aspects of constructing a sound, attractive building."[109] Among these early seventeenth-century Franciscans, Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón designed major causeways in Ecatepec and Xuchimilco, Mexico, before traveling north to Gíusewa, where he served during 1621–26. As Robin E. Farwell observed in her study of the architectural history of San

[101] Ibid., 49.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Treib, *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico*, 28.
[104] Ivey, "The Architectural Background of the New Mexico Missions," 50.
[105] Ibid., 51.
[106] Kubler, *The Religious Architecture of New Mexico*, 134.
[107] According to Ivey, the "closest things to them are the windows on San Buenaventura II at Las Humanas (Gran Quivira), which are moderately large windows, not like at Gíusewa" (personal communication 2011).
[108] Robin Farwell, "An Architectural History of the Seventeenth-Century Mission Church of San José de Gíusewa, Jémez State Monument, N.M." (M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1991), 25.
[109] Ivey, *In the Midst of a Loneliness*, 37.

José, "This is the first evidence we have that any of the friars that came to New Mexico in the seventeenth century may have had any prior building experience."[110] The design of San José evidences Zárate Salmerón's previous experience by incorporating important elements distinguishing it from other mission churches of the era, including its larger than average size and an octagonal bell tower. In planning the church the priest crafted a design that fit into a difficult site with a slope to the north and a steep canyon to the south, and he took advantage of the topography to include the striking tower atop a bedrock platform. The parameters of church design in the 1600s were limited by lack of master masons and by available construction technology, however Zárate Salmerón incorporated an aesthetic feature becoming popular in Spain, the large clerestory windows along the nave.[111] Ivey believes the windows of San José may have influenced the design of similar windows at the San Buenaventura Church at Las Humanas, begun in 1660.[112]

As Treib observed, the Spanish mission churches differ from their architectural precedents because they represent "the mutual influence or conflation of indigenous American building practices with those of the Iberian Peninsula."[113] While San José is significant for its representation of design by a Hispano friar, it is also important for its representation of the work of the Jeméz people, who contributed physical labor and practical knowledge to its construction, as well as later modifying a *convento* room into a kiva. It is remarkable that the native inhabitants, speaking a different language, possessing a different culture, and having their own architectural traditions, actualized the plans of its Franciscan missionary so successfully. As Giffords explicated,

> …the rugged terrain, harsh climate, limited natural resources, and sparse populations of hunter-gatherers or semi sedentary tribes militated against development of a large artisan class. Here, artistic traditions of the indigenous populations centered mostly around utilitarian or small cult objects and embellishment of personal items or self. With these limitations in mind, the imposing structures and complexes produced by native labor and skills under the direction of the missionaries in northern New Spain, especially in seventeenth-century Nuevo Mexico, are all the more worthy of our respect and admiration.[114]

The mission is also as an early example of women's participation in a major non-native ecclesiastical construction project. In his 1630 *Memorial*, Fray Alonso de Benavides testified, "…the women have built everything by themselves, assisted by the church-school boys and girls. You see, among these nations women build the walls, and the men spin and weave their blankets, go to war, and go hunting…. In this way more than fifty churches have been constructed…."[115] Thus it appears that the native women laid the stones to build the thick walls; women also traditionally applied the plaster coating to interior and exterior walls. Men involved in the construction cut and prepared the beams and built the roof, as well as completing other interior woodwork. Due to the width of the nave, the size of the vigas and weight of the roof were substantial.

Contemporary and later accounts of missionaries, public officials, tourists, historians, and architects, including many scholarly works discussing the nation's important seventeenth-century Spanish colonial missions, acknowledged the architectural significance of San José de los Jémez. In 1626, Fray Zárate Salmerón ranked the New Mexico missions from "ordinary" to "good' to "excellent," judging his own San José de los Jémez

[110] Farwell, "An Architectural History of the Seventeenth-Century Mission Church of San José de Gíusewa," 26.
[111] Ivey, "The Architectural Background," 51.
[112] Ivey, *In the Midst of a Loneliness*, 6; and Ivey, "The Architectural Background," 51.
[113] Treib, *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico*, 2.
[114] Giffords, *Sanctuaries of Earth, Stone, and Light*, 8.
[115] Benavides, *A Harvest of Reluctant Soul*, 43.

"splendid."[116] In 1634, Benavides described the church and *convento* as "very sumptuous."[117] In 1915, L. Bradford Prince, former New Mexico governor, declared "the most beautiful ruin in New Mexico, beyond all compare, is that of the old Mission Church at Jémez…."[118] In 1923, historian Lansing Bloom included Jémez in his list of the "three finest examples of the early missions of New Mexico."[119] In the late 1920s, journalist and historian Earl R. Forrest called the church "among the most picturesque in all New Mexico. This was a massive building; with walls eight feet thick it has stood throughout the ages, and in its time must have been a beautiful edifice."[120]

Criteria Exception and Previous Listing

The San José de los Jémez Mission and Gíusewa Pueblo site meets the requirements of NHL Criteria Exception 1. While the church and *convento* were built and used for religious purposes, the property derives its primary national significance from its historical importance and architectural distinction.[121] The National Park Service, as part of its national survey of historic sites and buildings, noted San José de los Jémez in two early theme studies: "Spanish Exploration and Settlement"[122] and "Explorers and Settlers."[123] Both studies evaluated San José de los Jémez as a National Historic Landmark and concluded it possessed "noteworthy historical value but not 'exceptional value' (national significance) within the special Landmark criteria."[124] The reports provided no rationale for this assessment. In 1972, Dr. Ronald L. Stewart, Curator of State Monuments of the Museum of New Mexico, prepared a National Register of Historic Places district nomination for the mission complex and Gíusewa pueblo. The areas of significance for the site listed in the nomination included historic and prehistoric archeology, architecture, and religion. The resource was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1973.[125]

Period of Significance and Significant Dates

The period of significance for the site begins in 1598, when Fray Alonso de Lugo became the first priest assigned to serve at the Jémez pueblos and may have begun construction of a small church and *convento* adjacent to Gíusewa Pueblo, a few rooms of which appear to be incorporated into the southeast side of the larger ca. 1621–26 mission whose remains are a principal feature of the site today.[126] The period closes in ca. 1680, reflecting the approximate ending date of Jémez use of the mission buildings and their abandonment of Gíusewa pueblo. Although there are significant gaps in the historical records of New Mexico prior to the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, there is no documented mention of the San José mission after 1639.[127] Significant dates for the

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[116] Quoted in Treib, *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico*, 15.

[117] Quoted in Kubler, *The Religious Architecture of New Mexico*, 82.

[118] L. Bradford Prince, *The Spanish Mission Churches of New Mexico* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1915), 179.

[119] Bloom, "The Jémez Expedition of the School," 15. The other two on Bloom's list were Gran Quivira and Pecos.

[120] Earle R. Forrest, *Missions and Pueblos of the Old Southwest* (Cleveland: A.H. Clarke Co., 1929; reprint, Chicago: Rio Grande Press, 1965), 139.

[121] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin: How to Prepare National Historic Landmark Nominations* ([Washington, D.C.]: National Register, History and Education—National Historic Landmarks Survey, 1999), 31.

[122] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Spanish Exploration and Settlement* (Washington, D.C: National Park Service, National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, 1959), 131.

[123] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Explorers and Settlers* (Washington, D.C: National Park Service, National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings,1968), 357-58.

[124] Ibid., 290.

[125] Ronald L. Stewart, "Jémez State Monument/San José de los Jémez and Gíusewa Pueblo, Jemez Springs, Sandoval County, New Mexico" (National Register of Historic Places #73001147, 1972).

[126] Ivey, "Un Templo Grandioso," 2.

[127] The period of significance is based on the archeological and documentary evidence for the periods of construction and operation of the mission and *convento* complex. The mission may have been used intermittently, perhaps as a *visita* for a padre from another location, until as late as 1680. The pueblo was apparently occupied for some time; it seems to have been abandoned by the Jémez after 1680, though a definite terminal date is uncertain. The area was not reoccupied on a permanent basis for about 200 years.

site include: 1601, when the first missionary efforts at the site ceased; ca.1621–22, when Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón began work on the permanent mission church and *convento* buildings; ca. 1623–24, when a fire destroyed portions of the church; ca. 1625–26, the rebuilding of the church with Fray Martín de Arvide possibly completing part of the final work; ca. 1639, the approximate ending date of regular use of the buildings of the San José de los Jémez as a mission; and ca. 1680, the approximate ending date of Jémez occupation of the site.

Development and use of San José de los Jémez

The Spanish Crown, Franciscans, and Mission-Building in New Mexico

Franciscan missionaries played a significant role in Spain's colonization of the northern frontier of New Spain. In addition to discovering and amassing mineral wealth and other tangible riches for the Spanish Crown, spreading Spain's official Roman Catholic religion to indigenous people served as another justification for colonization. Although some Spaniards questioned whether or not Indians were suitable for conversion, in a 1537 papal bull ("Sublimis Deus") Pope Paul III declared, "Indians are truly men capable of understanding the Catholic faith" and therefore attempts to enlighten them should be made.[128]

Missionization and colonization were intertwined. Spain's 1573 "Royal Orders for New Discoveries" demonstrated how crucial religion was to the process of colonization, specifying that "preaching the holy gospel…is the principal purpose for which we order new discoveries and settlements to be made."[129] The Orders marked a change in colonization policy, indicating future conversion should be peaceful and "Missionaries…were to enter new lands before all others."[130] The Spanish government supported mission-building monetarily, spending vast sums to further the effort.

Before the Spanish entered the area that became the United States, they undertook efforts to spread Catholicism throughout Central and South America. Through this process the friars learned which techniques worked best with indigenous populations. In part, the Franciscans shifted their focus to the northern frontier because the Crown started replacing them with secular or diocesan clergy in southern areas of New Spain. The reasons for the move were twofold: to cut costs and to make it easier to exploit Indian labor than was possible under the paternalism of the Franciscans.[131] Art historian Samuel Y. Edgerton characterized the Crown's grant permitting the Franciscans to undertake conversion work in New Mexico as "the booby prize." He argued, from the Spanish King's point of view, the region possessed no vast riches and instead contained "rambunctious natives scattered in squalid villages in a vast and lonely desert. If the mendicants still insisted on having their 'primitive church,' let them found it among the pesky savages in the uncivilized wilderness."[132]

Prior to the nineteenth century all of missionaries in New Mexico were Franciscans, and they played a pivotal role in the colonization process. About 250 Franciscan missionaries worked in New Mexico before 1680, most of them were ordained priests.[133] In describing the Spanish efforts to forcibly restructure indigenous society and impose a new religion, historian Michael V. Wilcox concluded: "The brutality of these encounters, here at the extreme edge of empire, was no fiction."[134] The period included numerous instances in which Native peoples actively rebelled against Spanish power, including killing several friars.

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[128] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 94.
[129] Ibid., 95.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Samuel Y. Edgerton, *Theaters of Conversion: Religious Architecture and Indian Artisans in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 249.
[133] John L. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 102.
[134] Wilcox, *The Pueblo Revolt*, 6.

The Founding and Early Efforts of the Franciscans

In 1209, Francis Bernardone, better known as Saint Francis of Assisi, founded the Franciscan order in Italy. Saint Francis lived an existence of simplicity and self-imposed poverty. Franciscans tried to live in a similar fashion, pledging to remain celibate, live only on alms, and abstain from ownership of property. Their vow of poverty included never riding horses, requiring them to walk alongside their pack animals on the long journey north from Mexico City. The friars were distinguished by a uniform consisting of "blue-gray habits with a cowl for warmth in inclement weather and tied with a white cincture."[135]

The Franciscan presence in North America dated to Christopher Columbus's second trip in 1493; the order's work in New Spain began in 1523.[136] The friars felt compelled to travel across the world to "save the souls" of thousands of indigenous people. Historian David J. Weber asserted they were drawn north into New Mexico because "the fringes of empire beckoned especially to those Franciscans who had not lost their apocalyptic zeal for new conversions or their taste for lives of personal deprivation."[137] Many of the missionaries who came to New Mexico "were radicals who believed that Christianity could be reinvigorated through the strictest interpretation of Franciscanism, with its emphasis on severity of discipline, mystical retreat, and abject poverty."[138]

Small numbers of Franciscans (usually no more than fifty at a time in all of New Mexico) wrought enormous changes in the lives of native peoples. As Weber described, "Alone, or with the aid of a single companion and a small military escort, a Franciscan moved into an Indian community and persuaded the residents to construct a temple to an alien god."[139] The pueblos actively resisted the Spanish intrusion in their lives, including killing many Franciscans in New Mexico. The Franciscans viewed these casualties as "martyrs." In spite of such setbacks, the friars persisted, running missions in North America from Florida to California until the end of the Spanish empire in 1821.

Beginning in 1609, the Spanish monarchy monetarily aided the founding and operation of the New Mexico missions: "Through much of the seventeenth century…government-financed caravans of large iron-tired wagons, each pulled by eight oxen, lumbered north from Mexico City every three years, heavy with supplies bound for New Mexico."[140] The wagons carried all kinds of supplies, including metal tools and hardware for building structures; ceremonial items such as candles, bells, and musical instruments; and personal items for the padres such as hats, medicines, sackcloth, and European foods. Assistance for the missions also included stationing soldiers and administrative officials in areas where conversion of Indians was underway.[141] The Franciscans' ability to call on Spanish soldiers for assistance was one way in which they were able to establish power and control over the indigenous populations. During their initial contact, the Spanish proved indigenous resistance to colonization would not be tolerated and would be met with sometimes shocking acts of brutality, including amputation, enslavement, public whipping, and execution.

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[135] Felix D. Almáraz, Jr. "Transplanting 'Deep, Living Roots': Franciscan Missionaries and the Colonization of New Mexico—the Fledgling Years, 1598–1616," in Thomas J. Steele, Paul Rhetts, and Barbe Awalt, eds., *Seeds of Struggle/Harvest of Faith* (Albuquerque: LPD Press, 1998), 8.

[136] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 94.

[137] Ibid., 95.

[138] Ramon A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1991), 66.

[139] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 105.

[140] Ibid., 111; and France V. Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexico Missions in the Seventeenth Century," *New Mexico Historical Review* 5 (1930): 93-115, 186-210, 386-404.

[141] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 112.

The Missionization Process

"Missionization" is the process by which the Franciscans established missions and undertook the conversion of indigenous people. Missions not only served as centers for worship but also functioned as schools for educating native people in religion, Latin and Spanish languages, and Spanish culture. The Franciscans placed a particular focus on educating young people, believing they had a better chance of converting those less rooted in their beliefs.

The process of conversion entailed many steps. During the initial stage, missionaries tried to impress the natives with gifts and ceremonies. This worked especially well in Pueblo society, where the exchange of gifts traditionally bestowed power onto the gift-giver. Those accepting gifts were expected to reciprocate. Weber found "in all stages of a mission's development, gifts, ceremony, and showy display remained important."[142] Priests made many claims about their powers, including the ability to bring rain and cure illnesses through prayer. They also brought domesticated animals the Pueblo peoples had not seen or had access to before.

The Franciscans also established control by making a special effort to gain the confidence of native leaders and exploiting the existing power structure. The friars especially tried to win over younger natives, known as juniors, and to discredit and weaken the older generation, the seniors. This process was not new: "As in Mexico in the previous century, the padres offered gifts to woo the youths to the Church, turning them against their elders doctrinally and providing them with wealth and status that upturned Pueblo society."[143]

The Franciscans required indigenous people to renounce their traditional religions and to destroy all symbols of them, including ceremonial masks and prayer sticks. Fray Alonso de Benavides reported in one day he burned "more than a thousand idols of wood."[144] The friars attempted to systematically purge such objects:

> The priests used their authority to suppress as much of Pueblo religion as they could, destroying whatever ceremonial aspect they found objectionable—e.g., the masks worn in many rituals—and coercing the Puebloans to participate in Catholic services. The padres burned thousands of religious objects, storming the kivas periodically and confiscating masks and statuary. The Franciscans used whipping and other forms of corporal punishment to expunge aboriginal *religiousness* from Indian culture, especially those aspects of religious expression that the priests found inappropriately sensual.[145]

In addition to destroying the symbols of the Pueblo religion, the friars instigated "the total reorganization of Indian life through intensive religious, political, and economic education at a doctrina (Indian parish)."[146] To foster efficiency and better monitor their congregants, the missionaries attempted to concentrate widely scattered Indian villages into a few larger settlements known as *reducciones*. During the 1600s, the number of villages in the Pueblo region dropped from 150 to 43.[147]

Once a priest established some control at his mission, he began the process of teaching Catholicism. Many friars relied primarily on a 1546 catechism, Fray Alonso de Molina's "Doctrina Christiana," for guidance in how to best educate the Indians. They instructed the converts to memorize "the fourteen articles of faith, the

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[142] Ibid., 108.
[143] Vecsey, *On the Padres' Trail* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996), 128.
[144] Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away*, 72
[145] Vecsey, *On the Padres' Trail*, 130.
[146] Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away*, 74.
[147] Ibid.

commandments of God and of the Church, the mortal and venial sins, the cardinal virtues, the works of mercy, and the powers of the soul and its enemies—the world, the Devil, and the flesh."[148]

Historian Michael V. Wilcox argued that such complexity and language barriers made it "unlikely that in these early years the Pueblos conceived of Catholicism by the same terms as Spaniards." Successful "conversions" may have been relatively superficial, manifested as they were:

> . . . through participation in highly routinized, ritual practices; baptism required neither a clear awareness on the part of the participants as to the significance of the act, nor any intellectual or spiritual transformation. Beyond the veneration of the cross and respect for the clergy, there was no attempt made to indoctrinate the Pueblos in the intricate theological principles that characterized European Catholicism."[149]

Although the priests' goal was to lead the people to Christianity, they also were intent on changing the way that the natives lived. The "Royal Orders for New Discoveries" of 1573 specified Indians should be taught:

> To live in a civilized manner, clothed and wearing shoes…given the use of bread and wine and oil and many other essentials of life—bread, silk, linen, horses, cattle, tools, and weapons, and all the rest that Spain has had. Instructed in the trades and skills with which they might live richly.[150]

"A Harvest of Reluctant Souls"

Missionaries generally painted a positive picture of the conversion process, particularly the way that the settlers treated the indigenous people. Alluding to Fray Benavides's *Memorial* on the status of missionization in 1630, Vecsey observed: "It was what the Franciscans wished to happen under their charge; what did occur in the doctrinas was somewhat different."[151] Claims of the number of converted Catholics seem to be greatly exaggerated. The fact that the Pueblos revolted again and again over a century indicates they did not easily accept the Spaniards' forced imposition of religion or their worldview. Landscape architect Baker H. Morrow deemed the process "a harvest of reluctant souls."[152]

Some Pueblo Indians accepted parts of the Catholic religion without embracing it completely, and, especially in the early years, some friars tolerated a melding of the two belief systems to a certain extent. The converts picked and chose things that they liked about the new religion, including gifts the Franciscans brought into their lives and the protection priests offered against rival native tribes and Spanish soldiers. They did not share the missionaries' view that acceptance of a new religion represented a rejection of their traditional spirituality. As Weber observed, "…Many natives simply added Jesus, Mary, and Christian saints to their rich pantheons and welcomed the Franciscans into their communities as additional shamans."[153]

A few Franciscans were critical of the situation in New Mexico. Fray Juan de Escalona in a 1601 letter to the Viceroy asserted Governor Oñate's administration treated the Indians poorly, including forcing the converts to give them blankets and corn, even as the people themselves were dying of starvation:

> …we cannot preach the gospel now, for it is despised by these people on account of our great offenses and the harm we have done them. At the same time it is not desirable to abandon this

[148] Ibid., 81.
[149] Wilcox, *The Pueblo Revolt*, 140.
[150] Quoted in Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 106.
[151] Vecsey, *On the Padres' Trail*, 128.
[152] Benavides, *A Harvest of Reluctant Souls*.
[153] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 117.

> land, either for the service of God or the conscience of his majesty since many souls have already been baptized…. we had consumed all the corn that the Indians had saved during the preceding six years, because there has not been a week since we came here that we have not used up from fifty to sixty fanegas[154] of corn, and when the governor and the rest of the people were here we consumed upwards of eighty fanegas. As a result of this, the Indians have reached the state of famine…[155]

Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco reported in 1608: "…I learned of the small harvest in souls obtained thus far and how little the number would grow in a very long time because of the fact that the natives had so little desire for the gospel and the friars so little inclination to learn the many languages of those few people."[156] Noting the violence, animosity, and resistance that met the friars, theologian David K. O'Rourke concluded that the Franciscans "did not expect to be as unwelcome as they were nor that their lives would be as difficult as they turned out to be. And they certainly never expected that the land itself would be as poor and as harsh as it proved to be."[157]

As Weber indicated, the efforts of the Franciscans to convert native peoples generally were accompanied by the continued presence of Spanish soldiers, who also helped prevent backsliding into apostasy.[158] The soldiers also were utilized for administering corporal punishment and keeping Indians confined at the mission pueblos. At the same time that the Spanish Crown employed missionaries to further its ends, the native people also manipulated the friars to serve their purposes, such as providing protection from the raids of other tribes, while also resisting efforts to extinguish their religion and culture.[159] In addition to passive resistance, such as undertaking small acts that made life unpleasant for the missionaries, Indians forcefully rebelled by killing the priests and destroying missions. The Jémez joined the 1680 Pueblo revolt, when "in a display of unity that astonished the Spaniards, Pueblos forcibly evicted all Hispanics and sent them retreating down the Rio Grande to El Paso."[160]

The Jémez People and Gíusewa Pueblo

Franciscan missionaries sought out areas with sufficiently large numbers of inhabitants to make worthwhile construction of a mission and conversion of the people. The Jémez (or Hemish) occupied the large village of Gíusewa in the rugged canyon and mesa country forty to fifty miles west of present-day Santa Fe. "Jémez" means "people" in Towa, a dialect of the Tanoan language group spoken by the people.[161] The Jémez creation story tells of the people emerging from the underworld through a lake called Hoa-sjela in northwestern New Mexico.[162] After living in that vicinity for "untold centuries," an extended period of drought led the Jémez to move further south. The archeological record suggests a Jémez presence in the general vicinity of Gíusewa beginning about the late 1200s.[163] It is believed the Jémez established the pueblo about A.D. 1450–1500.

Tribal oral history indicates a social organization of clans and extended families who cooperated in raising and obtaining food: "They supplemented their diet of game animals with cultivated produce such as squash and a

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[154] The *fanega,* a measure of dry capacity, varied between one and two bushels.

[155] John L. Kessell and Rick Hendricks, eds., *The Spanish Missions of New Mexico, Vol. 1: Before 1680* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991), 128-30.

[156] Quoted in ibid., 135.

[157] David K. O'Rourke, *How America's First Settlers Invented Chattel Slavery: Dehumanizing Native Americans and Africans with Language, Laws, Guns, and Religion* (New York: Peter Lang, 2005), 112-12.

[158] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 112.

[159] Ibid., 115.

[160] Ibid., 122.

[161] Elliott, "*Pueblo at the Hot Place*," 12.

[162] Joe S. Sando, *Nee Hemish: a History of Jémez Pueblo* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 4.

[163] Elliott, "*Pueblo at the Hot Place*," 12.

type of corn, as well as with berries and other wild products from the land and forest."[164] They also wove cotton cloth, and made pottery. Fray Zárate Salmerón, who served among the Jémez, found their diet included venison, hare, turkey, quail, partridges, bear, and many types of fish. Crops were stored for winter use.[165]

Archeologist Michael Elliott, noting the presence of more than 50 known Jémez pueblo sites at 7,000′ to 8,000′ elevation in the vicinity of Jémez Springs, remarked:

> This culture is unique because of the original way the Jémez used the high-altitude farmlands on which they lived, and they lived and farmed at a higher elevation than any other pueblo people in history or prehistory. They developed an ingenious system of dispersed small fields in a variety of locations to provide them with the maximum amount of corn and other crops their land could produce.[166]

According to Pueblo historian Joe S. Sando, a fundamental tenet of Jémez religious belief is a "continuity of the harmonious relationship with the world in which they live."[167] Various societies within the tribe (such as the Arrow and Eagle groups) exist to maintain this harmony between the people and the spiritual world on such matters as fertility, weather, hunting, and health. Underground kivas, such as those found at Gíusewa, played an important role in spiritual practices. Vecsey, discussing Pueblo religions generally, elaborated:

> Each of these pueblos was a tightly knit society with numerous sodalities that enforced the will of the group in order to foster cooperation in distributing meager water resources and arable lands. The religious lives of these peoples expressed the overriding concern for fertilization through seasonal ceremonies and rites of initiation into the various sodalities. Priesthoods upheld cultural values, kept calendars, and passed down myths and esoteric knowledge, and elaborate masquerades maintained symbolic contact between the spiritual sources of life and the Pueblo communities.[168]

Fray Alonso de Benavides, custodian and commissary of the New Mexico missions, characterized the Jémez as "one of the most indomitable and belligerent of the whole kingdom and very great idolators."[169] In 1874, ex-governor Hosta of Jémez Pueblo spoke with a visitor concerning the history of the tribe:

> If you wish to see what a great people we once were (*que gran pueblo los Jémez eran*), you must go upon the mesa and into the canons of the vicinity, where ruins of our forefathers are numerous. Our people were a warlike race, and had many fights not only with the Spaniards but also with other Indian tribes, the Navajos and Taos for instance, and were thus reduced to this pueblo of Jémez, which now forms the last remnant.[170]

Gíusewa is a Towa word meaning "at the hot place," reflecting the proximity of thermal springs. Geographer Elinore M. Barrett found Rio Grande pueblo peoples at the time of Spanish contact lived in "clusters of terraced

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[164] Sando, *Nee Hemish*, 7.
[165] Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, *Relaciones*, (Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1966), 57.
[166] Michael L. Elliott, *Jémez* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1993), 4.
[167] Sando, *Nee Hemish*, 8.
[168] Vecsey, *On the Padres' Trail*, 123.
[169] Alonso de Benavides, *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634,* ed. and trans. Frederick Webb Hodge, George P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945), 69.
[170] Oscar Loew, "Report on the Ruins in New Mexico," in Frederick W. Putnam, ed., *The Pueblo Ruins and the Interior Tribes* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1879. Abstracted from *Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers for 1875, Report upon U.S. Geographical Surveys West of the 100th Meridian* (Wheeler Surveys), vol. 7, Appendix LL), 342-43.

multistory roomblocks separated by plazas that contained subterranean religious structures called kivas."[171] A 1581 Spanish account described a settlement of 100 houses at Gíusewa, which might have comprised 200 to 300 rooms housing 500 to 800 inhabitants.[172]

Spanish Colonial Exploration and Contact with the Jémez

For many years Spanish authorities in New Spain were tantalized by reports of fabulous wealth in the lands to the north. In 1540, when Francisco Vásquez de Coronado journeyed north in search of the fabled Seven Cities of Cibola, the ancestral Jémez people were distributed about their prehistoric homeland in at least nine pueblos, including Gíusewa.[173] As Coronado and his troops moved slowly through New Mexico in 1540–1541, they did not find the golden cities promised in the account of Fray Marcos de Niza, who had reconnoitered the area in 1539. However, they made the first recorded contact with the Jémez people in the fall of 1541. Pedro de Casteñada, who chronicled the Coronado expedition, described the encounter:

> Soon after Don Tristan de Arellano reached Tiguex [the southern Tiwa homeland near Bernalillo, New Mexico] in the middle of July 1541, he ordered that provisions be gathered for the approaching winter. He sent Captain Francisco de Barrionuevo with some men up the river towards the north. He found two provinces, one of which was called Hemes, containing seven pueblos, and the other Yuque-yunque. The pueblos of Hemes came out peaceably and furnished provisions.[174]

This first Spanish contact was brief. Four decades passed before two other Spanish expeditions visited the Jémez: the Rodriguez-Chamuscado party in 1581 and the Espejo-Beltrán expedition in 1583. None of these early contacts resulted in a permanent Spanish presence in the Jémez area. The Rodrigues-Chamuscado expedition apparently visited Gíusewa, which they called Baños (baths) because of its location near the hot springs:[175]

> In the valley of Santiago we found another pueblo, with one hundred houses, two and three stories high…. These natives were similar to the people we had met before, with equally abundant provisions as well as the same type of clothes and government. They had idols, bows and arrows, and the other weapons mentioned in connection with the provinces already described.[176]

Establishment and Operation of a Mission at Gíusewa

The Initial Church of Fray Lugo

In 1598, New Mexico became a Spanish colony under Don Juan de Oñate, and efforts to establish missions and convert the indigenous population began. In September 1598, Franciscan Fray Alonso Martínez, head of the pioneering group of missionaries who accompanied Oñate, appointed Fray Alonso de Lugo as the first priest to serve the Jémez pueblos.[177] Only five friars came with Oñate, and Lugo's appointment to the Jémez reflected the perceived importance of the province to the missionization effort. Lugo's responsibilities also included ministering to the Apaches and the Cocoyes (believed to have been a Plains Indian tribe). In October 1601,

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[171] Elinore M. Barrett, Conquest and Catastrophe: Changing Rio Grande Settlement Patterns in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 8.

[172] Elliott, *Jémez*, 7.

[173] Barrett, Conquest and Catastrophe, 43.

[174] Quoted in Hammond and Rey, *Narratives,* 244.

[175] Elliott believes Baños is Gíusewa based on Espejo's description and itinerary in his journal (Elliott, *Jémez*, 7).

[176] Quoted in George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico, 1580-1594* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966), 224.

[177] George P. Hammond, "Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 1 (1926): 320.

Captain Bartolomé Romero testified Lugo preached and taught prayers to the Jémez in a church the friar erected. In 1938, historian France V. Scholes concluded Lugo must have resided in one of the Jémez pueblos for some time but the location of the church, "probably a rude structure," was uncertain.[178] Based on an analysis of the archeological evidence, Ivey determined Lugo built his church at Gíusewa.[179] Fray Lugo's construction took place between his arrival in late 1598 and his departure in the spring of 1601.

In 1601, most of the Franciscan friars left New Mexico, citing Oñate's "arbitrary and repressive" administration as a reason for not making greater headway in converting the native population. Oñate supporters argued the minimal progress stemmed from a lack of effort on the part of some friars and pointed to Lugo's accomplishments among the Jémez as a success story. Lugo left the Jémez and New Mexico by March 1601. Between 1601 and 1621, missionary efforts among the Jémez appear to have ceased. Scholes concluded the Jémez mission was probably abandoned between 1601 to 1610; a 1614 account still refers to the Jémez as *infieles* (infidels or unconverted), suggesting no missionary presence there.[180]

Erection of a Substantial Mission Complex by Fray Zárate Salmerón

Franciscan missionary work in the Jémez region resumed in the fall of 1621, with the arrival of Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón.[181] Born on the Gulf Coast of Mexico in Rio Alvarado in the mid-1550s, Zárate Salmerón was a *criollo*, a person born in New Spain of Spanish parents. He became a Franciscan priest, completing his novitiate and professing his vows at the Convento Grande of Mexico City on October 6, 1579.[182] He designed and constructed two large causeways in Mexico in the early 1600s: one at Ecatepec (*"viente* [*sic*] *varas de ancho, y cerca de dos leguas"* or roughly 55′ by 5.2 miles) in 1603 or 1604, followed by a similar one at Xuchimilco.[183] By the time Zárate Salmerón came to the Jémez area, he was in his late 60s.

Applying his construction knowledge to the assignment at Gíusewa, Zárate Salmerón developed a building plan and used native labor to erect what was planned as a large permanent church mission complex, incorporating part of Lugo's church and *convento*.[184] Each friar erecting a church on the New Mexico frontier received a standard set of tools and hardware. Materials specified in 1631, for example, included ten axes, three adzes, ten hoes, a medium-sized saw, a chisel, two augers, a box plane, nails and tacks of assorted sizes, and door and window hardware. Each mission also received a 200-pound bronze bell.[185] Stone axes were traditionally used by the Jémez for roughly shaping stones. To lay out the building plan on the ground, friars used a magnetic compass, plumb bob, stakes, and a measuring cord (a *cordel*, measuring 50 *varas*, roughly 140′ in length).[186]

Ivey described the construction technique displayed at San José de los Jémez as "wall and beam," consisting of "stone walls and flat, beam-supported, earth-covered roofs…"[187] Following traditional Pueblo practices, construction of building walls fell to Jémez women, as well as children who did light fetch and carry tasks.

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[178] France V. Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexico Missions in the Seventeenth Century," 62.

[179] Ivey, "Un Templo Grandioso," 2.

[180] Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexico Missions," 61-63.

[181] Zárate Salmerón's first name is sometimes cited as "Jerónimo."

[182] Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa, "Becerro General Menológico y Cronológico de Todos los Religiosos que de las Tres Parcialidades Conviene, a Saber Padres de España, Hijos de Provincia, y Criollos, Ha habido en esta Santa Provincia del Santo Evangelio desde su Fundación hasta el Presente Año de 1764," Ms, p. 164, 177, Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.

[183] Farwell, "An Architectural History," 25-26

[184] Given the absence of detailed contemporary descriptions and accounts, information on the construction and operation of the church must be gleaned from surviving seventeenth-century writings, the physical remains of the building, and archeological investigations.

[185] Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexico Missions;" and Ivey, *In the Midst of a Loneliness,* 39-40.

[186] Ivey, *In the Midst of a Loneliness*, 45-46.

[187] Ibid., 35.

Women also applied mud plaster. The men cut and placed the wood roof beams (*vigas*) and crosspieces (*latillas*) and created interior woodwork.

There are no detailed contemporary descriptions of San José de los Jémez, but Fray Alonso de Benavides, who served as custodian and commissary of the New Mexico missions from 1623–29, penned a *Memorial* in 1630 and a slightly revised account in 1634 containing brief descriptions of the church. The 1630 *Memorial* called the mission dedicated to San José "a breathtaking, sumptuous, and distinguished church and friary."[188] The 1634 version recognized Zárate Salmerón by name, stating "he founded an interesting convent and a very sumptuous church in the principal pueblo [of the Jémez] dedicated to Saint Joseph."[189] Ivey produced drawings depicting the mission's appearance in the 1620s (Figures 4 and 5). Figure 6 is a perspective conjectural view of the mission complex created by artist Regina Tatum Cooke in the late 1930s or early 1940s.

Daily Activities at the Mission

While no contemporary descriptions of daily life at San José de los Jémez exist, it is likely to have followed the highly structured and standardized practices found in other Franciscan missions. Historian Ramon A. Gutiérrez conjectured a typical day:

> Every morning at dawn a bell summoned Indian children to church. A lesson in tidiness began the day. The edifice was swept and cleaned, and when it passed inspection, the children took up the 'ways of civilization…reading, writing, and singing, as well as playing all kinds of musical instruments'… The morning was punctuated by another bell calling all the villagers to Mass. After Mass, the parish census was reviewed to insure that all except those with valid excuses attended instruction. When the day's lesson was complete the Indians went home and returned at dusk for vespers. The neophytes' day ended with singing the praises of God.[190]

Fray Alonso de Benavides painted a quite positive picture of mission life in his 1630 *Memorial*:

> Today, to the honor and glory of Our Lord God, and thanks to the kind care that we clerics have exercised with the Indians, they are well taught in the doctrines of the church and are Christians. When we ring the bell for mass, they all come as well scrubbed and neat as can be. They enter the church to pray as though they had been Christians forever.[191]

Benavides reported the Indians would go to confession, readying themselves "by studying their own sins, bringing them along recorded on a series of knotted strings."[192] Benavides described the friars' work of organizing the construction of missions and the process of converting the Indians: "The priests likewise teach the children to read and write, as well as to sing" and provide instruction in such trades as "tailor, cobbler, carpenter, smith, and all the rest."[193] Native laborers were essential to a mission's operation. Benavides noted that in addition to the friar assigned to a mission, "more than twenty Indians, devoted to the service of the church, live with him in the convent. They take turns in relieving one another as porters, sextons, cooks, bell-ringers, gardeners, refectioners, and in other tasks."[194] An active role was also played by women, who "served the priests as auxiliaries, cleaned the church and its altar linens, baked the communion bread, prepared food for feasting, and witnessed men's power to communicate with the gods."[195] Gutiérrez concluded women lost much

[188] Benavides, *A Harvest of Reluctant Souls*, 29.
[189] Benavides, *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial*, 69.
[190] Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away*, 81.
[191] Benavides, *A Harvest of Reluctant Souls*, 42.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid., 91.
[194] Benavides, *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial*, 100.
[195] Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away*, 78.

of the power they had previously held in traditional Pueblo culture, including "their exclusive rights to land, to child labor, to seeds, and even to children."[196]

The church required a percentage of the labor and products of the Indians be given to the church, with surpluses sold by the friars. Fray Benavides elaborated: "For the support of all the poor of the pueblo, the friar makes them sow some grain and raise some cattle, because if he left it to their discretion, they would not do anything. Therefore the friar requires them to do so and trains them so well, that, with the meat, he feeds all the poor and pays the various workmen who come to build the churches."[197] Many did not willingly embrace such labor, as Weber noted: "In New Mexico, when Gov. Bernando Lopez de Mendizabal prohibited involuntary labor at the missions in 1659, many Pueblos quit, unwilling to work even for wages. So many Pueblos stopped work that the mission livestock suffered heavy losses for lack of herders."[198]

Benavides described at length the regimented nature of daily mission life in his 1634 Memorial:

> In every pueblo where a friar resides, he has school for the teaching of praying, singing, playing musical instruments, and other interesting things. Promptly at dawn, one of the Indian singers, whose turn it is that week, goes to ring the bell for the Prime, at the sound of which those who go to school assemble and sweep the rooms thoroughly. The singers chant the Prime in the choir. The friar must be present at all of this and takes note of those who have failed to perform this duty, in order to reprimand them later. When everything is neat and clean, they again ring the bell and each one goes to learn his particular specialty; the friar oversees it all, in order that these students may be mindful of what they are doing. At this time those who plan to get married come and notify him, so that he may prepare and instruct them according to our holy council; if there are any, either sick or healthy persons, who wish to confess in order to receive communion at mass, or who wish anything else, they come to tell him. After they have been occupied in this manner for an hour and a half, the bell is rung for mass. All go into the church, and the friar says mass and administers the sacraments. Mass over, they gather in their different groups, examine the lists, and take note of those who are absent in order to reprimand them later. After taking the roll, all kneel down by the church door and sing the *Salve* in their own tongue. This concluded, the friar says: 'Praised be the most holy Sacrament,' and dismisses them, warning them first of the circumspection with which they should go about their daily business.[199]

Zárate Salmerón's Accomplishments

Fray Zárate Salmerón summarized his work in New Mexico in his ca. 1629 *Relaciones*:

> Wishing to finish my days among the heathens, preaching the word of God, for about eight years sacrificed myself to the Lord among the heathens of New Mexico. And having learned there the language of the Hemex [Jémez] Indians, where I composed the Christian Doctrine, and prepared all the other important things for the ministry, in order to administer the Holy sacraments among those natives, and having baptized in that nation 6,566 souls, without counting the many that I baptized in the pueblo of Cia [Zia], and Santa Ana, of the Queres nation, I alone conquered and pacified El Peñol de Acoma that sustained a war with the Spaniards, building churches and convents, along with other things that merit remembering, as are evident by accounts.[200]

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[196] Ibid., 79.
[197] Benavides, *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial*, 102.
[198] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 123.
[199] Benavides, *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial*, 101.
[200] Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, *Relaciones,* 26.

In addition to his pastoral duties, the friar also examined the region for resources of interest to the Spanish Crown, noting "in all the mountains of the Hemex [Jémez], there is nothing but mines," including silver, copper, lead, magnet stone, copperas, alum, sulphur, and turquoise.[201]

Unlike more densely populated areas of New Mexico along the Rio Grande, the Jémez region presented particular challenges for Zárate Salmerón's missionary activities, since most of the inhabitants lived in villages on the mesa tops. Architect Marc Treib explained: "The missionaries were few (only one in the beginning), and the distances to be traveled between the various pueblos were too great to maintain either rigorous religious or military control."[202] To address this situation the friar attempted to concentrate the outlying population by establishing a *reducción* pueblo and mission named San Diego de la Congregación, probably at what is now Walatowa (Jémez Pueblo). The location would have been developed by and for the residents of many of the mesa top villages to the east of Jémez Canyon, such as Seshukwa and Kiatsukwa. Both villages were occupied in the early 1600s and were difficult to access from Gíusewa.[203] In 1623, the San Diego mission burned, and the Jémez moved back up to their former mesa top homes.

It should be noted that some recent researchers advance a theory that San José de los Jémez and San Diego de la Congregación were different names used for the mission at Gíusewa Pueblo.[204] One rationale for this position is the fact that there are four seventeenth-century mission names for the Jémez Province, but only three known mission sites, leading to the conclusion that one mission site (i.e., the one at Gíusewa) had two different names. Ivey supports this position by pointing to: physical changes observed at San Jose that are similar to changes at other missions associated with Franciscan policy occurring after the accepted abandonment date for San José; questions concerning the translation of the relevant passages in the Benavides memorials of 1630 and 1634; and the lack of archeological evidence at the supposed site of San Diego (Jémez Pueblo) supporting its presence prior to 1706.[205]

The hypothesis runs counter to the explanation developed by Bloom in 1938 and endorsed by Scholes the same year, which continues to have broad support. To embrace the alternative theory requires rejection of Fray Benavides's statement that there were two missions in operation in 1629 in the Jémez area at the same time, one at a pueblo that was newly founded (San Diego). Gíusewa has a prehistoric component, while no evidence of prehistoric occupation has ever been found at Walatowa. In regard to this issue, anthropologist Elsie C. Parsons's 1925 map of Jémez Pueblo (Walatowa) labeled a location "Old Church."[206] This could well refer to the site of the San Diego de la Congregación mission, the fourth location, but the feature has never been excavated or investigated. However, if the Ivey/Farwell interpretation is correct, then "Franciscan and Jémez occupation continued at Gíusewa up to the Revolt, and all the events associated with San Diego de la Congregación happened here [at San José], as well as the events of the Revolt itself."[207]

From 1623–1626, Zárate Salmerón apparently worked out of San José, ministering to at least some of the Jémez and to Santa Ana and Zia pueblos. He received supplies on the 1625 supply train and, in 1626, was still

[201] Ibid., 56.
[202] Treib, *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico*, 244.
[203] Elliott, "San José de los Jémez Mission," 30.
[204] Ivey, "Un Templo Grandioso"; and Farwell, "An Architectural History."
[205] James E. Ivey, personal communication, 2011.
[206] Elsie Clews Parsons, *The Pueblo of Jémez*, Papers of the Phillips Academy Southwestern Expedition 3 (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1925).
[207] James E. Ivey, personal communication, 2011.

identified as "guardian of the convent of San José of the Jémez."[208] The friar returned to Mexico later that year and wrote his *Relaciones* during 1627–29.

Fray Arvide at San José de los Jémez and the Abandonment of the San José Mission

Fray Martín de Arvide became priest at San José about 1628. Arvide, a native of Spain, took his vows at the Convento Grande in Mexico City in June 1612.[209] An experienced missionary, he arrived in New Mexico in 1621 and served at Picuris (1621–25), Santo Domingo (1625), and Piro (1627–28).[210] Arvide's work among the Jémez included reestablishing San Diego de la Congregación in 1628, and forcing the Jémez to re-occupy its valley site.[211] Based on Benavides's 1630 *Memorial*, the missions of San José and San Diego were both in use until at least 1629, when he summarized the situation:

> We gathered this tribe into two pueblos—namely, San José, which was still standing, with a breathtaking, sumptuous, and distinguished church and friary, and San Diego de la Congregación, which for our purposes we founded anew, taking to it the Indians who once had been part of that nation but had gone astray. We gave them houses already built, along with food and sustenance for several days and plowed fields for their seed plots… And so today that congregation constitutes one of the best towns in the Indies, with its church, friary, and schools teaching all the trades that may also be found elsewhere. And although over half of this nation has died, Your Majesty may still count here on more than three thousand newly assembled taxpayers.[212]

In 1632 Fray Arvide was killed while traveling to the Zipia region.[213] San José de los Jémez appears to have been abandoned for regular use at some point during 1632-39.[214] San Diego then became "the center of missionary activity among the Jémez."[215] The mission of San José may have been used intermittently afterwards, perhaps as a *visita* of San Diego.[216] Gíusewa continued to be occupied by the Jémez, who apparently adapted part of the *convento* for pueblo use during the period 1640–80, including conversion of a room to a square above-ground kiva. The pueblo remained occupied until, if not after, the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, as confirmed by the presence of substantial numbers of ceramics dating to the period 1650–1700. The Jémez probably abandoned it gradually, most likely due to raids and harassment by Navajos and population declines.[217]

Abandonment of Gíusewa Pueblo and Later Jémez History

The Jémez were active participants in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, although the San Juan medicine man Popé became nominal leader of the insurgents. The Jémez killed one of their missionaries, Fray Juan de Jesus, at San Diego de los Jémez and assisted in driving the Spaniards out of New Mexico. Ceramic evidence and tree-ring dating indicate the Jémez apparently abandoned Walatowa and Gíusewa during the period 1680–92 and returned to Astialakwa and Boletsakwa. Refugees from other pueblos were also present at these sites.[218] The

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[208] France V. Scholes and Lansing Bloom, "Friar Personnel and Mission Chronology, 1598–1629," *New Mexico Historical Review* 21 (1945): 68.

[209] Francisco Morales, *Ethnic and Social Background of the Franciscan Friars in Seventeenth-Century Mexico,* Academy of American Franciscan History, vol. 10 (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1973), 54.

[210] Scholes and Bloom, "Friar Personnel and Mission Chronology, 1598–1629," 67, 76-80.

[211] Benavides, Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial, 70.

[212] Benavides, A Harvest of Reluctant Souls, 29.

[213] Scholes and Bloom, "Friar Personnel and Mission Chronology," 76.

[214] Benavides, Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial, 277.

[215] Scholes and Bloom, "Friar Personnel and Mission Chronology," 77.

[216] France V. Scholes, "Notes on the Jémez Missions in the Seventeenth Century," *El Palacio* 44 (1938): 94.

[217] Elliott, "San José de los Jémez Mission," 31.

[218] Julia D. Dougherty, "Refugee Pueblos on the Santa Fe National Forest," Cultural Resources Report 2. (Santa Fe: Santa Fe National Forest, 1980).

Jémez population dropped drastically during the seventeenth century as a result of the Spanish occupation, intertribal warfare, and famine. A reasonable estimate of their numbers in 1598 would be 6,000. Zárate Salmerón claims to have baptized 6,566 Jémez souls by 1626. Benavides' 1630 *Memorial* mentions 3,000 "tithing congregants," possibly omitting children and others. By 1692 the Jémez population was probably no more than 1,000.[219] By 1704, it further declined to only about 300 people.[220]

Governors Otermín (1681) and Cruzate (1688) conducted raids from the Spanish government-in-exile in El Paso into New Mexico and reported the Jémez were living once again high on the mesas. When Diego De Vargas reclaimed New Mexico for Spain in 1692, he spent nearly two years attempting to coax the Jémez back down into the valley, where they could be ministered to and more easily controlled. In July 1694, the Jémez battled the Zia but were defeated. Finally, on July 24, 1694, De Vargas attacked the Jémez village of Astialakwa, splitting his forces and catching the Jémez in a pincer attack.[221] Several Jémez dived off the steep cliffs rather than be captured. Legend has it that either the Virgin of Guadalupe or San Diego appeared and carried the jumpers gently to the ground. The Spaniards killed 84 Jémez and took 361 prisoners in the battle.

De Vargas ordered the Astialakwa pueblo burned, as well as another constructed by Keresans from Santo Domingo on the "same mesa," probably Boletsakwa. The Spaniards took all the livestock and corn from Astialakwa and gave some of it to friendly Keresans who had helped De Vargas. They removed some of the confiscated supplies to Santa Fe for their own use. De Vargas released the prisoners after the Jémez promised to build the pueblo and church at Patokwa referred to as San Diego deal Monte [*sic*]. Another church, called San Juan de los Jémez, probably a crude affair, was built at Walatowa during this period.

On June 4, 1696, the Jémez of Patokwa again revolted and killed their missionary. Retreating to Astialakwa, they repulsed an attack by Don Fernando de Chávez, although they lost 32 warriors.[222] On June 29 of that year a battle ensued in San Diego Canyon, with Captain Miguel de Lara of Zia, and the Alcalde Mayor of Bernalillo leading the Spanish forces. Forty Indians, including eight Acomas, died.[223] Most of the Jémez dispersed after that, some moving in with Navajos in the Gobernador area and others going to pueblos such as Acoma, Zuni, Laguna, and Hopi.

The Jémez people may have completely abandoned the Jémez area from 1696 until sometime between 1703 and 1706. After more than a century of battling the Spanish conquerors, they had lost their battle for sovereignty. Walatowa, the site of modern Jémez Pueblo, was reestablished permanently by 1706. The village of Patokwa may have been occupied as late as 1716, but since then most Jémez people have lived at Walatowa. Jémez use of their former homeland since that time has been for limited activities such as hunting, plant and firewood collecting, and ceremonies.

Nineteenth Century Accounts of Gíusewa and San José de los Jémez

Abandoned in about 1639 and possibly used as a *visita* and for pueblo activities until the late 1600s, San José de los Jémez mission does not reappear in later historical records until the middle of the nineteenth century. When Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez visited and described the New Mexico missions in 1776, San José was not enumerated, indicating it was not used for religious purposes at that time. However, Domínguez included an

[219] Lansing B. Bloom and Lynn B. Mitchell, "The Chapter Elections in 1672," *New Mexico Historical Review* 13 (1938): 98.

[220] Blanche W. Harper, "Notes on the Documentary History, Language, and the Rituals and Customs of Jémez Pueblo" (M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1929), 7-8.

[221] See Manuel J. Espinosa, *Crusaders of the Rio Grande* (Chicago: Institute of Jesuit History, 1942), and John L. Kessell, Rick Hendricks, and Meredith D. Dodge, eds., *Blood on the Boulders: The Journals of Don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1694-97* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998).

[222] Bloom and Mitchell, "The Chapters Elections in 1672," 107.

[223] Sando, *Nee Hemish*, 422.

extensive description of the re-established San Diego mission at Walatowa, whose congregation then included 102 families with 345 persons.[224]

In August 1849, Lt. James Simpson of the U.S. Topographical Corps visited Jémez Pueblo and traveled up the Jémez River as far as Gíusewa and the San José mission. Simpson, whose detachment participated in the first United States military campaign against the Navajo, was the first American to describe the site:

> Twelve miles from Jémez, we came to Los Ojos Calientes… Observing, about a third of a mile above the springs, the ruins of a Catholic mission, we saddled up for the purpose of visiting them. On reaching the spot we found them to be the remains of an old Roman Catholic church, in dimensions about fifty feet front by one hundred and twenty deep. The tower, which was octagonal in form, and which rose up from the middle of the rear end of the building, was still standing, as were also the greater portion of the walls of the main building. The height of the tower I estimated at thirty feet. The thickness of the walls of the main edifice at base measured six feet.[225]

Brothers Richard and Edward Kern assisted Simpson by making sketches and helping with the topographic work. Edward Kern's 1849 drawing of the church (Figure 7) is the earliest known image of the site. The Simpson party discovered ten ruined Pueblo sites on its trek and documented them with drawings, providing dimensions, showing their landscape setting, and indicating their state of preservation. Historian William H. Goetzmann deemed Simpson's pueblo discoveries "one of the most important archaeological finds made in America up to that time."[226]

By the mid-nineteenth century ranchers, sheep-raisers, and farmers operated in the Jémez Springs vicinity. A portion of the convent was utilized as a residence during the second half of the century. During that period, San José de los Jémez drew visitors who took note of the striking site and added to its documentation. Scientist Oscar Loew traveled to the area in about 1874 as part of a U.S. Army geographical survey of the Southwest and described the church: "The walls are fully 7 feet thick, and the interior space 100 feet long by 35 feet wide, with a tower attached on the north side."[227] In about 1880, Santa Fe photographer John K. Hillers took the earliest known photograph of the mission complex (Figure 8), which showed part of the *convento* area occupied by a house and a *ramada*.[228]

San José de los Jémez mission and Gíusewa Pueblo became sites of archeological interest in the late nineteenth century. Although these early investigators produced some observations and collected a few artifacts, they did not conduct any formal excavations. Anthropologist Adolph F. Bandelier made two trips to the area during this period. Visiting the site in July 1888, he described San José de los Jémez and Gíusewa in his journal:

> The church is of stone, and the walls are nearly eight feet thick. It is built against the slope and faces south. To the rear of the choir [*sic*] and half-way up the slope on the north is an octagonal watchtower which was entered from the church and has loopholes. It was two stories high. The convent is all gone, but the high wall remains in part. West of the church, on the slope towards

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[224] Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A Description with Other Contemporary Documents* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956), 176-82.

[225] James H. Simpson, Journal of a Military Reconnaissance from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Navajo Country (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Company, 1852), 19-20.

[226] William H. Goetzmann, *Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1991), 241.

[227] Loew, "Report on the Ruins in New Mexico," 345.

[228] Other early photographs were taken about 1885 by Ben Wittick, followed by a series of images by Charles Lummis and others about 1897.

> the river, lies the ruin of the pueblo. The houses touch the western walls of the church. They were two stories high, walls of rough stones and of mud. Two estufas [kivas] are still visible. All overgrown with very large Opuntia [a type of cactus] and some of them are the largest and tallest specimens I ever saw. The pueblo was not large; it could accommodate about 500 people, and it does not extend to the water's edge. Pottery, obsidian, etc., as usual. Glossy specimens about.[229]

Archeologist William H. Holmes, later head of the Bureau of American Ethnology, stopped in the area in 1889, observing the pueblo site had been disturbed by a road through the area, cultivation, and building construction. He characterized Gíusewa as "a ruined pueblo of considerable importance" and provided a general description of the site:

> At present the chief feature of interest on this site is the ruin of a Spanish church, with its heavy walls and fortress-like tower. It has been constructed of materials derived from the immediate vicinity. The tower and upper parts are of the impure friable limestones of the promontory against which the foundations are built. The lower end of the church and the walled enclosure extend down to the border of the arroyo, and the latter has been built of heterogeneous materials.[230]

Holmes noted the mortar used in the construction of the church contained "fragments of pottery, obsidian chips, and charcoal. A careful examination developed the fact that the pottery contained in the mortar is chiefly of the white ware with black decorations; but there are also some black slightly polished pieces, and much plain gray ware." He reported local residents, notably Dr. J.M. Shields, had undertaken some informal excavation and collection at the site that uncovered many skeletons, numerous pieces of pottery, flutes of bone, and domestic utensils.[231]

Bandelier's second trip to Jémez occurred in October 1891 when he noted recent development: "There are quite a number of Spanish houses about the church, and the arroyo is lined with solid walls, to protect the houses."[232] His journal recounts a visit with Dr. Shields, who showed him through the ruins. Bandelier listed artifacts present, including pieces of pottery (white with black lines), a stone axe of red porphyry or granite, an iron knife, and *metates* and *manos* of lava and sandstone. He reported the ceiling of the church featured "plaited willow work."[233] In his *Final Report* Bandelier provided a summary description of the site:

> In the bottom [of Jémez Canyon] lie the ruins of the old pueblo of Gin-se-ua [sic], with the stately old church of San Diego de Jémez [*sic*].[234] The pueblo was built of broken stone, and formed several hollow quadrangles at least two stories high. It contained about eight hundred inhabitants. The church is a solid edifice, the walls of which are erect to the height of ten or fifteen feet, and in places nearly eight feet thick. It is not as large as the one at Pecos, and behind it, connected with the choir by a passage, rises an octagonal tower, manifestly erected for safety and defence. Nothing is left of the so called "convent" but foundations. The eastern houses of the

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[229] Adolph F. Bandelier, *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier, Vol. 4: 1889-1892,* ed. Charles H. Lange, Carroll L. Riley, and Elizabeth M. Lange (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press; Santa Fe: School of American Research, 1984): July 1888.

[230] Holmes, "Notes on the Antiquities of the Jémez Valley," 205-206.

[231] Ibid.

[232] Adolph F. Bandelier, *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier, Vol. 4: 1889-1892*, eds. Charles H. Lange, Carroll L. Riley, and Elizabeth M. Lange (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press; Santa Fe: School of American Research, 1984), 160. The location of the "Spanish houses" is unclear from Bandelier's description.

[233] Bandelier, *The Southwestern Journals*, October 1891, 160.

[234] Prior to Bloom's 1938 analysis, the site was known as San Diego rather than San José.

> pueblo nearly touch the western walls of the church, and from this structure the village and a portion of the valley could be overlooked, and the sides of the mesas easily scanned.[235]

The area received a post office in 1888, originally called Archuleta and in 1907 changed to its current name, Jémez Springs. In the early twentieth century, efforts to exploit the economic tourism potential of the area's local hot springs began. In the early years of the twentieth century, the church appeared much as it did a quarter century earlier (see Figure 9).

Early Twentieth Century Archeological Investigations and Excavations

During the first decades of the early twentieth century Gíusewa Pueblo became the focus of archeological research, primarily due to its extensive physical remains combined with its accessibility relative to the other ancestral Jémez pueblo sites within the Jémez Valley. Complementary historical research regarding the early period of Spanish expansion determined that Gíusewa also was the link between the ancestral Jémez sites occupied during the late prehistoric period and the Pueblo Revolt-era Jémez sites constructed in the 1680s. Unfortunately, at that time the discipline of archeology had yet to fully adopt the concept of rigorous field recovery methods. A consequence of the now decades-old unearthing of Gíusewa's physical remains was the irretrievable loss of data needed to best interpret the site's period of significance. This problem is exacerbated by the fact that, due to these excavations and later construction activities, site integrity is compromised: perhaps only approximately 20 percent of Gíusewa remains intact. Archeologist Matthew Liebmann, who has conducted extensive research on Jémez ancestral puebloan sites, notes that, depending on what is left, Gíusewa may be the best fit if we want to learn more about the period between 1600 and 1650 among the Jémez.[236]

However, until or unless such a research program is conducted at Gíusewa to define the extent of the remaining resources and their integrity, the existing archeological data are of insufficient quality for meeting the high standards of Criterion 6. Nonetheless, the site does contain a high level of integrity required to meet Criterion 1, and the existing archeological data provides excellent supporting evidence for the significance of the site under this criterion.

1910 Excavations

The first formal excavation at Gíusewa occurred in 1910 as a joint School of American Archaeology (SAA, later School of American Research) and Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) project. Led by Edgar L. Hewett (director of SAA) and Frederick Webb Hodge (director of BAE), the effort focused on excavating burial sites within the pueblo, as described by Hodge:

> About 30 burials were disinterred here, and a few accompaniments of pottery vessels and other artifacts were recovered; but in the main the deposits had been completely destroyed by aboriginal disturbance, caused in part by covering the burials with heavy stones and partly displacing the skeletons previously buried when subsequent interments were made. Gíusewa was inhabited in prehistoric times and also well within the historical period, as is attested by its massive, roofless church, built about the beginning of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, no indication of Spanish influence was found in the ancient cemetery, and it is assumed that burial therein ceased with the coming of the missionaries and the establishment of the campo santa [*sic*]

[235] Adolph F. Bandelier, Final Report of Investigations Among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885. Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, 4, vol. 2 ([Cambridge, Massachusetts]: Archaeological Institute of America, 1892), 204.

[236] Matthew Liebmann, personal communication, 2011.

adjacent to the church. All collections gathered at Gíusewa have been deposited in the National Museum.[237]

Natives of Jémez Pueblo assisted the team until tribal elders ordered them to withdraw from the project after learning that the workers were excavating burials. Hewett stated: "Since it was our desire to continue not only archaeological but ethnological research at Jémez in future years, it was deemed best as a matter of policy to do nothing at this time that would tend to alienate the friendship of the Jémez Indians, and accordingly the work was brought to a close somewhat sooner than otherwise would have been done."[238] Elliott characterized the 1910 work as "organized pothunting," observing that the project produced no field notes, sketch maps showing where the excavations occurred, or photographs.[239]

1921–22 Excavations

In 1921 private landowners conveyed six acres of land containing San José de los Jémez and its surroundings to the Museum of New Mexico and the School of American Research.[240] The institutions immediately pressed forward with excavations led by Lansing Bloom, Wesley Bradfield, and Sam Hudelson of the School of American Research in 1921–22. Bloom, a Presbyterian minister who served at Jémez Springs for a time, developed a great interest in the history and archeology of the area. He possessed no particularly relevant academic training, but eventually became assistant director (under Hewett) of the School of American Research. His specialty lay in the realm of historical research, so the actual extent of his participation in the archeological fieldwork is unclear. It seems most likely that Wesley Bradfield supervised most of the work. Among graduate students participating in the project were: Marguerite Tew (an artist) and Margaret Bard from California, Thomas K. Laird and John H.D. Blanke from Iowa, and Gaylord Huston and J.C. Dinwiddie, architectural students from the University of Michigan. Mrs. Maude (McFie) Bloom, erstwhile playwright, assisted in the study of the ceramics from the site. Indian laborers did most of the physical labor. Little is known of the 1921–22 project's excavation techniques, but workers did lay track and used a small mining car to haul the fill from excavations to the arroyo (Figure 10 and 11).[241]

According to Blanke, the core area of Gíusewa measured about 600′ east (near the west side of the mission) to west (across State Highway NM 4), and 180′ north to south (10,065 m²/108,338 ft²).[242] Elliott compared these figures with the Jémez ancestral pueblo site of Unshagi, located four miles away.[243] Unshagi is the most carefully excavated and reported pueblo site in the Jémez area, with a core area of approximately 4,209 m²/45,305 ft². Reiter excavated 120 ground floor rooms at Unshagi and left an estimated 60 ground floor rooms unexcavated.[244] Elliott believes that Gíusewa originally contained a similar density of ground floor rooms,

[237] Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., "Administrative report," in *Thirty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1910-1911* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), 12-13. The Smithsonian repatriated the human remains collected during the 1910 excavation to the Pueblo of Jemez in 2008. Available from https://naturalhistory.si.edu/research/anthropology).

[238] Edgar L. Hewett, "The Work at Gíusewa, 1910," Ms, p. 3, Laboratory of Anthropology Archives, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

[239] Elliott, "San José de los Jémez Mission," 17.

[240] Mary L. and Hugh S. Miller, "Quitclaim Deed to School of American Research and Museum of New Mexico, 1921," New Mexico Monuments, Santa Fe; and Jémez Land Company, "Quitclaim Deed to School of American Research and Museum of New Mexico, 1921," New Mexico Monuments, Santa Fe.

[241] They apparently did not screen or sift the fill. The backdirt could have been a rich source of tree-ring material and artifacts even today, except for the fact that it was apparently hauled away by a local resident soon after the excavation.

[242] Blanke, "The Jémez Springs Expedition."

[243] Elliott, "San José de los Jémez Mission; Gíusewa Pueblo."

[244] Reiter, "The Jémez Pueblo."

the similarities in setting and chronology for the two sites and calculates that Gíusewa would have had about 438 ground floor rooms in its core area.[245]

The 1921–1922 excavations cleared the fill from the mission church, in part to help preserve it from "further deterioration" and also to recover more museum specimens (see Figure 12).[246] Huston and Dinwiddie produced plan and elevation drawings of the church (see Figures 13 and 14). The murals found in the nave of the church were documented by Blanke with black and white photos (see Figure 15) and by Tew with painted color renderings (see Figure 16). Bloom's 1923 *El Palacio* article described the project findings regarding the church in detail:

> The walls of San Diego de Jémez,[247] as already said, are of stone, the walls varying in thickness from six feet on the west to approximately eight feet on the east, on which side the church as it now stands may have been so built as to incorporate the wall of an older construction either of an earlier church or of a part of the convent which was built before the church itself. One evidence of this is a doorway or window which was blocked up but which can be clearly traced by the curving edges of the old plastering.
>
> The main entrance of the church is approximately eleven feet wide, and the adjacent corners of the main auditorium each measure the same distance from the sides of the doorway…. Along each side of the auditorium were found low piers or pilasters eighteen inches tall and twelve inches square, which may have been used first as pedestals for statuary. At a later period the plastering shows that these pillars were extended up the walls in reduced size to a total height of eight or nine feet. In this later form they were very possibly used to support sconces or candelabra. Near the foot of one pier was found a broken sconce, crudely made of pottery. A similar broken candle-socket was found in one of the two kivas excavated by the expedition…. Only traces of the altar rail were found, but Father Hartman was of the opinion that it shut off the seventh space, which was the place reserved for the use of the clergy. The high altar stands above the main floor, half the unit of measure, and the line of the ceiling is two times that unit above the floor level.
>
> Two floor levels were found in the church, the space between which measured about 3½ inches, being filled with charred wood and other debris. Corresponding with the older floor, traces of an interesting wall decoration were found, and corresponding with the present floor considerable sections of wall decoration were found and recorded (Figures 15 and 16).[248]

The investigators found sheet gypsum, which the early Franciscans used in the place of glass, embedded in ground gypsum at the main entrance and under the openings along each side of the nave. Thin, burned, square and oblong adobe bricks covering steps were discovered outside the front of the church and also on the steps leading to the high altar.[249] These fired adobe bricks, examples of which are on display in the Jémez State Monument Visitor Center, may be the earliest fired bricks in New Mexico.

Bloom described the church tower and other parts of the building. Above the roof of the nave the walls were extended some five or six feet, possibly to afford bulwarks for defense, and north of the chancel, an octagonal

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[245] Elliott, "San José de los Jémez Mission; Gíusewa Pueblo."

[246] Bloom, "The Jémez Expedition of the School," 15.

[247] The name San Diego de los Jémez was used here by Bloom, prior to his 1938 article concluding that this was San José de los Jémez and that San Diego was located at the site of Jémez Pueblo.

[248] Bloom, "The Jémez Expedition of the School," 17.

[249] Ibid., 18.

tower of somewhat irregular measurements still rises nearly fifty feet above the floor level. At the east side of the high altar are two doorways and passages separated by a solid stone wall which runs east and west. The doorway just south of this wall led into the convent. The doorway to the north of it led into a small room which was probably used as the sacristy, and from there passage was afforded by a stairway and trapdoor up to the roof over this room and from there by additional steps to the roof over the chancel and up into the tower; then by a spiral staircase of hewn timber up to the top of the tower. A doorway in the tower overlooks what was formerly the roof of the church and is at a level slightly above the bulwarks or battlements on the sides of the church. Early settlers insist that the tower originally stood some feet higher than it does at present, but even at its present height it gives a commanding view of the old pueblo of Giusewa and the surrounding valley.[250]

The project also excavated some of the convento area east of the church, as described by Bloom:

> In addition to the clearing of the main church of the accumulated debris of some 240 years, the debris outside the east wall of the church was also cleared away, uncovering part of that were the residence quarters of the Franciscans. Instead of several rooms along this side, as had been expected, one room was found eighteen feet in width and extending north for eighty feet before any cross wall was found. Nothing was found in this room to indicate the use to which it had been put. A doorway opens north from this room into one somewhat wider and extending to the division wall already spoken of as separating the two passages from the east side of the chancel. This room has not been completely cleared, but the floor level is several feet below that of the passage way which connects it with the chancel.[251]

Portions of Gíusewa pueblo were also excavated during the project. Reiter states that the pueblo rooms excavated in 1921 formed an L-shaped section on the southwest corner of the site, for the most part adjoining the highway. One room adjacent yielded two Jémez black-on-white "Frog" bowls and a Jémez black-on-white seed bowl. All three of these vessels had ceremonial significance, though the room features were unremarkable.[252] Bloom summarized the 1922 excavations of the pueblo:

> Continuing the work of the preceding season eighteen additional rooms were excavated in the ruins near the road and also two kivas. Twenty-five skeletons were removed and eighty-two numbered artifacts, including bone awls, cloud blowers, shell pendants and beads, pottery and stone implements. Among evidences of early Spanish influence were three pottery dishes of Spanish shape and charred wheat from the floor of kiva No. 2.[253]

The two kivas excavated, apparently under John Blanke's supervision, were the two furthest from the mission, which Bloom termed 1 and 2 and Reiter Alpha and Beta. Kiva 1, the southernmost, featured a low [-shaped altar, a slab-lined pit interpreted variously as a ladder-rest and an ash-pit, one large firepit separated from a smaller one by two upright slabs, and four post holes. The archeologists found a possible sipapu[254] about one meter from the altar, nine useable metates midway in the fill (that had possibly fallen from the plaza above when the kiva roof collapsed), a complete ceremonial water vessel, and two shallow oval-shaped subfloor pits that may have been covered with wood and used as foot vaults, drum-like resonating devices struck by the feet during dances or other ceremonies that produced a deep rumbling sound. Kiva 2, located north of Kiva 1, was smaller and deeper, possessing a 4′-high [-shaped altar that formed parts of three sides of the firepit which had a

[250] Ibid.
[251] Ibid., 19.
[252] Reiter, "The Jémez Pueblo," 81-82.
[253] Bloom, "The Jémez Expedition of the School," 20.
[254] A sipapu is a small hole or indentation in the floor of a kiva symbolizing the place where the mythical tribal ancestors first emerged from the underworld into the earthly realm.

rectangular-shape vent. Other finds from Kiva 2 included rows of loom anchor holes, Jémez black-on-white soup plates (one complete and three partial), two candlesticks or sconces, charred corncobs, small and large mortars, pestles, pounders, a stone jar cover, three axes, and six bone and antler tools.[255]

1935–37 Gíusewa Excavations and Stabilization

In 1935–37 field schools at the site focused on training students in excavation and in stabilizing the site for interpretation. Many students who participated went on to become career archeologists. Archeologist Paul Reiter, who excavated the Jémez pueblo of Unshagi during the same period, summarized the 1935–37 work at Gíusewa:

> In 1935, students of the University of New Mexico Field School, with Dr. Hewett and Dr. Donald D. Brand in charge, dug briefly at Gíusewa in a location immediately adjacent to the earlier room work; and in 1935 also, Mr. Ely [*sic*, Ele] Baker excavated the rooms of the large rectangle of Spanish buildings ("monastery", "convento"), east of the mission proper. Also in connection with the mission repair program (supervised, in part, by Mr. Charles Hutchinson, Mr. Vivian, Mr. Joe Toulouse, et al.), Mr. Francis Elmore excavated a series of rooms adjoining the west wall of the mission. This branch of the project was continued by Mr. Baker during the summer of 1937.[256]

The 1935 Gíusewa excavations took place in a "location immediately adjacent to the earlier room work" according to Reiter,[257] presumably meaning the southwest corner of the pueblo (see Figure 17). From the small number of artifacts recovered it appears that little excavation occurred that year. The students recorded their field school experiences in an amusing series of *El Palacio* articles entitled "Digs."[258]

The 1936 and 1937 efforts at Gíusewa were Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) funded projects. Several University of New Mexico students, including Ele Baker, Francis Elmore, Charles Hutchinson, Joe Toulouse, and Gordon Vivian, supervised the work. Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) workers living at the Battleship Rock Fly Camp did most of the actual excavation and stabilization work.[259] The church walls were stabilized and the wood lintel on the front replaced (see Figures 18 and 19).[260]

Although several people dug at the site in 1936, Francis Elmore is one of the few who wrote a report on his work that has survived.[261] Elmore excavated or partially excavated eight rooms in the pueblo in the section west and adjoining the mission, a kiva, and one large room in the *convento*. A series of photographs taken from the top of the mission shows the excavation in progress and assists in identifying areas excavated. Pueblo rooms yielded children's bones, older floor levels and older wall remains, a bin, and a firepit. The kiva (the third one excavated at Gíusewa but called Kiva 1 by Elmore) had a ventilator, firepit, and two small holes in the north wall. The partially excavated monastery room excavated by Elmore featured four floor levels and two fireplaces.

In 1937, Joe Toulouse and Ele Baker continued their work, excavating 20 pueblo rooms and the terrace of the mission, and rooms in the *convento* and documenting their investigations in field journals, artifact catalogs, plan

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[255] Blanke, "The Jémez Springs Expedition of 1922 at Gíusewa," 12.
[256] Reiter, "The Jémez Pueblo," 81-82.
[257] Ibid., 81.
[258] Jay G. Gentry and Dorothy Luhrs, "'Digs' Number," *El Palacio* 39 (1935): 13-15, 65-75.
[259] Joseph H. Toulouse, Jr., "Two Artifacts from Jémez," *El Palacio* 43 (1937): 107-108.
[260] In regard to the stabilization work, Elliott noted "the same kind of work, some of it done by the same people, was also conducted at Abó and Quarai, also NHLs, and now part of Salinas Pueblos National Monument." (Elliott, "San José de los Jémez Mission; Gíusewa Pueblo,"15).
[261] Elmore, "Excavations at Gíusewa Pueblo."

maps, profiles, room measurements, and descriptions of the fill in the rooms they excavated.[262] Toulouse published two short articles about artifacts from the site.[263] Baker and Toulouse excavated 29 burials and collected 139 individual whole artifacts along with many thousands of sherds, lithics, and bone.[264]

Creation of Jémez State Monument and Later Excavation and Stabilization Projects

In 1935 the State of New Mexico created Jémez State Monument, embracing the six acres on the east side of State Highway 4 acquired by the Museum of New Mexico and the School of American Research in 1921. Workers of the Federal Writer's Program noted the site in *New Mexico: A Guide to the Colorful State.*[265] Hewett and Fisher, in their *Mission Monuments of New Mexico*, opined that "any visit to New Mexico is incomplete unless it includes a trip to Jémez and Jémez Hot Springs and the ruins of the great mission church" (see Figure 20).[266]

The southwest corner of the monument outside the NHL boundary received a new visitor center in 1965, replacing an earlier facility. Attendant to building and waterline construction, excavation of four rooms and several features in the pueblo took place under the supervision of Larry Hammack of the Museum of New Mexico. The artifacts from these excavations are curated at the Museum of New Mexico. Marjorie F. Lambert cleaned, labeled and analyzed the artifacts from the 1965 excavations. Her 1981 article on the Spanish influences in the artifacts from Gíusewa contains some of the results of her analyses.[267] At the same time, Albert G. Ely conducted a major stabilization project at the mission.[268]

During 1977–78 preservation specialists supervised by Thomas J. Caperton, Alan Rorex, and Al Dart excavated and stabilized several features around the mission and *convento*. The artifacts recovered from the excavations are curated at the Museum of New Mexico. In 2001, the monument received a hard surface accessible interpretive trail (see Figure 21). Since record keeping started in 1976, the monument has averaged about 18,000 visitors annually.

According to Richard Reycraft, New Mexico State Monuments Cultural Resources Manager, approximately 80 percent of Gíusewa lies below State Highway 14 or under the Via Coeli chapel immediately west of the highway. Because of the lack of adequate documentation concerning the early work at Gíusewa, it is not known with certainty exactly how much of the site has been excavated or destroyed. It is estimated that the portion of Gíusewa that is within Jémez State Monument is comprised of approximately 200 ground floor rooms. Sixty-two of these rooms, along with three kivas and at least two plaza areas, have been excavated during the various excavation episodes.[269]

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[262] Baker and Toulouse.

[263] Joseph H. Toulouse, Jr., "Excavation at San Diego Mission, New Mexico," *New Mexico Anthropologist* 2, no. 1 (1937):16-18; and "Two Artifacts from Jémez."

[264] Most of the artifacts and other materials from the 1937 dig are curated at the Museum of New Mexico. Whole specimens are in the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, and the bulk items, sherds, bones, and lithics, are curated in the Archaeological Repository. These human remains and associated grave goods are in the process of being repatriated to Jemez Pueblo.

[265] Federal Writers' Program, *New Mexico: A Guide to the Colorful State* (New York: Hastings House, 1940), 367.

[266] Edgar L. Hewett and Reginald G. Fisher, *Mission Monuments of New Mexico*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1943), 175.

[267] Marjorie F. Lambert, "Spanish Influences on the Pottery of San José de los Jémez and Gíusewa, Jémez State Monument (LA 679), Jémez Springs, New Mexico," in Albert H. Schroeder, ed., *Collected Papers in Honor of Erik Kellerman Reed*, Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico, 6 (Albuquerque: Albuquerque Archaeological Society Press, 1981), 215-236.

[268] Ely, "Stabilization of a Mission."

[269] Reycraft, personal communication, 2011.

Comparative Properties

By 1630, Franciscans founded approximately 25 missions serving 90 indigenous pueblos (some as *visitas*) in New Mexico.[270] Most of the early mission churches were destroyed or built over by later structures. James E. Ivey, a National Park Service architectural historian who studied the New Mexico missions for many years, identified eight "substantially surviving seventeenth-century mission churches in the United States," seven in New Mexico and one in Arizona: San José de los Jémez; Nuestra Señora de Purísima Concepción de Cuarac at Quarai; San Gregorio de Abó; Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles de Porciuncula at Pecos; San Estévan del Rey at Acoma; San Isidro and San Buenaventura de las Humanas at Gran Quivira; La Purísima Concepción at Hawikuh; and San Bernardino at Awatovi in Arizona (see Figure 22). [271] San José is the only one of the group not presently listed as an NHL or within a unit of the National Park Service.

The seven mission-pueblo sites selected for comparative purposes were all built and occupied in the seventeenth century, all but San Estévan were abandoned, and six are now NHLs: Nuestra Señora de Purísima Concepción de Cuarac at Quarai; San Gregorio at Abo; San Estévan at Acoma; Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles de Porciuncula at Pecos; La Purísima Concepción at Hawikuh; and San Bernardino (San Bernardo) at Awatovi. Three of the comparable sites are located within the Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument south of Albuquerque: Nuestra Señora de Purísima Concepción de Cuarac, San Gregorio, and San Isidro/San Buenaventura. Each of the sites is discussed below.

San Gregorio de Abó, Torrance County, New Mexico, 88 miles south-southwest of Santa Fe. Listed as an NHL in 1962; part of the Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument (Abó).
Abó, situated in an "open, grassy valley," includes the San Gregorio mission complex and a very large pueblo of the Tompiro people.[272] Continuous occupation of the pueblo began in the 1200s. Formerly a New Mexico State Monument, this site became an NHL in 1962 and is now part of the Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument. The mission remains consist of a red sandstone church and *convento*.

Fray Francisco Fonte arrived at Abó in the fall of 1621. In about 1622–23 he altered some pueblo rooms and constructed others to create a temporary *convento* and began planning a permanent church and *convento* just east of the pueblo. In about 1627–28, Fonte completed the "rather small church [83.5′ x 25′] with a single nave and a *convento* somewhat like those later built at Hawikuh and Halona."[273] In 1629 Fray Francisco de Acevedo joined Fonte, and, by 1634, the friars were administering two *visitas* in the area and leading one of the largest groups of pueblos in New Mexico.[274] During about 1645–49 Acevedo, who had a decade of construction experience in the Salinas basin, doubled the size of the church to about 132′ x 32′, adding side chapels, a larger group of altars, and an expanded sacristy, as well as building a higher roof and altering the fenestration. Notable features included a catwalk extending across the nave, two balconies, and short transepts creating a cruciform plan.[275] A major reconstruction of the *convento* followed.[276] The site was abandoned about 1673 due to Apache raids, much as Gíusewa Pueblo was abandoned due to Navajo raids.

[270] Prince, *The Spanish Mission Churches of New Mexico*, 45-49.
[271] Ivey, *In the Midst of a Loneliness*, 2; and personal communication, 2011.
[272] Francine Weiss, "San Gregorio de Abó," National Register of Historic Places nomination (Santa Fe: National Park Service, Intermountain Regional Office, 1976, draft).
[273] Ivey, *In the Midst of a Loneliness*, 55.
[274] Ibid., 66-67.
[275] Ibid., 67.
[276] Ibid., 91.

San Isidro and San Buenaventura de las Humanas, Socorro County, New Mexico, 97 miles south of Santa Fe. Designated as Gran Quivira National Monument in 1909; now part of the Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument (Gran Quivira).

The Humanas location (now known as Gran Quivira) includes an early church (San Isidro) that originally served as a *visita* and a later, larger church (San Buenaventura) that was never completed. Franciscan Fray Francisco Letrado arrived at the pueblo in 1629 and began construction on a small *convento*, a church, and *campo santo*. During construction, the friar determined that the pueblo's inadequate water supply would not permit development of a full mission complex with livestock and fields, and plans for a full mission were downgraded to a *visita*. Fray Francisco de Acevedo replaced Letrado and by 1634 oversaw completion of the sandstone church, roughly 108′ x 35′ with 30′ high walls.[277]

The late 1650s brought renewed support for Franciscan efforts in New Mexico. Fray Diego de Santander arrived at Las Humanas in 1659, charged with building a new expanded mission complex at the pueblo. Construction extended during 1660–67, although Santander left in 1662, after the walls were completed for a new *convento* and some rooms were roofed. Work continued under an unnamed friar, who was succeeded by Fray Joseph de Paredes in 1666. In 1667, when the church walls had risen to 18′ to 20′ in height, work stopped as drought and famine struck the pueblo. The church was never completed. Apaches raided the pueblo in 1670, and it was abandoned in 1672.[278] According to Ivey, the earlier San Isidro church "with its thin walls quickly became a mound of rubble."[279]

Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Cuarac, Quarai, Socorro County, New Mexico, 78 miles south-southwest of Santa Fe. Listed as an NHL in 1962; part of the Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument (Quarai).

Quarai consists of a mission known as Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Cuarac, completed in 1629, and a large pueblo of the Tiwa people. It is located near the base of the Manzano Mountains west of Punta de Agua, New Mexico.[280] Fray Francisco de San Miguel ministered to Quarai from his post at Pecos beginning about 1598, but the pueblo did not have a "resident guardian" until Fray Juan Gutierrez de la Chica was assigned in 1626.[281] The mission's history is described as significant because it served as "the ecclesiastical headquarters of the Inquisition in New Mexico" and "also played an important role in the controversies between Church and State of the 1600s."[282] In the 1660s the native residents of Quarai planned a revolt with Apache help, but the plot was uncovered and its leader executed.[283] The pueblo suffered from the famine of 1667–72. Franciscan missionaries remained in residence continuously until it was abandoned in about 1674.[284]

The site includes the remains of a small prehistoric pueblo (ca. 1250 A.D.–1350 A.D.) and a large seventeenth-century pueblo; the ruins of a large permanent church (Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Cuarac) and a *convento*;[285] and the wall outlines of a small ca. 1829 church which was never completed.[286] Ivey

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[277] Ibid., 157-78.
[278] Ibid., 178-200.
[279] Ibid., 200.
[280] Francine Weiss, "Quarai, Punta de Agua vicinity, Torrance County, New Mexico," National Historic Landmark nomination, (National Register of Historic Places #66000498, 1976).
[281] Ivey, *In the Midst of a Loneliness*, 111; and U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Ruins of Quarai Pueblo and Nuestra Señora de la Conception de Quarai, 1969," Ms. in National Historic Landmark file, National Park Service, Intermountain Regional Office, Santa Fe.
[282] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Quarai," National Historic Landmarks Program, https://www.nps.gov/nhl (accessed March 6, 2011).
[283] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Ruins of Quarai Pueblo."
[284] Ibid.
[285] Weiss, "Quarai."
[286] Ivey, In the Midst of a Loneliness.

described the permanent church, built about 1627–32, as a somewhat smaller version of the "Great Church" type, deeming it "rather small and plain when compared to the spectacular structures of Los Angeles and San José" and more like the pre-1620 churches in its general dimensions.[287] The church interior measured roughly 90′ x 23′. It was built on a pueblo mound and had red sandstone walls 2.8′ to 3′ thick and a ceiling 25′ above the nave. The front of the church had a simple porch and choir balcony like San José's second façade.[288] Quarai is notable as the earliest known church with evidence of transverse clerestory window and one of the two earliest with a true cruciform plan with transepts in New Mexico.[289] The red sandstone *convento*, completed before the church, had a "distinctive design" with a separate residential block of rooms.[290] Alterations to the *convento* occurred in the 1650s, and secure storerooms were built during the famine.[291] A square kiva is located in one of the *convento* patios, and the site includes a *casa real*. Apaches burned the remains of the large church in an 1830 raid.[292]

Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles de Porciuncula, Pecos, San Miguel County, New Mexico, 17 miles southeast of Santa Fe. Listed as an NHL in 1960; part of Pecos National Historic Park.
Pecos, as one of the largest and most prosperous pueblos in the late sixteenth century, received one of the first Franciscan friars sent to New Mexico in 1598. Located in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains on a ridge at the edge of the plains, the pueblo was occupied for more than 400 years. Once the home of 2,000 people, it represented "one of the largest pueblo structures in the Southwest."[293] Along with the Jémez villages such as Gíusewa, Pecos was the only other known Towa-speaking pueblo.[294] Established sometime in the 1300s, the stone and mud pueblo was five stories high by 1450.[295] Pecos had an important early history because its location made it a hub of trade among plains tribes and people of the Rio Grande Valley, and it became "a major trade center on the eastern flank of the Puebloan world,"[296]

The friar dispatched to Pecos in 1598 stayed only briefly, and an early church was later torn down. The Franciscan presence resumed in 1616, and by 1622 construction on a new church, dedicated to Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles de Porciuncula, was underway.[297] The building, described as "the largest church ever built in colonial New Mexico," began under the direction of Fray Andrés Juárez, an experienced missionary who stayed at the pueblo during 1621–34.[298] Juárez sought to calm resentments that developed under the previous Franciscans assigned to Pecos. As part of this effort, he directed erection of an imposing adobe church (133′ x 40′) with towers and buttresses. The friar taught the native women to make adobe blocks and construct the walls and the men to harvest, prepare, and set the pine logs for the roof.[299] As John L. Kessell wrote, "Finally, in 1625, the cavernous structure stood complete. It was the grandest building in all New Mexico, a fortress-church

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[287] Ivey, "The Architectural Background," 49-50. Weiss indicated its dimensions are about 108′ x 28′ (Weiss, "Quarai").

[288] Ivey, In the Midst of a Loneliness, 145.

[289] Ivey, "The Architectural Background," 50. Ivey theorizes that Pecos probably had a similar window, which would make it the first mission to use that design feature.

[290] Ibid., 113.

[291] Ibid., 146, 153.

[292] James E. Ivey, personal communication, 2011.

[293] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Pecos Pueblo," National Historic Landmarks Program, https://www.nps.gov/nhl (accessed March 6, 2011); and Albert H. Schroeder, "Pecos Pueblo" (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, National Survey of Sites and Buildings, 1962b).

[294] Elliott, "San José de los Jémez Mission."

[295] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "People of Pecos," Pecos National Historical Park, https://home.nps.gov/peco/learn/historyculture/peple-of-pecos.htm (accessed July 21, 2011).

[296] Ibid.

[297] Treib, Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico, 210.

[298] Ivey, *In the Midst of a Loneliness*, 38; and U.S., Department of the Interior, "People of Pecos."

[299] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Pecos National Historical Park, New Mexico," brochure. (Washington, D.C: National Park Service, 1994); and Treib, *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico*, 210.

to match the pueblo."[300] In 1634 Benavides called the mission "a very splendid temple of distinguished workmanship and beauty."[301] Major reconstruction of the mission occurred in the 1650s.[302] The grand church did not last; residents of Pecos participated in the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, burning the roof and tearing down the walls of their church.[303]

The mission was re-established twelve years later after men from Pecos joined the Spanish to win back Santa Fe, with Pueblo residents building a makeshift church.[304] In the early 1700s a church was built within the foundations of the 1625 church with a *convento* about half as large as the previous one. The pueblo's population declined, with 1838 usually cited as the final abandonment date; Ivey noted "fairly good" physical evidence indicating the Franciscans occupied the mission until about 1800.[305] Treib noted that "the raggedly profiled mound of red adobe that one sees today is primarily the ruin" of the eighteenth-century church.[306]

San Estévan (or Estéban) del Rey, Acoma, Cibola County, New Mexico, 108 miles southeast of Santa Fe. Listed as an NHL in 1970.

Franciscan Fray Juan Ramirez came to Acoma Pueblo in 1629, and historian Charles W. Snell placed the completion of San Estévan del Rey at around 1642.[307] The single nave adobe church employed wall and beam construction and measured 150′ x 40′, with battered 35' high walls 5′ to 7′ thick and a slightly pitched roof with parapets, *vigas*, and *canales*. A 1968 description of the church noted the façade "consists of a bare wall penetrated only by the entrance door and a window to light the choir loft. The square flanking towers project boldly from the side walls and rise to belfries with rectilinear openings…"[308] The mission complex included a one-story *convento* with lodging, work, and store rooms and a patio, as well as a *campo santo*.

The Acoma Indians killed the resident priest during the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680. Scholars are split on the extent of damage the church sustained in the revolt, with some arguing nothing remains of the original building and others claiming that portions are extant. While Don Diego de Vargas reclaimed most of New Mexico in 1692, the Acomas did not surrender until 1699. Mission activities resumed and continued throughout the Spanish period. Treib noted that "a major reconstruction" occurred in the late 1690s,[309] and repairs to the church were made in 1799–1800, 1902, and 1924. The mission complex is owned by Acoma Pueblo. In 1968, Snell reported that "the church is still used for religious purposes at festival time. The adjacent *convento* and other mission buildings, partially in ruins, are still largely intact."[310]

La Purísima Concepción, Hawikuh, McKinley County, New Mexico, 169 miles west-southeast of Santa Fe. Listed as an NHL in 1961.

Hawikuh is a large ancestral Zuñi site with extensive pueblo ruins and the remains of a seventeenth-century Spanish mission. The Spanish believed this Zuni pueblo to be Cíbola, one of the fabled "Seven Cities of Gold," and it was the first village entered by Coronado in 1540. Noting the intruders approach, the Zuni attempted an armed resistance but eventually fell to the Spaniards' superior weaponry.[311] Hawikuh became Coronado's

[300] John L. Kessell, *The Missions of New Mexico since 1776* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980), 9.
[301] Robert M. Utley, "Pecos" (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, National Survey of Sites and Buildings, 1958).
[302] Ivey, In the Midst of a Loneliness, 31.
[303] Kessell, The Missions of New Mexico since 1776, 9.
[304] Ibid., 11.
[305] James E. Ivey, personal communication, 2011.
[306] Treib, Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico, 211.
[307] Charles W. Snell, "San Estévan del Rey Mission Church (Acoma)" (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, National Survey of Sites and Buildings, 1968), 1.
[308] Snell, "San Estévan del Rey Mission Church (Acoma)," 3.
[309] Treib, Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico, 308.
[310] Snell, "San Estévan del Rey Mission Church (Acoma)," 3.
[311] Weber, The Spanish Frontier, 15.

headquarters for several months. In 1629 the Franciscans established a mission here, La Purísima Concepción. During the 1680 Pueblo Revolt the mission was destroyed, and the pueblo subsequently was abandoned.[312] Frederick Webb Hodge excavated portions of the pueblo and the mission/*convento* complex during 1917–1923, but the remains were not stabilized.[313] The NHL site may only be visited with the permission of the Zuñi tribe.

San Bernardino, Awatovi, Navajo County, Arizona, 240 miles west of Santa Fe. Listed as an NHL in 1964. Awatovi includes the remains of a large ancestral Hopi pueblo and the ruins of a seventeenth-century Spanish mission and *convento* complex dedicated to San Bernardino. One of the largest and most important Hopi villages at the time of Coronado's 1540 expedition, Awatovi was the first Hopi pueblo visited by the Spanish. A party led by Pedro de Tovar approached the Hopis, who had heard of the attack on Cibola and attempted to repulse the Spaniards before being conquered.[314] Construction of a Franciscan mission at the pueblo began in 1629, and Friar Francisco Porras reported a large number of conversions. Native ceremonial leaders were suspected of causing the friar's death by poison in 1633. A second Franciscan, Jose de Figueroa, was killed during the Pueblo Revolt in 1680, and the missionaries withdrew.

The Spanish returned to Awatovi in 1699 and reconsecrated the mission, finding Hopi villagers had remodeled the *convento* into pueblo rooms during their absence. For tolerating the presence of the missionaries, Awatovi was attacked in 1700 by other Hopis, who killed or enslaved the remaining indigenous villagers; the site was never reoccupied. The Peabody Museum conducted archeological excavations at the site during 1935–1939, but it never was stabilized. The NHL site may only be visited with permission of the Hopi Tribe.

Discussion of Comparables

The San José de los Jémez and Gíusewa Pueblo site compares favorably in significance and integrity with the properties described above, all of which are designated NHLs or units of the National Park system. Each Franciscan friar assigned with building a mission addressed the task according to his training, the complexities of the site, the available materials, support or resistance within the native pueblo, and the size of the anticipated congregation.

Completion Date. San José de los Jémez is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, mission church in the group. The current church rose in 1621–22, suffered a fire about 1623–24, and was reconstructed about 1625–26. While the initial adobe church at Pecos saw completion in about 1625, it was destroyed in 1680, and the extant ruins at the site are those of a later building. The initial San Gregorio de Abó church dated to 1627–28, but it was nearly doubled in size and altered in plan between 1645–49. Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción, La Purísima Concepción, and San Bernardino were erected in 1629 and San Isidro in 1634. San Estévan del Rey was completed in 1642 but underwent major reconstruction between 1696 and 1700. San Buenaventura at Las Humanas was never completed; construction ended in 1667.

Mission Components. As dictated by their purpose, the friars erected each of the comparable missions adjacent to a Native American pueblo. In addition to a church, each comparable site included a *convento* and *campo santo*. The San José convento is relatively large, particularly well-defined, and was laid out in a non-rectilinear configuration to conform to the topography of the site. Unlike several of the comparable properties, the San José mission included a *casa real*; one was also noted at San Gregorio de Abó and at Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción.

[312] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Hawikuh and Zuni-Cibola Complex, NM,"; available from https://www.nps.gov/places/hawikuh-and-zuni-cibola-complex-nm.htm (accessed 2025).
[313] Frederick Webb Hodge, *History of Hawikuh, New Mexico* (Los Angeles: The Southwest Museum, 1937).
[314] Weber, The Spanish Frontier, 47.

Plan and Relative Size. All of the churches have single naves. San Gregorio de Abó, Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción, and Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles de Porciuncula feature transepts producing a cruciform plan. San José is comparable in size to San Buenaventura and San Gregorio de Abó. Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles de Porciuncula and San Estévan del Rey are the largest churches in the group, while Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción at Quarai is considerably smaller. With the exception of the latter church, all of the buildings are more than 100′ in length and at least 32′ in width.

Construction Material. The San José church is the only one of the group to employ limestone as its principal building material. San Estévan del Rey, La Purísima Concepción, and Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles de Porciuncula were built of adobe bricks, while red sandstone was used at San Gregorio de Abó, Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepcion, San Bernardino, and the churches at Las Humanas (San Isidro and San Buenaventura).

Dates of Mission/Church Activities. Mission activities occurred at San José for about 22 years, 1598–1601 and 1621–1639. This is a shorter period than all of the comparable properties except for San Buenaventura, which was never completed and did not function as a church. Activities at San Isidro and San Gregorio de Abó extended over 40 to 50 years. La Purísima Concepción and San Bernardino were occupied for about 51 and 52 years, respectively. Pecos recorded a presence lasting about 163 years, from 1625 through about 1800, excluding the period 1680–92 following the Pueblo Rebellion. San Estévan del Rey, completed between 1629–42, still hosts religious services at festival times.

Integrity. As discussed earlier, San José de los Jémez maintains a high degree of historic physical integrity. The church was not significantly added onto or altered between the time of its completion in about 1625–26 and its abandonment ca. 1639. It was not burned during the Pueblo Revolt. Subsequent changes in condition and appearance are primarily the result of abandonment and deterioration from the elements. Thus, San José is a relatively intact example of early Franciscan "great church" construction. The San José mission, like many of the comparable sites, experienced archeological excavations and stabilization during the twentieth century. The site has been provided protection and oversight as a New Mexico State Monument since 1935. Integrity of the comparable properties is discussed below.

> San Gregorio de Abó: San Gregorio de Abó appears similar to San José in terms of condition and integrity, with walls present but missing some material along the top due to deterioration and the collapse of the roof. The site became a New Mexico State Monument in 1938, and archeological excavation and stabilization of the church took place in 1938–39. A 1976 National Park Service inspection report found "the site retains little original mortar," whereas San José has substantial amounts of original mortar.[315]
>
> San Isidro and San Buenaventura: San Buenaventura appears similar to San José in terms of condition and integrity, with walls present but missing some material along the top due to deterioration. Work stopped on the construction of San Buenaventura in 1667, and the church was never completed. While representative of Franciscan church planning and construction techniques, the building never was used for religious services nor did it play an active role in the life of the mission. Ivey described San Isidro, the older church at the site, as "a mound of rubble,"[316] suggesting it no longer conveys its original character.

[315] Larry Nordby, *Abo: National Historic Landmark Biennial Visit Report* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1976).

[316] Ivey, In the Midst of a Loneliness, 200.

Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción: Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción appears similar to San José in terms of condition and integrity, with walls present but missing some material along the top due to deterioration and the collapse of the roof. Archeological excavations at Quarai began in 1913 with a School of American Archaeology project. The work of the School ended in 1916, when the state lost title to the site. The Museum of New Mexico reacquired the site in 1932, and began archeological excavations and stabilization in 1934, just a year before the field school at San José. The site became a New Mexico State Monument in 1935. Additional excavation and repair came in 1959, and "major stabilization" of the church and *convento* occurred in 1972[317] and 1999–2000. The NHL website describes stabilization efforts at the mission as "complete" (National Historic Landmarks Program website 2011). The property was listed as a National Historic Landmark in 1962 (National Historic Landmarks Program website 2011) and is now part of the Salinas Pueblos National Monument. The setting was impacted by construction of a visitor's center and parking lot within the NHL boundary in 1970, and privately owned parts of the site include agricultural and grazing uses and "widely dispersed residences."[318]

Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles de Porciuncula: The sidewalls of the nave, somewhat reduced in height, are the principal elements remaining of the Pecos church, making it difficult to discern the original plan, scale, and massing of the building. From 1915–29, the site underwent extensive excavations led by Alfred Vincent Kidder, who during this process "led New World archaeology from random collecting to systematic research, from hobby to science."[319] The fragile nature of the adobe ruins at Pecos requires annual preservation treatment due to winter deterioration. Richard Reycraft of New Mexico Monuments indicated Pecos has been "heavily reconstructed." The site became a New Mexico State Monument in 1935 and a National Monument in 1965. It is now part of the Pecos National Historic Park. Pecos Pueblo was listed as a National Historic Landmark District in 1960.

San Estévan del Rey: An assessment of integrity is somewhat problematic due to uncertainty over the church's construction date, with some sources claiming erection in 1642 and others 1725. Treib noted that "a major reconstruction took place between 1696 and 1700."[320] This was followed by repairs in 1799-1800.[321] The adobe building in its exposed location on the mesa has been subject to wind and water erosion. In the early 1900s repairs were undertaken to stop roof leaks. Further roof work took place in 1924, with tower repairs and wall replastering completed in 1926–27. Writing in 1993, Treib concluded that San Estévan "is in a good state of repair following further preservation efforts in 1975 and roof repairs in 1981."[322]

La Purísima Concepción: La Purísima Concepción appears to possess a lower level of historic physical integrity than San José. Hawikuh pueblo today consists of "extensive ruins atop a long low ridge and the adobe mounds of the mission church."[323]

San Bernardino: San Bernardino possesses a lower level of historic physical integrity than San José. A 1938 report described the pueblo as "a very extensive ruin" but found "little survives of

[317] Weiss, "Quarai."
[318] Ibid.
[319] Kessell, The Missions of New Mexico, 21.
[320] Treib, Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico, 308.
[321] Snell, "San Estévan del Rey Mission Church (Acoma)."
[322] Treib, Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico, 313.
[323] U.S. Department of the Interior, "American Southwest: Hawikuh."

Mission San Bernardino."[324] A National Park Service website reported in 2011: "Little remains today of the three church structures except parts of the friary associated with the second church, built of sandstone," as well as parts of the sandstone pueblo.[325]

[324] Erik K. Reed, *Special Report on Awatobi [sic], Arizona* (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Region III, 1938), 1.

[325] U.S., Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings: Awatovi, Arizona," *Explorers and Settlers*, available at https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/explorers/sitec3.htm (accessed 2011).

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

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

Primary Location of Additional Data:

__ State Historic Preservation Office
_X_ Other State Agency: New Mexico State Monuments
__ Federal Agency
__ Local Government
__ University
__ Other (Specify Repository):

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 3.8 acres

UTM References:

Zone	Easting	Northing
13	347555	3960695

Verbal Boundary Description:

The nominated area includes approximately 3.8 acres of the six-acre Jémez State Monument and is indicated on the to-scale sketch map accompanying the nomination. The boundary is more particularly described as follows (distances specified in feet are based on the 27 October 1967 special warranty deed executed by the School of American Research to the Board of Regents of the Museum of New Mexico and current GIS measurements): beginning at the northwest corner of Jémez State Monument; thence easterly approximately 620′ along the north boundary of the Monument; thence south to the centerline of Church Creek; thence following the centerline of the Church Creek southerly and westerly to the fence line (extended) lying east of the visitor center and shed; thence northwest along the fence line and the fence line (extended) for approximately 111′; thence west-southwesterly for approximately 87′ to the fence bounding the north end of the parking lot; thence west and northwest along the fence line to the west boundary of the Monument; and thence northerly along the Monument boundary approximately 242′ to the point of beginning.

Boundary Justification:

The nominated area includes all of the church-related elements of the mission complex and that portion of Gíusewa Pueblo possessing physical integrity. The boundaries are based on the results of numerous archeological excavations, recent pedestrian surveys, and natural features such as the steep slope to the north and the canyon to the south. The 1965 visitor center, storage shed, propane tank, and parking lot at the southwest corner, which do not fall within the period of significance, are excluded from the boundary. The portion of the pueblo west of the Monument boundary lacks physical integrity, having been greatly impacted or destroyed by construction of State Highway 4 and the erection of various buildings (such as the Via Coeli Monastery) on its west side, and is not included in the boundary.

11. FORM PREPARED BY

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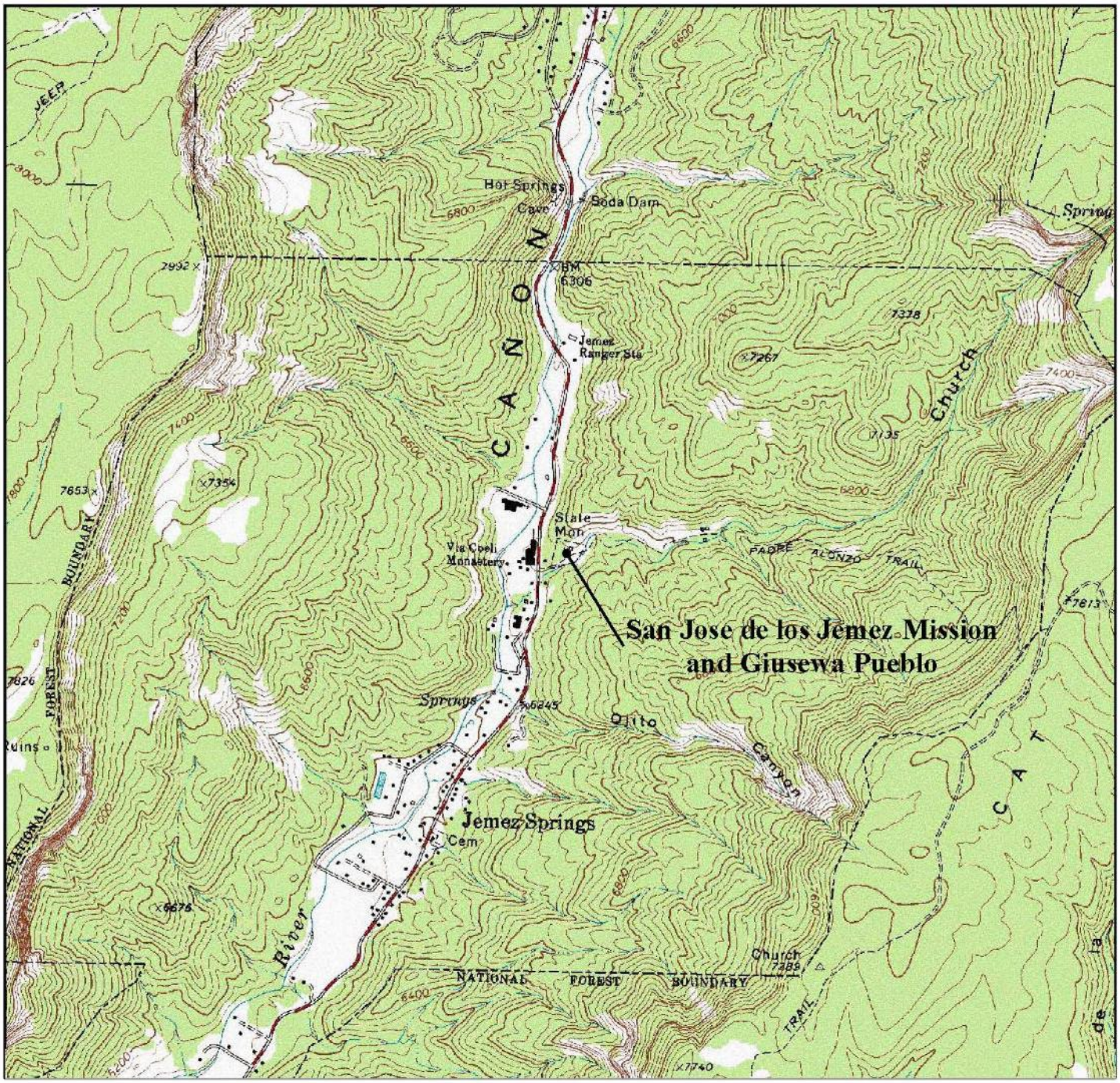
Telephone: 303-477-7597

Date: September 2011

Edited by: Dr. Alexandra Lord, Branch Chief
Dr. Erika Martin Seibert, Archeologist
National Park Service
National Historic Landmarks Program
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NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK



San José de los Jémez and Gíusewa Pueblo Site USGS Location Map

The location of the nominated area (centered on the nave of the church) is indicated by the labeled point.
Base map is Jemez Springs, New Mexico, 7.5′ USGS quadrangle map.

Zone	Easting	Northing
13	347555	3960695

FIGURES

Number	Description of Figure and Source
1	San José de los Jémez and Gíusewa Pueblo (arrow) is located within Jémez State Monument, about 43 miles west-northwest of Santa Fe and 52 miles north of Albuquerque, New Mexico (New Mexico State Monuments n.d.).
2	The sloping nature of the San José de los Jémez site is illustrated in these elevation drawings: 1) view east of the west elevation; 2) view north of the façade; and 3) view west of the east elevation (Luna Associates 1977)
3	This drawing showing San José de los Jémez church and *convento* detail was produced by James E. Ivey in 1991 and reproduced in the *Trail Guide* for Jémez State Monument (Gomez 2005:8).
4	This drawing reconstruction by Ivey shows a lateral, east-west section through the San José de los Jémez church, looking toward the altar and octagonal tower (Edgerton 2001:284).
5	This drawing reconstruction by Ivey shows a longitudinal, north-south section through the San José de los Jémez church, looking west (Edgerton 2001:289).
6	Regina Tatum Cooke produced this painting showing a theoretical view northwest of San José de los Jémez during its active missionary years. Gíusewa Pueblo is to the left, with the church at center fronting onto the *campo santo* and the *convento* to the right (reproduced in Hewett 1943:181).
7	Lt. James Simpson's party visited the San José site in 1849. R.H. Kern made a drawing of the church (view east-northeast) from a sketch by E.M. Kern (Simpson 1852:Plate 15).
8	This John K. Hillers photograph shows the site ca. 1880 from the hill to the southeast with the *convento* in the foreground to the right and the church beyond. Note that a portion of the site was then in use as a dwelling and *ramada* (Treib 1993:245).
9	This view from the "early years" of the twentieth century shows the west wall and front of the San José church. Compare with current Photograph 2 (Hewett and Fisher 1946:176).
10	This view from the hill to the southeast shows the appearance of the site during the 1921–22 excavation. Note the mining car track extending from the entrance to the church at the far left (Elliott 1993:8).
11	The interior of the nave is shown in this view from the hill to the south taken during the 1921–22 excavation of the site. Archeologists laid a mine car track (visible in the foreground) to remove fill from the church interior (Elliott 1993:23).
12	The 1921-22 excavation of the site uncovered these examples of Jémez pottery from Kiva Number 2 photographed by John Blanke (Elliott 1993:22).
13	J.C. Dinwiddie and Gaylord Huston produced four drawings of the San José de los Jémez church as part of the 1921–22 Bloom expedition, including this side (western) elevation (looking east), a center elevation through the nave, an east-west cross section south of the altar (see following), and a plan view. The drawing was digitally captured and inverted to black on white (Dinwiddie and Huston 1922).
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15	The plaster walls of the church nave were colorfully decorated with elaborate designs (Elliott 1993:23).
16	Art student Marguerite Tew of the 1921–22 expedition produced copies of the nave designs in color (same pattern as above) (Tew 1922).

Number	Description of Figure and Source
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18	George Kubler, in his *Religious Architecture of New Mexico*, included this 1937 view south of the nave of the San José church showing the results of the 1935–37 stabilization efforts, including the replacement of the main entrance lintel (Kubler 1990:Plate 153).
19	This plan view of San José de los Jémez appeared in Kubler's *Religious Architecture of New Mexico*. A pueblo roomblock is in the lower left. He incorrectly labels the walls as sandstone rather than limestone (Kubler 1990:81).
20	Bertha P. Dutton took this 1940s view of the interior of the church looking toward the altar and tower (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:190).
21	This 1991 view from the hill to the southeast shows the church with the *convento* in the foreground. Note the presence of the interpretive trail and compare with Figure 8 taken in 1880 (Jémez State Monument 1991).
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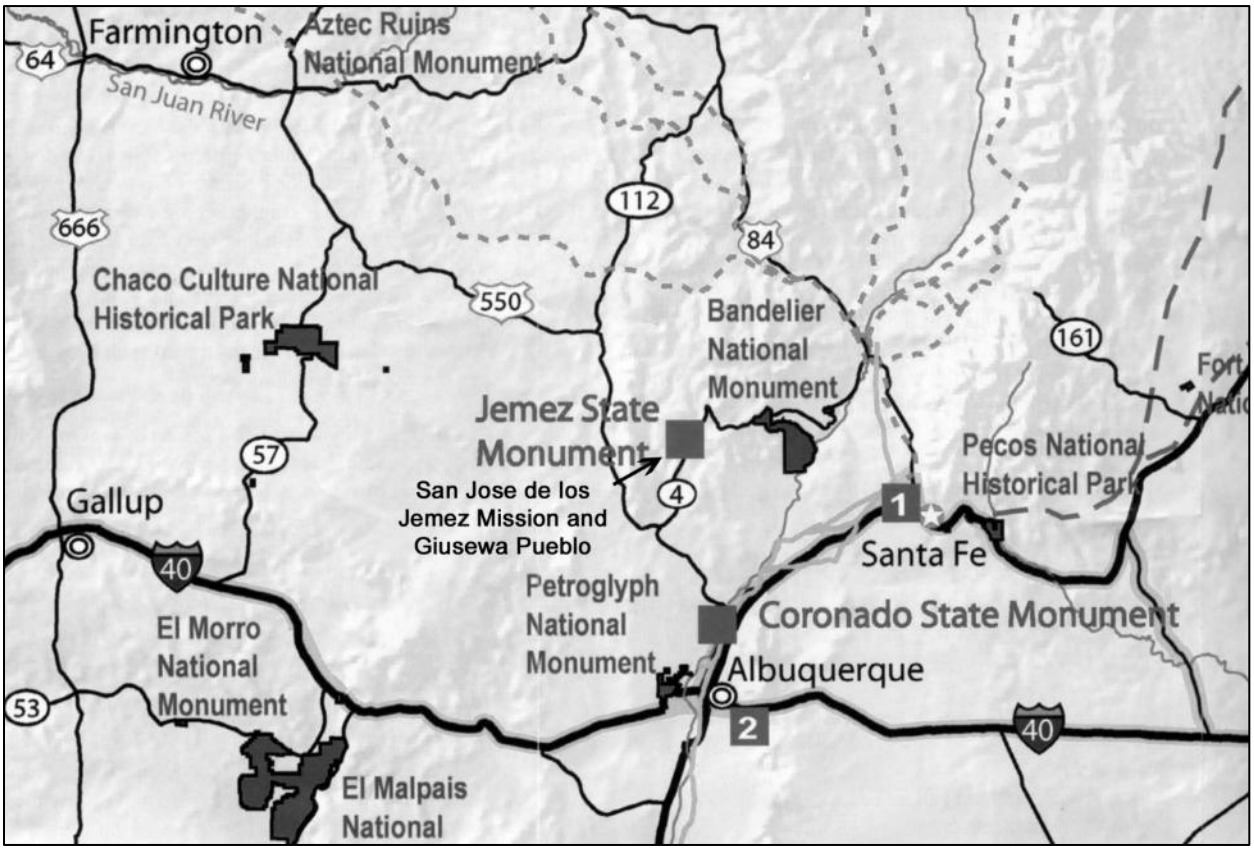


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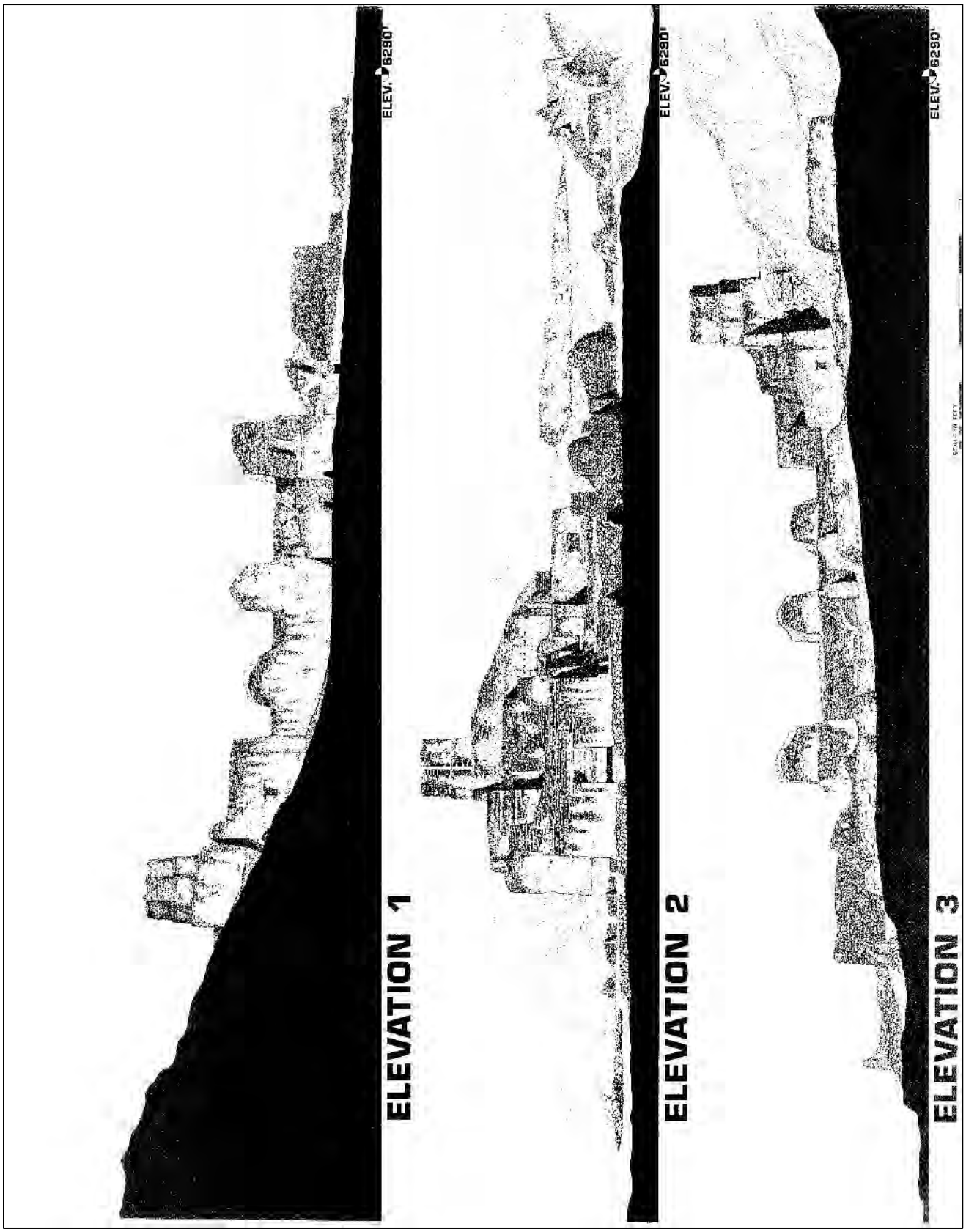


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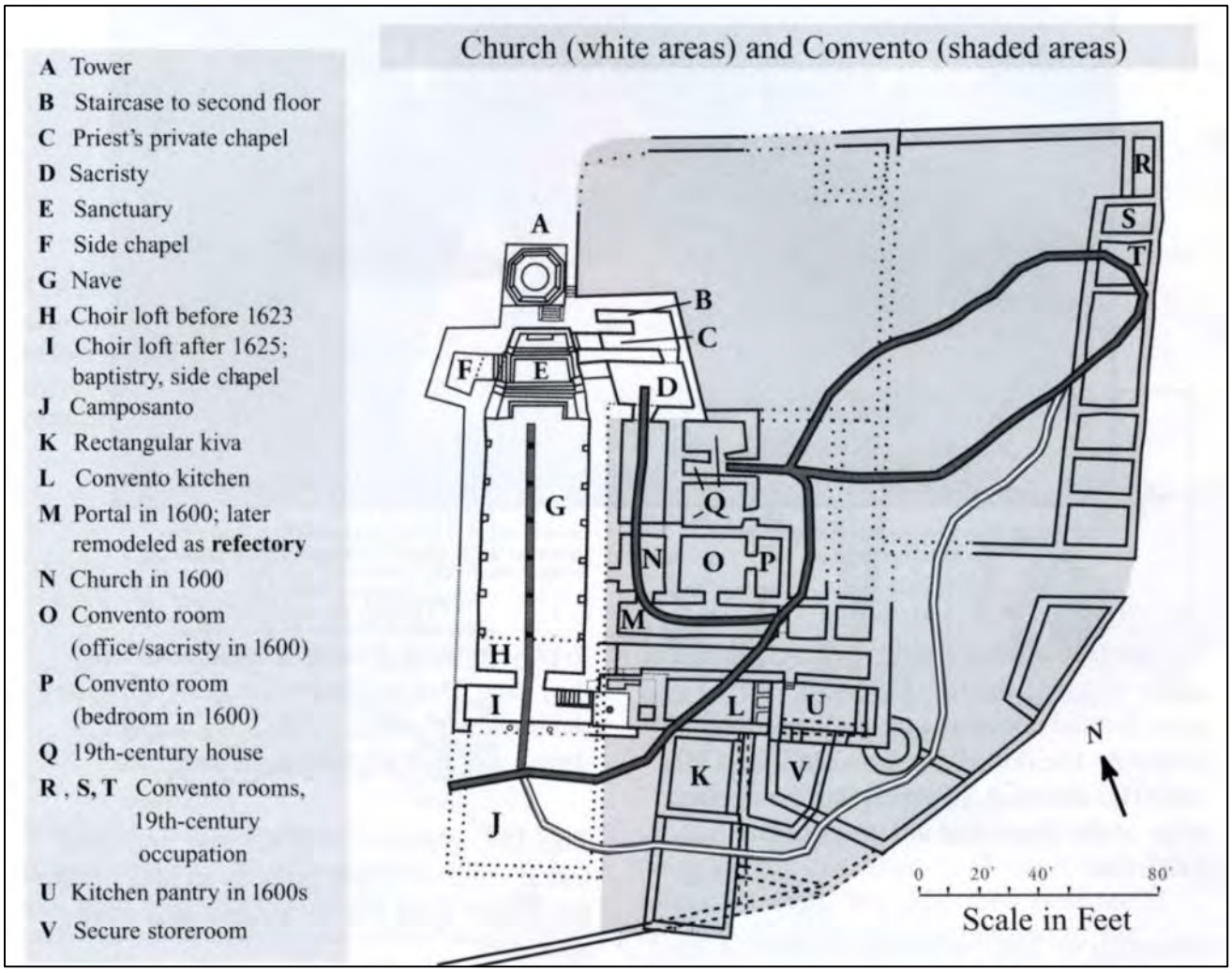


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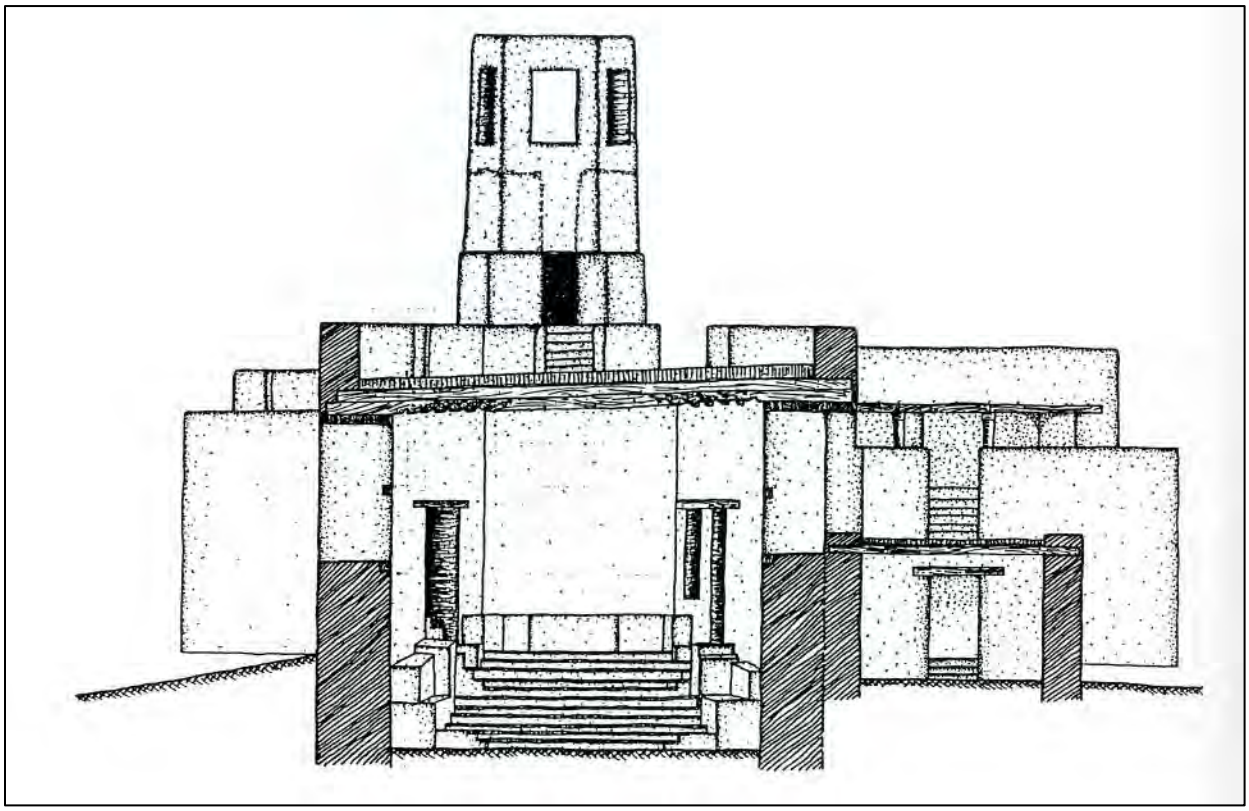


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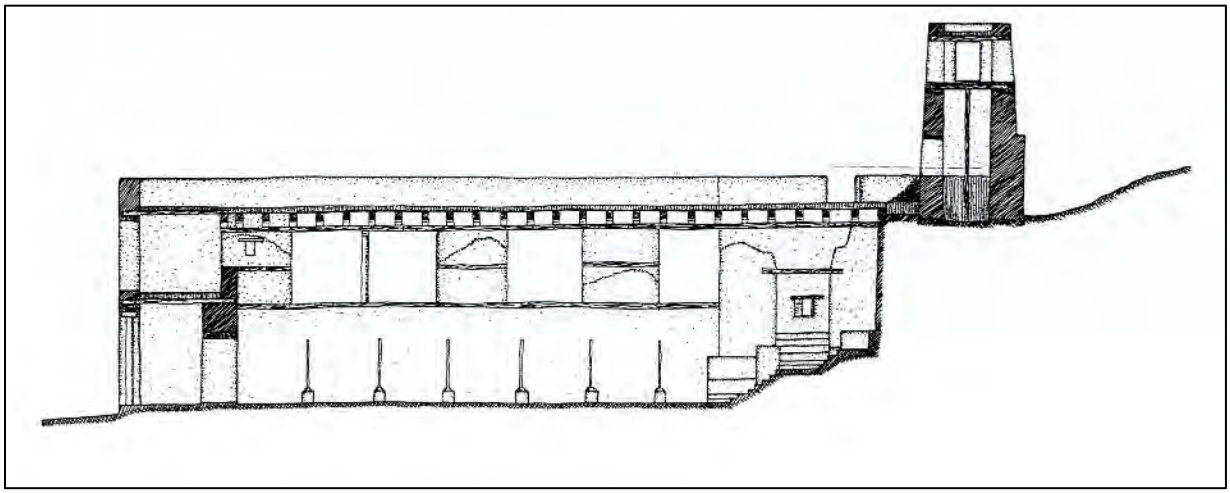


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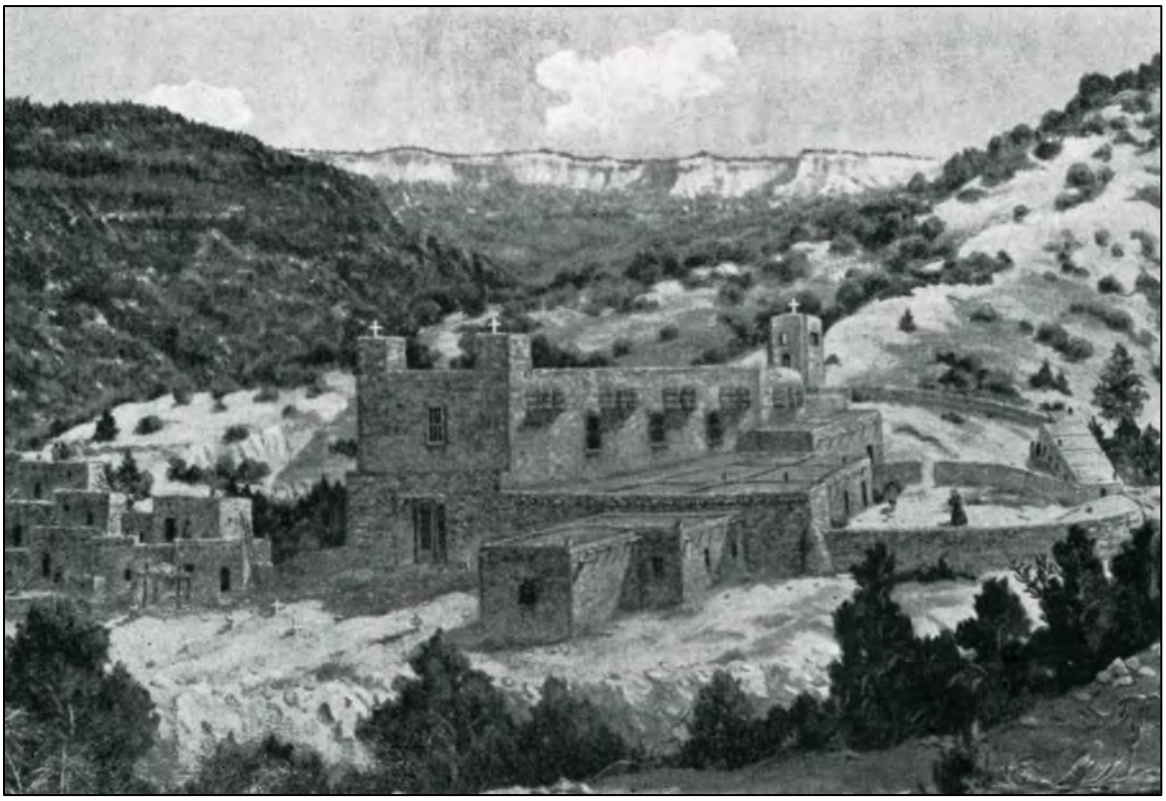


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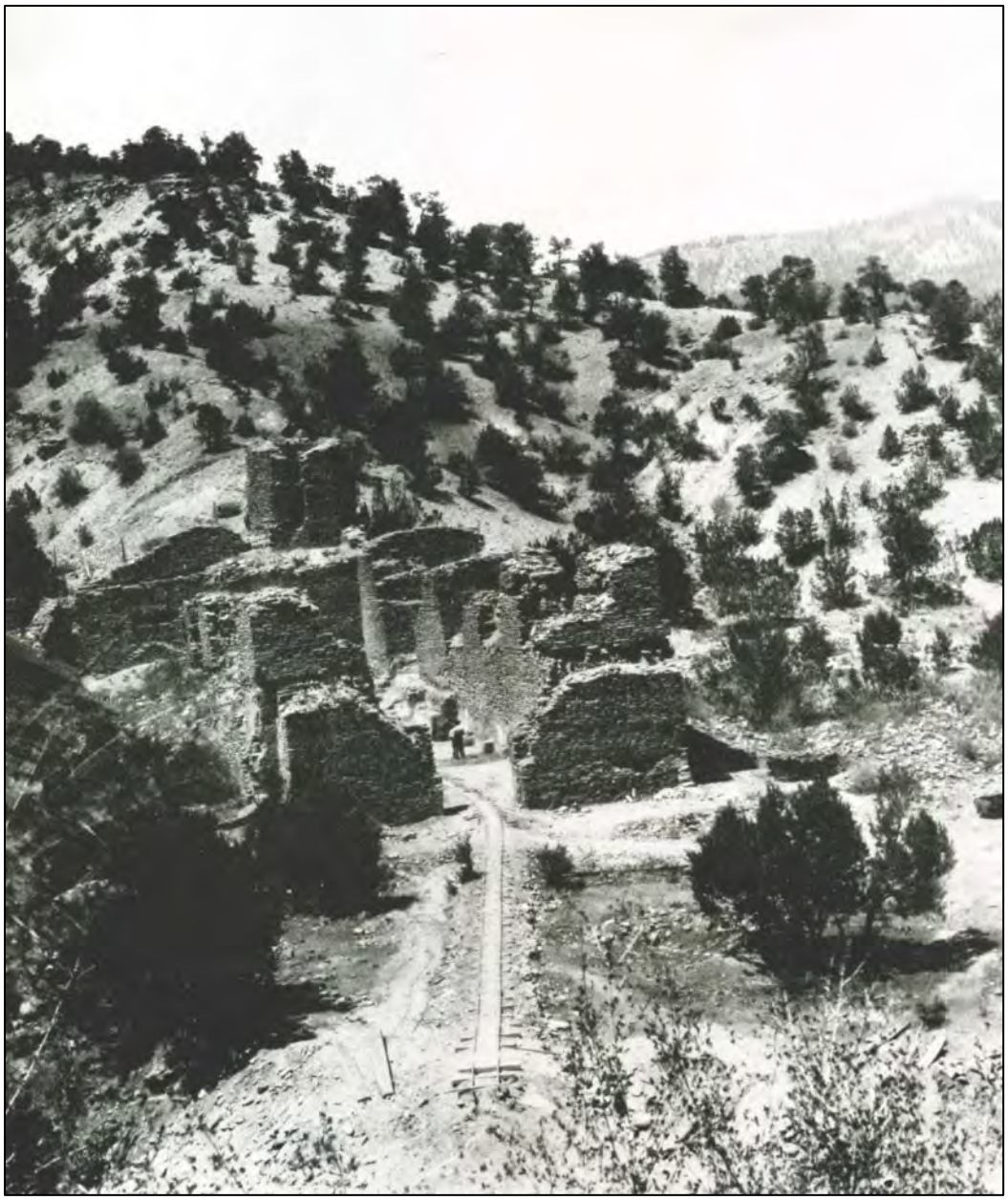


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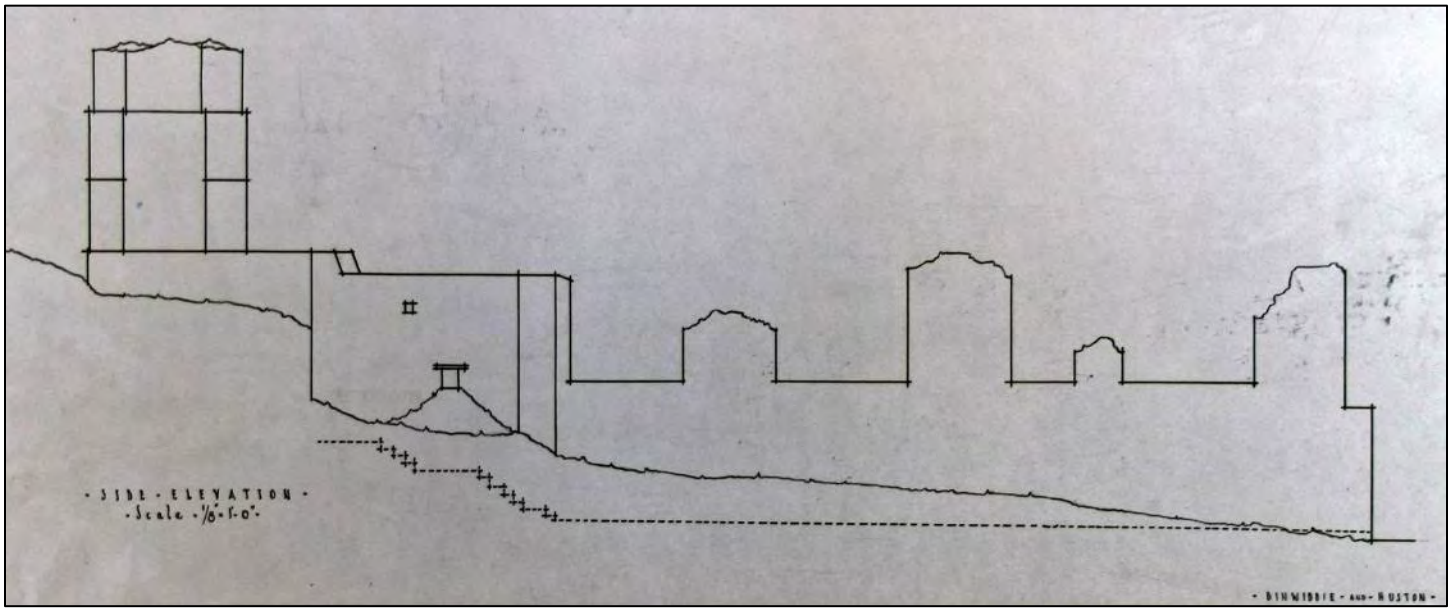


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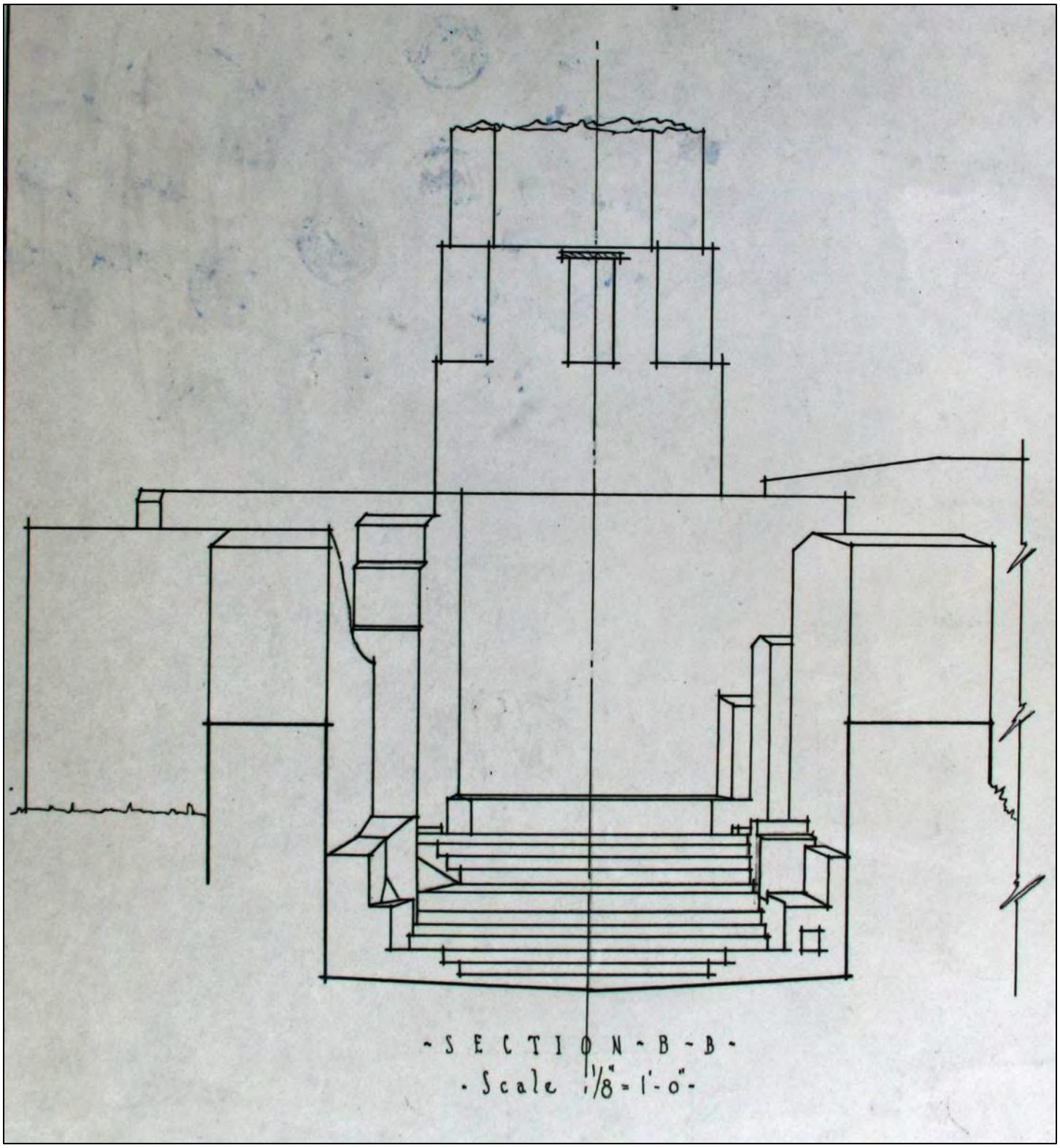


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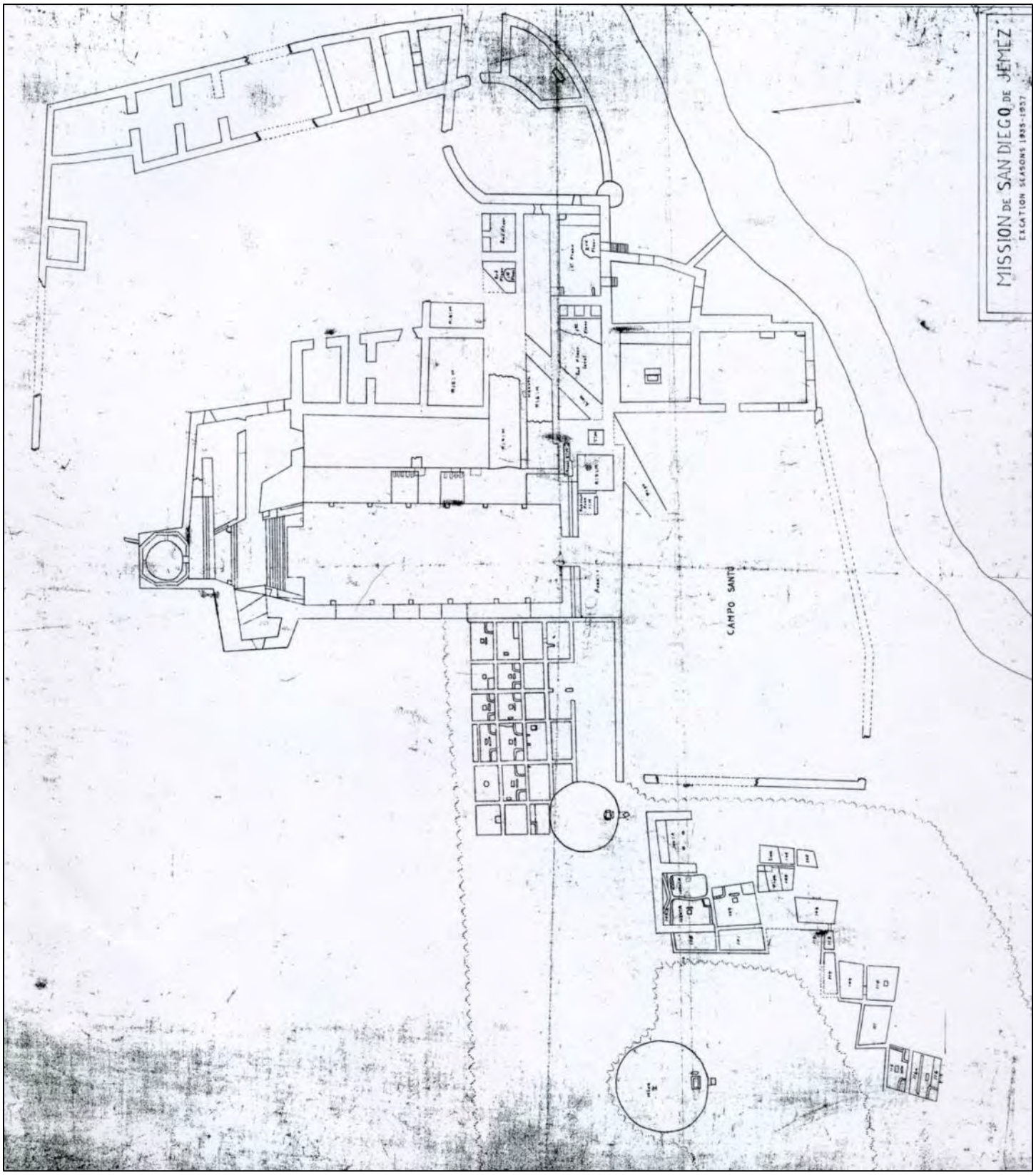


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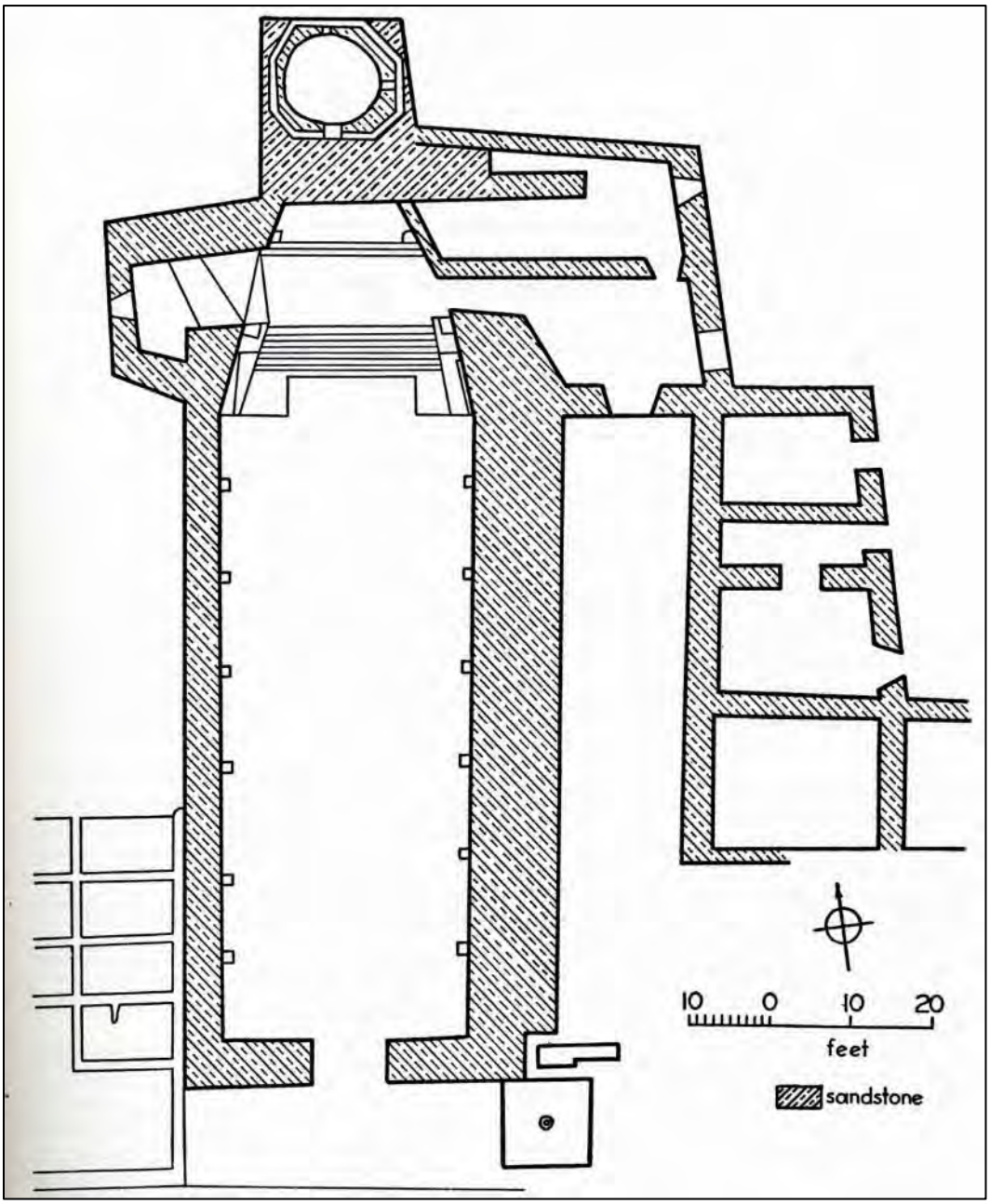


Figure 19. This plan view of San José de los Jémez appeared in Kubler's *Religious Architecture of New Mexico*. A pueblo roomblock is in the lower left. He incorrectly labels the walls as sandstone rather than limestone (Kubler 1990:81).



Figure 20. Bertha P. Dutton took this 1940s view of the interior of the church looking toward the altar and tower (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:190).



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San Gregorio de Abó (Abó)


Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Quarac (Quarai)


Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles de Porciuncula (Pecos)


San Buenaventura de las Humanas (Gran Quivira)


San Estevan del Rey (Acoma)


San José de los Jémez (Gíusewa)


La Purísima Concepción (Hawikuh)


San Bernardino (Awatovi)

Figure 22. Images of San José de Los Jémez and comparable seventeenth-century mission churches. SOURCES: San José de los Jémez, Richard Reycraft, New Mexico Monuments, August 2007; La Purísima Concepción, Mindeleff (1891), Plate XLVIII; San Bernardino, Arizona Memory Project; all others, historic images from New Mexico's Digital Collections hosted by the University of New Mexico, various dates.

CURRENT PHOTOGRAPHS

Common Photographic Label Information:

Name: San José de los Jémez Mission and Gíusewa Pueblo
Location: Jémez Springs, Sandoval County, New Mexico
Digital Images Data: **CD-ROM with TIFF images on file with NPS in Washington DC**

Information Different for Each View:

Photograph Number, Description of View, Photographer, Photograph Date, and Camera Direction. Letters in the descriptions are keyed to Figure 3.

Photo Number	Description of View, Photographer, and Photograph Date	Camera Direction
1	San José de los Jémez Mission and Gíusewa Pueblo (lower right) and San Diego Canyon, from a hill to the northeast. Photographer: Richard Reycraft. Date: September 2006.	SW
2	West wall of church with *casa real* and pueblo roomblock in foreground. Photographer: Richard Reycraft. Date: August 2007.	ENE
3	Front of church with *campo santo* area in foreground. Photographer: Richard Reycraft. Date: September 2006.	NNE
4	West wall of church with octagonal bell tower to left. A portion of a pueblo roomblock is in the lower left. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: March 2011.	NE
5	Rear of church bell tower with the eastern portion of the *convento* to the left. Photographer: Richard Reycraft. Date: September 2006.	S
6	East wall of the church from the *convento*. The one-story section to the right (Q) was erected as a house in the nineteenth century. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: November 2010.	WNW
7	East wall of church with octagonal bell tower in upper right. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: March 2011.	NNW
8	View through church entrance of the nave (G), showing sanctuary (E), altar, and bell tower. Photographer: Richard Reycraft. Date: August 2007.	WNW
9	Church nave (G) from altar. Note pedestals along the walls. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: March 2011.	SSW
10	Sanctuary (E), altar, and bell tower from nave. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: March 2011.	NNE
11	Sanctuary (E) and altar detail from nave. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: March 2011.	NNE
12	Location of stairs (B) that led to upper story. Photographer: R. Laurie Simmons. Date: March 2011.	NNW
13	Side chapel (F) of church from sanctuary. Photographer: R. Laurie Simmons. Date: March 2011.	WNW
14	View toward sacristy (D) and priest's private chapel (C) from the side chapel (F), with the altar to the left and the sanctuary (E) to the right. Photographer: R. Laurie Simmons. Date: March 2011.	ESE
15	Long hallway lying east of nave and south of sacristy. Photographer: R. Laurie Simmons. Date: March 2011.	SSW

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16	The patio area lying east of church. Photographer: R. Laurie Simmons. Date: March 2011.	WNW
17	A portion of the *convento* with the church in the distance, from east of the kitchen pantry (U). Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: March 2011.	NNW
18	The *convento* kitchen (L) and pantry (U). Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: March 2011.	ESE
19	The southeast portion of the *convento*, featuring a massive buttress attached to the kitchen pantry (U), stairs to an upper story, and a secure storeroom (V) to the left. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: March 2011.	NNW
20	The southern part of the *convento*. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: March 2011.	NE
21	The front and east wall of the church from the southern part of the *convento*. A rectangular kiva (K) is in the foreground. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: March 2011.	NNW
22	The eastern section of the *convento*, with Church Canyon to the left. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: March 2011.	SSW
23	Rooms (R, S, and T) at the northeast corner of the *convento*. Photographer: R. Laurie Simmons. Date: March 2011.	NNE
24	Long east-west wall extending from the northeast corner of the *convento*. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: March 2011.	NW
25	The *casa real* with the church and the pueblo roomblock in the background. Photographer: R. Laurie Simmons. Date: March 2011.	ENE
26	Pueblo ruin mounds at the west edge of the site adjacent to State Highway 4. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: March 2011.	N
27	The front and west wall of the church with pueblo ruin mounds in the foreground and the pueblo plaza to the left. Photographer: R. Laurie Simmons. Date: March 2011.	ENE
28	Kiva 1 with the church in the background to the upper right. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: March 2011.	ENE
29	The pueblo roomblock lying west of the church. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: March 2011.	NW

The 29 Images on the accompanying CD-ROM are labeled NM_Sandoval_SanJoseDe LosJemezMissionandGiusewaPueblo_0001 through NM_Sandoval_SanJoseDeLos JemezMissionandGiusewaPueblo_0029, corresponding to the numbers 1 through 29 in the photo log.



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Photo 2 West wall of church with *casa real* and pueblo roomblock in foreground. Photographer: Richard Reycraft. Date: August 2007.



Photo 3 Front of church with *campo santo* area in foreground. Photographer: Richard Reycraft. Date: September 2006.



Photo 4 West wall of church with octagonal bell tower to left. A portion of a pueblo roomblock is in the lower left. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: March 2011.



Photo 5 Rear of church bell tower with the eastern portion of the *convento* to the left. Photographer: Richard Reycraft. Date: September 2006.



Photo 6 East wall of the church from the *convento*. The one-story section to the right (Q) was erected as a house in the nineteenth century. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: November 2010.



Photo 7 East wall of church with octagonal bell tower in upper right. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: March 2011.



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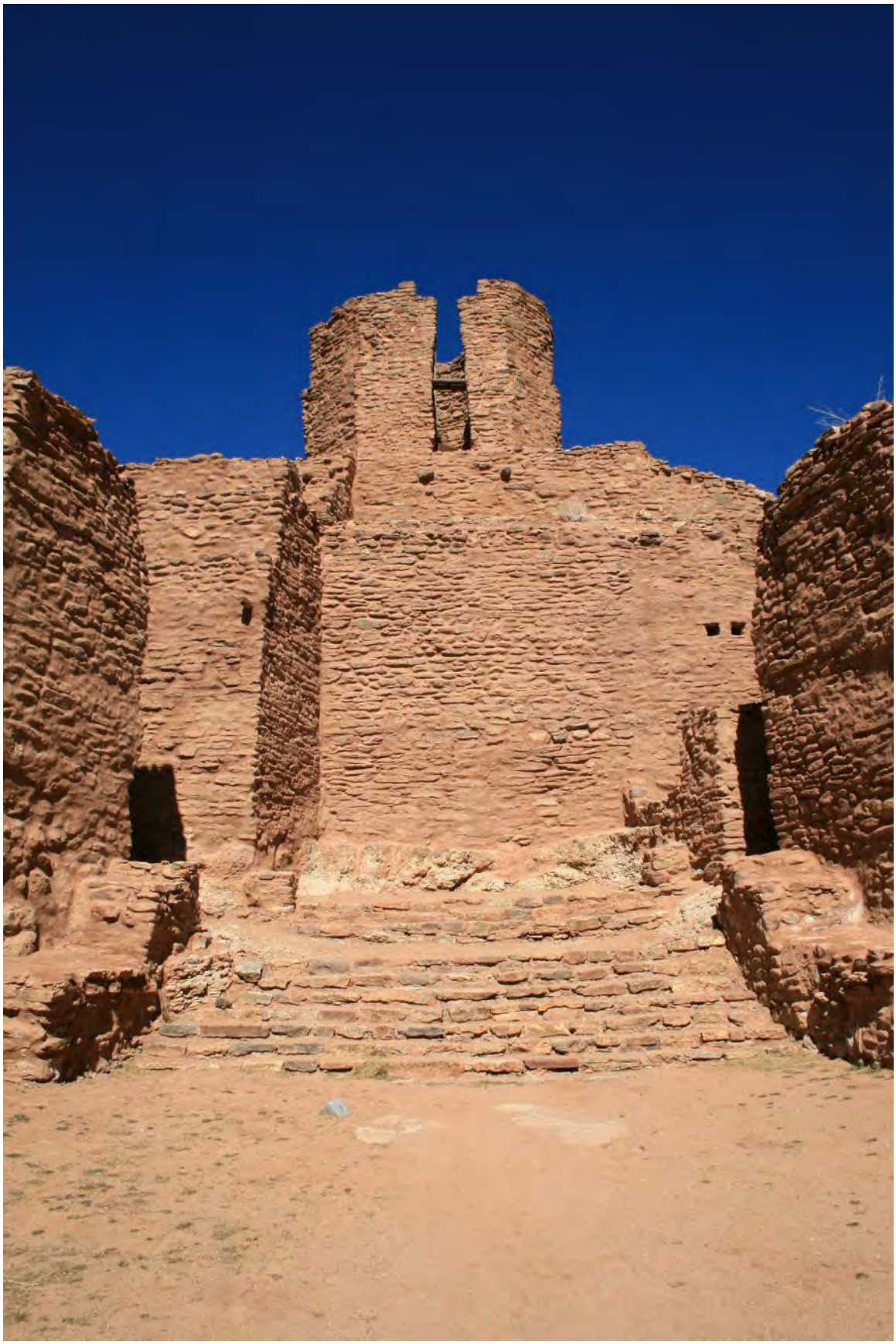


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Photo 11 Sanctuary (E) and altar detail from nave. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: March 2011.



Photo 12 Location of stairs (B) that led to upper story. Photographer: R. Laurie Simmons. Date: March 2011.



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Photo 28 Kiva 1 with the church in the background to the upper right. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: March 2011.



Photo 29 The pueblo roomblock lying west of the church. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: March 2011.