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THE "LOST" CHAPEL OF THE THIRD ORDER
OF ST. FRANCIS, IN SANTA FE

BRUCE T. ELLIS

NOT really lost, but certainly elusive, the long-vanished Santa Fe chapel of the Franciscan Third Order, which for a while played a unique even if minor role in the city's history, has been something of a problem to the few writers who have given it any notice. Its published record thus far is spotty, leaving the chapel either as a name tucked away in footnotes or, if given fuller treatment, with its image blurred by inadequate or faulty use of source material.

Most references to the chapel have been incidental to discussions of the New Mexican presence of the Third Order itself—the lay religious society, founded by St. Francis in 1221, of men and women who without committing themselves to the full monasticism of his First and Second Orders (the Friars Minor and the Poor Clares), wished to adapt Franciscan principles and guidance to their daily lives.¹ The present article, although touching upon the Order's late Santa Fe phase, is concerned primarily with the dating, location, construction and other features of its local chapel. This requires some fairly detailed background.

Vague archival notes already cited by several writers date the chapel loosely in the early nineteenth century and place it somewhere on the premises of Santa Fe's present St. Francis Cathedral, which occupies the site of the city's early adobe parish church (*parroquia*). When construction of the latter was started in 1712 by Franciscan friars, a one-story convent of open rectangular plan, built and deeded to the friars by Governor Pedro Cubero, had stood alone on the site for fifteen years.² The church was erected on the convent's north side, the front (west) end of its south nave wall joined to the west end of the convent's north wall. What

had been a room in the northwest corner of the convent was made into the church's baptistery, sealed off from the rest of the convent and given access from the church's nave by a wide and deep doorway cut through the two adjoining walls. Just south of the baptistery was the entrance to the convent, a sizable (22-foot long) semi-enclosed porch (*postería*) with a door in its rear wall opening to the convent's interior cloister. This porch could be reached from the outside only by going through the church's wall-enclosed main cemetery which lay between the church-convent complex and the street. The cemetery's south wall, with a gate, extended west to the street from the south end of the porch.

These structural details, here stressed because of their importance to later developments, are given in the earliest known description of the *parroquia* and the convent—the report of an inspection made in 1776 by Franciscan Commissary Visitor Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez stated.³ The Third Order had long been an affiliate of the *parroquia*, Domínguez said, but by 1776 it had fallen upon hard times. It had no permanent funding and no chapel, its only property being a side altar within the church's nave provided with several wooden images of saints and paintings on buffalo hide. Everything else required for its feasts it had to borrow.

Shortly before 1776, Domínguez added, a second story had been built above the convent's west (front) and south rows of rooms. The northernmost of the new upper rooms in the front row was a kitchen. It was set against the high nave wall of the church and directly over the ground-floor baptistery.

In 1796, twenty years after Domínguez's *visita*, a brief report on the *parroquia* and its attached convent was made for New Mexico Governor Fernando Chacón by the two then resident Franciscan friars.⁴ Although the report lists several side altars in the church's nave and transepts, neither an altar nor a chapel of the Third Order is noted; in fact the Order is not mentioned at all. In view of the Order's purely Franciscan identity in rule and dimension, and the fact that it had an active local membership in 1796, its lack of mention by the reporting friars might suggest that it then was without any physical facilities that could be inventoried.

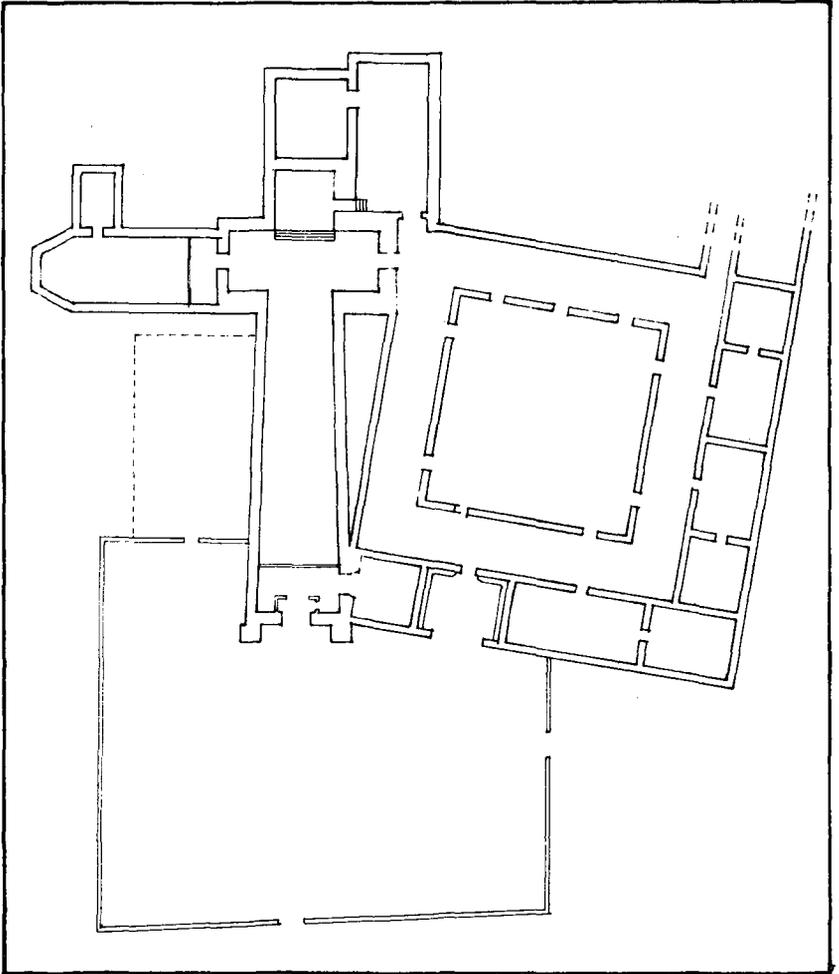
However, there may have been another reason why the friars

left it out of their report to the governor, who by virtue of his office had some authority in Church affairs. For years, the secular church hierarchy below the border had been trying to bring the long Franciscan hegemony in New Mexico to a close. Archiepiscopal pressure, exerted through both civil and ecclesiastical channels, had reached a high point by 1796 and was successful in the following year, when along with several other churches in the province the Santa Fe *parroquia* was secularized, henceforth to be under the exclusive supervision of the Bishop of Durango. Thus with the end of their autonomy in sight, the two Santa Fe friars might have thought it best to say nothing in their report about an independent Franciscan lay organization established within the fabric of what was about to become a secular church.

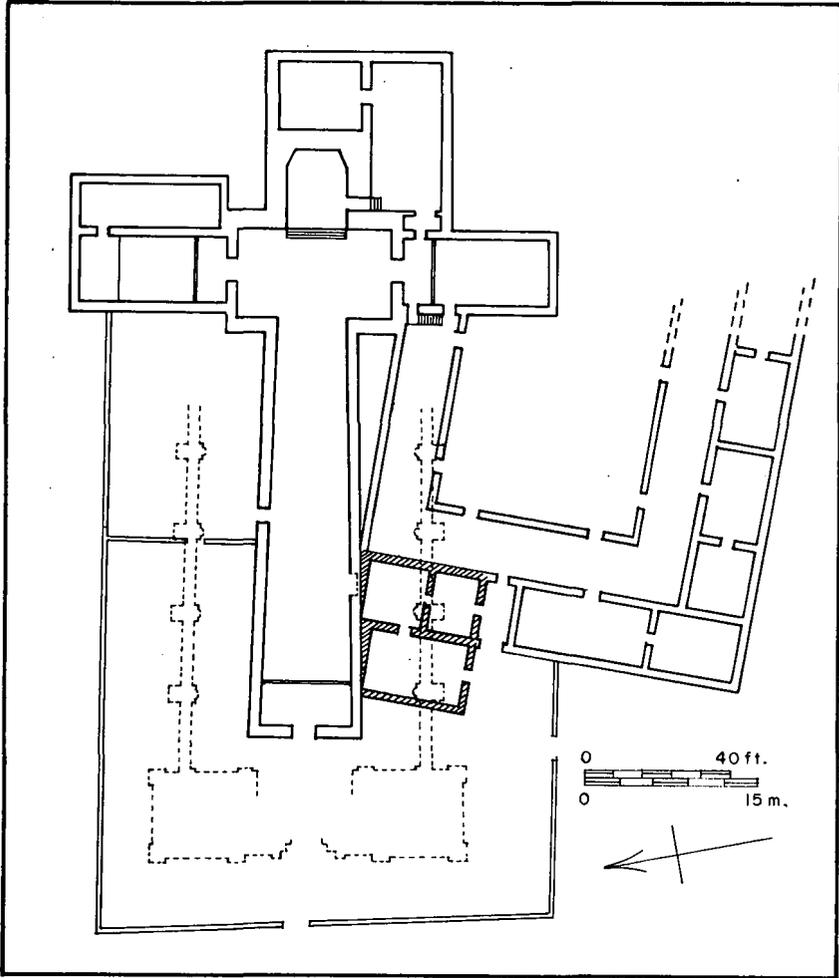
The 1797 changeover did not mean that there was an immediate total withdrawal of the Franciscans. Replacement secular priests were slow in arriving; some arrived, took a quick look around and hurried back home to Durango. The Friars Minor, although in diminishing numbers, continued serving many of the churches and missions they had founded almost two centuries earlier. And in Santa Fe, for the time being, they were left in possession of their deeded convent. This was a potentially awkward situation—a monastic convent structurally tied to a secular church and containing inside its walls the church's baptistery.

Much happened to both the *parroquia* and the convent in the few years just previous to and following 1796. Not long before the Chacón report was written, a wealthy and devout Santa Fe citizen, Don Antonio José Ortiz, had begun virtually to rebuild the old church, which was then in bad condition. Among his improvements, all made at his own expense, was the construction of a large new chapel, dedicated to San José and projecting south from the church's south transept. To make room for the chapel, Don Antonio had to demolish (of course, with the friars' consent) the entire rear cloister gallery of the square convent, although the major front part of the building, adjoining the church's nave and containing the church baptistery and the large entrance porch, was left intact.

Later, in 1799, a great part of the *parroquia's* nave collapsed. Don Antonio set about repairing it and had it ready for reroofing



Hypothetical schematic floor plan, drawn to approximate scale, of Santa Fe *parroquia* and convent in 1776, as deduced from Domínguez's description.



Hypothetical schematic floor plan showing post-1776 changes made by Antonio José Ortiz including his probable installation of the Third Order chapel (cross-hatched section, dimensions conjectural). Vestibule and part of nave of present St. Francis Cathedral superimposed in dotted lines for location reference. For further information on these figures, see page 74.

by 1804 when, struck by lightning, the walls fell down again. This time he lengthened the front of the nave considerably and made other important changes in the church. A minor move was the transfer of the baptismal font from the old northwest corner room of the convent (which seems not to have suffered much damage in the two disasters to the church) to the sacristy at the church's rear. This freed the former baptistery room for other uses.

Most of these changes are among improvements that are first recorded in a series of letters to and from the Bishop of Durango, dated from 1797 to 1813, regarding Don Antonio's religious benefactions in and near Santa Fe. The series includes one lengthy letter written in 1805 by Don Antonio himself to the bishop, in which his good works (or at least most of them; see below) are listed with no lack of emphasis upon his pious magnanimity.⁵

The changes are later confirmed in three reports of inspections conducted in 1814, 1817 and 1826. The first of these was by a local layman, Ignacio Sánchez Vergara, upon the direction of then Governor José Manrique in response to a request from the Durango bishopric.⁶ It includes a cursory description of the convent, among other things noting that its formerly large entrance porch was now reduced in size and small in relation to the rest of the structure. Access to it was still through the main cemetery, the south wall of which had not been moved since Domínguez's day. Also, the number of rooms reported by Vergara makes it evident that in 1814 the convent still retained its partial second story, in which the kitchen had been placed above the former church baptistery.

The second and third reports were by two successive Visitors General—secular priests sent up from Durango. The first, Juan Bautista Ladrón del Niño de Guevara, didn't like much of what he saw,⁷ while the second, Agustín Fernández San Vicente, copied some sections of Guevara's report but added important observations of his own. He, too, had criticisms to make.⁸ In neither report is the convent described; with its Franciscan ownership perhaps then in question the two inspectors may have judged it to lie outside of their assigned purview. In both reports, however, indirect references to parts of the building are made.

The first specific reference to the chapel thus far known appears towards the end of the 1814 Vergara report:

In the middle of the church [premises] is built a small chapel that serves the Third Order. The little structure, although adjoining the church, is independent of the latter as to provide access to it a part of the main cemetery has been divided off. As may be seen, this has left it by itself.⁹

Basing her opinion on the known Ortiz family connections with the Third Order and also on a clause in the will of Rosa Bustamente, Don Antonio's widow, which was written only four months after Vergara made his report, E. Boyd believes that the chapel had been built at least in part with Ortiz funds, after Don Antonio's death in 1806.¹⁰

In their wills, dated August 12, 1806 and July 9, 1814 respectively,¹¹ both Don Antonio and his widow stated their Third Order membership and requested that their bodies be robed in the Order's habit, for burial. In neither will is the Order named as a legatee, and in none of the Durango correspondence about Don Antonio's costly gifts to the Church is the Order mentioned. Nevertheless, it perhaps is more likely that Don Antonio himself had the chapel built, as a carefully unpublicized part of his repair and alteration of the *parroquia*, than that it was built, in whole or in part, by his survivors.

In Rosa Bustamente's 1814-dated will is the clause:

Declaro ser mi voluntad dejar tres pesos fuertes a cada una de las mandas forzosas inclusa la de nuestra señora de Guadalupe, y dose a la nuebamente impuesta.

Boyd translates this as:

I declare that it is my wish to give three minted pesos to each one of the benevolent orders including that of Our Lady of Guadalupe, and twelve to the one newly organized,

and adds in a footnote that by "benevolent orders" Rosa meant

the local religious confraternities. The "one newly organized," Boyd suggests, was the Third Order.

This clause has been misunderstood by Boyd. *Mandas forzosas* does not mean "benevolent order," but is a legal term that appears in very many nineteenth century and earlier Spanish wills. A nineteenth century Mexican treatise on the making of wills¹² defines *mandas forzosas* (as distinguished from *legados voluntarios*) as bequests

. . . which by law must be made by every testator for certain specified pious purposes . . . The amount to be left for each purpose depends entirely upon the wish of the testator.

The *mandas* effective in New Mexico in 1814, when Rosa made her will, are listed in the treatise as, first,

support of the holy places of Jerusalem; second, support of the sanctuary of Guadalupe [the basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe on the hill of Tepeyac near Mexico City.—Rosa made special mention of this one, leaving it three pesos]; third, provision for the marriage of poor female orphans; fourth, provision for the redemption of captives. [This *manda*, which was to be revoked in 1820, may have been the one "newly imposed" (not "newly organized") to which Rosa left twelve pesos. The redemption of captives taken by hostile Indians was than a serious matter in New Mexico, and the Ortiz family's Indian experience had been tragic.]

Thus Rosa Bustamente's will had nothing to do with the Third Order chapel.

In 1776, Domínguez had noted the Order's poverty. Almost twenty years later it was no better off; Salpointe cites a 1794 account stating that the Order had existed in Santa Fe and Santa Cruz since the Reconquest, supported solely by its members. Although the Santa Fe membership was large, it was constantly in debt.¹³ Always out of funds for even minimal necessities, the Order could not have hoped ever to have a chapel of its own—until luck in the guise of a lightning-stroke (readily construable as *Providencia*) seems to have altered the situation.

In 1799, when the *parroquia*'s nave collapsed for the first time, the baptistery was still outside the south nave wall in the northwest corner room of the convent. But then in 1804 lightning knocked down the walls again, and as stated above, evidently as a part of Don Antonio's second and more extensive repair work the baptismal font was relocated in the church's sacristy. Guevara, in his 1817 report, notes its presence there and also notes that a doorway in the south nave wall that formerly had been a side door (*que antes era puerta de costado*) was now a niche, wide and deep enough to hold a life-size image of Christ in the Tomb. This could only have been the former door to the baptistery; no other door in the nave's south wall is mentioned in any report and Domínguez had stated the baptistery door to have been about five feet wide. Its outer side had now been walled up and plastered over, thus cutting off the former baptistery room from the church.

Also, Vergara in his 1814 report said that the convent's entrance-porch was then *reducida y pequeña* (reduced and small in size). Further, his report implies, the northwest corner of the convent was still intact in 1814, with the kitchen in place above the former baptistery. Under the kitchen and its adjoining chamber, however, unreported changes had been made which account for the shortening of the entrance-porch.

An 1828 document, heretofore uncited, gives the best indication thus far known of the Third Order chapel's location and also something of its plan.¹⁴ This is the record of an official charge brought by Santa Fe Alcalde Domingo Fernández, on October 9, 1828, against Josef Tenorio, *el cantor*, accusing the latter of having committed a robbery, some years earlier, in the Third Order chapel. (Note that in his charge, in part translated below, Fernández refers to the "Chapel of my Father San Francisco." The Third Order's chapels and altars, although owned by the Order, were dedicated to "Our Father St. Francis.")

The charge states that

... on an evening after vespers, in December, 1819, Josef Tenorio, the precentor, on leaving the Chapel of my Father San Francisco, with malicious intent left unfastened the latch on the door located in the entrance-porch of the convent. By this door the

said Josef Tenorio entered at night into a room that is next to and communicates with the Sacristy of said Chapel, where are kept the alms of the Third Order, of which I am in charge. Tenorio helped himself to some of these [specified later in the complaint as various woven goods] and on his departure left the door snugly closed. The robbery was discovered in the morning. . . .

From this account it can be deduced that the chapel had two adjoining auxiliary rooms besides its main chamber. Both of these were in the old convent structure. The first, into which the wily Tenorio made his nocturnal entrance, had been converted from the northern part of the formerly 22-foot-long entrance porch. It had an outside door to the remaining small porch and an interior door to the second room. This was the former church baptistery, now inaccessible from the church and made into the chapel's sacristy where the Order's offerings (*limosnas*) were stored. The chapel proper would have been connected with its sacristy and thus had to lie outside the convent, built along the latter's front wall with its far end against the nave wall of the church. Its main door, undoubtedly secured with a lock and key, probably faced south. The door to the anteroom off the porch, however, seems to have had only an interior cross-bar latch (*aldava*), which if properly fastened would have prevented Tenorio's ingress.

In view of the Order's lack of real money (its *limosnas* were all in kind), the most likely source of the cash funding required for all this work—the conversion of the convent rooms and the building of the new attached chapel—would have been its wealthy *hermano* Don Antonio José Ortiz. The timing was right; in the course of his operations on the *parroquia* it would have been feasible for him to expand these a little to give the Order the modest housing it needed and could not itself afford to acquire. The friars would have been happy to offer space in and adjoining their convent for such a worthy Franciscan project. But where the Bishop of Durango was concerned, the project had to be handled with discretion.

Although Don Antonio was not at all shy about informing the bishop of his many local religious benefactions, all of those which he listed were in the secular church field and could be expected to

receive (as they did) the approval and thanks of the secular church authorities. The Santa Fe Franciscan Third Order, however, was another matter, as also was the Santa Fe convent, then still Franciscan property. The support of neither of these would arouse much enthusiasm in the Durango episcopate, which wanted the Franciscans out of the picture. In return for his philanthropies, Don Antonio was asking unusual favors and privileges from the bishop; well versed in Church politics, he may have thought that the less said about his Third Order ties and gifts, or the convent, the better. In any case, as stated above, in none of the correspondence with the bishop is either of these subjects mentioned—yet even before 1796 his construction of the new Chapel of San José had required his spending considerable money on remodeling the Franciscan convent. That the Third Order chapel was built as a part of Don Antonio's large-scale construction work of *circa* 1805 may also have other archival support. Vergara, in 1814, did not note the chapel as being new, and there are reasons for suspecting that it then had been standing and in use for some time.

The first of the twenty-two recorded burials in the chapel is dated July 28, 1816¹⁵—more than two years after Vergara wrote his report. Sixteen more were made in that year, three more in 1817 and then one each in 1821 and 1822.¹⁶ The secular priest who officiated at these recorded burials was *Cura* Juan Tomás Terrazas, who in all his *parroquia* burial records noted meticulously where the burials were made. He had been appointed curate on June 24, 1816, succeeding Friar Francisco Hozio.¹⁷ The latter, then one of the last remaining Franciscans, during his long residency wrote his burial records in the skimpiest possible form, seldom if ever noting grave locations. Therefore the fact that the first recorded burial in the Third Order chapel is dated July 28, 1816, only a month after Terrazas replaced Hozio, does not mean that others had not previously been made there, by Hozio. Also, from May, 1818 to June, 1821, Terrazas' place as parochial curate was taken by another priest who, like Hozio, did not specify grave locations. This could account for the hiatus in the chapel burial records for those years.

Additional evidence suggests that some of the chapel burials

may have been quite old by 1816. In his 1817 report, Guevara stated with severe disapproval that in a room adjoining the *parroquia* (*la pieza adjunta*) seven skulls had been exhumed and were being ritually used in a way he found intolerable. He ordered them reburied at once, and the practice to cease.¹⁸ These skulls would have had to lie beneath the chapel's floor for some time, in order to become the bare bones that were encountered and removed when later burials were made in the constricted space.

Boyd is in error in her estimate of the date of the chapel's destruction. After noting, undoubtedly correctly, that "It is clear that de Guevara's inspection of the Chapel of the Third Order was the occasion for his diatribe against the 'intolerable abuse' of human skulls," she continues, "It is also to be inferred that de Guevara saw to it that the entire chapel in front of the parroquia was demolished—no more burials in it are recorded, nor has further mention of the building been found."¹⁹

Guevara inspected the *parroquia* and issued his blast against the exhumation and use of the skulls in the Third Order chapel in 1817. As noted above, burials continued to be made in the chapel at least as late as January, 1822, and in May of that year a reference in a separate burial notice mentions the chapel as still standing.²⁰ Also, by her will dated September 16, 1823, a María Luisa Rivera directed that she be buried in "the Chapel of our Father Saint Francis."²¹

Three years later, according to Salpointe's citation of a now unfindable passage in Fernández's 1826 inspection report,

The last chapel visited [by Vicar General Fernández] in the city was that of the Third Order of St. Francis, adjoining the parochial church on its southern side. As it was found lacking everything required for the celebration of the mass, the document of its concession was annulled by the Vicar General, and orders given to the parish priest, the Rev. Juan Tomás Terrazas, not to celebrate any more in it.²²

Salpointe also states that

As it [the Third Order] was a Franciscan institution which, by its constitution, could be governed only by priests of the Order, it

ceased to have a canonical existence in New Mexico when the Franciscan Fathers were succeeded by secular priests in the missions.²³

As we have seen, however, the Third Order continued to exist under the guidance of a secular priest—and so did its Santa Fe chapel. In *Alcalde* Domingo Fernández's account of the theft committed by Josef Tenorio, cited above, the wording makes it clear that although Tenorio's misdeed had occurred in 1819, when he was belatedly brought to justice in 1828 the chapel was still in use—two years after the Vicar General had annulled its concession. And it remained in use for at least another year. Vicar Don Juan Rafael Rascón, in his report of his *visita* dated August 4, 1829,²⁴ ordered that concerning the *parroquia*, “. . . the images painted on animal hide, disfigured or imperfect, be removed from public veneration, such as those that can be seen in the Chapel of the Third Order.”

Title to the convent seems to have passed to the secular church by this time. Within about three years, apparently, Bishop Zubiría sold the convent and its lands to Santa Fe *Vicario* Juan Felipe Ortiz. Appointed vicar by the bishop in 1832, Juan Felipe Ortiz was a grand-nephew of old Don Antonio. He made many changes in the building, including the removal of its second story and complete physical separation from the church's nave, and occupied it as his residence until Bishop Lamy's advent in 1851.

One of the first of his alterations of the convent must have been the demolition of the Third Order chapel. In 1833 a new parish cemetery, with a small chapel of its own, was being readied for use on the heights in the northeastern section of the city, under the direction of Vicar Ortiz. The new chapel evidently was supplied with a bell, of mediocre quality. In a letter concerning the cemetery,²⁵ the statement is made that “. . . the parish at some future time might want to have a better bell than the one that had served in the Third Order . . . ,” implying that the bell in question, then hanging in the new chapel at the cemetery, had been salvaged from the dismantled Third Order chapel.

If the writer's supposition about the chapel's location is correct, taken from evidence outlined above, its northern or probable sanctuary end would have occupied space now within St. Francis

Cathedral. Roughly, this would be the area in the second bay from the vestibule, on the right (south) side of the Cathedral's nave, defined by the first and second large free-standing pillars and the nave's south wall. The chapel's sacristy (the former northwest corner room of the convent) would have lain just east of this, in the third bay.

NOTES

1. Marta Weigle, *Brothers of Light, Brothers of Blood* (Albuquerque, 1976), pp. 37-51 and *passim*; E. Boyd, *Popular Arts of Spanish New Mexico* (Santa Fe, 1974), pp. 440-451, 453; Fray Angelico Chavez, *The Cathedral of the Royal City of the Holy Faith of Saint Francis* (Santa Fe, 1947), unpagged, and "The Penitentes of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review (NMHR)*, 52:97-98 n.1 and *passim*; J. B. Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross* (Banning, California, 1898), pp. 161-162, 294.

2. Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe (AASF): Loose Documents, Mission, 1697 no. 1 and 1698 no. 1, on microfilm in New Mexico State Records Center and Archives (NMSRC).

3. Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez (trans. and eds.). *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776, a Description of Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez* (Albuquerque, 1956), pp. 12-32.

4. Spanish Archives of New Mexico (SANM) II: 1360, on microfilm in NMSRC, as indexed in R. E. Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, Vol. II (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1914).

5. This correspondence has been translated and published by José B. Sena, "The Chapel of Don Antonio José Ortiz," *NMHR* 13:347-359. Unfortunately, some unclear passage in the translation cannot now be checked; the originals, said by Sena to have been in the archdiocesan archives are no longer to be found.

6. SANM misc., March 12, 1814, B. M. Read Collection, on microfilm in NMSRC. This document is a transcript of an earlier copy of the same report, now surviving as an undated and unnamed fragment in the archdiocesan archives, tentatively indexed as AASF: Loose Documents, Mission, 1826 no. 34. It, too, is on microfilm in NMSRC.

7. AASF: LXII Accounts, 1817, on microfilm in NMSRC.

8. AASF: LXIV Accounts, 1826, on microfilm in NMSRC. Much of this very lengthy report, which seems to have been in good condition in the late eighteenth hundreds, is now illegible because of water-staining.

9. Boyd's translation of this paragraph (*Popular Arts*, p. 445), given special notice as an excerpt from her translation of the entire Vergara report, (pp. 452-454), differs in some details from the present writer's, with resultant differences in meaning of the two versions. The original Spanish reads, as written:

En el centro de la misma Yglesia, esta construida una Capillita que sirve de tercer orden, cuya pequeña fabrica, está, aunque inmediata, independiente de dicha Yglesia, pues para su comunicación, se dividio parte del cimentario principal, segun se advierte, con lo que quedó esclusiva.

Weigle (*Brothers of Light*, pp. 247-248 n.104) has published the Spanish wording without comment but with three small errors of transcription. In her text references to the chapel (pp. 44-45), Weigle follows and in part quotes Boyd. George Kubler, in *The Religious Architecture of New Mexico* (Colorado Springs, 1940), p. 101 n.23, earlier had surmised that the Third Order chapel might have been the Ortiz-built Chapel of San José put to other use. Chavez, too, (*The Cathedral of the Royal City*, unpagged) believed such identification probable. As Weigle states (p. 248 n.104), Vergara's mention of the two separate chapels refutes these suppositions.

10. Boyd, *Popular Arts*, p. 445.

11. Ortiz Family Papers, in NMSRC.

12. Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Practica de Testamentos* (Santa Fe, printed by Manderfield and Tucker, no date), pp. 27-28, 68. The latest date noted in the text is 1850. The present writer's copy, a 96-page, paper-bound book printed evidently in the eighteen sixties or seventies, appears to be a local reprint of a Mexican original. It is entirely in Spanish.

13. Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*, p. 294.

14. Mexican Archives of New Mexico (MANM), Judicial Proceedings, 1828, October 9-31, as indexed in *Calendar of the Microfilm Edition of the Mexican Archives of New Mexico, 1821-1846* (NMSRC, Santa Fe, 1970), p. 27. On microfilm in NMSRC.

15. AASF: Burials 50, Santa Fe, on microfilm in NMSRC. Boyd notes only two chapel burials, both in 1816, and states, erroneously that after Guevara's 1817 inspection "no more burials in it are recorded" (*Popular Arts*, pp. 445-446).

16. AASF: Burials 50 and 52, Santa Fe, on microfilm in NMSRC.

17. Fray Angelico Chavez, *Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, 1678-1900* (Washington, 1957), p. 261.

18. Boyd (*Popular Arts*, p. 446-447) notes the ritualistic use of human skulls on Third Order altars and later in Penitente moradas.

19. Boyd, *Popular Arts*, p. 446.

20. AASF: Burials 52, Santa Fe, on microfilm in NMSRC. On May 23, 1822 Cura Terrazas buried Don Mateo Garcia in the *parroquia's* *Campo Santo*, after the deceased had remained unburied for sixty hours while Terrazas refused his relatives' demands that he be buried in the Third Order chapel or within some other chapel or church in the city.

21. SANM I: 803, on microfilm in NMSRC, as indexed in Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, Vol. I (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1914).

22. Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*, p. 161. See note 8, *supra*.

23. Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*, p.161.

24. AASF: LXXXI Accounts, Santa Fe, Rascón *visita*, August 4, 1829, on microfilm in NMSRC.

25. AASF: LXXXI Accounts, Santa Fe, Bishop Zubiría *visita*, September 25, 1833, on microfilm in NMSRC.

Notes on Figures

A few vague statements in Domínguez, supported by some late nineteenth century cartographical data, heretofore uncited, suggest that when the convent was built in 1697 it was set askew on its granted plot. In order to have the *parroquia* more suitably face the plaza, upon its construction in 1712-*ca.* 1717, it apparently was joined to the convent at about a 9-degree angle, as shown in both figures. In figure 2, Ortiz's new Chapel of San José can be seen extending south from the *parroquia*'s south transept arm. Also as shown in figure 2, according to post-1776 archival notes and to archaeological evidence secured by the late Stanley A. Stubbs and the present writer in 1957, Ortiz had shortened the north (Conquistadora) chapel, giving it a square end instead of the trapezoidal end described by Domínguez. Apparently the chapel was restored to its former length and shape in the eighteen thirties.

The irregular placement of the convent as well as the post-1776 changes shown in figure 2 will be discussed in a detailed history of the *parroquia* and convent, and the building of St. Francis Cathedral, now being prepared by the present writer.

Figures 1 and 2 are drawn to the same scale, noted in figure 2. In both figures, the walled cemetery in front of the *parroquia*, with its smaller adjoining burial-ground north of the church's nave, appear in outline.