"NOT OCCUPIED. . .SINCE THE PEACE:" THE 1995 ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT HISTORIC FORT MARCY, SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO

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ABSTRACT

During 1995, archaeological and historical investigations were conducted at historic Fort Marcy, Santa Fe, New Mexico as the third phase of a project sponsored by the City of Santa Fe, the Historic Preservation Division, and the National Park Service. Fort Marcy, designated LA 111, is included in the State Register of Cultural Properties and National Register of Historic Places as SR 87. Susan Swan, of Northern Research Group, Inc., Las Vegas, New Mexico carried out limited archaeological test excavations during June 1995, working under State Permit Number SE-109. Dr. David Kammer conducted the historical research for the project and Cordelia Thomas Snow was the historic sites archaeological advisor. Limited test excavations in the area of the banquette/platform, moat/ramparts/revetment, blockhouse, and a slurry pit determined that Fort Marcy was constructed in 1846-1847 of prehistoric midden deposits from Middle to Late Developmental and Early Coalition Period (circa A.D. 1000-1250) occupation of the hill. Both documentary and archaeological evidence indicate the fort was never garrisoned. The third phase of studies conducted by the City of Santa Fe completed to date has accomplished the goals set by the City. Ms. Snow and Dr. Kammer completed this report for the study. Further, portions of Dr. Kammer's text have been included in this report, the complete text of Dr. Kammer's essay may be found in Appendix B. A complete description of the project can be found in " 'Not Occupied. . .Since the Peace': The 1995 Archaeological and Historical Investigations at Historic Fort Marcy, Santa Fe, New Mexico."

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This report was provided to the City of Santa Fe, 6 December 1995.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

PROJECT BACKGROUND

Archaeological and historical investigations were conducted by Northern Research Group, Inc., of Las Vegas, New Mexico between March and October, 1995, at LA 111, Fort Marcy, Santa Fe, New Mexico. The investigations included limited test excavations of the banquette/platform, moat and revetment, blockhouse and a slurry pit between June 19-30, 1995. The latter work was performed under New Mexico Permit Number SE-109. The 1995 archaeological and historical investigations were conducted as the third phase of a three-phase project for the purpose of long-term site management and historical interpretation of Fort Marcy. The 1995 investigations at Fort Marcy were sponsored by the National Park Service, the Historic Preservation Division of the Office of Cultural Affairs, the City of Santa Fe, and the City Archaeological Review Committee. Dr. David Kammer was the project historian for Northern Research Group, Inc., while Cordelia Thomas Snow served as project advisor for historic sites archaeology. Archaeological and historical investigations conducted under previous phases of the project by John Acklen (1994) and Frank Wozniak (1992) are discussed below. Fort Marcy is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and on the State Register of Cultural Properties (SR 87).

Located on a ridge overlooking the Downtown Historic District in Santa Fe, New Mexico, Fort Marcy lies within City-owned Prince Park. The site, situated on unplatted land in the Santa Fe Grant, is bounded roughly by Kearny and Prince Avenues to the north, Arroyo Saiz to the east, Paseo de Peralta to the south, and Otero Street on the west. Prince Park covers 6.5 acres and lies at an elevation of 7,062 feet. The Universal Transverse Mercator (UTM) coordinates for Fort Marcy are Zone 13: E415750, N3949650.

Fort Marcy was the first, and only, earthen fortification constructed in New Mexico by Brigadier General Stephen Watts Kearny's Army of the West during the Mexican American War (1846-1848). The fortification was named for then Secretary of War, William L. Marcy, and was constructed under the direction of Lt. Jeremy Gilmer between 1846-1847. Fort Marcy consists of the eroded remains of an irregular hexagonal polygon-shaped "star" fortification (earthwork) and moat with an interior banquette and platform for gun emplacements and semi-subterranean magazine. In addition, Gilmer constructed an adobe blockhouse northeast of the fortification.

Beginning in 1992 staff in the Santa Fe Planning and Land Use Department assisted by the City's Archaeological Review Committee embarked upon a long-term project for management and historical interpretation of Fort Marcy. In that year, consulting historian and archaeologist Frank Wozniak received a grant to inventory

records regarding the prehistorical and historical uses of the site. During his research, Wozniak located a number of letters from Lt. J. F. Gilmer to Capt. George L. Welcker in the Lenoir Family Papers Collection at the University of North Carolina, which added much to the knowledge regarding construction of the fortification and blockhouse at Fort Marcy.

The second phase of the project occured in 1994 when John Acklen prinicipal investigator for TRC Mariah Associates, Inc., mapped Fort Marcy and conducted twenty-three auger tests and one shovel test to determine subsurface deposits at the site. As the result of Acklen's 1994 archaeological testing, it was determined that the blockhouse was constructed of adobe not wood, as William Keleher believed (1952:109). Acklen concluded from tests of the ramparts that the feature had been constructed of redeposited midden soils. Auger tests of the possible slurry pit indicated a "dense clay containing midden fill to a depth of 90 cm. below ground surface (bgs)" (Acklen 1994:22).

The 1995 project conducted by Northern Research, Inc. confirmed several of Acklen's determinations of the previous year. These include the following: the blockhouse was, in fact, constructed of adobe, and the ramparts were constructed of redeposited midden soils from multicomponent Middle to Late Developmental and early Coalition Period (circa A. D. 1000-1250) occupation of the hill. In addition, limited testing west of the magazine in the interior of the fort allowed for inspection of the "rammed earth" construction of the banquette/platform. Limited testing of the possible slurry pit was inconclusive. Finally, although the title of this paper suggests that Fort Marcy was occupied, i.e., garrisoned however briefly, archaeological and historical evidence suggests that was not the case. From inception of the fort, troops were garrisoned in town. However, this does not mean that the fort was never used for other purposes, as will be discussed in this report.

For much of the twentieth century, archaeologists, historic archaeologists, and historians have devoted a good deal of energy attempting toward piecing together Santa Fe's past. With changes in research methodologies and the uncovering of new information, they have contributed to a more accurate and detailed chronology of the city's past. Equally fascinated with the city's past are many of its citizens and visitors; people drawn by the lure of the nation's oldest capitol city, its setting, its rich historic cultural mix, and its striking architecture. Responding to and encouraging these interests through the promotion of historical and cultural tourism, the city's boosters have since statehood, labeled Santa Fe "the city different;" a period that more or less mirrors the time during which archaeologists and historians have scrutinized its past in detail.

Despite these efforts to preserve and share Santa Fe's past, as is with the telling of any story, oversights do occur. Much neglected has been Fort Marcy, the earthen fieldwork that overlooks the plaza from the northeast and dates to the American occupation of New Mexico in 1846. Civic leaders sought to preserve it and to include it as a resource in presenting the city's past as early as 1912 (Prince 1912:10; Santa Fe City Planning Board 1912:np). In

recent years, historians have revisited this topic in scholarly articles, noting that Fort Marcy is one of the only two remaining fortifications in the United States pertaining to the Mexican-American War. As well, the fort is believed to symbolize the Manifest Destiny that drove much of expansion (Bloom 1969: Utley 1983: Wilson 1989). Eight decades later, as the century draws to an close, efforts to preserve the site of the fort and to offer the visiting public an interpretation of its significance have lagged. This neglect is, in part, attributable to the selectivity that has marked popular presentations of historic Santa Fe. It reflects a bias begun in the 1920s by Anglo and Spanish-American cultural leaders and reinforced by the romantic expectations of tourists. Those expectations emphasized the city's connection with more distant Indian and Spanish periods and, increasingly, excluded events occurring during the Mexican and American periods of Santa Fe's nineteenth century.

Current leaders and planners, recognizing that the fort offers insights into an essential but long-under appreciated chapter in Santa Fe's development, now seek to include an examination of the fort as a part of their efforts to present a more complete picture of the city's past. To accomplish this goal support has been provided to the three aforementioned recent archeological and archival investigations and research. The discussion of Fort Marcy and its role in Santa Fe's history reflected in this report address the efforts undertaken in 1995.

CHAPTER 2: ENVIRONMENTAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

Santa Fe is located in the Española Basin, part of the physiographic zone of the Southern Rocky Mountains. Bounded by the Sangre de Cristo Mountains on the east and Jemez Mountains on the west, soils consisting of silts, sands, and gravels are derived from middle to late Tertiary deposits of the Santa Fe Group, primarily the Tesuque formation. Located on a south and west facing ridge, part of the western foothills of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains and more than 60 feet above the Santa Fe plaza, Fort Marcy is identified as being within in the Pojoaque-Rough broken land complex by Folks (1975:43). According to Folks, the Pojoaque soils in the area of Fort Marcy are characterized as well-drained soils on up-land terraces, with moderate permeability, rapid runoff and potential for severe erosion. They consist of a thin layer of "light reddish-brown sandy clay loam" above a layer of "gravelly sandy clay loam to a depth of sixty inches or more" (Folks 1975:43). The surface is moderately eroded. The area is drained by the Santa Fe River which is tributary to the Rio Grande.

When the first Spaniards settled Santa Fe, possibly as early as 1605, they found the Santa Fe River a perennial stream. In addition, a large *cienega*, marsh or bog, covered a portion of the modern city north, east, and south of the former, larger Spanish plaza (Snow 1992). Other seeps and springs cropped out at Cieneguitas, located along the western border of the present City of Santa Fe Grant, at Agua Fria, Cieneguilla, and La Cienega. In fact, as Post and Snow (1992:6) have speculated, the abundance of water in the Santa Fe area may have been the reason the area was abandoned by Puebloan people before the arrival of the Spanish. The abundance of water coupled with the advent of the "Little Ice Age," circa A. D. 1450, may have led to prehistoric abandonment of much the area due to lack of technology to deal with both surface water and the high ground water table.

The nearest sources of water to Fort Marcy Hill may have been seeps and springs in Arroyo Saiz to the east of the site, and/or from springs in the cienega to the south of the site. Not until Spaniards settled Santa Fe was there an acequia at the base of Fort Marcy Hill. The lack of a source of water on the hill would eventually play an important role in decisions concerning the materials used for construction of historic Fort Marcy between 1846-1847.

Fort Marcy is located within the piñon-juniper woodland of the Upper Sonoran Grasslands (Fig. 1). Prior to modern disturbance and landscaping, early photographs and sketches show that, as recently as the 1930s, the hills surrounding Santa Fe had been denuded of all but native grasses due to the need for firewood for heating and cooking. With the introduction of alternative fuels in the twentieth century, piñon and junipers once again cover the hills surrounding the city. It should be noted, however, some of the piñones presently found within Prince Park were planted by the City of Santa Fe within recent years. Several small Siberian Elms are

found growing within the confines of the western end of the fort. In addition to scattered chamisa, a number of large stands of Four-wing Saltbush are also found on the site. Although "manicured" and maintained by the city, this recognized site indicator apparently occurs naturally on the site. Further, according to the New Mexico Native Plant Protection Advisory Committee (1984: 112-113) and Bob Sivinski (pers. comm., November 27, 1995), Santa Fe Cholla, a "biologically threatened" species on the State Endangered Species List, is found only on south and west facing slopes in Prince Park. The growth of native grasses and other flora found on the site has been encouraged through the use of a sprinkler system installed by the city several years ago. According to Randy Thompson of the City Parks and Recreation Division, Prince Park is mowed once or twice a year; trash is collected daily (pers. comm., October 30, 1995).

Fauna found in the project area include the desert cottontail, and black-tailed jackrabbit (Lang 1980:3). A complete listing of flora and fauna in the project area can be found in Kelly (1980).

Climate in the Santa Fe area is semiarid. Precipitation ranges from 12 to 15 inches annually with most precipitation occuring from intense summer thunderstorms. The growing season is approximately 165-170 days (Folks 1975:43), and is sufficient for growing crops in most years. However, given the location of Fort Marcy the immediate area of the hill would not have been cultivated. Instead, crops would have been grown in the valley below the site.

CULTURAL BACKGROUND

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD -- 9500 B.C. TO A.D. 1600

The following discussion of the cultural history of the Santa Fe area is summarized from a number of sources, primarily Cordell (1979), Dickson (1979) and Peckham (1984).

Paleoindian (9500 B.C. to 6000 B. C.)

Paleoindian hunters and gatherers are the earliest known occupants of the Southwest. Known from such type sites as Clovis and later, Folsom, New Mexico, distinctive Paleoindian artifact assemblages have been found in association with extinct Pleistocene fauna. Although in recent years tremendous advances have been made in the cultural history of the Santa Fe area, evidence for occupation of the area by Paleoindian hunters and gatherers between 9500 B. C. and 6000 B. C. remains sparse. As Cordell (1979) noted, "examination of the distribution of [Paleoindian] finds, however, indicate that all are from loci that have been subject to recent, severe erosion." She further explained, "It appears that land surfaces of the appropriate antiquity have not been exposed near Santa Fe" (Cordell 1979:1).

Archaic (5500 B.C. to A.D. 500)

Once believed to have been sparsely occupied, if at all, during the Archaic period, recent work by Schmader (1994) and Post (personal communication, October 26, 1995) have identified major

Archaic manifestations in the Santa Fe area. Although corn was introduced in the late Archaic period, Archaic peoples continued to follow a foraging pattern of subsistence. Generally identified with diagnostic artifact assemblages including distinctive projectile points, scrapers, knives and grinding stones, most archaic sites were consistered seasonal campsites. However, in his work at Tierra Contenta southwest of Santa Fe, Schmader (1994) uncovered evidence of Archaic structures, which suggests extended habitation. The suspected habitation sites were "characterized by ash-stained charcoal bearing deposits which overlie compacted living surfaces" (Schmader 1994:102). Found in association were firepits, posts, cists and other architectural features. According to Schmader (1994:93) his "information suggests that the Santa Fe area may have been occupied more intensively during the latter Archaic than has been previously thought, even to the extent that small clusters of related structures were occupied at the same time around 1000 BC or earlier."

Developmental Period (A.D. 600-A. D. 1200)

Between A. D. 600 and A. D. 1200 occupants of the Santa Fe area began to depend more heavily on maize agriculture introduced during the late Archaic (Cordell 1979; Peckham 1984). Originally defined by developers of the Pecos Classification as Basketmaker III through Pueblo I-II, the term Developmental Period more accurately defines the cultural chronology found in the Rio Grande as opposed to the Anasazi sequence elsewhere.

According to Dickson (1979:11), the Early Developmental Period (A.D. 600-A.D.900), is characterized by "small villages of circular pithouse structures," often found in association with jacal surface structures. An example of the latter was uncovered during excavation of LA 1, Pindi Pueblo (Stubbs and Stalling 1953). Ceramics recovered in association with Early Developmental Period sites include mineral painted Lino Black-on-gray, Whitemound Black-on-white and an "early" form of Red Mesa Black-on-white (Dickson 1979:11).

The Middle Developmental Period (A.D. 900-A. D. 1100) is also known as the Red Mesa Phase (Dickson 1979), for the ceramic type frequently found on sites of the period. During this period, site frequency increased in the Santa Fe area. Dickson (1979:11) notes that the Middle Developmental Period "was marked by the transition from pithouses to contiguous-walled adobe surface pueblos." It was also during this period that the pithouse evolved into the kiva in the Rio Grande (Peckham 1984:276).

Site size and frequency increased throughout the Santa Fe area during the Late Developmental Period (A.D. 1100-A.D.1200), possibly as the result of an increasing dependence upon maize agriculture. Sites in the area tend to be moved from flood plains with arable lands to terraces above those lands. Possibly atypical, LA 835 located in the Tesuque valley, consists of clusters of blocks of ten to twenty rooms around a great kiva (Cordell 1979; Peckham 1984). Due to fact that imported ceramics and artifacts have been recovered from excavations at the site, it has been suggested that perhaps the site represents political expansion into the area by San Juan groups (Cordell 1979; Peckham 1984).

Coalition Period (A. D. 1200-A.D.1325)

The Coalition Period is marked by population expansion in the Santa Fe area, and the introduction of carbon-painted ceramics such as Santa Fe and Wiyo Black-on-white (Cordell 1979; Dickson 1979; Peckham 1984). LA 1, Pindi Pueblo (Stubbs and Stallings 1953), LA 2, the Schoolhouse site, Arroyo Hondo, LA 1051 beneath the present Santa Fe City hall, and numerous other sites in the area date from this period. Located on terraces above perennial streams or springs, many of the sites appear to be "local responses to new ideas diffusing into the area" (Dickson 1979:12).

Classic Period (A.D. 1325-A.D. 1600)

The production of lead glazed ceramics marks the beginning of the Classic Period. Where huge sites, including most of the modern pueblos, are found elsewhere in the region during this period, almost inexplicably, by about A. D. 1425, with the exception of LA 16, Cieneguilla, the Santa Fe area had been abandoned. And, even LA 16 had been abandoned by the Late Classic Period (Dickson 1979:35). While Dickson (1979:77) postulates that environmental stress "slightly reduced the human carrying capacity of the region, the adaptive systems collapsed entirely." Post and Snow (1992) have speculated, on the other hand, that perhaps the abundance of surface waters from seeps and springs in the Santa Fe area along with a high ground water table, coupled with the advent of the "Little Ice Age," were responsible for the abandonment of the area during this period (see above).

THE HISTORIC PERIOD -- A.D. 1600 TO 1846

The historic period in New Mexico is generally divided into several phases: 1540-1600, the Protohistoric, or period of Spanish exploration and settlement; 1600-1680, Spanish colonization; 1680-1693, Pueblo Revolt; 1693-1821, Spanish Colonial; 1821-1846, Mexican Colonial; 1846-1850, U. S. military occupation; 1850-1912, U. S. territorial; 1912-present, statehood.

Late Classic/Protohistoric Period (A.D. 1540-A. D. 1600)

The Late Classic Period, or protohistoric period of Spanish exploration, is characterized by Spanish contact with Classic Period puebloan communities along the Rio Grande and eastward into the plains. Less than twenty-five years after the conquest of Mexico by Spaniards, Francisco Vásquez de Coronado traveled into the Rio Grande Valley after having passed by the Zuni Pueblo of Hawikuh on his search for the mythical Seven Cities of Cibola and Quivira. Based on the accounts of Hernando de Alvarado, Coronado spent the winter of 1540-1541 at the Pueblo of Tiguex in the area of present-day Bernalillo, New Mexico (Hordes 1992; Vierra 1992). Not finding the fabled wealth of Cibola or Quivira, Coronado returned to New Spain early in 1542. Although several *entradas* were made by other Spaniards after 1540, permanent settlement was not achieved until Juan de Oñate, accompanied by both religious and civil personnel, settled first at San Juan Pueblo, and shortly thereafter, at San Gabriel, in 1598-1599 (Hammond and Rey 1953).

Spanish Colonization (A.D. 1600-A.D.1680)

After Juan de Oñate was forced to resign in disgrace, the fate of the Spanish colony in New Mexico hung in a balance until the King of Spain decided to move forward with colonization based upon the missionization of the Pueblo Indians who lived there (Hammond and Rey 1953). Within a matter of years, the missionization effort and civil government in New Mexico were at cross purposes with the Pueblo Indians caught in the middle.

Prior to settlement of New Mexico by Spaniards, the Pueblo Indians were agriculturalists who grew primarily, corn, beans, and squash which were augmented by hunting and gathering. In addition to the introduction of domesticated livestock, cattle, sheep and goats, a wide variety of cultigens were brought to New Mexico by Spaniards. These cultigens included wheat, barley, garbanzos, chile, onions, apples, peaches, plums, and apricots.

In order to accomplish missionization, the Roman Catholic Church reduced or consolidated many of the pueblos into "larger and more conveniently located units" (Scholes 1959:13). Reduction was carried out in several ways: in several instances, as at San Lazaro, for example, previously abandoned pueblos were reoccupied; in other cases, small pueblos were consolidated. In brief, the lifestyle of the Pueblo Indians was dramatically altered by the presence of the Spaniards.

Although no other documents are known to survive, the Instructions to Pedro de Peralta constitute the basis for the first royal communal grant in the Province of New Mexico (Hammond and Rey 1953:1087-1091). As with earlier grants to Spanish towns in the New World, in addition to provisions for the colonists of house and garden lots and fields for planting, each town had an *ejido*, or common lands (Ebright 1992:18). These lands, common to all the colonists, were used for the gathering of wood, and frequently, for grazing of livestock. While one cannot be certain, based on later eighteenth century documentation of wood roads in the area, it appears that the hill on which Fort Marcy would eventually be constructed was included in the common lands used by the occupants of the villa. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that there was no source of water on the hill, and therefore the area could not be cultivated.

The Pueblo Revolt (A.D. 1680-A.D. 1693)

In August of 1680, the Pueblo Indians, who had become pawns in the Spanish church-state rivalry, rebelled. Their rebellion was exercerbated by nearly a decade of famine and increasing attacks on the missions by Apaches. Santa Fe was attacked, initially from the south by Indians from the Pueblos of Galisteo, San Marcos and La Cienega. The next day these groups were joined by Tewas from the north who gathered on the hills overlooking the Villa. Santa Fe was besieged.

The siege was eventually broken by brutal hand-to-hand combat, and the Spaniards fled to El Paso del Norte where they remained until 1693. Contrary to popular belief, however, the Pueblo Indians did not do away with all things Spanish during the

rebellion. While the Casas Reales were converted into a pueblo, herds of livestock were maintained, and Spanish introduced cultigens continued to be grown.

Spanish Reconquest and Resettlement (A.D. 1693-A.D. 1821)

In 1692, Diego de Vargas, accompanied by a Spanish military force, made up of many of the previous colonists, marched to Santa Fe where they camped on the former fields of San Miguel, and laid siege to the pueblo built on the site of the casas reales. From their vantage point, the Spaniards watched Indians massing on the hills to the right of the casas reales who had come to defend the occupants of the pueblo (Espinosa 1940:40). Within a matter of days, the Pueblos capitulated, and Santa Fe was reclaimed for the Spanish King.

Vargas returned from El Paso del Norte in 1693 accompanied those who wished to resettle New Mexico. Although the Pueblo Revolt was not quelled until 1696, succeeding years became one of accomodation and acculturation between the Pueblos and Spanish, both united against their common enemies, Apaches, Commanches, Navajos and Utes.

While the location of wood roads is never specifically identified in extant, historic documents, one of the roads which left the plaza area was used for wood-hauling and ran over or near Fort Marcy Hill (SANM II: 758). This suggests that the hill remained part of the earlier seventeenth century ejido, or common lands belonging to the villa. Unfortunately, when Lt. José Urrutia drew a map of the presidial villa of Santa Fe between 1766-68 (Fig. 4), he did not delineate property ownership on the map, although depiction of the acequia at the base of the hill did occur.

Less than twenty years after Urrutia drew his map, Roque Lovato, armorer to the Santa Fe Presidio, asked for and received a grant of "unoccupied land," north of the villa from Governor Juan Bautista de Anza (Ellis 1982). This grant included the present site of Fort Marcy. Any use Lovato made of the hill is unknown; however, nearly a century later, the Roque Lovato grant would figure in a major land scandal (Ellis 1982).

Around 1807-1808, then governor Alencaster began construction of La Garita, *Guardia de Prevención y Almacén de Pólvora*--guardhouse and powder house--on the slope below Fort Marcy (Ellis 1978; Ellis 1982). Maintained as the depository for the presido's reserve firearms, the building was repaired periodically. According to Ellis (1978:9), "the June 1846 roster--made just two months before Kearny's army entered Santa Fe--shows one man again posted as *guardia en la Garita*."

Mexican Colonial Period (A.D. 1821-A.D.1846)

In 1821 Mexico declared independence from Spain. As a result, former Spanish trade restrictions were lifted, which enabled the opening of the Santa Fe Trail and trade to New Mexico from the eastern United States. Santa Fe became a gateway on the trail from Independence, Missouri to Chihuahua and points south in Mexico.

Historians differ on the causes ascribed to the outbreak of the Mexican-American War. Most agree, however, that the election of the democratic candidate, James K. Polk, as the American president in 1844 pushed the country toward a policy of western expansion both to the Pacific Northwest and along its southwestern border. Prompted by Polk's election and his sense of the national mood for expansion, the outgoing Whig president, John Tyler, prevailed upon Congress to pass a joint resolution annexing the Republic of Texas. By March, 1845 when Polk took the oath of office, Texas had been annexed; by December of that year it became a state. During those same months Democratic journalist, John L. O'Sullivan, provided expansionists with a catchy phrase embodying their sentiments when he observed that "overspreading the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions" was the nations "manifest destiny."

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF FORT MARCY AND ITS CONSTRUCTION

Beckoning expansionists to extend their vision beyond Texas was Mexico's Department of New Mexico. Well removed from the seat of Mexican rule and commerce, New Mexico had begun to emerge from its long period of economic isolation with the opening of the Santa Fe Trail in 1821. Reversing Spain's mercantilist policy of denying foreign traders access to any of its colonial markets, Mexico had welcomed William Becknell and the other Missouri traders who followed. Recognizing that American and European manufactured goods were more easily attainable from St. Louis, New Mexican traders had also added their wagons to the caravans moving up and down the trail. Complicating these economic opportunities, however, were cultural differences that created periodic misunderstandings over custom policies, import taxes, and government authority for those engaged in the overland trade. For many Missouri traders, expansion held the promise of eliminating those problems by extending American authority over the entire length of the trail.

During his first year in office, Polk followed a foreign policy that twentieth century analysts would term "brinkmanship." Perhaps never seeking outright war, he pursued belligerent policies that held the potential of taking the county to war on two fronts. In the Northwest he confronted the British, insisting that joint occupancy of the Oregon country be terminated and that the United States receive all land below the 49th Parallel. In the Southwest he sent troops south across the Nueces River toward the Rio Grande, land held by the less than the twenty-five year old Republic of Mexico. Already embarressed and angered by the United States' annexation of Texas, this further provocation incensed Mexico. In the winter of 1845-1846, the Mexican government refused to negotiate the sale of part of its northern territory with Polk's envoy, John Slidell. Rebuffed, Slidell returned to the United States to report his failure. Thwarted in its quest for territorial expansion, the United States found its relationship with Mexico no longer salvageable through diplomacy. Following an incident in which Mexican troops crossed to the northern bank of the Rio Grande and attacked an American mounted patrol, Polk declared to Congress on May 13, 1846, "War exists."

As the Americans set about quintupling the size of their army

to 50,000 troops, they developed a strategy in which their main forces would invade Mexico across the lower Rio Grande, attempting to penetrate into the heartland of the country to secure a peace on American terms. At the same time, a force consisting of three hundred dragoons of the Regular Army and commanded by Col. Stephen Watts Kearny, 1,000 members of the First Missouri Volunteers commanded by Col. Alexander Doniphan, and the 500-man Morman Battalion was created. Departing from the Jefferson Barracks in Kansas, the group was called the Army of the West and was charged with seizing New Mexico and then advancing on to California. Moving his units in discreet detachments to avoid overgrazing along the Arkansas River portion of the Santa Fe Trail, Kearny had massed most the Army of the West, excepting the Mormon Battalion, at Bent's Fort on the northern banks of the Arkansas River by late July and was poised to march on Santa Fe.

The goal of the Army of the West was to conduct a bloodless war--to seize New Mexico while avoiding open conflict. Intelligence reports, as well as conditions in New Mexico, gave Kearny good reason for optimism in achieving that objective (Wilson 1989:100). Far removed from Mexico City, beset by increasingly bold attacks from Navajo and Ute raiding parties, and with the bloody uprising of 1837 a recent memory, the Department of New Mexico was scarcely in a position to defend itself. While historians differ about the motives and effectiveness of Manuel Armijo, New Mexico's governor, the fact remained that his department was vulnerable.

Thus it was that on the gray, rainy afternoon of August 18, 1846, Brig. Gen. Kearny and his column entered Santa Fe, paraded around the muddy plaza, and were greeted by Lieutenant Governor Juan Bautista Vigil y Alarid and a delegation of the Villa's leaders. A brief reception followed in which the military and civilian leaders drank locally-made wines and brandy, thirteen artillery pieces sounded a salute, and the American flag was raised above the Palace of the Governors. The twenty-five year period of Mexican rule had come to an end. The next day Kearny declared the people to be American citizens, telling them that they were required to obey the laws of the United States and that he would protect them.

Accompanying Kearny were Lts. William H. Emory and Jeremy F. Gilmer. The former, senior of the two officers, was a member of the Army's recently formed Corps of Topographical Engineers. As he explored the environs of Santa Fe, Lt. Emory was carrying out Gen. Kearny's command. He was also gathering data to forward to Col. John James Abert, information that would serve as one of the first comprehensive reports of a vast, virtually unknown territory that shortly was to become part of the United States. Lt. Gilmer, graduate of the class of 1839 at West Point, had spent the first six years of his career teaching engineering. He had served as an engineering assistant in the building of Fort Schuyler in New York harbor, and then assisted the Chief Engineer in Washington.

On August 19th, the day after his arrival, Kearny moved quickly to solidify his control of Santa Fe. Of paramount concern was making the city secure for his troops and asserting his control over New Mexico. To this end he ordered Lieutenants William H.

Emory and Jeremy F. Gilmer, in the words of Emory, "to make a reconnaissance of the town and select the site for a fort" (Emory 1848:32; Fig.5). For two days Emory and Gilmer surveyed the environs and on August 21st provided Kearny with a map that indicated a proposed site for a fort. The following day, they submitted a plan for the fort, which Kearny also approved. Located on top of a bluff 660 yards northeast of the plaza and approximately eighty feet above it, the site, as Emory described it, was one "which commands the entire town, and which itself is commanded by no other." Later, on Sept. 16, Kearny decided to name the fieldwork Fort Marcy in honor of William L. Marcy, Polk's Secretary of War.

The city and its environs that Emory and Gilmer reconnoitered and then mapped had changed only slightly from the Santa Fe mapped by the Spanish military engineer, Urrutia, 80 years earlier. The town, estimated to have a population of about 5,000, stretched more than two miles along and east-west axis created by the Rio de Santa Fe. While Urrutia's map indicates less of a concentration of buildings around the plaza than do Emory and Gilmer's maps, both portray the city as having a small urban core and being largely agricultural. Encircling the urban area is a more dispersed settlement consisting of individual and small groups of houses lining roadways set among numerous fields. More or less paralleling the river along both of its banks are irrigation ditches, or *acequias*. One of Gilmer's maps, the Plan of Santa Fe, indicates a more complex system of acequias along the north bank than Urrutia portrayed (Snow 1988:10; Fig. 6).

Previously, in 1836, D. H. Mahan, professor of Military and Civil Engineering at the United States Military Academy at West Point had published *A Complete Treatis on Field Fortification with the General Outlines of the Principals Regulating the Arrangement, the Attack, and the Defense of Permanent Works*. This textbook was used by Jeremy Gilmer while a student at the Academy, and later when he became an engineering instructor. Thus, it seems only proper that citations from *The Art of Fortification* be used to describe how Lt. Gilmer built Fort Marcy.

> 1. All dispositions made to enable an armed force to resist, with advantage, the attack of one superior to it in numbers, belong to the *Art of Fortification*.
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> 2. The means resorted to, for the purpose of strengthening a position, may be either those presented by nature, as precipices, woods, rivers, &c., or those formed by art, as shelters of earth, stone, wood, &c.,
>
> 3. If the materials used, are of a durable character, and the position is to be permanently occupied, the works by which it is strengthened, receive the name of *Permanent Fortification;* but when the position is to be occupied only for a short period, or during the operations of a campaign, perishable materials, as earth and wood, are mostly used, and the works are demonimated *Temporary or Field Fortification* (Mahan 1836:1-2; Fig. 7).

Climbing the Taos Road north from the plaza, near the American

cemetery, in use since the opening of the Santa Fe Trail, east of the road, Emory and Gilmer encountered the small fortified military building known as La Garita. Serving variously as a jail, fortress, and magazine since 1806, the structure on a low hill overlooking the town represented Spain's attempts to improve the security of Santa Fe following Napoleon's cession of Louisiana Territory to the United States in 1803 (Ellis 1978:8). Above La Garita, Emory and Gilmer encountered a more severe escarpment rising above the northernmost acequia, quickly rising more than sixty feet above the plaza. Depicted on both of their maps and Urrutia's map is a mesa periodically eroded by arroyos with a series of promontories extended outward toward the city like the toes on a giant foot. One point along this plateau, flanked both to the southeast by Arroyo Saiz and to the northwest by Arroyo Muralla, offered an ideal location for a fortification.

By August 24th only six days after occupation, Gilmer was ready to begin construction. The intent of the fieldwork was modest. Writing to Col. Totten, Gilmer described the fortifications as "a fieldwork to secure our position," characterizing it as "small," not requiring "a garrison of more than 275 men to make a good defence; and at the same time retain complete command of the town" (Gilmer to Totten, Aug. 24, 1846). Its elevation above the plaza led him to plan that "portions of the parapet will be armed with field pieces, 12 or 13 in all, the remainder with musketry." While estimates of the number of artillery complement vary in other correspondence and maps, the 660 yard distance from the fieldwork's southwestern bastion to the plaza, and the heart of Santa Fe, was point blank for the ordinance in the Army of the West's arsenal.

A star fort differed from the more common square redoubt in the following ways:

> The star fort takes its name from the form of the polygonal figure of its plan. It is an enclosed work, with salient and re-entering angles; the object of this arrangement being to remedy the defects observed in redoubts. This, however, is only partially effected in the star fort: for, if the polygon is a regular feature, it will be found, that, except in the case of a fort with eight salients, the fire of the faces do not protect the salients; and that in all cases there are dead angles at all the reenterings. The star fort has moreover, the essential defect that, occupying the same space as a redoubt, its interior capacity will be much less, and the length of the interior crest much greater, than in the redoubt: it will therefore, require more men than the redoubt for its defence, whilst the interior space required for their accomodation, is diminished. These defects, together with the time and labor required to throw up such a work, have led engineers to proscribe it, except in cases where they area compelled by the nature of the site to resort to it (Mahan 1836:21; Figure 7).

Despite his optimism that he could complete the fieldwork within a few months, Gilmer soon discovered that executing his plans and actually constructing a structure were more complicated. Though modest in comparison to the often multi-storied, casemated,

or masonry enclosed fortifications defending the American coast and its major waterways, the small earthen fieldwork located above the capital city of the newly occupied land presented unique challenges to its engineer. The site's irregular contour forced Gilmer to depart from standard plans he had, no doubt, taught cadets at West Point and to adopt an irregular trace, a "'Star Fort'... within the sides of an irregular hexagonal polygon, each face having the dimensions necessary to adapt it to the accidents of the ground which forms the site" (Gilmer in Bloom 1963:143). Faced not only with the need to adapt a plan to meet a specific site, Gilmer was also forced to rely on the local building material, sundried adobe brick, and local workman skilled in adobe masonry.

> "The ditch should be regulated to furnish the earth for the parapet. To determine its dimensions, the following points require attention; its depth should not be less than six feet, and its width less than twelve feet, to present a respectable obstacle to the enemy. It cannot, with convenience, be made deeper than twelve feet; its greatest width is regulated by the inclination of the superior slope. . .(Mahan 1836:33).

These factors of setting, available materials and work force influenced the form and plan, building schedule and ultimate appearance of Fort Marcy. Despite the site's irregular contours, Gilmer developed a plan that incorporated most of the essential elements of a defensive fortification. His plan consisted of an enclosed area 270 ft. long and 180 ft. wide. He oriented the southwestern salients of the fort toward the gradual slopes of the land northeast of the plaza, the most likely angle of attack and one that the field artillery could completely cover. At the same time he incorporated the natural curving contours of the hillside to shape the salient angles of the southern ramparts. By excavating a dry moat around the entire fort, he was able to secure a ready source of fill to raise the height of the ramparts, giving the exterior revetments a total relief of seventeen feet.

> "To enable troops to fight with advantage, the intrenchments should shelter them from the enemy's fire; be an obstacle in themselves to the enemy's progress; and afford the assailed the means of using their weapons with effect. To satisfy these essential conditions, the component parts of every entrenchment should consist of a covering mass, or embankment, denominated the *parapet*, to shelter the assailed from the enemy's missiles. . .and of a ditch. . .the *banquette* is the small terrace on which the soldier stands to deliver his fire; the top of it is denominated the *tread*, and the inclined plane by which it is ascended the *slope* (Mahan 1836:2-4; Fig. 7).

As he went about shaping the fieldwork, Gilmer quickly learned, as had a generation of American trappers and traders who had come down the Santa Fe Trail before him, to build with adobe. On September 23 Susan Magoffin accompanied Kearny to the fort under construction. According to Magoffin:

> The Fort occupies some two acres of ground, has double walls built of adobes, the space between being filled with stones and morter. Dwellings, store houses &c. are

to be built within the wall, in the center under ground is the magazine for ammunition (Drumm 1982:140-141).

By the end of September, Gilmer estimated that the "larger portion of the embankments were made" and one third of the "revetments of the interior and exterior slopes constructed" (Gilmer to Totten, Oct. 12, 1846). These embankment linings, Gilmer advised Totten, were "more easily obtained." Noting that they were made of "common earth near the fort by forming it into a mortar," and the dried for "five or six days," he likened molding the adobe to "making common brick."

In another report, Gilmer described his plans for the blockhouse as including "sundried brick with exterior walls three feet thick and pierced with loop-holes for defence" (Gilmer to Totten, Sept. 10, 1846). Using a roof formed by "logs laid side by side and covered with earth from two to three feet deep" Gilmer planned to add an eighteen-inch thick wall "6 feet above the top of the roof." This high parapet lined with loopholes, Gilmer informed Col. Totten would provide a "double tier of musketry fire" for the company defending the blockhouse. So substantial was the appearance of the second tier parapet that when he visited the fort in July, 1849, William W. Hunter described the blockhouse as a "two story building" (Hunter 1992:54). Hunter's description, however, differs from the inscription on Mansfield's map of the fort drawn in 1853 which states, "Parapet on the top of this block house and two stories at the abutment & loopholed" (Mansfield 1963: Plate 6).

Although he never noted explicitly where the sun-dried adobe bricks were made, Gilmer's references to the availability of earth near the work site suggest they were made in the proximity of the fort. One of the liabilities of the fort--one that assured its role as a temporary defence--was its lack of water; also a necessary ingredient in making adobe mortar. Addressing the issue of water 1847, Lt. Richard Smith Elliot noted a spring at the foot of the escarpment to which a "covered way, cannon and bomb proof, could easily be made" (Bieber 1936:318). Near the spring ran Santa Fe's northern acequia madre, indicated on Gilmer's map as an "irrigation canal" (Snow 1988:10). With work parties numbering up to one hundred soldiers and including local masons as well, Gilmer's workers may have carried water up to a mixing site near the fort from the springs Lt. Elliot referred to or from the nearby *acequia madre*, or they may have mixed the mortar and molded the adobe bricks below the fort.

> *Platforms*. When a gun is fired often in the same direction, the ground under the wheels is soon worn into a rut; it is to prevent this that platforms of timber are used in such cases. . .The shape of the platform is usually a rectangle. . .The rectangular platform is ten feet wide, and seventeen feet long, for siege pieces; and nine feet wide and fifteen long, for field guns. . .to lay a platform, the earth on which it is to rest should be well rammed and levelled. . .A platform may be constructed simply of three pieces of timber. . .one under each wheel, and one under the trail, firmly secured by pickets, and connected by cross pieces. . .(Mahan 1836:86-88).

Lt. Gilmer's reliance on earth and adobe continued to grow as the fieldwork project progressed, albeit more slowly than they had originally anticipated. By early November he was able to inform his friend Welcker that "Fort Marcy is now in a defensible state" (Gilmer to Welcker, Nov. 6, 1846). Listing the embankments, their parapets, the revetments and banquettes as completed, he conceded that the ditches surrounding the fort still needed to be deepened and widened. He also feared that the arrival of cold weather would force him to postpone completion until spring, but noted that completing the task was "not essential to a respectable defence." During the same week Gilmer reported to Col. Totten that the embrasures had been completed but that the magazine and blockhouse were not. Noting the quartermaster's inability to provided milled lumber, he informed Totten that he intended to place the guns on "earthen platforms made firm by pounding" (Gilmer to Totten, Nov. 5, 1846).

> *Pisa* [pise, rammed earth] *revetment*. Ordinary earth, if mixed with a proper proportion of clay, and the whole be well kneaded with just water enough to cause the particles to adhere when squeezed in the hand, may be used for a revetment, and is termed pisa (sic) revetment. Sometimes chopped straw is mixed up with the mass to cause it to bind better. . .the pisa is laid in layers of twelve inches thick, and two feet broad, and well packed. The same precautions should be taken in forming the parapet behind it as in sod revetments. . . (Mahan 1836: 55).

This decision to rely on what may approximate rammed earth as a substitute for lumber to form the banquettes was one Gilmer reached through necessity. The mix of cobbles and hardened earth suggests that work crews may have poured a thick slurry in levels of ten or more inches thick over the upper embankment in an effort to stabilize the much looser soil beneath. Like the gray mortar at the block house, this mortar, filled with prehistoric artifacts, was obtained on the site. While it did succeed in providing a hard surface for the banquettes, the relatively loose, unpacked soil of the embankment below raises the issue of how successfully the fort's walls would have withstood artillery fire.

Not only did Gilmer's project want for basic hand tools such as picks and shovels, but the quartermaster was unable to "supply the most essential wants of the troops stationed here, even at the high price of $60 and $70 for thousand feet [of lumber]" (Gilmer to Totten, Nov. 5, 1846). Other references lend support to Gilmer's lament. Ten days later, George Rutledge Gibson noted in his diary that lumber was in short supply, cut only with a whip saw, and that "the quartermaster has to use wagon bodies to make coffins" (Gibson 1935:272). Previously, Gibson (1935:259) had noted the teams of oxen used to haul wood from the mountains for use in the fort could only "make one load a day."

Earlier, Gibson had noted that Manuel Alvarez, a trader and the United States' former consul in Santa Fe, had shipped a "set of sawmill irons" to the city but that "the unstable condition of the public mind deterred" him from erecting a mill. Based on Gibson's speculation that the equipment "may now be found of great benefit," it is quite likely that the mill construction Kearny ordered at

what is now the Randall Davey House used Alvarez' sawmill irons. Reporting to Major General Thomas S. Jesup, the Quartermaster General, Capt. Thomas Swords, Kearny's quartermaster, noted that he was "building a sawmill preparatory to building quarters and finishing the block house and Fort now being constructed by the Engineers Department at this place" (Swords to Jesup, Sept. 16, 1846).

Well after Gilmer's estimation of completing the fort, by April, 1847 the army's sawmill was complete, milling "fine executions and is the wonder and delight of the inhabitants" (Capt. McKissack April 12, 1847). Unwilling to wait for the completion of the mill, during October, the army had dispatched additional work details to the hills above the city. Establishing a small camp, they cut "timbers for the fort and mill" (Gibson 1935:254). These references to the use of logs as well as Abert's description of the blockhouse and magazine as "constructed of pine logs one foot square" suggest that despite the unavailability of milled lumber at least some elements in the fort complex consisted of roughly milled pine (Abert 1848:754).

> "Experience has shown that, in ordinary soils, a man with a pick can furnish employment to two men with shovels; that, not to be in each other's way, the men should be from four-and-a-half to six feet apart; and, finally, that a shovel full of earth can be pitched by a man twelve feet in a horizontal direction, or six feet in a vertical direction. To distribute the workmen, the counterscarp crest is divided off into lengths of twelve feet, and the interior crest into lengths of nine feet. These points might be marked out by pickets numbered one, two, three, &c. In each area, thus marked out, a working party is arranged consisting of a pick with two shovels placed near the counterscarp, two shovels near the scarp, and one man to spread, and one to ram the earth, for two working parties (Mahan 1836:49).

When Gen. Kearny approved Gilmer's plan for the fort, a small detail of soldiers was assigned to the site, but by August 27th, Kearny had ordered that the detail be increased to one hundred men and that any soldier who labored ten or more consecutive days be compensated with eighteen cents a day in addition to his regular pay (Gibson 1935:220). By the end of the month, thirty Mexican masons had also been hired to make the adobe bricks required for the revetments. This practice of Americans in the Southwest hiring New Mexicans who were familiar with working with adobe was common along the Santa Fe Trail. Bent's Fort, in southeastern Colorado, a private trading post consisting mostly of adobe, had been constructed in 1832 by New Mexicans drawn to the Arkansas by the promise of work along the trail.

By the time he returned to Santa Fe in August, 1847, Philip Gooch Ferguson walked up to the fort, "built last year by the volunteers but never been occupied," and surveyed on the slope just below the southwestern rampart "over three hundred [soldiers'] graves, all dug within eighteen months" (Ferguson 1936:317-318). Ferguson's description of the graveyard corroborates that of Gibson who described it as located "on the hill near the fort, where all

the soldiers are interred, and is almost immediately under the guns of Fort Marcy" (Gibson 1935:253).

By November of 1846, Fort Marcy had assumed an outward appearance of completeness. Although completion of the magazine and blockhouse awaited the return of warm weather and the moat required deepening, the fort on the hill had become, as it remains today, a part of Santa Fe's landscape. Looming over the city, it was daily reminder that the Army of the West had taken Santa Fe and intended to hold it. Seen from the plaza, the fort appeared as an earth-toned set of planes, punctuated by salient angles, rising above the irregular contours of the bluff. With its periodic splayed embrasures creating a crenellated effect, and already with the relief of its moat and rampart making it taller than any of Santa Fe's buildings, save the churches' facades, the fort assumed a symbolic role for the city's occupation force.

Lt. Abert, returning from Albuquerque in October 1846, for example, noted his first glimpse of Santa Fe as occurring when "Fort Marcy came in view, and our glorious flag" (Abert 1848:754; Fig.8). The two illustrations he prepared of Santa Fe that were included in Lt. Emory's report on the Army of the West's campaign convey a similar perspective. One illustration, "A View of Santa Fe, New Mexico" views the city from a southside perspective above the Barrio de Analco. It depicts the city as a collection of rectangular buildings most of which are set amongst fields but more heavily concentrated near the plaza, which reposes beneath an enormous flag. Cactus, yucca, and a few residents compose the foreground. Across the valley in the background rises Fort Marcy, crowned by a flag and appearing as the upper portion of a truncated pyramid.

Ironically, although the fortification was essentially complete, on November 7, 1846 the artillery Kearny's forces had brought with them, or captured on the march to Santa Fe, was moved to the plaza. There, the "2 twenty-four-pounder howitzers, 4 nine-pounder cannon, 2 twelve-pounder howitzers, 11 four-pounder howitzers, [and] 2 four-pounder cannon (Mexican). . .extending across the plaza. . .makes a most formidable park" (Gibson 1935:269). Whether a field piece remained on the hill to sound the morning drill and 10:00 p.m. curfew mentioned by Gibson (1935:265, 269), is unclear.

Even though the blockhouse would not be finished until late spring, early summer of 1847, the movement of the artillery from Fort Marcy to the plaza underscores the impermanent nature of the fort. Although more completely finished than First Fort (built of green wood) and Second Fort (an earthworks constructed without a revetment) at Fort Union, Fort Marcy was never intended to be a permanent fortification (Harrison and Ivey 1993; Ivey, personal communication, November 20, 1995).

Ultimately completed by June of 1847, Fort Marcy deteriorated, offering children like Marion Sloan Russell a playground to indulge their fantasies as they hunted for exposed bones and climbed among the ruins (Russell 1954:48). So removed was the fort from the changing town that one bird's eye view of the city simply omitted it and another map portrayed it peripherally.

In 1853, Col. Joseph K. F. Mansfield noted that Fort Marcy was "the only real fort in the Territory. . .The troops do not occupy this fort but it can be occupied by the troops at short notice. It has the disadvantage of no water. . ." But, he continued, "The troops that occupy this fort live in the Public Buildings in Santa Fe: and as this is the seat of Government of the Territory seems indispensible to preserve order and sustain the Authorities in cases of domestic excitements. . .I look upon this post as desirable and should not be abandoned." Mansfield also provided a detailed drawing of the fort in his report (Fig. 9). This remains the most detailed depiction, other than Gilmer's plans and, with its representation of fourteen embrasures, helps to account for the disparity that occurs in accounts of the fort's armaments. Within five years, however, the fortification and blockhouse on Fort Marcy Hill had become less important than Fort Marcy Military Reservation in downtown Santa Fe.

What role, if any, Fort Marcy played in the capture of Santa Fe by Confederate forces in 1862 is unknown. Charles Bennett, deputy associate director of the Palace of the Governors, and military historian (personal communication, November 20, 1995) has suggested that it is not impossible that artillery were placed on the hill to be fired in salutes. According to Bennett (1988), Special Orders No. 91, District of New Mexico, September 25, 1867 directed that the post in Santa Fe be abandoned. Although Fort Marcy Military Reservation would be reestablished in 1875, the earthworks and blockhouse on the hill officially ceased to exist.

In 1880, however, L.B. Prince, one of the founders of the New Mexico Historical Society, and territorial governor in the early 1890s, and W.T. Thornton acquired the property from Gaspar Ortiz y Alarid. Following a series of claims and court cases revealing forgery and an incorrect location of the Roque Lovato Grant, by 1901 Prince and Thornton were able to file a quitclaim deed on the property and hold it (Wozniak 1992:10). During this period, one final reference to the fort appears in a note about an observatory at Old Fort Marcy burning to the ground in 1883 and a $100 reward being offered for the capture of the arsonists (Sheldon 1883:TANM, roll 22, frame 53; TANM, roll 100, frame 77).

It was not until statehood and the concurrent move to develop tourism that the leaders of Santa Fe began to revisit Fort Marcy. As late as 1910 Edgar Lee Hewett and Ralph Emerson Twitchell still looked at the hill as the location of a former terraced pueblo. In 1911, as the editors of the *New Mexican* sought to prompt city leaders to promote the city, they likened it to Athens, arguing that it was the Acropolis "with its magnificent buildings" that gave Athens its "crown of beauty" (*New Mexican*, Aug. 24, 1911). Likewise, they urged, Santa Feans should look to Fort Marcy and its "bold promontory" as a site for the city's "architectural adornment." Advocating that the city should eventually construct "public buildings and monuments" there, the writer suggested that in the meantime it might plant a grove of trees under which a "summer school of archaeology," Chautauqua meetings, or a public playground be established (Figs. 11, 12, 13).

Prince himself began promoting the site, publishing a pamphlet

entitled "Old Fort Marcy" in which he offered readers a description of the panoramic view the hilltop offered (Prince 1912). That same year he also made improvements on the property, building a road up to the fort and landscaping the road with trees. Unfortunately, just as lack of water had doomed the fort to temporary use as a garrison, the same lack of water caused many of Prince's trees to die (*New Mexican*, July 27, 1912). Although the account of Prince's improvements makes no mention of treating the site as a public park, the references to public visitation imply, at least, his willingness to share the site. During the same year, the Santa Fe Planning Board released its report on proposed improvements for the city (Santa Fe City Planning Board 1912; Fig. 13). Comprised of several of the city's cultural and political leaders including Bronson M. Cutting, Edgar L. Hewett, Celso Lopez, Sylvanus G. Morley, Miguel A. Otero, and Arthur Seligman, the board advocated promoting tourism as a way of overcoming the city's economic decline, a chronic condition begun when the Santa Fe Railroad bypassed the city in 1880. Included in its list of assets for tourists were the city's old streets and architecture, the plaza and Palace of the Governors, and Fort Marcy, which the board proposed for restoration.

PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK

More than 750 years prior to the construction of Fort Marcy, the hill on which the fort would be constructed was extensively occupied by Middle to Late Developmental and Early Coalition (circa A. D. 1000-1250) Puebloan peoples. Although Lt. Jeremy F. Gilmer, builder of the fort, never pondered the site's past uses in his letters, others who accompanied Gilmer with Kearney's forces in 1846 did, noting the earth beneath the surface to be "more like an ash heap" where workers "continue to dig up human skeletons, which are scattered all over the hill" (Gibson 1935:260). The Missouri Volunteer, Gibson further noted, "There is a tradition that the Indians and Spaniards fought a battle at this place, but I can learn nothing certain about it." In another instance, when referring to a "great many coffins and bones," exhumations also noted by others, he noted, "It is said to be the American graveyard." (Gibson 1935:237; Hunter 1992:54).

What Gilmer had done was to construct the earthworks from the remains of the earlier occupation of the hill. In 1989, David Snow reported on test excavations at 320 Kearny Avenue which abuts Fort Marcy to the north. Although Snow uncovered no architectural features in his tests adjacent to the fortification, he uncovered a surface which he explained "resulted from efforts to drag soils and fill (perhaps with a fresno) to level the surface of Ft. Marcy construction site, prior to construction of the intended earthworks" (1989:unpaged). After more or less leveling the hill where he intended to build the earthworks, Gilmer proceeded to excavate the moat using the midden deposits he uncovered to build the earthworks, platforms and banquette.

Although Lt. Jeremy F. Gilmer redistributed much of the earlier site and American graveyard used between 1821 and 1846, enough of the prehistoric site remained that Adolph F. Bandelier was to visit the site of Fort Marcy on numerous occasions during his stays in Santa Fe between 1880-1892. However, Bandelier's

interest was not in the old fort, but in the prehistoric remains, on and, of which the fort was constructed. On March 22, 1882, Bandelier remarked in his journal:

> Went to Fort Marcy. . .found pottery, corrugated and painted black, and also chips of flint, but no obsidian. Still there is no doubt of a settlement left up there as Jac. [Jake] Gold, has, himself a collection of pottery from the same place. The pottery is ribbed rather than corrugated, but Gold has some corrugated too (Lange and Riley 1966:240).

Bandelier returned to the fort in July of 1882 accompanied by Mrs. Sheldon and Miss Daton of Steubenville, Ohio. On that occasion Bandelier noted:

> At the fort we found a great deal of pottery, all corrugated and indented smoky, grey and white and black and white, but no glossy [glaze] fragments. Evidently a small-house pueblo. On the <u>southeast side of the old fort a ring of stone seems to indicate foundations of a building similar to an estufa</u>. <u>There is a depression, but it may be the result of contrast only</u>. <u>In general, any ruin up there must necessarily appear doubtful, on account of the remains of the old fort and its annexes</u>. Mr. Cole found a small arrowhead. . .(Lange and Riley 1966:338-339; authors' emphasis).

Bandelier's description of the stone-ringed depression southeast of the fortification is fascinating. Although no stones are in evidence on the surface today, perhaps this feature is the "anomolous depression" noted by Acklen (1994), now believed to be the slurry pit Gilmer used to mix the material for the revetment. Bandelier's frequent use of the adjective "old" to describe Fort Marcy is equally curious because the fort was no more than thirty-six years old when he first saw it. Moreover the fort was not officially abandoned until 1867 (Bennett 1988), a mere 15 years before Bandelier first came to Santa Fe. Is it possible that because Fort Marcy was obviously constructed of prehistoric remains that it was viewed as "older" than it was in fact? Or, is it possible that the fortification and blockhouse had been robbed of building materials which gave them an "old" appearance?

Several years later, on July 3, 1884, Bandelier noted that E. L. Cole, an instructor in mathematics and English literature at the University of New Mexico at Santa Fe, was systematically looting Arroyo Hondo, San Marcos, Peñas Negras, and Fort Marcy. According to Bandelier, Cole had a "fine collection of bone implements from Fort Marcy" (Lange and Riley 1970:332-333).

By 1910 Edgar Lee Hewett, then Director of the Archaeological Institute of America at Santa Fe (now the School of American Research), published an article in the *Santa Fe New Mexican* entitled, "Prehistoric Santa Fe: Some Light On A Questions of Intense Local Interest."

> But the evidences at hand justify the belief that if one could have stood upon the spot where the City now stands, looking east from the site of the Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, 500 years ago, there would have been on what we call Fort Marcy Hill, an Indian town of considerable size, consisting of one large terraced pueblo and one or more smaller buildings near by, [with] a kiva or

> sanctuary of the circular subterranean type on the bench half way down the hill side. . . (Snow 1992:219).

Historian Ralph Emerson Twitchell was in complete agreement about the pueblo on the hill (Snow 1992:220), although he dismissed Hewett's statements about archaeological sites elsewhere in the city.

In 1980 Richard W. Lang surveyed a portion of the Prince Estate adjacent to Fort Marcy. Working under the auspices of the School of American Research, Lang performed a sample survey of the area focused on those areas where site probability was highest, or where residential development was planned (Lang 1980:5-6). Lang recorded eight prehistoric sites, and one historic site during his survey. Two sites, LA 21693 and LA 21964, appear to be contemporaneous with the prehistoric occupation of Fort Marcy. Lang's initial survey was followed in October by additional survey in the area of Arroyo de la Piedra and Arroyo Saiz. At that time he recorded several additional sites, LA 26292-LA 26295, which consisted of two lithic scatters and two possible hearths.

In late November-early December of 1983, Wiseman (1989) investigated the KP site, LA 46300, a Late Developmental Period pit structure or kiva located to the west of the project area. Uncovered during the construction of condominiums, much of the feature had been destroyed. Although limited in size, Wiseman's excavations produced a wealth of material culture and information concerning the period. Since the predominate ceramic type recovered from the KP site was Kwahe'e Black-on-white, followed by Chaco II, Red Mesa and Escavada Black-on-white, it appears that along with Lang's sites, LA 21963 and LA 21964, to the east, to be contemporaneous with the prehistoric occupation of Fort Marcy.

In November of 1993 Southwest Archaeological Consultants surveyed thirty-five acres near Fort Marcy for the Charles Diker Estate (Viklund 1994). Previously surveyed in part by Lang (see above), two sites LA 21963 and LA 21964 were tested since they were located within the Historic Downtown District (Anschuetz 1995). Two percent testing of LA 21693 and LA 21964 indicated that the sites had dual components: two pit structures and possible jacal surface structure which apparently date from the transition "between the Middle and Late Developmental period (ca. A.D.1050-1125)" (Anschuetz 1995) and might represent two different occupations of the area (Viklund 1994).

When the above are compared with D. H. Snow's 1989 survey and testing at 320 Kearny Avenue (no identification), the picture that emerges is that of extensive Middle and Late Developmental and Early Coalition occupation on the hills overlooking what is now downtown Santa Fe. Agriculturalists, those Puebloan people cultivated the flood plain beneath the hill on which they lived. Their diet was augmented by hunting and gathering.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

RESEARCH DESIGN

Northern Research Group, Inc., under the direction of Susan Swan, conducted limited test exavations at Historic Fort Marcy between June 19-30, 1995. Ms. Swan was assisted in the excavations by Antonio Montaño, Twyla Quintana, Michael Withnall, and Diane Fitrakis. The 1995 archaeological and historical investigations at historic Fort Marcy were the third phase of a project designed to provide the City of Santa Fe with historical information to serve as a basis for preparation of a master plan to guide public use and interpretation of the fort. The approved research design for the 1995 test excavations was developed through a series of questions and hypotheses suggested to Northern Research Group, Inc., the previous consultant, as the result of Wozniak's (1992) and Acklen's (1994) earlier work.

Although Bandelier had visited Fort Marcy on numerous occasions while in Santa Fe between 1880-1892, he was interested solely in the prehistoric materials from the site, and seemingly ignored the earthwork and blockhouse. And, while Hewett and Twitchell agreed that there had been a large terraced pueblo on the hill, they provided no concrete evidence for that fact, nor did they provide information concerning Fort Marcy. Previous archaeological research (see above) in the area has shown that there was occupation of the hill during the Middle to Late-Developmental and early Coalition periods, but because the fort was outside those specific project boundaries it could not be investigated at the time.

However, as Acklen (1994:35) noted "one of the most startling results of the [1994] study is the total absence of evidence for any historic occupation of Fort Marcy Hill contemporaneous with the fort." Gilmer was often silent during the construction of Fort Marcy about the materials he actually used to build the fort. Indeed, there are often conflicting reports of what was actually built. As a result, the City decided that additional limited test excavations were needed at the fort to determine if sufficient evidence remained to provide for more detailed management and historical interpretation of the site.

While the approved research design has been included in its entirety in Appendix A, the following hypotheses from that research design are presented here.

1. Undisturbed deposits exist illustrating the construction of the dry moat, rampart and revetment of Fort Marcy.

2. The blockhouse is of adobe construction with a plan as Manderfield drew it.

3. The blockhouse burned.

4. The anomalous depression [slurry pit] was a cistern.

5. The magazine was an adobe-lined subterranean

Systems, provided a type analysis of the ceramics recovered from the 1995 test excavations at Fort Marcy. Due to the context from which the sherds were recovered -- that is from the rammed earth slurry of the banquett/platform of the fortification -- no detailed analyses were considered. The following information on the ceramics recovered from Trench A is provided from D. H. Snow's notes.

A total of 217 sherds were recovered from Trench A. Of that total 198, or 91.2% of the sherds were prehistoric in date. As Dayloff found (Anschuetz 1995), at nearby LA 21963/21964, plain gray utility ware was the predominate ceramic type (n=121) recovered from this area. Other utility wares, included Clapboard (n=22), Indented Corrugated (n=21), Basket Impressed (n=2), and 4 sherds of unidentified (neck or rim sherds) utility ware. As a result, utility wares accounted for 78.3% of sherds recovered from Trench A.

Prehistoric decorated wares made up only 12.9 percent of the total sherds recovered from Trench A. Three distinct types were recognized; Red Mesa style (n=4), Kwahe'e Black-on-white (n=11) and Santa Fe Black-on-white (n=2), in addition to unidentified white-slipped sherds (n=11). Although the majority of the decorated wares consisted of Kwahe'e Black-on-white and Red Mesa Style sherds from the middle- to late-Developmental period (A.D. 900-1100), the presence of Santa Fe Black-on-white, suggests multi-component occupation of the hill.

Historic ceramics accounted for 8.8 percent of the total sherds recovered from Trench A. The most common of the historic ceramics was Powhoge Polychrome (n=11), a nineteenth century type. Both bowls and jars were represented. Two sherds from a red slipped Tewa bowl, and one sherd from a Tewa Red jar were also recovered from this trench. One glaze body sherd was identified by D. H. Snow as possibly being from a Glaze E or F vessel, in which case, it would pre-date construction of the fort.

Finally one sherd of Orangeline Polychrome majolica (Gerald 1968:36) was recovered at a depth of from 0-20 cm in Grid 1 in Trench A. This nineteenth century ware was produced in Mexico, and is the only piece of majolica known to have been recovered from Fort Marcy. It, like the Powhoge Polychrome and Tewa Red sherds, could conceivably date from construction of the Fort.

Lithic Assemblage. James L. Moore of the Office of Archaeological Studies provided a brief analysis of the lithic assemblage from Fort Marcy. His identification of the assemblage from Trench A is provided in Table 1. Overall, Moore noted that the lithic assemblage recovered from the 1995 test excavations at Fort Marcy "seems to represent part of an Anasazi chipped stone assemblage." No artifacts in the assemblage could be positively identified as historic chispas, or strike-a-lights.

Because the lithics recovered from Trench A were observed to have been used as "temper" for the rammed earth of the banquette/platform, Moore was questioned about the possibility of damage to the objects. Moore noted in his comments:

Though I could not quantify all of it, there seemed to be quite a bit of post-depositional damage to the assemblage as a whole. However, it was not possible to determine whether this was related to natural processes or later treatment when used to build the fort" (Moore 1995:11).

Material	Core flakes	Biface flakes	Angular debris	Cores	Projectile points	Bifaces	Other	Totals
Madeira chert	48	-	27	1	-	1	1[1]	78
Pedernal chert	16	1	10	-	-	1	-	28
Other cherts	146	-	77	3	-	1	1[2]	228
Obsidian	3	-	5	-	2	1	-	11
Silicified wood	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	4
Rhyolite	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Siltstone	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	3
Basalt	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Quartzite	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
Totals	220	1	123	4	2	4	2	356

[1] uniface
[2] potlid

Table 1. Lithic Assemblage from Trench A, the Banquette/ Platform.

Ethnobotanical and Faunal Remains. No ethnobotanical specimens were collected from Trench A. The faunal material recovered from the excavations are discussed below.

Glass. As noted above, the surface of Trench A was collected prior to excavation. Since the majority of the recent trash consisted of smashed brown, clear, and green glass beer and wine bottles, they were not analyzed. However, the base of a heavily patinated, clear, square glass medicine bottle, embossed with the letters "D" or "O", "I" and the number "52," may have been recovered subsurface, and may date to the early part of the twentieth century.

It should be noted that much of the glass recovered from Fort Marcy was more or less patinated. Even recent beer and wine bottle glass (many fragments marked with portions of the the phrase "no deposit/no return") were lightly patinated. Although noted in passing at this time, it may be that the high organic content of the soils used in the construction of the fortification hasten the patination of glass deposited on the site.

Metal. Discounting recent pop tops, three six or eight penny wire nails (Gillio, Levine and Scott 1980: 5), recovered from

Trench A, a fragment of badly rusted tin with a rolled or "finished" rim, and one smashed sanitary can, the metal objects recovered from the trench are among the most fascinating artifacts recovered during the 1995 test excavations.

Two of the metal artifacts recovered from Trench A could possibly be associated with the construction and use of Fort Marcy between September and mid-November 1846. Those items are two wire twists from cannon friction primers. Friction primers, brass tubes filled with fulminate of mercury, had a wire twist, or loop, made of steel. The top of the wire twist was used to attach a lanyard, which was then pulled to ignite the charge in the cannon (Herskovitz 1978:52-53; Peterson 1969:116; Gibbon 1971:365; Williamson, personal communication, November 13, 1995). Each wire twist is approximately 3 cm in length. A rather simple, but ingenious device, friction primers were invented around 1841, and were in use world-wide by 1848 (Peterson 1969:116). Both primers were recovered from Grid 1 at a depth of 30-40 cm below datum.

In addition to the primers, two pieces of ammunition were also recovered from Trench A. They were a spent .22 cartridge and .32mm bullet. According to Natasha Williamson (pers. com.), the 22 cartridge dates around 1900.

Another metal artifact recovered from Trench A is so obviously out of place that it is verges on the anachronistic; that is, a two mill Kansas sales tax token. Such tokens were produced in Kansas between 1937-1939 to fund the Kansas Social Security system (Malehorn and Davenport 1993:103-109). Ordered to have been made of Kansas zinc, "if practicable," by then-governor Walter A. Huxman, and known in Kansas as "Huxies" (Malehorn and Davenport 1993:103), the token recovered from Trench A is 15 mm in diameter. The token is made from aluminum, and according to Malehore and Davenport (1993:104) was produced beginning in the summer of 1937. Both the token and the sanitary can (mentioned above) were recovered from Grid 1 at a depth of 20-30cm below datum.

Miscellaneous Artifacts. A piece of wood 14 cm in length, 3 cm in width and 1 cm thick was recovered from Grid 2. The wood is slightly curved, but whether the curve was purposeful, or was the result of differential drying is unknown. The purpose of the wood is unknown. Finally, a piece of a leather strap was collected from the surface an unknown distance from Trench A.

THE MOAT, RAMPART/REVETMENT -- TRENCH B

As designed by Lt. Jeremy G. Gilmer, Fort Marcy was an irregular hexagonal polygon earthwork with a dry moat. Trench B, originally labelled Feature B, was excavated to provide a cross section of the construction of the dry moat, and rampart/revetment. Originally located some meters north of the present entrance into the fortification, test trench B was relocated south of that entrance for safety reasons; overburden in the trench was removed by backhoe.

Although recent trash was not collected from the this trench prior to backhoe removal of the overburden, two items of recent manufacture were collected subsurface. These objects, a miniature

bottle with screw top and a tape (for use in a tape deck), suggest that erosional processes continue at a rapid rate, particularly on the east-facing slope of the rampart.

Trench B was approximately 6 m in length, and was divided into 6 approximately 1 x 1 m grids. Grids 1, 2 and a portion of grid 3 were located on the west-facing and lowest levels of the moat and were excavated into what appeared to be previously unmodified, cream colored, highly friable, silt-like deposits of the Tesuque Formation. Grids 4 to 6 and the remainder of Grid 3 included the east-facing portions of the moat and embankment. When prehistoric midden deposits were encountered at a depth of approximately 10-15 cms. between Grids 5-6, backhoe work ceased. According to field profiles of these and subsequent levels in Trench B, surface soils recorded in Grids 3-6 consisted of "loose, crumbling, sandy [soil] w/ roots [and a] few small rocks. . .". Although the surface soils were underlain by a level of "dark hard [soils]," below which was a level, variously described in field notes as "adobe" and/or "puddled adobe," several lumps or chunks of imported adobe were observed in grid 5.

The predominant fill in grids 4-6 consisted of fine, ashy, highly organic, dark gray, almost black midden deposits, ladened with entire and fragmentary corn cobs, sherds, and lithics, most of which dated to the Late Developmental, early Coalition periods. The fill was so ashy and so fine, that one could understand Gibson's comment of nearly 150 years before that the soils at "a depth of seven or eight feet the earth seems never to have been wet, and is more like an ash heap than anything else" (Gibson 1935:260). One cannot help but speculate that if Fort Marcy had ever been bombarded, it would have disappeared in puffs of highly organic dust.

CULTURAL REMAINS -- TRENCH B

As with Trench A, the cultural remains from Trench B were treated as unit assemblages with no other spacial proveniences due to the disturbed nature of the fill.

Ceramics. Only slightly fewer sherds, a total of 203, were identified by D. H. Snow from Trench B than from Trench A. The sherds include both prehistoric and historic ceramic types. As in Trench A, sherds from prehistoric occupation of Fort Marcy Hill predominated in Trench B. According to D. H. Snow's notes, plain gray utility wares (n=94) were the most common ceramics recovered from Trench B. Other utility wares included Rio Grande Corrugated (n=1), Clapboard (n=14), unidentified Corrugated (n=7), Basket Impressed (n=5), unidentified utility neck and rim sherds (n=21), and a single, small sherd of Sapawe Micacaceous Washboard or Tesuque Smeared Indented. All utility wares accounted for 70.4% of the sherd from this trench.

Decorated wares accounted for 22.7 % of the sherds from Trench B. As in Trench A Red Mesa Style and Kawhe'e Black-on-white (n= 29; 14.3%), were the predominant prehistoric decorated ceramic types recovered from Trench B. While only four sherds of Santa Fe Black-on-white were found in Trench B, they support the supposition of a multicomponent occupation of Fort Marcy Hill into the Early-

Coalition Period (see above). Finally, according to D. H. Snow's comments, one sherd of an unidentified prehistoric glaze body sherd was recovered from this trench

As far as the historic ceramics were concerned, sherds from historic Tewa Buff-to-tan vessels were found to be in the majority in this trench (n=5; 2.5 %); a marked difference when compared to Trench A, where sherds of Powhoge Polychrome were the predominate historic ceramic recovered. While D. H. Snow reported a "thick-Powhoge-like paste" in another vessel from Trench B, no decorated historic sherds were recovered from that test. Only one sherd of utility ware from Trench B; that is a sherd of historic micacaceous utility ware.

Lithic Assemblage.

As noted above with the ceramics, fewer lithics were recovered from Trench B than from Trench A. The lack of lithic material in Trench B suggests that the production of the slurries needed for rammed earth construction produced higher concentrations of cultural debris in those areas. At the same time, however, Moore noted that the preponderance of cherts recovered from this and other test excavations may have resulted from selective collection of the assemblage.

Material	Core flakes	Biface flakes	Angular debris	Cores	Projectile points	Bifaces	Other	Totals
Madeira chert	17	-	8	1	-	-	-	26
Pedernal chert	8	-	4	1	1	-	-	14
Other cherts	84	-	46	3	-	1	-	134
Obsidian	-	1	-	-	1	2	-	4
Siltstone	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Totals	115	1	58	5	2	3	0	184

Table 2. Lithic Assemblage from Trench B, Fort Marcy.

Ethnobotanical Remains. The only ethnobotanical remains recovered the 1995 test excavations at Fort Marcy were recovered from Trench B. The following discussion of that material has been provided by Mollie S. Toll.

The prehistoric *Zea mays* collection under study came from Trench B, and was part of the prehistoric midden deposits used to construct the ramparts of the fortification. According to Toll, "Macrobotanical corn remains from Fort Marcy consisted of charred corn cob fragments, and a single shank. An initial inventory determined specimen number, weight, and condition, by grid (B4, B5, or B6 and stratigraphic level (A to U: Table 3)."

Provenience	Measurable Cobs				Unmeasurable Cob Fragments	Shanks
	Intact Glumes	Partially Eroded	Eroded	Total n/ weight in g	Total n/ weight in g	Total n/ weight in g
B4-AN	4	10		14/16.8g	33/ 9.2g	1/0.6g
B5-L		4		4/ 4.2g	6/ 1.1g	
B5-N		6		6/10.0g	27/ 7.4g	
B5-R		1	5	6/ 4.2g	15/ 5.0g	
B5-TU			11	11/ 9.3g	55/ 9.8g	
B6-M	1			1/ 2.0g		
TOTAL	5	21	16	42/46.5g	136/32.5g	1/0.6g

Table 3. Inventory of Corn Remains, Fort Marcy.

Mollie Toll explains further, "Cob specimens possessing a full circumference were considered measurable for the purposes of this study (Toll and Huckell 1995). Number of kernel rows was counted around the circumference away from base or tip regions, where row irregularity can occur. Row number is certainly the most widely noted trait in the literature, due to how easily and consistently it can be determined, and freedom from distortion by carbonization and erosion. Variable erosion of glumes (the papery structues surrounding individual kernals) can have a significant effect on cob diameter and cupule dimensions. Consequently, small areas on opposite sides of each cob were cleared of glumes with a probe, and several dimensions free of glumes were recorded."

"Cob diameter and rachis diamenter were measured to characterize gross size, which can vary considerable depending on genetic characteristics and growing conditions. Cob diameter was measured with vernier calipers as "the distance across the cob from the apex of one lower glume to the apex of the lower glume of the alicole directly opposite" (Benz 1981:32); though certainly affected by erosion, it is included for comparison with older studies. Rachis diameter was determined as "the largest diameter found by measuring across opposite cupule wing tips. . .in the zone cleared of chaff (Bird 1994:17), or as "distance across the cob from the base of an upper glume on one side of the cob to the base of an upper glume directly opposite" (Sanchez 1989:49). Rachis segment length was measured through a binocular microscope at 10x, with an ocular micrometer, as the distance along the long axis of the cob occupied by a single cupule, measured from any given landmark (glume base, cupule lip, rachilla) to the next same landmark. Cupule width was measured in the same manner as "the distance from the exterior margins of the cupule wings oriented perpendicular to the axis of the cob" (Benz 1981:33), and cupule height as the interior dimension of the cupule, along the axis of the cob.

In conclusion Toll reports, "Parameters of the Fort Marcy corn point solidly to late prehistoric corn types (for instance, the preponderance of 12-rowed ears, and the slender cobs) and away from

attribute departures that mark the appearance of Spanish introductions from Mexico (for instance, lack of significant numbers of 14, 16, 18-rowed cobs, and lack of broad, flat cupules). There are some interesting differences between lower and upper levels of deposits. Corn from the lower levels are more eroded and fragmentary, which may explain some smaller and more variable dimensions. Theoretically, only cob diameter should be affected by degree of erosion, but I suspect not all of the variability between the two stratigraphic zones is real genetic differentiation. This patterning would be of great interest in relation to the a data base of Santa Fe area *Zea* over a broad range of time, if such information only existed."

Glass. The only glass recovered from Trench B were a modern miniature bottle and fragments of recent beer and wine bottles. They were not analysed.

Metal. A spent .45 caliber bullet was recovered from Trench B. According to Guadalupe Martinez, Office of Archaeological Studies, this artifact is probably twentieth century in date. Given the weight of the lead bullet, it is not surprising that it sank in the loose, ashy deposits of the trench.

THE BLOCKHOUSE -- TRENCH C

In order to protect the northeastern flank of the fieldwork, the only access not marked by the sheer drop of the bluff, Gilmer planned a "defensive building, 50 ft. square to furnish quarters for one company [no more than 100 men] and its officers and to contain a store room" (Gilmer to Welcker, Oct. 9, 1856). According to Gilmer's plans, the walls of the blockhouse were to have been 6 feet thick. Trench C was excavated into the northeast corner of this feature in order to determine if the blockhouse had been constructed as shown in Mansfield's plan of 1853, and to determine if the blockhouse had been burned. As noted above, the overburden in Trench C was removed by backhoe. After the overburden had been removed, the balance of excavation was undertaken using hand tools.

Although Trench C extended five meters from the exterior of the blockhouse into the interior of that feature, only the three interior grids were partially excavated. Due to setbacks required for safety reasons, the trench varied in width from 1.75 to 2.6 meters. According to field notes at an approximate depth of 73 cm, the top of an adobe brick wall was uncovered. The wall, constructed of adobe bricks imported to the site, was slightly more than a one meter in width. The dark gray mortar between the bricks had obviously been made on site, and was identical in color and consistency with that observed in the banquette/platform. Rubble fill was noted on the exterior of the wall, and adobe slump on the interior. A thin line of what may have been white plaster was noted in the interior approximately 2 meters west of the wall.

CULTURAL REMAINS -- TRENCH C

Since the blockhouse was constructed of adobe bricks imported to the site, it is not surprising that fewer prehistoric remains were recovered from Trench C than from Trenches A and B.

Presumably, those few ceramics and lithics that were recovered from this feature had been included in the mortar, which had been made on-site, and used to bond the bricks.

Ceramics. D. H. Snow identified a total of 12 sherds from Trench C. Prehistoric utility wares included plain gray (n=8; 61.5%), one sherd of Clapboard and one unidentified neck or rim sherd. The only decorated wares recovered from the trench were two sherds of Kwahe'e Black-on-white.

Historic ceramics were represented by one sherd from a Kapo Black jar. Since Kapo Black is a long-lived historic ceramic type, it is impossible to state that the vessel from which the sherd came was in use at the time the blockhouse was constructed.

Lithic Assemblage.

James L. Moore's description of the small lithic sample recovered from Trench C is found below.

Material	Core flakes	Biface flakes	Angular debris	Cores	Projectile points	Bifaces	Other	Totals
Madeira chert	6	-	1	1	-	-	-	8
Other cherts	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	3
Silicified wood	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Totals	9	-	2	1	-	-	-	12

Table 4. Lithics Recovered from Trench C, Fort Marcy.

Ethnobotanical Remains. No ethnobotanical specimens were collected in Trench C.

THE SLURRY PIT -- TEST PIT D

Originally identified as an "anomalous depression" by Acklen (1994), and subsequently as a cistern in the 1995 research design, this feature is most likely an area used by Gilmer to mix the slurry needed to provide the rammed earth and mortar for construction of Fort Marcy. Located south of the blockhouse, the area appears as a more or less circular depression. The slurry pit has been divided into half by construction of a walkway from the parking circle to the Cross of the Martyrs. The proximity of this feature to the blockhouse, suggests that this might be the area used by Gilmer to mix the mortar for construction of the latter. Unfortunately due to the fact that the 1995 test was made, more or less, in the center of the depression, it cannot be determined if Gilmer (re)utilized a feature (such as a kiva, given the size of the depression), from the Late Developmental/Early Coalition occupations of the hill.

A 1 x 1 m testpit, Testpit D, was excavated to a depth of 10-15 cm during the 1995 test excavations near the center of this

feature. The hard, dark gray fill encountered during excavation of Testpit D was identical in color to the rammed earth used in the construction of the banquette/platform, and mortar in the blockhouse. The fill in the slurry pit consisted almost entirely of prehistoric cultural remains. In his auger test 6 of the previous year, Acklen (1994:22) documented "a dense clay layer containing midden fill to a depth of 90 cm below ground surface in this area."

CULTURAL REMAINS -- TEST PIT D

At first glance, the artifact assemblage recovered from Test Pit appears abnormally high in proportion to the assemblages recovered elsewhere. Two factors may account for this: the test pit was located near the center of the depression, and has been subjected to nearly 150 years of wash from the surrounding area; and, artifacts seem to be concentrated in the slurries used for rammed earth.

Ceramics. D. H. Snow identified a total of 151 sherds from Test pit D. Of that total 109 sherds, or 72.2%, of the sherds were identified as Plain Gray Utility ware. The remaining utility wares, Clapboard (n=7), Indented Corrugated (n=18), Basket Impressed (n=1), and unidentified neck or rim sherds (n=2) accounted for 18.5% of the total sherds from this test pit, a total of 90.7% of all sherds from this test pit. The remaining 9.3% of the prehistoric sherds recovered from the test pit were divided between Red Mesa style (n=6), Kwahe'e Black-on-white (n=2), Santa Fe Black-on-white (n=4), and unidentified white-slipped (n=2).

What appears to be a disproportionally high number of utility wares in this test pit (90.7%) when compared to test Trenches A (78.6%) and B (70.4%), is a reflection of the contents of the deposits from which the mortars and slurries were mixed. Ironically, the ratio of utility ware to decorated ware in the slurry pit is almost identical to that recovered by Southwest Archaeological Consultants, Inc. in their test excavations at nearby LA 21963/LA21964 (Anschetz 1995). In those tests, utility wares made up 90.4% of all ceramics recovered.

The only historic ceramics recovered from the Slurry Pit were three sherds of badly spalled white Ironstone, and two tiny sherds of a fine Yellow ware. The Ironstone could not be further identified. The sherds of Yellow ware were much thinner than the ubiguitous yellow mixing bowl recovered from nineteenth and twentieth century historic sites. One of the sherds has a fragment of an embossed design in white. The sherds, which are from the same vessel, are too small for further identification.

Lithic Assemblage -- Test Pit D.

In his comments on the lithic assemblage, James L. Moore had noted that "there seemed to be quite a bit of post depositional damage to the assemblage as a whole." When questioned about this, Moore (personal communication, November 28, 1995), stated that the assemblage from Test Pit D appeared to have sustained more post depositional damage than the assemblages from any of the other test

excavations. Post depositional damage could occur when midden deposits were mixed for slurry or mortar.

Material	Core flakes	Biface flakes	Angular debris	Cores	Projectile points	Bifaces	Other	Totals
Madeira chert	9	-	8	3	1	-	-	21
Pedernal chert	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Other cherts	41	-	22	2	-	2	-	67
Obsidian	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	3
Limestone (?)	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Totals	53	-	31	5	-	3	-	93

Table 5. Lithic Assemblage Test Pit D, Fort Marcy.

Ethnobotanical Remains. No ethnobotanical specimens were collected from Test Pit D.

Glass: The only glass recovered from Test Pit D were fragments of recent brown glass beer bottles.

Metal: No metal was recovered from Test Pit D.

FAUNAL REMAINS

Excavations at Fort Marcy resulted in the recovery of 92 bone elements and fragments. The faunal remains recovered are related to both the prehistoric and historic occupation of the area. The recovery context of these remains precludes separation of the historic and prehistoric assemblages but suggestions about this division will be provided when possible.

The 92 bones recovered could be assigned to one order, one combined genus, one genus, and four species. Long bone fragments and other fragmentary remains were assigned to the class of mammals and could be size-graded by the thickness of cortical tissue into small, medium, and large mammal categories. Table 6. presents this data by taxonomic designation and identified elements for all the remains recovered. Within the total assemblage 56 bone fragments (60.9 percent of the sample) could be assigned only to class and size-grade, the remaining 36 pieces of bone could be assigned to more specific taxonomic levels.

The assemblage is dominated by medium and large mammal remains but two small wild species provide evidence for the use of small mammals by the occupations at Fort Marcy. A single mandible fragment was identified as *Cynomys gunnisoni* (Gunnison's prairie dog) and six elements could be assigned to *Sylvilagus audubonii*

(Desert cottontail) (see Table 6). All of these elements exhibited evidence of burning and were probably part of the diet from the prehistoric component at Fort Marcy. There was also carnivore impact on two of the cottontail elements suggesting that deposits were affected by scavenging from dogs or coyotes in the area.

The remainder of the identified faunal assemblage attests to the use of medium and large mammals by both the prehistoric and historic site occupants. Only a single rib fragment indicates the presence of cattle in the assemblage. Artiodactyl remains identified as sheep/goat (*Ovis/Capra*) and deer (*Odocoileus* sp.) indicate that these species were used by the multiple occupants of the area. The deer remains were unburned and all exhibit impact fractures or evidence of longitudinal splitting. This pattern would be consistent with that seen in prehistoric sites and suggests that these remains along with those of the small mammals were part of the prehistoric component at the site. This is supported by the occurrence of four bone awls made of large mammal long bone. Two of the awls were clearly modified deer metapodials which had been grooved and split longitudinally in the process of producing the awls. The tips of these awls were broken but the other two in the assemblage were fine point awls typically used for basketry and in working with animal skins.

The sheep/goat remains and the single scapula that could be identified as domestic sheep (*Ovis aries*) (Boessneck 1970) exhibited evidence of impact fractures and splitting from axe butchering. This would be consistent with other observed historic butchering patterns where sawn bone is observed very late in the historic record and sheep tend to be axe butchered even in the late Territorial record, probably due to their relative size and the ease of using an axe rather than a saw in processing these animals (Mick-O'Hara n.d.).

Most of the remains assigned to sheep/goat were burned brown or black. The tan thermal alteration of the bone would occur when bone was burned while still covered with flesh (Buikstra and Swegle 1989). This pattern would be consistent with the roasting of this meat and the occasional disposal of bone fragments into or near cooking areas.

The faunal assemblage from Fort Marcy appears to be a mixed prehistoric and historic assemblage. The prehistoric component probably contributed the deer and small mammal remains along with the four bone awls mentioned above. The historic component consisted of the cattle and sheep/goat remains which also provide evidence of the use of roasting as a cooking practice used at the historic fort.

Taxon Element	Site Count (N)	(%)
Small mammal		
Indt. fragment	1	1.1
Medium mammal		
Long bone fragment	29	31.5
Vertebra, nfs	1	1.1
Large mammal		
Long bone fragment	23	25.0
Rib	2	2.2
Cynomys gunnisoni		
Mandible	1	1.1
Sylvilagus audubonii		
Mandible	1	1.1
Single pelvis	2	2.2
Ulna	2	2.2
Femur	1	1.1
Order Artiodactyla		
Tooth (indt)	2	2.2
Carpal, nfs	1	1.1
Femur	1	1.1
Tibia	1	1.1
Metatarsal, nfs	1	1.1
Rib	1	1.1
Odocoileus sp.		
Vertebra, nfs	3	3.3
Scapula	1	1.1
Ulna	2	2.2
Metacarpal, nfs	1	1.1
Metatarsal, nfs	1	1.1
Bos taurus		
Rib	1	1.1
Ovis aries		
Scapula	1	1.1

Table 6. Faunal remains recovered from Fort Marcy.

Taxon Element	Site Count (N)	(%)
Ovis/Capra (indt)		
Cranial complex	1	1.1
Mandible	1	1.1
Rib	1	1.1
Scapula	2	2.2
Metacarpal, nfs	1	1.1
Femur	2	2.2
Tibia	1	1.1
Tarsal, nfs	1	1.1
Phalange, general	2	2.2
Total	92	100.0

Table 6 cont. Faunal remains recovered from Fort Marcy.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Seven hypotheses were presented in the original, approved research design. These hypotheses were designed to focus on Fort Marcy through the period of its construction and deterioration in order to provide the City with an opportunity to develop an historical interpretation of the site.

Hypothesis 1.

The first hypothesis to be considered was that undisturbed deposits exist illustrating the construction of the dry moat, rampart and revetment of Fort Marcy. Previously, Acklen reported that all of the three auger tests conducted on the ramparts,

> "revealed an ashy silt with charcoal, burned rock, and occasional prehistoric artifacts. No stratification was noted in any of the tests. In addition, a rodent burrow indicates heavy midden deposits contained within the earthworks. From all appearances, the sediments which comprise the ramparts are redeposited midden soils (Acklen 1994:21).

As we have seen this was, indeed, the case.

One wonders what thoughts went through Lt. Jemery Gilmer's mind when he started construction of the irregular hexagonal polygon-shaped "star" earthworks on Fort Marcy Hill. Eager to prove himself to Kearny, Gilmer must have been appalled at the "differing" site conditions that were exposed when the mounds left by the prehistoric occupants of the hill were more or less leveled by fresnos. After grading the site, Gilmer's troops began to shape the moat and earthworks. The excavated soils including midden deposits--Gibson's ash heap--were piled inside the moat to construct the parapet. Judging from the appearance of the fill in Trench B, it seems that little, if any of the material in the parapet was even roughly sorted--except perhaps to remove human remains. Therefore, if redeposited midden soils can be considered "undisturbed" deposits for the purposes of the hypothesis, then the construction methods used by Gilmer in the earthworks are clearly visible in the 1995 test excavations.

In a letter to Col. Totten (Gilmer to Totten, Sept. 10, 1846), Gilmer had said he planned to construct the revetment--the facing of the parapet--of adobe bricks. While three lumps of adobe were observed in the upper levels of Grid 5 in Trench B, they are not sufficient evidence for an adobe revetment. More importantly, there was a complete absence of melted and slumped adobe in that portion of the moat exposed in Trench B--deposits that should have been present if an adobe brick revetment had eroded over nearly 150 years. The lack of adobe in the rampart walls is also supported by the fact that Acklen (1994:21) documented no apparent stratigraphy in his tests of the ramparts.

In fact, it was probably unrealistic of Gilmer to even consider facing the entire parapet with adobe bricks since the thousands and thousands of bricks needed had to be hauled to the site. Consequently, it appears that Gilmer limited his use of

adobe bricks on the site to specific areas, such as the gun embrasures, features inside the earthworks, and of course, the blockhouse.

The use of puddled adobe to cover the parapet is also unrealistic, for the simple reason that puddled adobe must be made on site. However, the redeposited midden soils were extemely fine and ashy, and would be subject to rapid erosion. As a result, Gilmer dampened the deposits with water hauled to the site, and then packed the resulting "pisa," or rammed earth, surface into 10-12" levels, per his training at West Point, as the parapet was constructed.

Although Acklen (1994) conducted no auger tests in the moat, the 1995 test excavations uncovered previously unmodified, cream colored, highly friable, silt-like deposits of the Tesuque formation on the west facing slope of the moat. Similar deposits were recorded in test excavations at LA 21963/LA 21964 (Lonyta Viklund pers. comm. November, 1995). However, it could not be determined from the test, the level at which those deposits crop out below ground surface. The east facing slope of the moat, of course, consisted of highly organic midden deposits. Nothing was observed in either the north or south faces of Trench B that could be identified as the original ground surface from which Gilmer began his excavations for the moat.

For the most part, then, deposits uncovered during the excavation of Trench B, illustrated the construction of the moat, ramparts (parapet), and revetment at Fort Marcy. The fact that Gilmer used materials at hand does nothing to detract from the original hypothesis. Similar expedient construction methods were used Fort Union where First Fort was constructed of green wood in 1851, and Second Fort, the earthworks constructed in 1861, was built with no revetment whatsoever. In fact by 1862, the parapet at Second Fort was reported to be washing away because it had not been surface with sods or rammed earth (Harrison and Ivey 1993:47).

Hypotheses 2 and 3.

The second hypotheses proposed that the blockhouse was of adobe construction with a plan as Mansfield had drawn it. A third hypothesis proposed determination of whether the blockhouse was the observatory at Fort Marcy that burned in 1883 (Sheldon 1883:roll 22, frame 53; roll 100, frame 77). Initially to have been built of wood, and in fact. Lt. Abert (1848:754) mentioned the use of "pine logs one foot square" in the blockhouse, Gilmer was forced to change the building materials for the blockhouse until a saw mill could be constructed. Auger tests in the area (Acklen 1994:19), supported Gilmer's subsequent statement that he was building the blockhouse of "sun-dried brick."

The 1995 test excavations also determined that the blockhouse was constructed of adobe. A wall 3 feet wide constructed of adobe bricks was uncovered in Trench C. The adobe bricks, which had been imported to the site were laid up with the dark gray mortar made on site from midden deposits. Adobe slump observed in the test excavations in the interior of the blockhouse, may have been the remains of an 18" wide parapet which Gilmer reported stood 6 feet

above the roof of the structure. Since none of the adobe was discolored as it would have been if it had burned, and since the only carbon in the trench came from the midden deposits used to make mortar, it appears that the blockhouse was not the observatory that burned in 1883.

The absence of wood among the materials recovered by the archaeological investigation, however, may suggest that as the fort deteriorated still useful materials were removed and reused in new buildings elsewhere. Or, it is not impossible that Gilmer never really completed the blockhouse (cf. Wilson 1989:109). Finally, it was not possible to determine if the blockhouse had been constructed according to Mansfield's plan from the test excavations.

Hypothesis 4.

In the mid-1850s Marian Russell reported falling into a cistern at Fort Marcy. Since there was no source of water at the fort, the presence of a cistern for collection and storage of water in the area makes perfect sense. Nearly thirty years after Russell's incident, Bandelier noted a rock-ringed circular depression southeast of the earthworks (Lange and Riley 1966:338-339). At the time he was undecided whether the depression was prehistoric or dated from construction of the fort. Thus Hypothesis 4 was developed to determine whether Acklen's (1994) "anomalous depression" was a cistern.

In order to determine if the more or less circular depression was a cistern, Test Pit D was excavated near the center of the feature north of the walkway to The Cross of the Martyrs. Instead of being a cistern, it appears that the feature had been used by Gilmer to mix slurries of in situ, prehistoric midden deposits with water for use in construction of the fortification. Previously, Acklen (1994:22) had documented "a dense clay containing midden fill to a depth of 90 cm" on the interior of the feature. While, "Auger Test 23 placed just outside of the depression, documented a sterile, calcareous clayey silt with no artifactual inclusions" (Acklen 1994:22). Fill containing midden deposits would not be expected in a cistern, the primary purpose of which is to store water. However, such fill would be compatible with operation of a slurry pit.

Whether Gilmer utilized a prehistoric architectural feature, such as a kiva or pit structure to could not be determined test excavation. However, the fact that the midden deposits were more or less in situ was suggested by Eric Blinman (pers. comm., November 28, 1995) due to the ratio of undecorated utility wares (90.7%) to decorated prehistoric ceramics (9.3%) recovered from the test pit. The ratio of undecorated to decorated prehistoric ceramics in Trench A (78.6% & 21.4%) and Trench B (70.4% & 29.6%) also suggest that those deposits were more or less in situ at the time of construction of the fort. Use of the feature as a slurry pit is further substantiated by Moore's analysis of the lithic assemblage, which indicated more post-depositional damage, to the artifacts in this feature than elsewhere. It is possible that the damage was sustained as the result of mixing slurry and mortar.

Hypothesis 5.

Hypothesis 5 was developed to determine if the magazine was an adobe-lined subterranean structure. However, the hypothesis could not be tested because the magazine was not encountered in Trench A. If a mound located to the east of Trench A is in fact the remains of the magazine, then, judging from the height of the mound, that feature was semi-subterranean.

Hypothesis 6.

This hypothesis was designed to test whether the gun emplacements were of rammed earth. As we have seen, the banquette/platform revealed in Trench A were indeed constructed of an atypical type of rammed earth--that is, midden deposits from the Middle to Late Developmental, early Coalition Period deposits on the hill. As noted above, Blinman has suggested that the midden deposits were probably more or less in situ at the time the gun emplacements were prepared. When mixed with water that had been hauled to the hill, the midden deposits formed a hard, dark gray surface liberally tempered with sherds, lithic debris, and occasional fragments of faunal remains. Compaction of the slurry was undoubtably achieved simply by walking on it. Although not apparent in the test excavation, it is more than likely that the rammed earth was built up in levels in accordance with D. H. Mahan's (1836) instructions on the manufacture of "pisa."

Hypothesis 7.

Hypothesis 7 in the original research design (Appendix A) was eliminated in the approved research design. As a result, Hypothesis 7 was designed to test whether Fort Marcy had an important symbolic role in the transition from Mexican to United States Territory. Here the question becomes "symbolic" of what to whom? Until Mexican independence from Spain in 1821, Santa Fe had been the northern-most settlement in New Spain; New Mexico was part of the Spanish empire. During the seventeenth century the colony was supported largely by the crown, and while that support lessened considerably during the eighteenth century, it did not stop completely until the first decades of the nineteenth century. After Mexico gained independence, New Mexico was left, for the most part to its own devices, which by that time, included the newly opened Santa Fe Trail. Thus, when Kearny's Army of the West finally reached Santa Fe, not only was New Mexico ripe for conquest, the populace may have been only too willing to greet the arrival of U. S. military forces. In that case, Fort Marcy was symbolic only to Kearny and his forces as an example of the domination of one culture over another.

As an engineer, Lt. Jeremy Gilmer was clearly aware of the fact that a permanent fortification could not be constructed without a reliable supply of water nearby. The fact that there was no water on Fort Marcy ensured that the earthworks and blockhouse built there were never intended to be anything other than temporary fortifications. The fact is, from his first day on the site Gilmer had been forced to compensate for differing site conditions in every phase of construction in order to produce what appeared to be formidable, defensive fort. Perhaps more importantly, U. S. forces

had no intention of ever levelling Santa Fe through artillery fire. To have levelled the town would have been the height of foolishness, a fact of which the local populace was aware. Although Gilmer continued to work on Fort Marcy through the spring of 1847, removal of the artillery from the hill to the plaza in November 1846 was tacit acknowledgement that the fort was a "paper tiger," symbolic only of the capture of New Mexico as part of the westward movement of Manifest Destiny.

According to the approved research design, the focus of the 1995 test excavations was limited to the study of the construction of Fort Marcy through its deterioration and abandonment. However, because the fort was constructed of prehistoric remains, it was not possible to exclude discussion of the earlier occupation of the hill.

For whatever reasons, Fort Marcy Hill was ideally situated for extensive occupation during the Middle to Late Developmental and possibly early Coalition periods between A. D. 1000 to about 1250. The 1995 test excavations uncovered no evidence of architecture that could be associated with the prehistoric occupation of Fort Marcy. Even while speculating about an "estufa-like" depression southeast of the fort, Bandelier reminded himself in his journal, "any ruin up there must necessariy appear doubtful, on account of the remains of the old fort and its annexes" (Lange and Riley 1966:338-339). Even so, the lack of water for construction suggests that where Edgar Lee Hewett and Ralph Emerson Twitchell had pictured, "one large terraced pueblo and one or more smaller buildings nearby" on top of Fort Marcy Hill, in reality, there would have been pit structures with contiguous suface rooms of constructed of jacal.

Because the prehistoric occupation of the hill was dislocated by construction of Fort Marcy in 1846-1847, it is not possible to ask questions about such topics as whether the earliest occupation were seasonal or more intensive. Instead, we are dependent upon basic typological analyses to answer basic questions about the prehistoric midden deposits from which the fort was created. Thus, according to Toll's analysis, the ethnobotanical assemblage from Trench B was clearly prehistoric in date, and although recovered from disturbed fill was undoubtably contemporaneous with the sherds and lithics recovered from the same trench. Further, although concerned about the preponderance of chert in the lithic assemblage, and the exclusion of other types of material, Moore concluded that "this assemblage seems to represent part of an Anasazi chipped stone assemblage." He suggested, however, that some of the assemblage had been subjected to post-depositional damage, possibly during construction of the fort.

In her analysis of the faunal remains recovered from Fort Marcy, Mick-O'Hara suggests that the prehistoric component was represented by remains of deer and small mammals. The historic component, on the other hand, consisted of cattle and the remains of sheep/goat. It is interesting to note that on September 20, 1846, George Rutledge Gibson had recorded the following comments in his journal:

> We have pies, both grape and custard, and Walter also gave us soup and boiled and baked mutton for dinner. .

> .We find it much better to buy the sheep alive and have it slaughtered, as we are then sure not to eat goat's meat, which we have been buying in [the] market for a fortnight as sheep and found it not so good (Gibson 1935:241).

While Gibson had noted that the military personnel preferred sheep to goat, remains of the former could not be positively associated with construction of the fort.

D. H. Snow's analysis of the ceramics from the 1995 test excavations included both prehistoric and historic pottery types. Based on Snow's notes on the ceramic assemblage recovered at Fort Marcy, the bulk of the "Red Mesa Style" sherds are late Red Mesa Black-on-white. [However,] some of the "early" Red Mesa sherds--a small minority--may, in fact be White Moundish." Since "Kwahe'e/Red Mesa and Santa Fe Black-on-white are seldom present on the same site," D. H. Snow surmises that the sherds represent "two (at least) prehistoric components" at Fort Marcy.

Left with such basic statements about the early occupation of Fort Marcy, what questions can be answered about the prehistoric occupation of the hill? Spacial and temporal differences in the occupation of the hill are suggested in the ratios of decorated to undecorated ceramics observed in Trenches A and B, and Test Pit D. But even there, the fills uncovered in the 1995 test excavations were so thoroughly disturbed that that further research is needed in this area.

Water was the singular, most important factor in the construction and use of the fort Lt. Gilmer was to build on the hill. Water had also been a limiting factor in use of the hill during previous centuries. Although part of the hill had been set aside for use as a cemetary for non-Catholics after the opening of the Santa Fe Trail, it had originally been part of the ejidos or commons that belonged to the villa. Worthless for cultivation because it could not be irrigated, the area was used for grazing or as a "short-cut" for obtaining wood for fuel or construction. The lack of water on the hill, dictated the location of La Garita, part of the presidial defense on Santa Fe adjacent to the ditch below the hill.

Although we know from the documents that Fort Marcy was never garrisoned, none of the artifacts recovered from the 1995 test excavations can be specifically identified with the construction of the fort. Even though the faunal remains included historic cattle and sheep/goat, they could have been deposited at any time after the arrival of the Spanish. While certain of the historic ceramics, Powhoge Polychrome, Kapo Black, the Tewa Redwares, and Orangeline Polychrome Majolica, can be dated to the period, most of those wares were developed in the eighteenth century. Finally, there is no way to determine if the two wire twists for the friction primers had been deposited when morning and evening guns were fired because the artillery was moved to the plaza in early November, 1846, before the fort was completed. Further we do not know whether Confederate troops may have positioned and fired cannon from Fort Marcy Hill when they occupied Santa Fe in 1862.

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Located on a promentory overlooking Santa Fe, New Mexico, historic Fort Marcy was the first and only earthworks constructed in New Mexico during the Mexican-American War. Built under the direction of Lt. Jeremy F. Gilmer, an engineer educated at West Point, the fort not only occupies the former location, but was also constructed of the remains of a multi-component Middle to Late Developmental and early Coalition Puebloan settlement. The first fort in what became the Territory of New Mexico, Fort Marcy was symbolic of Manifest Destiny, although it was never garrisoned, and had been abandoned by 1867.

Throughout the early twentieth century, efforts at tailoring Santa Fe's history ignored Fort Marcy. This first symbol of American conquest ran against the romantic current shaping the city's self-portrait of its past. In fact, it was not until the 1950's that historians began to reexamine Fort Marcy. Beginning with Robert Utley's efforts in the late 1950s and early 1960s, interest in Fort Marcy began to rise (*New Mexican*, Jan. 25, 1959). Over the next few years John Porter Bloom, Bruce Ellis, William Brown, surveying the site for the National Park Service, and John Gaw Meem voiced their support for trying to find ways of presenting the site to the public (*New Mexican*, Aug. 12, 13, 1963; CBIC 1963). While its advocates varied what form the presentation would assume, suggesting approaches from partial excavations to a complete restoration of the fort, all agreed that the site was important and should no longer be ignored. After all, they argued, the site is the only extant fort on now American soil dating to the Mexican-American war, and it is the first American fort in what became the Territory of New Mexico, and it did symbolize the expansionism that drove westward expansion. When the heirs of L.B. Prince offered the site to the city with the provision that its past be interpreted, the *New Mexican* supported the idea, beginning and ending its editorial with the question, "What are we waiting for?" (New Mexican, Aug. 14, 1963).

Thirty-two years later, the City of Santa Fe may be in a better position to answer that question. The City has used its resources to complete three archaeological and historical investigations of Fort Marcy. This report has attempted to broaden the perspective from which Fort Marcy may be viewed. Certainly, the arguments already offered by Bloom, Utley, and Wilson convey the importance of the fort to understanding the Mexican-American War, American expansionism, and a military dimension of the Santa Fe Trail. The additional information gained by this project's investigations offers an opportunity to revisit Fort Marcy and to see it with a broader, perhaps more insightful, perspective.

CURATION AND SITE EVALUATION

All materials, field notes, maps, photographs and slides, that resulted from the 1995 test excavations at Fort Marcy will be submitted to ARMS for curation. Further, all cultural remains recovered from the same test excavations will be prepared in accordance with the Cultural Properties Review Committee's

Guidelines for Curation of Artifactual Material and submitted to the Archaeological Repository of the Museum of New Mexico for curation.

Historic Fort Marcy remains eligible for the State Register of Cultural Properties and the National Register of Historic Places due to the limited nature of the 1995 test excavations. This document has been prepared for the City of Santa Fe for future management and interpretation of Historic Fort Marcy.

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1880 Ruins of Old Fort Marcy, by W. P. Bliss. Stereoscopic view, Photo Archives, Museum of New Mexico.

1880 Santa Fe from Fort Marcy Hill Showing Lay-out of Military Establishment and Train in Distance. Stereoscopic view by Ben Wittick, State Records Center and Archives.

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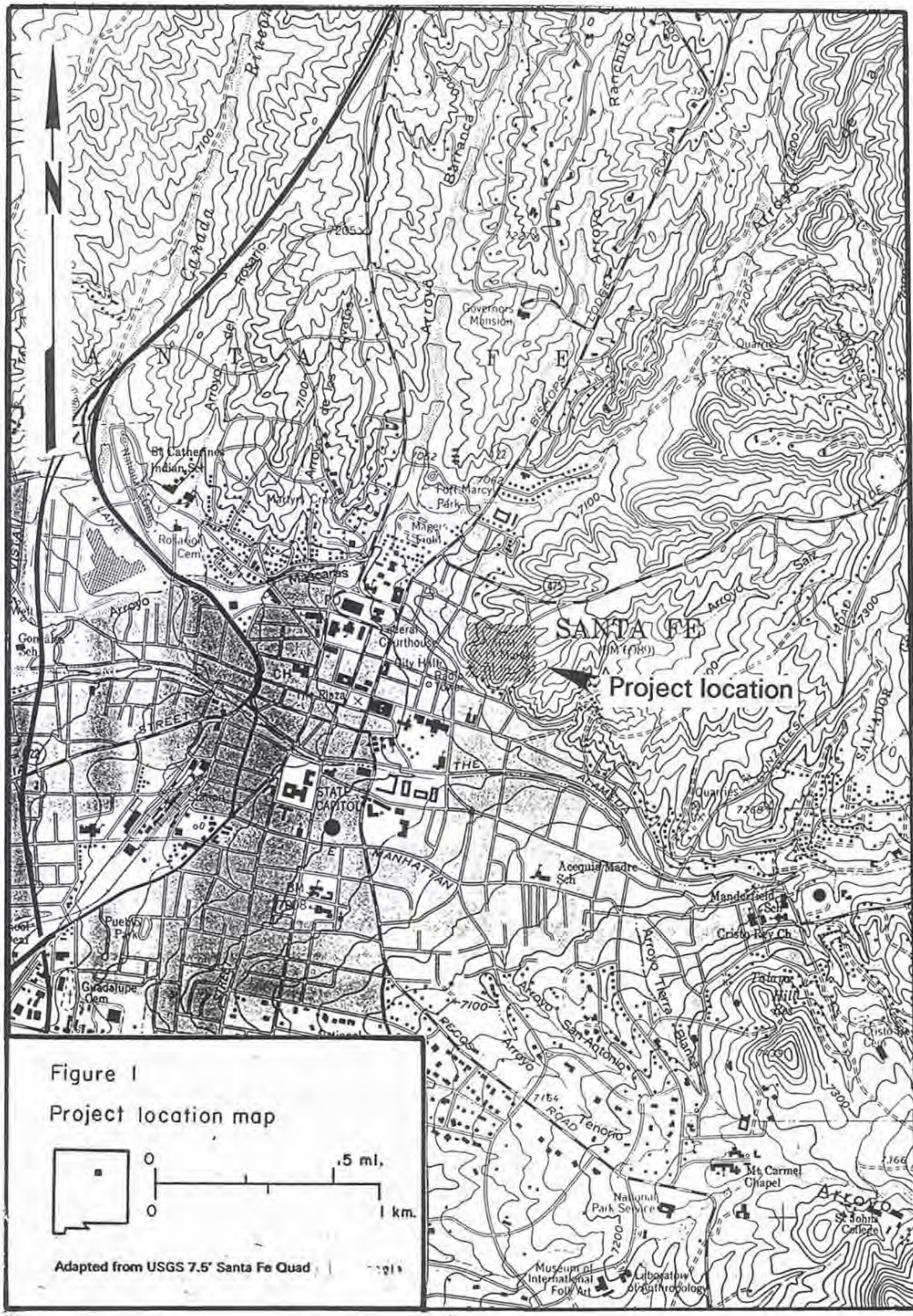

Figure 1

Project location map

Adapted from USGS 7.5' Santa Fe Quad

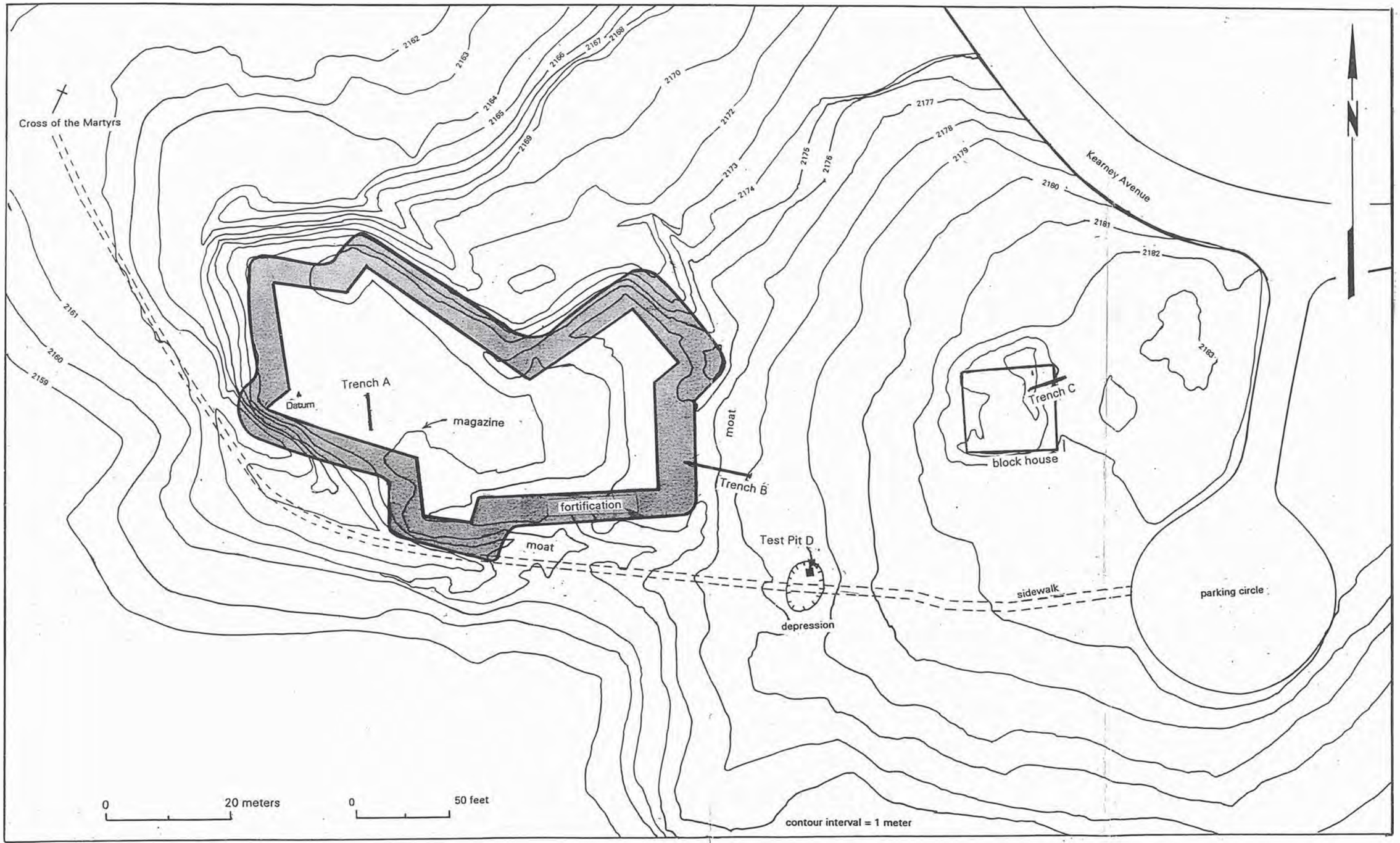

Figure 2, Location of tested areas.

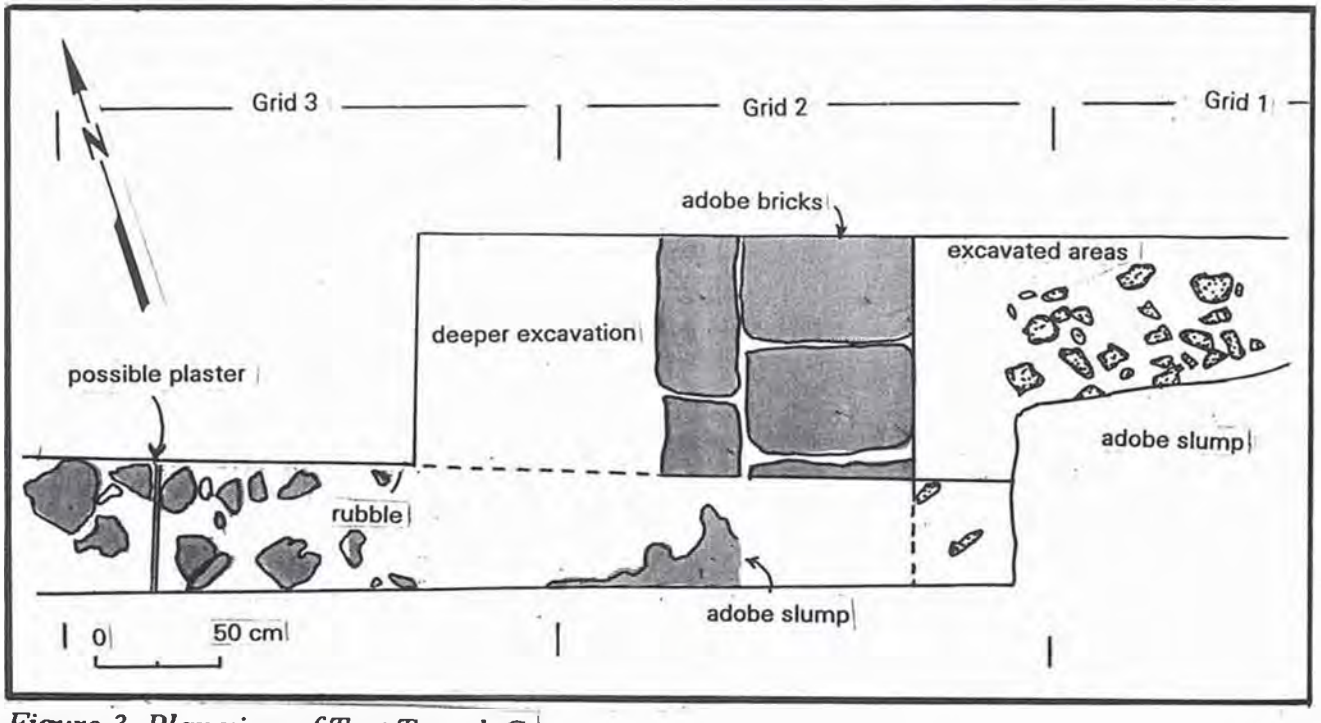

Figure 3, Plan view of Test Trench C.

Figure 3.

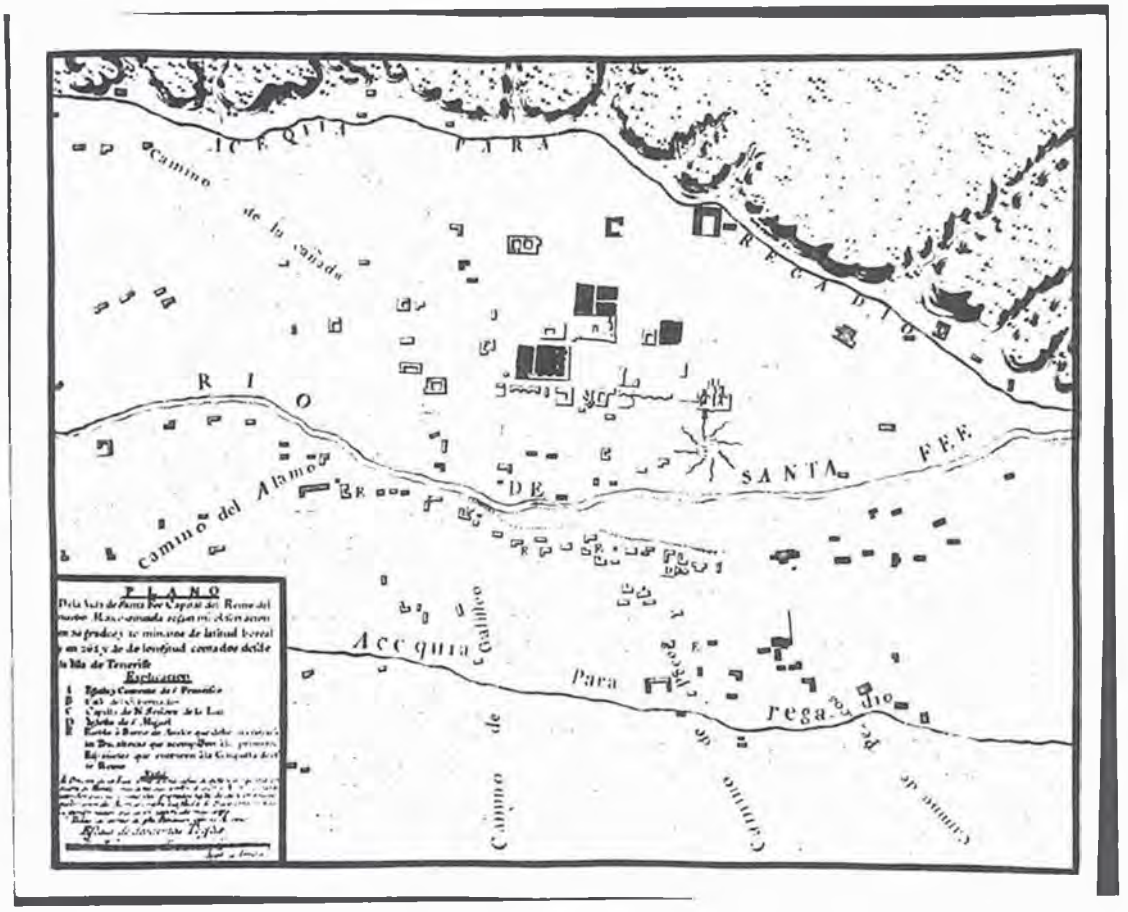

Figure 4. The Urrutia Map of 1766, Museum of New Mexico Negative No. 10948.

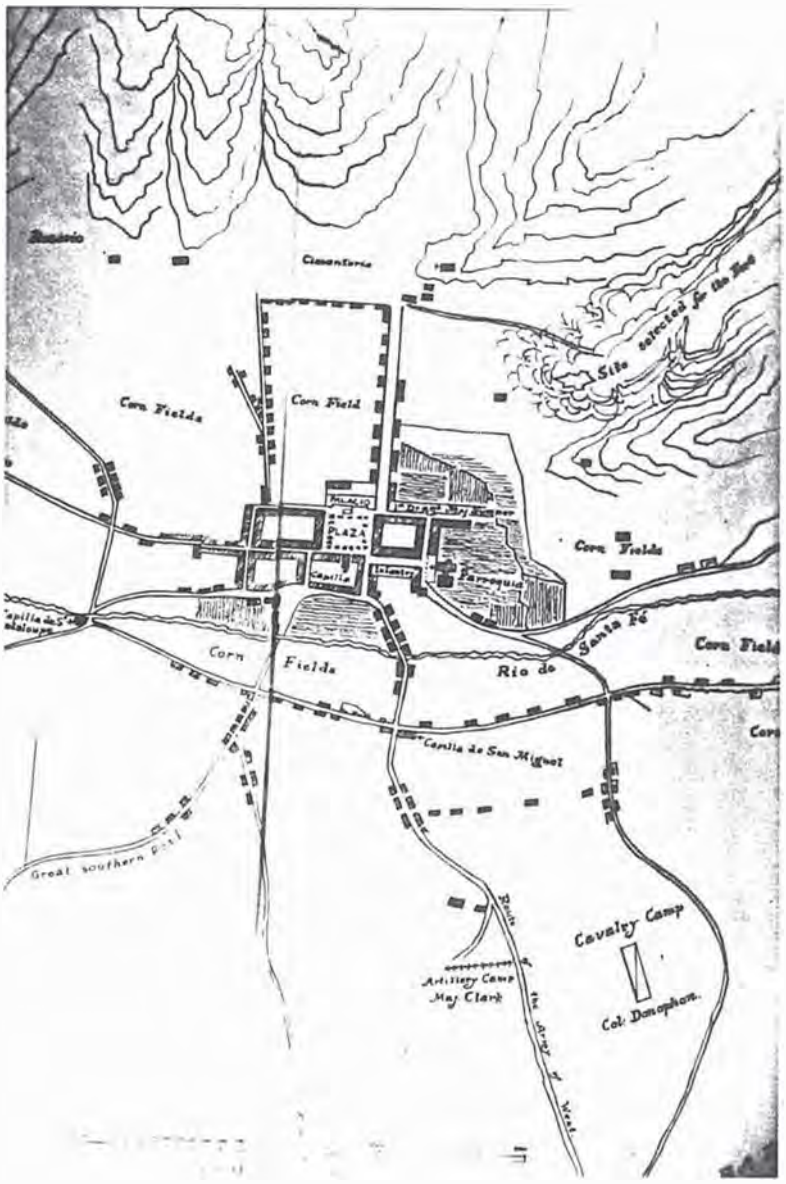

Figure 5. Map of Santa Fe, New Mexico, showing site of the proposed fort in upper right.

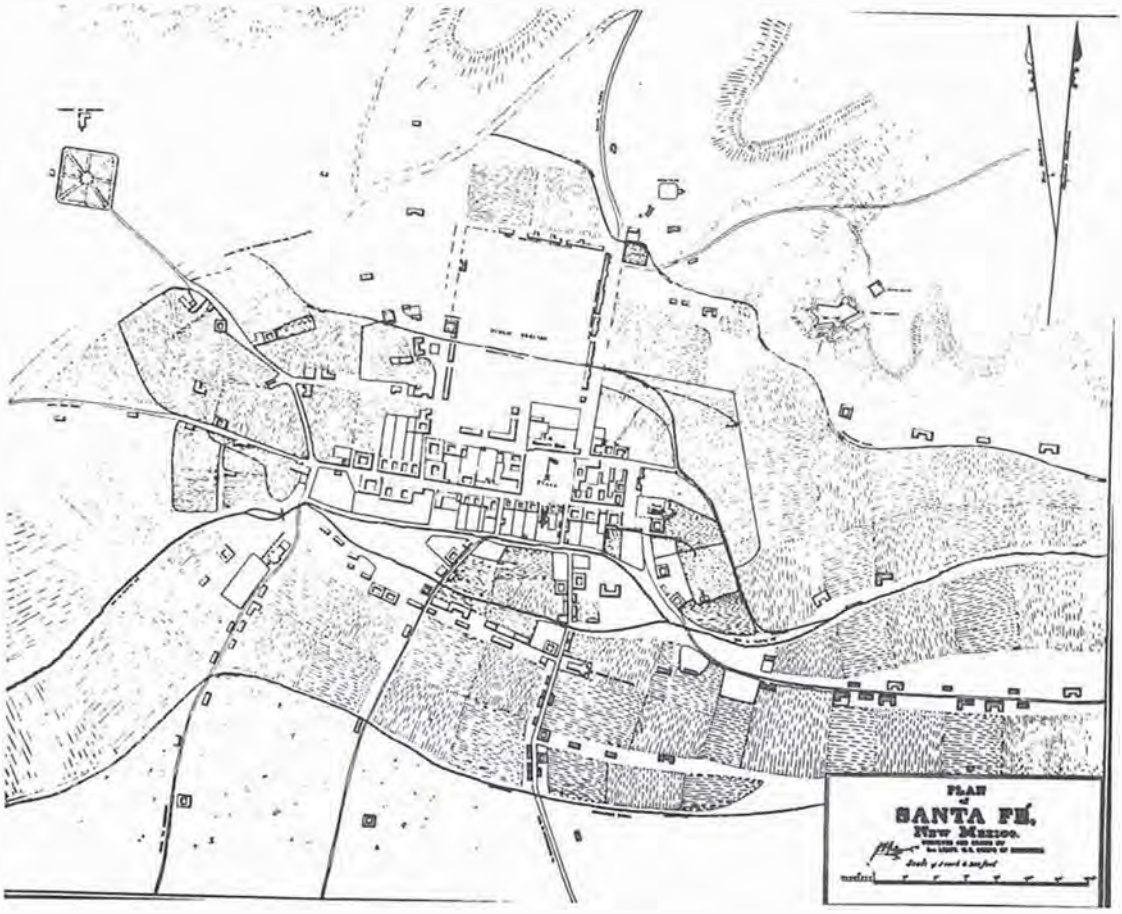

Figure 6. Map of Santa Fe, New Mexico by Lt. J. F. Gilmer, circa 1846-47. Museum of New Mexico Negative Number 121985.

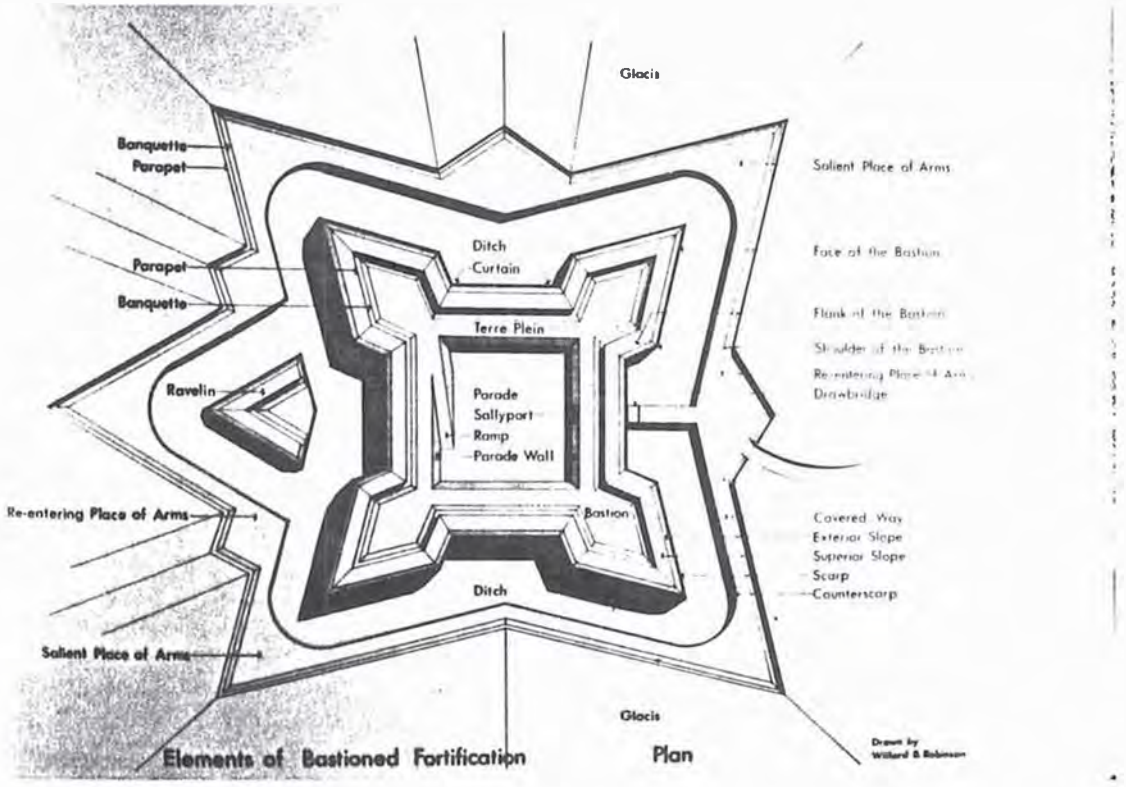

Figure 7. Elements of a Bastioned Fortification.

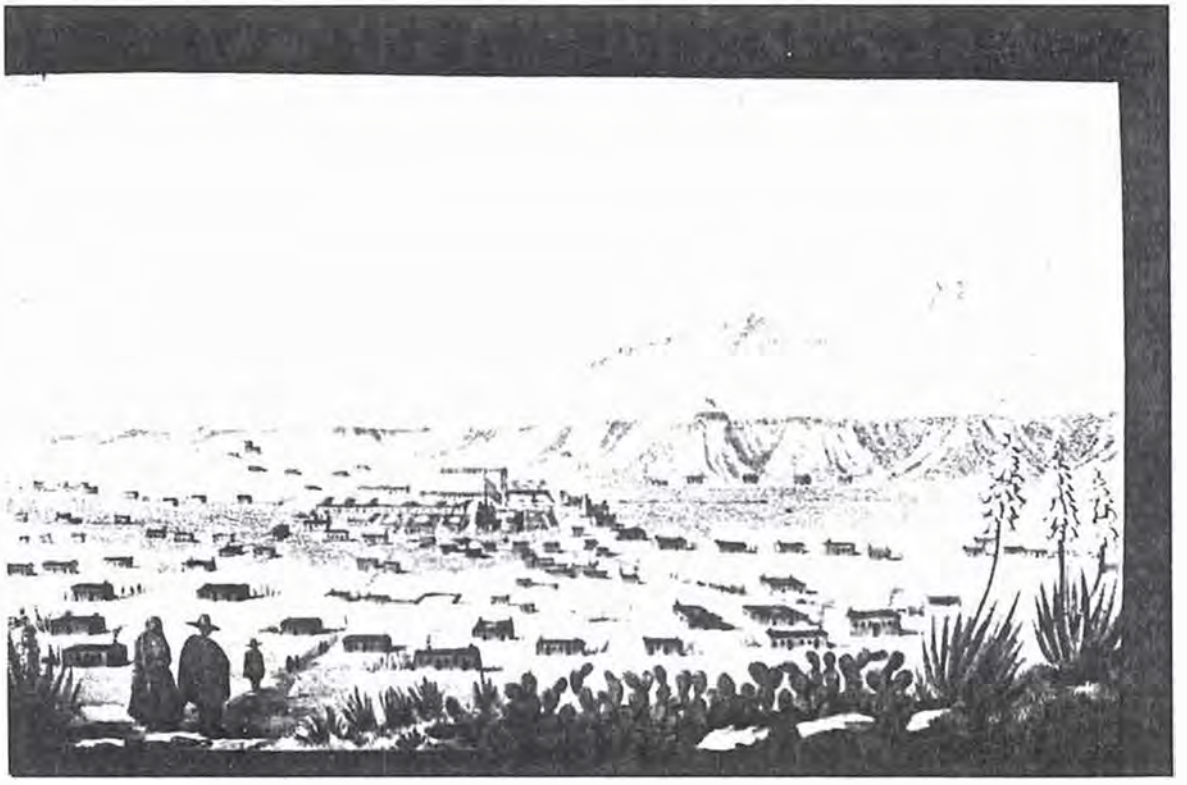

Figure 8. View of Santa Fe by Lt. Abert, note size of flags.

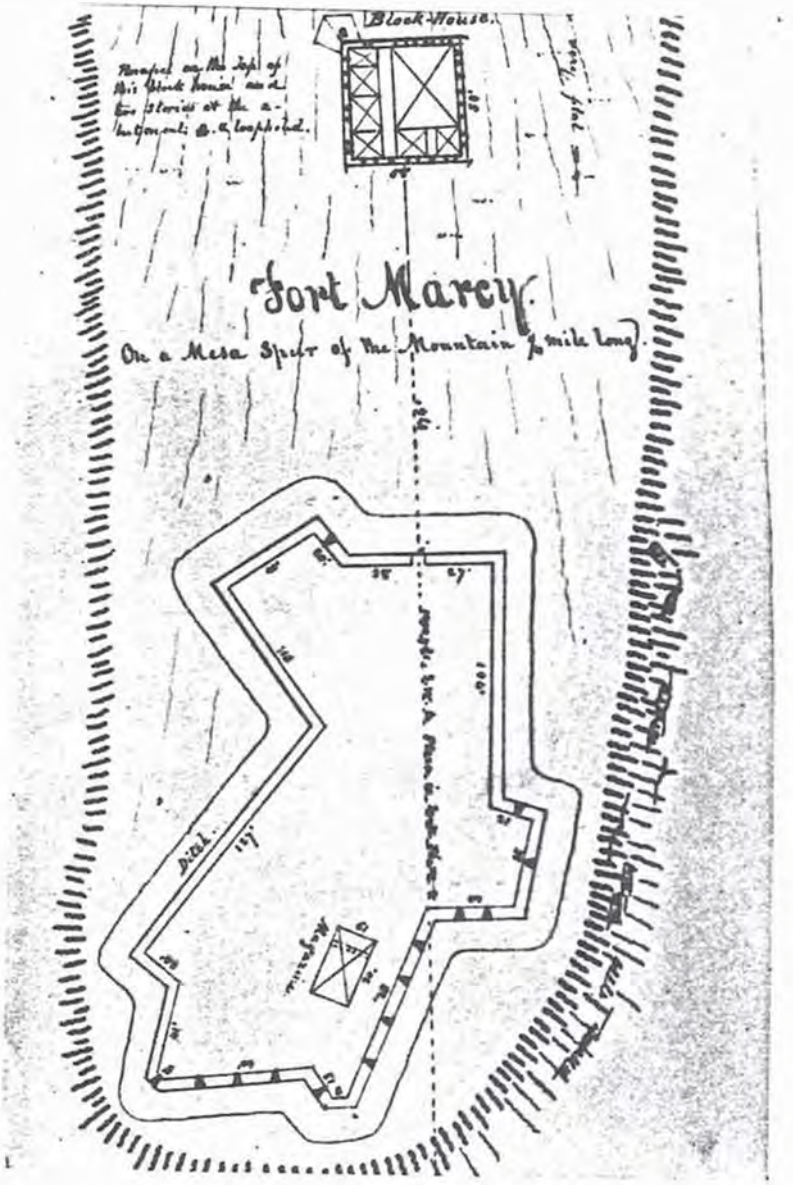

Figure 9. 1883 Mansfield drawing of Fort Marcy, Santa Fe.

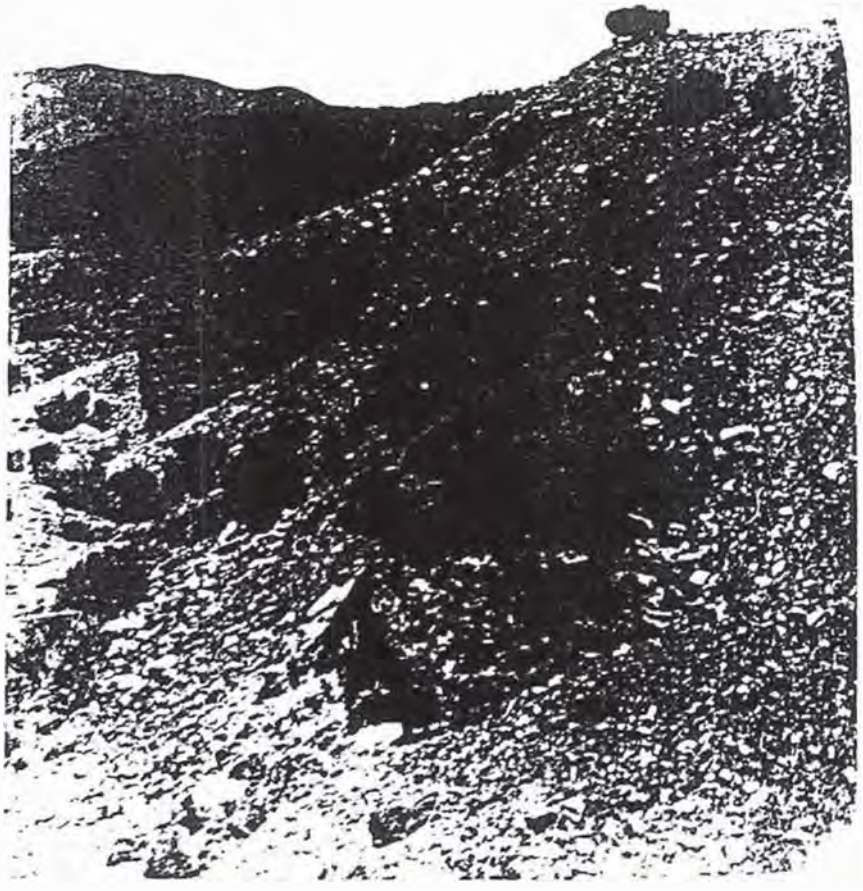

Figure 10. "Ruins of Old Fort Marcy, ca. 1880, photo by W. P. Bliss, Museum of New Mexico Negative No. 117647. The view is toward the southeast.

Figure 11 Fort Marcy Ruins, 1912, photo by Jesse Nusbaum, Museum of New Mexico Negative, No. 61547.

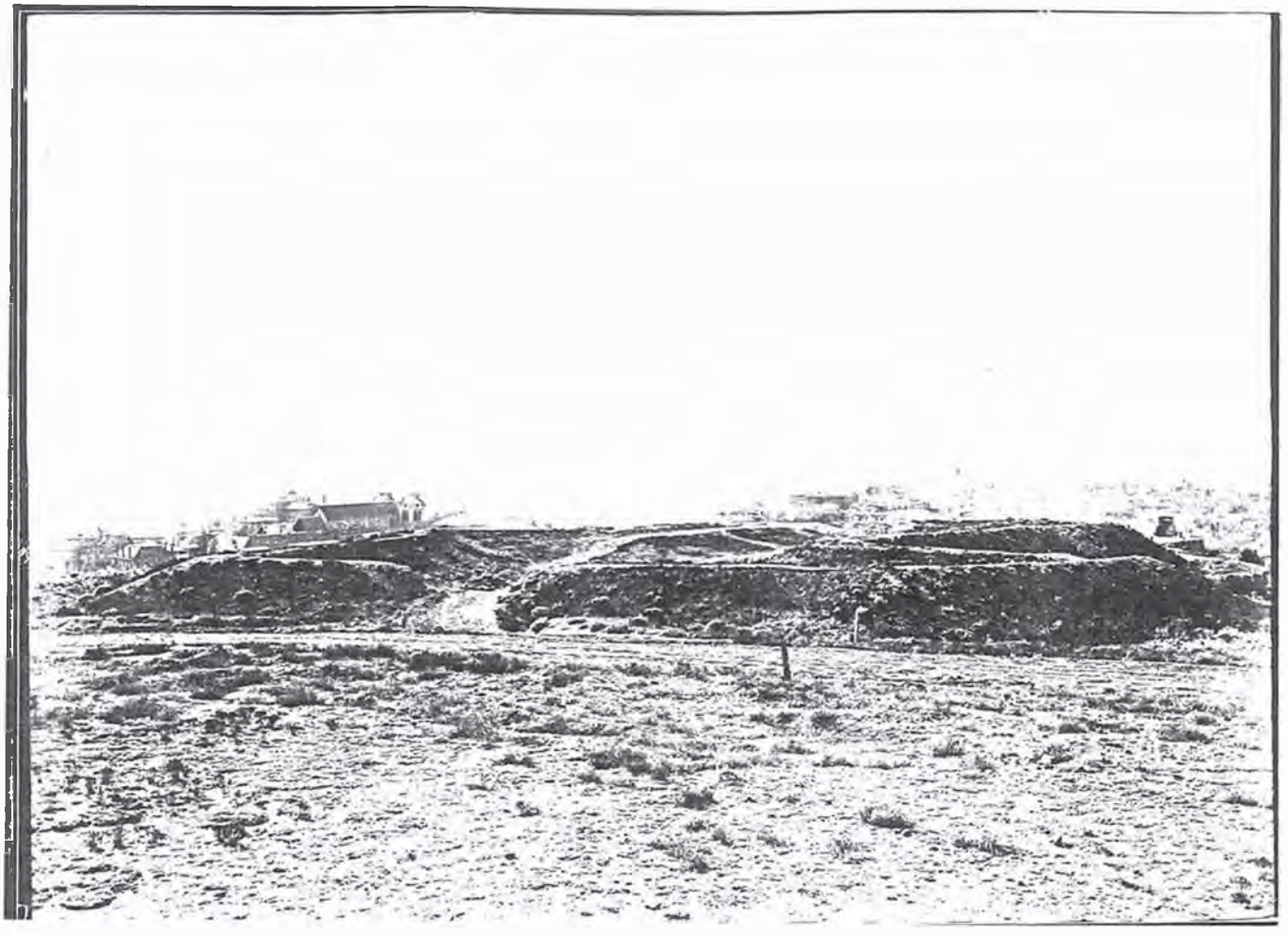

Figure 12. Ruins of Fort Marcy, 1912, photo by Jesse Nusbaum. Museum of New Mexico Negative No. 1725.

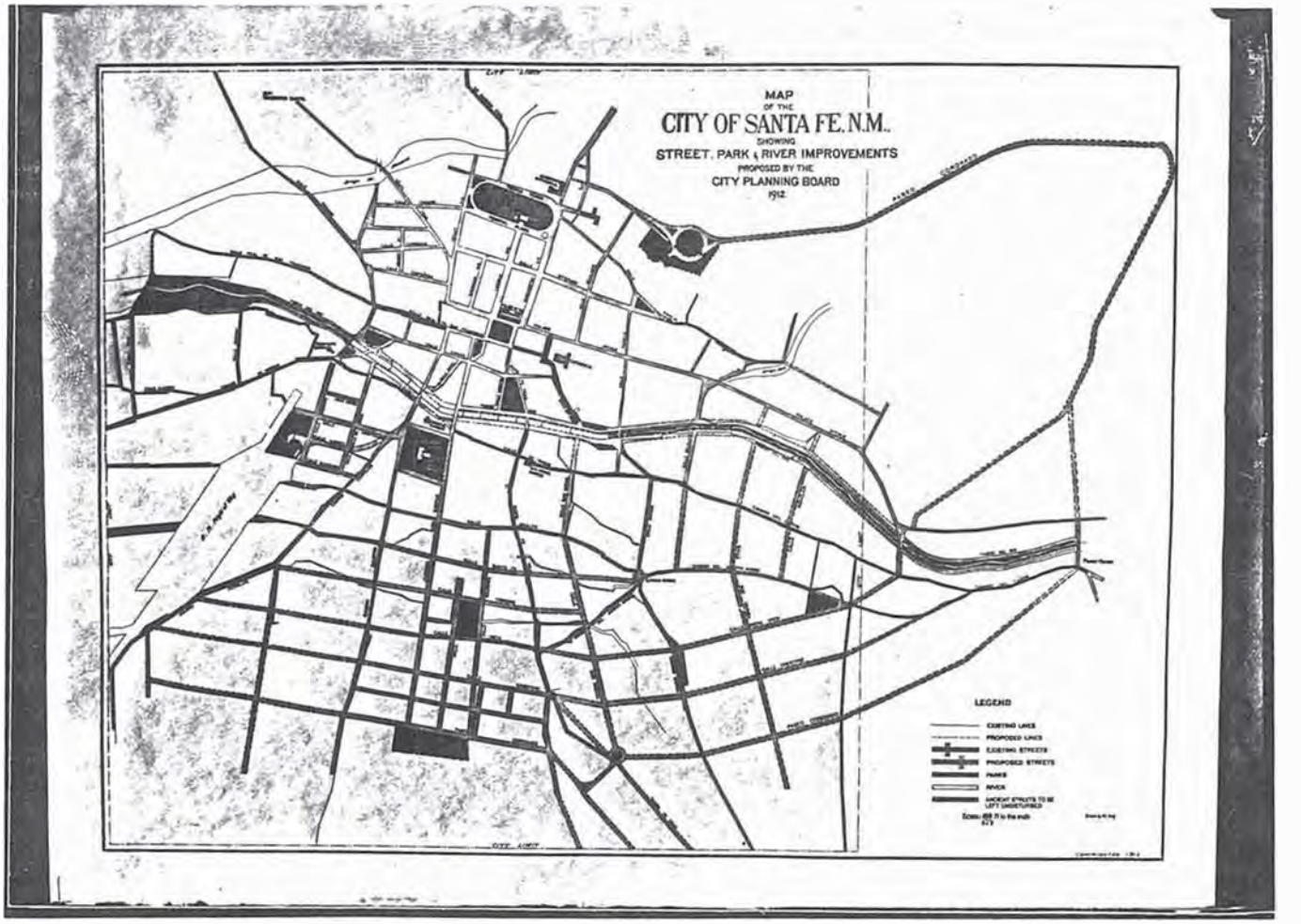

Figure 13. 1912 Map of Santa Fe Showing Street, Park and River Improvements. Note park around Fort Marcy in upper right. Museum of New Mexico Negative No. 61530.

Figure 14. Aerial View of Fort Marcy Hill, ca. 1964. Photo by Tony Perry, Museum of New Mexico Negative No. 38348.

APPENDIX A

Approved Research Design

Historic Fort Marcy Project 1995

Historic Fort Marcy Project 1995

Research Design

by Susan Swan, David Kammer and Cordelia Snow

April 25, 1995

Revised, May 1995

Submitted to:
Archaeological Review Committee
Planning Division
City of Santa Fe
Santa Fe, New Mexico

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Abstract

This is a report of progress to date on the 1995 study of Historic Fort Marcy. Further archival materials have been collected and identified, in addition to the review of archival documents previously collected, and a bibliography has been compiled. The records of the Laboratory of Anthropology have been consulted, including reports of archaeological investigations in the vicinity of the Fort,and the report of Mariah Associates (Aklen 1994) has been reviewed. Historic, archival and archaeological reports and documents have been collected and reviewed (individual experts have been consulted) in developing a research design,including proposed archaeological excavation, for the second phase of this year's study. This document will be submitted to the Archaeological Review Committee of the City of Santa Fe and to the State Historic Preservation Division for approval and permits and other authorities for review and comment as required by applicable laws.

Historic Fort Marcy Project 1995

Project Description

This project is the third phase of studies sought by the City of Santa Fe on the ruins of Historic Fort Marcy. The purpose of the study is to "provide historical information that will serve as the basis for the City of Santa Fe to prepare a Master Plan to guide public use and interpretation of the location" (Grzeskowiak, letter Dec. 15, 1994). Historic and archival information about the historic fort will be integrated with the results of the archaeological investigations to interpret the Territorial Period activities at the site.

Previous Work at Site

Fort March Ruins were listed on the State Register of Cultural Properties 7/20/69 and the National Register of Historic Places 4/14/75. The Laboratory of Anthropology has a site form record (LA 111: recorded by Cross Cultural Research Systems, July 3, 1989) and copies of the National Register nomination form, Museum of New Mexico Field Journal, maps, and a clippings file on the site. The Office of Cultural Affairs has the nomination form and the Museum of New Mexico has a field journal of information about the site.

Previous Phases of this Project

As stated above, this study is the third in a series of investigations. The first study (Wozniak 1992) focused on prehistoric uses of the site, archival resources relating to the construction of the Fort and its subsequent history. Wozniak's documentary collection on the construction of the Fort seems to be complete. Though both Edgar Hewett and Ralph Twitchell said that a prehistoric pueblo existed on the hilltop, Wozniak was skeptical, saying "Unfortunately, there are no indicates whatsoever in the records of the construction of the fort to sustain such a conclusion ..." (1992, p.1). However, several pithouse structures and artifact scatters have been located adjacent to the site and the presence of prehistoric material was confirmed by Mariah Associates' findings in 1994 (Aklen, 1994).

This was the first formal, archaeological investigation of the ruins of old Fort Marcy. Mariah Associates, Inc. created a topographic map of the Fort, using an electronic total station and data collector. This map shows the property boundaries, features, location of artifacts found on the surface and the location of 23 auger tests.

The sampling strategy used for the tests was unspecified. One shovel test was performed.

Site Description

Located in Prince Park, Historic Fort Marcy is just 665 yards from the plaza of Santa Fe. The plan of the original star-shaped fortification is clearly apparent. Additional features are a large mound, the remains of the blockhouse; a smaller mound that is probably the remains of the magazine; an anomalous depression and a scatter of prehistoric and historic artifacts. The site is approximately 100 x 200 feet, for a total of 6.5 acres. As recorded by J. Evaskovic, D. Barsanti, D. Campbell and M. Dilley, it has three cultural/temporal components: 1) Anasazi Pueblo II Period (AD 1050- 1150); 2) Historic Puebloan (post AD 1700); and 3) Anglo/Euro-American (AD 1846 - ?). Given the Spanish use of Native American-made pottery and that no historic pueblo exists in Santa Fe, the second component would be more accurately described as Spanish-Colonial. In reconnaissance and tests, Mariah Associates collected prehistoric ceramics, historic ceramics, projectile points, biface fragments, lithic tools and debitage, bone and antler fragments, an antler tool, a bone bead and glass. The depth of the deposits is unknown, though auger tests found cultural material as deep as 90-110 cm's below surface and 1.5 meters of stratified cultural deposits are visible in a cutbank.

Much of the prehistoric material was disturbed by construction activities in 1846-47. Gibson (Wozniack p. 1- 2) reported that ashy, charcoal-laden soil and human burials in coffins were found when digging for the magazine. A different type of burial was uncovered at several other locations around the excavation site, but the character of the difference was unspecified (Wozniak, p. 2). Whether these later were associated with the prehistoric or historic components of the site is unknown.

Since the construction the site has been subjected to trampling, the movement of automobiles, construction of a paved road and sidewalk, a fire at one of the features, natural deterioration processes and the recent auger and shovel tests Despite all these effects, the primary features of the Fort seem remarkably intact. given the extent to which Twentieth Century development has affected adjacent areas.

Register Status

The site is listed on the State Register of Cultural Properties and the National Register of Historic Places.

Proposed Work

As stated above, historic and archaeological information will be integrated in interpreting the Fort for City planning purposes. Most of the archival and document search is complete, but the amount of archaeological information collected is slight and inconclusive on a number of important points. Therefore, further archaeological investigations are needed.

Reasons for Work

Fort Marcy is one of only two earthen fortifications built by the U.S. Army in the course of the Mexican War and the only one in the Southwest. The other, Fort Brown in Brownsville, Texas, was bombarded during the War; later buildings were constructed over the site, which is now a part of a golf course (Charles Haecker; Aaron Mahr; personal communication). Since the ramparts, magazine and blockhouse of Fort Marcy were built, they have not been subject to such drastic alterations. This makes Fort Marcy a unique archaeological resource of the era and type of structure. The fire which burned the 'observatory,' though destructive at the time, probably acted to preserve information about its adobe architecture.

Several questions remain about the features at the Fort. The purpose of the continuing historic research and proposed excavation is to address some of the questions; with good luck, answer other questions; and to confirm previously made assumptions.

1. What is the cross section profile of the rampart and dry moat? How does the contemporary description of their construction compare with their remains? How much of the original adobe facing remains?

2. The contemporary construction accounts report that excavations for the magazine were 5-6 feet in depth. Does this indicate that the magazine was primarily subterranean, or partially subterranean, as such structures were at the second fort of Fort Union?

3. Never occupied, never defended, what was the role of the Fort during Santa Fe's transition from being a part of Mexico to being a part of the United States?

4. Susan Magoffin described the blockhouse as having two adobe walls with the space between filled with stone and mortar. Gilmer said that barracks would be built within the blockhouse and Mansfield's drawing shows interior cross- walls. What is the architecture of the blockhouse? Is Mansfield's drawing accurate?

5. Is the blockhouse the 'observatory' that burned in 1882?

6. Gilmer had planned to construct wooden platforms for gun emplacements, but switched to rammed earth, due to the lack of milled wood. Did he indeed do this?

7. There was no water on the hilltop. As a child, Marian Russell reportedly fell into a cistern at the Fort. Is the anomalous depression a cistern which was built but never appeared in written contemporary reports? Was what Russell fell in not a cistern, but some fort-related feature such as a storehouse? [We know that a pithouse village is located in the area of the Fort. Is the depression a pit structure? This last question is not our reason for excavating the feature since it is out of the focus of this project. However, we must be aware of this possibility.]

8. How does the architecture of Fort Marcy compare with that of Fort Brown and/or other fortifications in the newly acquired territory along the United States westward moving frontier? What is the comparative relationship between Fort Marcy on the hill and La Garita, another minimally defended fort built by Spanish troops on a slope above the plaza?

The location of burials is of critical interest for future development of the site as a City park since some of these plans may involve digging. Unfortunately, confirming the location of the graves can involve uncovering them, the very thing that the City wants to avoid. This is complicated by the possibility (even probability) of prehistoric burials at the site and the provisions of the NM Unmarked Human Burial statute. The technical problem of finding the burials without disturbing or uncovering them is beyond the budget and time available for this phase. Non-intrusive or remote sensing techniques are preferable for locating the burials. Though the use of a metal detector can identify the location of coffin nails, it would also identify the location of metal unrelated to burials. The locations would have to be tested (partially uncovered) to confirm whether the metal was part of a burial. Areas negative to the metal detector could still contain prehistoric burials, or non-coffin burials of Euro-Americans. The equipment, expertise and personnel for other remote sensing techniques can be difficult to get and is expensive. Therefore, identifying where burials are located at Fort Marcy, though important, will be reserved for future projects.

[Note about the observatory: In 1879, the Army made observations on a solar eclipse from Fort Marcy. In 1882, a reward was offered for the capture of the individual who burned the 'observatory' at Fort Marcy. Mariah Associates found 'adobe or oxidized clay fragments' in auger test holes #18 and #12. The later hole is on the north periphery of the blockhouse feature. The other auger tests of the blockhouse showed ash and charcoal, though this was common throughout the entire site.]

For Whom the Work Will Be Done

The City of Santa Fe has contracted with Northern Research Group, Inc., as manager of the teamed efforts of David Kammer, Cordelia Snow and Susan Swan. It is funded by a CLG grant to the City from the New Mexico Historic Preservation Division.

Dates of Excavation

Field work will begin June 12 or when appropriate approvals and permits have been obtained and continue for two weeks.

Location (ownership)

The site is in the City of Santa Fe's Prince Park on unplatted land. The UTM coordinates for the center of the site are Zone 13, 415750 easting, 3949650 northing.

Research Approach and Methodology

RESEARCH APPROACH

The guiding principal underlying this entire project is to develop an interdisciplinary approach using archaeological methods and broad cultural and historic inquiry to interpret the site. Any test excavations will be designed to maximize the information acquired to address specific questions relating to Territorial Period activities at the site while causing the least destruction to the site. The proposed excavation is limited testing of certain features to address specific hypotheses; the overall integrity of the site will be maintained. Though prehistoric and pre-1846 Euro-American activities occurred at the site, our focus is on the period beginning with the construction of the Fort through its period of deterioration. The information gathered will give the City an opportunity to view the range of interpretive possibilities that the site offers.

Hypotheses

A number of hypotheses can be made from the questions posed. It is possible to address these hypotheses given the time and money available to this phase of the project.

Hypothesis 1: Undisturbed deposits exist illustrating the construction of the dry moat, rampart and revetment of Fort Marcy.

Hypothesis 2: The blockhouse is of adobe construction with a plan as Mansfield drew it.

Hypothesis 3: The blockhouse burned.

Hypothesis 4: The anomalous depression was a cistern.

Hypothesis 5: The magazine was an adobe-lined, subterranean structure

Hypothesis 6: The gun emplacements were of rammed earth.

Hypothesis 7: Fort Marcy's architecture is similar to Fort Brown's.

Hypothesis 8: Fort Marcy had an important symbolic role in the transition from Mexican to United States territory.

How can Site answer the hypotheses; data anticipated

Most of these hypotheses are unique to Fort Marcy and only historic and archaeological investigations about Fort Marcy can answer them. Though this project is very site-specific, it offers the possibility of adding to our understanding of military architecture of the Mexican War and also provides a context for the events which so altered the lives of New Mexicans. The effects of transition from being a part of Mexico, with its own cultural, political and legal heritage, to being a small and sub-ordinate part of the United States continue in land use practices, legal entanglements over water rights, the use of public lands and cultural preservation.

Sampling strategy and relevance to hypotheses

The selection of specific locations for cross-trenching, bucket auger tests and excavation are directly related to the hypotheses. The first hypothesis will be tested by cross-trenching a narrow section on the north side of the fortification (see Map 2). A complete cross-section of the dry moat, rampart and parapet can be exposed at this location with the least disturbance. The cross section will be excavated by backhoe to the level of the 1846-47 construction activities. Every attempt will be made to identify this level and avoid excavation into prehistoric deposits. The width of the trench will be sufficiently wide for safety, given the depth of the deposits and nature of the soil. The side walls will be shaved with a trowel to get the best visualization of the section, which will be thoroughly recorded. [The City will provide the backhoe.] Finding adobe bricks, disturbed and/or compacted soil will demonstrate that elements of the original construction remain. The measurement and description of these elements as revealed in cross-section, will form a basis for comparison with Fort Brown (hypothesis 7).

The height of the blockhouse mound (ca. 1 meter) suggests that substantial material from the original construction remain. Excavating from the exterior to the interior of the blockhouse, creating a cross-section, promises to provide information for answering the hypotheses regarding the blockhouse (# 2 and 3). A one-two meter wide by five meter long trench will be excavated by shovel and trowel in the northeast quadrant of the feature as indicated on Map 2. The trench will be excavated to the depth of the 1846 surface. Locating the expected interior wall where depicted by Mansfield will support the accuracy of Mansfield's drawing of the blockhouse (hypothesis 2). The presence of abundant charcoal and fire-hardened adobe mud will support the third hypothesis, whether in situ or fallen. Finding stone in mud mortar between courses of adobe brick will confirm Magoffin's description of the blockhouses construction; finding adobe walls will confirm Gilmer's description. Characterizing the various architectural elements will provide descriptive information to compare with Fort Brown's (hypothesis 7). This will provide information about the exterior construction and interior floor and walls while maintaining stability of the unexcavated portions of the blockhouse and making a hole that, when backfilled, will be less subject to erosion.

Hypothesis 4 will be tested by digging a one-meter wide cross-section of the its wall from auger tests #6 to #23 (Aklen 1994). The interior of the depression will be

excavated until the bottom of the cistern or pit structure is reached. Since the soil on the hilltop was described as being very dry and ashen in 1846, the pit would have to be treated or lined in such a way as to retain water. Finding compacted clay or stone lining the walls and floor of the pit could support the fourth hypothesis. Colluvial silts immediately above a prepared surface would also support the hypothesis. If prehistoric artifacts or features on the floor of the pit are present the hypothesis would be rejected. The walls will provide architectural information and the nature of the bottom will help assign a cultural and/or temporal affiliation to this feature.

The presumed location of the magazine will be initially tested by bucket augering in approximately ten centimeter intervals to characterize the underlying deposits. Finding a contrast between the inside and outside tests similar to Mariah Associates' auger holes #6 and #23 would indicate that the feature tentatively identified as the magazine was indeed a human-made pit that has filled in by predominately natural processes. If such a difference is found, a one meter test grid will be excavated to expose the top of the remaining walls; only the overburden would be removed - the walls and interior space would not be excavated. At that point, whether the magazine was adobe-lined would be apparent which would support the fifth hypothesis. An auger test will be made just inside the wall to determine the depth of the floor. Comparison of this depth with the depth of the 1846 surface as found in the cross-trenching of the ramparts and the blockhouse will help determine whether the magazine was subterranean, or predominately so.

Testing the location of gun emplacements as shown on historic maps with a bucket auger will address the sixth hypothesis. Finding compacted soil at a depth consistent with the post-construction surface level would confirm the use of rammed earth. [The cross-trench of the moat and ramparts will indicated the post-construction level of the gun emplacements.]

The information gathered by these tests will be compared with data from Mariah Associates and construction narratives to form conclusions about the architecture of the site. This will be compared with architectural information from studies of Fort Brown and other earthen fortifications of the era (hypothesis 7).

'Testing' the eighth will depend upon eye witness accounts, personal narratives, newspaper articles and other historic documents. Though this information does not represent a complete cross-section of all of the residents of Santa Fe, tradesmen, soldiers or travellers, it may prove helpful in providing an historic context for the Fort and in interpreting the Fort to the public.

Non-relevant data collection

All artifacts and features encountered will be recorded and reported, regardless of cultural or temporal affiliation. All historic artifacts will be analyzed; a sample of diagnostic prehistoric artifacts encountered will be assessed.

METHODS

Background Research

As called for the contracts' scope of work, the research objectives and methodologies of the project are shaped, in large part, by a review of archival sources and findings listed in the Wozniak (1992) and Mariah (1994) reports as well as a comprehensive investigation of archival resources. In carrying out the investigation of archival resources, the team reviewed the holdings of the State Records Center and Archives, the Museum of New Mexico, the Laboratory of Anthropology, the Center for Southwest Research and the Government Publications sections of the Zimmerman Library at the University of New Mexico, and the maps, photographs and reports on file in the Planning Office of the City of Santa Fe. In addition, the team consulted with Harry C. Myers, Superintendent of the Fort Union National Historical Monument; Charles Bennett, assistant director of the Museum of New Mexico; the archival staff at West Point Military Academy; and Aaron Mahr, Palo Verde National Battleground, site of Fort Brown, another Mexican-American War earthen fort constructed at what is now Brownsville, Texas.

As a result of these investigations, the team has been able to develop a more comprehensive listing of archival resources. These additional resources are indicated by bold print in the bibliography. Among the primary sources are twenty-one additional listings including three military reports, two civilian accounts of Fort March, examples of earlier City efforts to boost Fort Marcy as a tourist attraction, and several maps, drawings and photographs, some dating to the nineteenth century. As a group, these additional primary sources cast a brighter light on Fort Marcy, particularly how soldiers, Santa Fe Trail travellers, and early City boosters perceived the fort.

Notable among these additional sources are the Conrad (McCall and Swords' reports of 1851 which describe military activities in Santa Fe, focusing on the logistics and costs of maintaining facilities in Santa Fe. Coupled with the Mansfield Report (1853) and several soldiers' accounts, they will enrich the context for appreciating the initial role of the fort and possible reasons for its inactivity. The Susan Magoffin narrative,based on her visit with General Kearny, offers the surprising assertion that the grounds within the fort were 'filled with stones and mortar" (Magoffin p.141), an issue that the archaeological testing will address. Finally, the additional maps, drawings, and photographs enhance an understanding of the fort. The Emory Drawings offer an iconography of military conquest that invites further deliberation of the fort's significance at the time of construction, especially when viewed in light of some secondary sources such as Kenneson and Meinig. the 1867 photograph offers the only known photographic image of Fort Marcy prior to its gross deterioration, and the 1920's photography from the Meem Collection offers evidence as the possible burial site of the many soldiers who succumbed to sickness and disease during the first years of American military occupatio of Santa Fe.

Secondary sources referring to Fort Marcy are numerous, and the team chose to include only sources which add specific new information about the fort or hold the potential to enrich a contextual understanding for interpreting the fort. Reflective of

the former is the Shishkin reference to celestial observations undertaken at the fort in the 1870's. When combined with TANM references to a regard for an arsonist who "destroyed the observatory at old Fort Marcy," it raises the possibility of drawing a better understanding about charcoal materials found in the vicinity of the blockhouse. Reflective of the latter are two groups of sources. The first group consists of those books, articles, and reports by military historians such as Frazer, Oliva and Utley who refer to Fort Marcy as a part of their broader efforts to understand regional history, including military conquest and the Santa Fe Trail. Using the same primary sources examined for this report, these writers offer helpful points of departure for interpreting the role of the fort.

The second group consists of books, articles, and a dissertation by cultural geographers and historians such as Ellis, Kenneson, Meinig, and Reps who examine the cultural milieu in which conquest occurs. Through looks at town planning, cross-cultural perceptions, and comparative structures (Ellis' discussion of another under-utilized small fort about Santa Fe--La Garita), they offer concepts that may be helpful in developing an interpretation of the fort which addresses not only its architecture and n]history but its significance as well.

Mapping Techniques

Copies of the topographic map produced by Mariah Associates will be used as field guides. Mapping information of the exact location of excavations will be provided to the City in a format compatible with the City's G.I.S. mapping system. Gar Clarke, the G.I.S. manager, has already been consulted and we will continue to work with him to this end as the project proceeds.

How Features Will Be Recorded

Plan view drawings of each level excavated will be made with written notes describing artifacts, soils, etc. ; pencil will be used for all field notes; excavators will keep daily logs of their individual efforts; the site supervisor will keep daily records of the work assignments, progress and significant findings; the cross-sections will be drawn, have written descriptions, will be photographed and videotaped; significant features will be drawn and photographed; the measurements will be metric.

How Units Will Be Excavated

The units will be excavated by backhoe, trowel and shovel; soft brushes and dental picks will be used where necessary. The screens will be 1/4 inch mesh. The size of the unit will vary by feature, but generally will be 1x1 meter. Arbitrary 5 cm intervals will be excavated through overburden and fill until the 'natural level' of wall or floor is reached. Extant walls will not be removed nor sub-floor excavations be made. The only architectural elements that will be disturbed are those that have already been displaced, except for the portion of moat and rampart that will be destroyed by cross-trenching.

How Artifacts Will Be Collected

Though the focus of excavations is the architecture of the Fort, artifacts will be found. All artifacts encountered on the surface of excavation units and within levels will be collected and their location recorded by grid and level. Surface artifacts outside of excavation units will not be collected unless they are at risk of being picked up and removed.

How will Samples Will Be Collected

Because the scope of the project is limited to the Territorial Period military activity at the site, no pollen samples, C14 samples or other samples requiring laboratory analysis will be taken.

How Artifacts and Samples Will Be Analyzed

Given the extremely limited activity around historic Fort Marcy in the Territorial Period and the primarily architecture-related focus of the excavations, probably few artifacts will be collected. All that are found will be counted and analyzed as to material, styles, function, method of manufacture, date of manufacture, place of manufacture and associated feature. Reconstruction studies will be made of ceramics and glass.

Since the Fort was constructed on a prehistoric site, prehistoric artifacts will probably be encountered, though outside the purpose and focus of this study. Prehistoric artifacts will be grouped by type and style, counted and reported. Diagnostic artifacts will be analyzed and reported; reconstruction studies of prehistoric ceramic will be undertaken.

Since no samples will be taken, none will be analyzed.

Time Frame and Personnel

The archival and preparation phase of this project began April 1, 1995; the excavation will be the later half of June, depending upon the permitting process; and all analyses and final reporting will be completed by August 31, 1995. David Kammer has been and will continue doing historical research. Cordelia Snow has been and will continue consulting on the project and will supervise all fieldwork and historic artifact analysis. Swan is acting as general archaeologist and project manager and will supervise the field crew. A field crew of four people will be recruited from NMHU graduate and undergraduate anthropology students who have at least one season of field experience. We understand that several City employees would like to volunteer at the site. Plans will be made for their participation, however, they will not be depended upon to do the work.

Curation

The artifacts will be curated at Museum of NM (curation agreement attached). Copies of the final report, with Laboratory of Anthropology project and survey forms, photographs, etc. will be sent to the City of Santa Fe, Historic Preservation Division and Laboratory of Anthropology. Field notes and other original manuscript material will remain on file at Northern Research Group. Selected copies of field notes will be included.

MUSEUM OF NEW MEXICO

Laboratory of Anthropology
Museum of Indian Arts and Culture

Conservation
Statewide Programs and Education
Exhibitions
Laboratory of Anthropology
Museum of Indian Arts and Culture
Museum of Fine Arts
Museum of International Folk Art
Palace of the Governors
Museum of New Mexico Press
New Mexico State Monuments

December 6, 1994

Ms. Susan Swan
Archaeologist
Northern Research Group, Inc.
Post Office Box 2582
Las Vegas, NM 87701

Dear Ms. Swan:

This letter certifies the willingness of the Museum of New Mexico, Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology, to curate archaeological collections and records recovered by you within the State of New Mexico. It is understood that this curation agreement is contingent upon your qualifying for the necessary federal and/or state archaeological permits. Collections will be managed in accordance with federal regulations (36 CFR 79), state law (10-6-6 NMSA 1978), and museum policies.

Our manual, Procedures for Submission of Collections, is currently being revised and will be sent to you soon. You will need to follow these procedures when you prepare collections and records for curation. Until you receive the updated version, continue to follow the guidelines in our Procedures dated 12/1/88. It is essential that any necessary consultations about sensitive materials have been conducted and that documents confirming these consultations are submitted with the collection. In addition, you must submit proper documentation transferring title of private collections to the Museum of New Mexico.

The curation fee for artifacts and bulk records is $225.00 per standard box (about one cubic foot), as detailed on the attached Schedule of Fees. We do not provide plastic bags nor do we allow credit for supplies you purchase. Use your own boxes for transportation. Final boxing in our standard boxes will be done here. An invoice will be sent once the collection is processed.

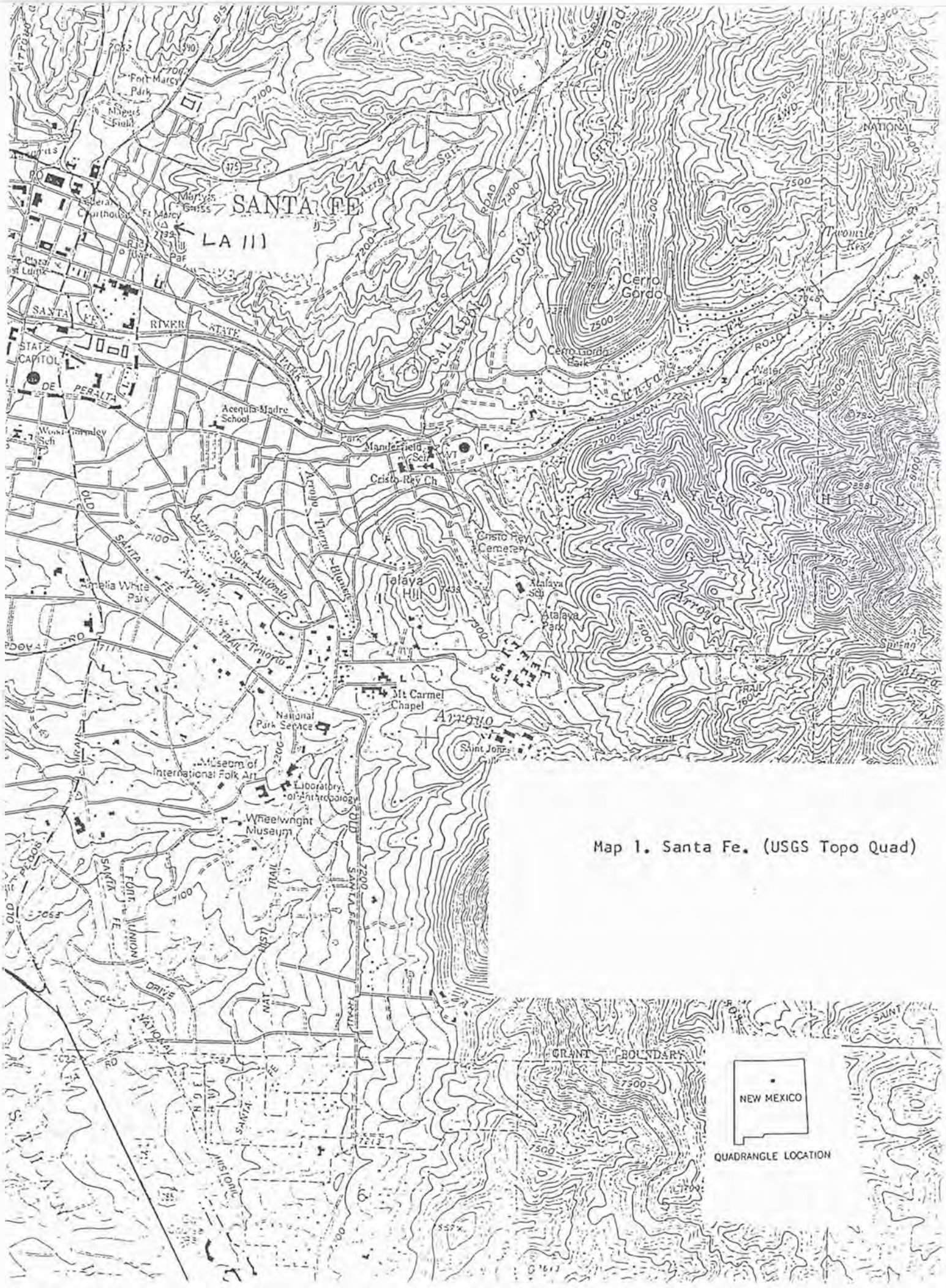
In order to allow Curtis Schaafsma more time for research and public programs, I will now be issuing curation agreements; if you have any questions, please contact me.

Sincerely,

Patricia L. Nietfeld

Patricia L. Nietfeld
Curator, Archaeological Research Collections

enclosure
cc: Curtis Schaafsma



Map 1. Santa Fe. (USGS Topo Quad)

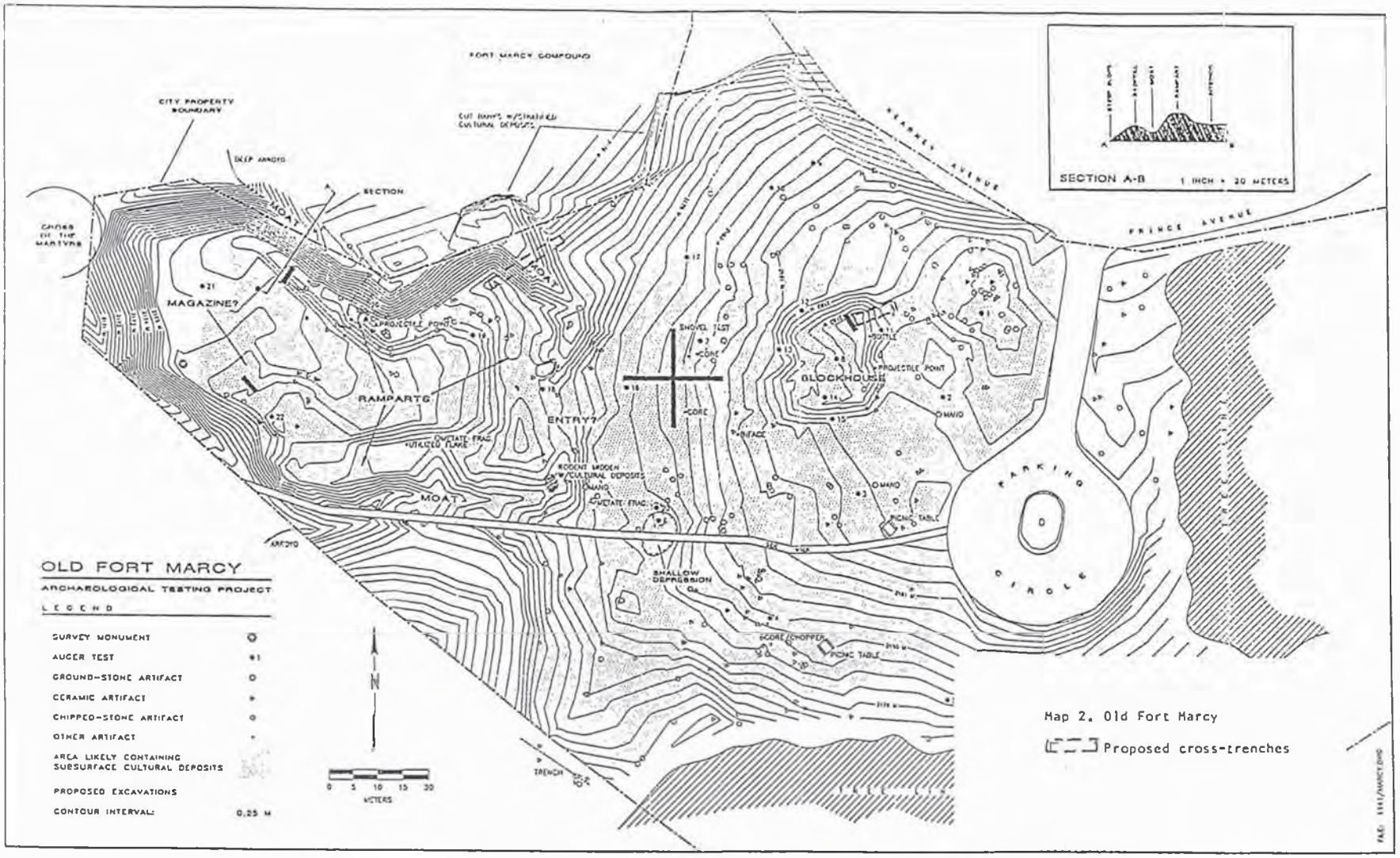


Figure 5.1 Old Fort Marcy Site Map.

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APPENDIX B

Fort Marcy: Its Significance and Relevance to Santa Fe
by
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Introduction

For much of the twentieth century, archaeologists, historic archaeologists, and historians have devoted a good deal of energy to piecing together Santa Fe's past. With changes in research methodologies and the uncovering of new information, they have contributed to a more accurate and detailed chronology of the city's past. Equally fascinated with the city's past are many of its citizens and visitors, people drawn by the lure of the nation's oldest capitol city, its setting, its rich historic cultural mix, and its striking architecture. Responding to and encouraging these interests through the promotion of historical and cultural tourism, the city's boosters have labeled Santa Fe "the city different" since statehood, a period that more or less mirrors the time during which archaeologists and historians have scrutinized its past.

Despite these efforts to preserve and share Santa Fe's past, as with telling of any story, oversights occur. Much neglected has been Fort Marcy, the earthen fieldwork that overlooks the plaza from the northeast and dates to the American occupation of New Mexico in 1846. Civic leaders sought to preserve it and to include it as a resource in presenting the city's past as early as 1912 (Prince 1912:10; Santa Fe City Planning Board 1912:np). In recent years, noted historians have revisited that topic in scholarly articles, noting that it is the only remaining fortification in the United States pertaining to the Mexican-American War and that it symbolizes the expansionism that drove much of its westward expansion (Bloom 1969: Utley 1983: Wilson 1989). Eight decades later, as the century draws to an end, however, efforts to preserve the site of the fort and to offer the visiting public and interpretation of its significance have lagged. This neglect is, in part, attributable to the selectivity that has marked popular presentations of historic Santa Fe. It reflects a bias begun in the 1920s by Anglo and Spanish-American cultural leaders and reinforced by the romantic expectations of tourists. Those expectations emphasized the city's connection with more distant Indian and Spanish periods and, increasingly, excluded events occurring during the Mexican and American periods of the nineteenth century.

Current leaders and planners, recognizing that the fort offers insights into an essential but long-under appreciated chapter in the city's development, now seek to include an examination of the fort as a part of their efforts to present a more complete picture of the city's past. To accomplish this goal they have supported

three recent archeological and archival investigations and, during 1995, additional archeological and archival research (Mariah 1994; Wozniak 1994). This interpretative discussion of Fort Marcy and its role in Santa Fe's history reflects those most recent efforts.

The Army of the West Comes to Santa Fe

Historians differ on the causes they ascribe to the outbreak of the Mexican-American War. Most agree, however, that the election of the Democratic candidate, James K. Polk, as the American president in 1844 pushed the country toward a policy of western expansion both in the Pacific Northwest and along its southwestern border. Prompted by Polk's election and his sense of the national mood for expansion, the outgoing Whig president, John Tyler, prevailed upon Congress to pass a joint resolution annexing the Republic of Texas. By March, 1845 when Polk took the oath of office, Texas had been annexed; by December it became a state. During those same months a Democratic journalist named John L. O'Sullivan, provided expansionists with a catchy phrase embodying their sentiments when he observed that "overspreading the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions" was the nation's "manifest destiny."

Beckoning expansionists to extend their vision beyond Texas was Mexico's Department of New Mexico. Well removed from the seat of Mexican rule and commerce, New Mexico had begun to emerge from its long period of economic isolation with the opening of the Santa Fe Trail in 1821. Reversing Spain's mercantilist policy of denying foreign traders access to any of its colonial markets, Mexico had welcomed William Becknell and the other Missouri traders who followed. Recognizing that American and European manufactured goods were more easily attainable from St. Louis, New Mexican traders had also added their wagons to the caravans moving up and down the trail. Complicating these economic opportunities, however, were cultural differences that created periodic misunderstandings over customs policies, import taxes, and government authority for those engaged in the overland trade. For many Missouri traders, expansion held the promise of eliminating those problems by extending American authority over the entire length of the trail.

During his first year in office, Polk followed a foreign policy that twentieth century analysts would term brinkmanship. Perhaps never seeking outright war, he pursued belligerent policies that held the potential of taking the country to war on two fronts. In the Northwest he confronted the British, insisting that joint occupancy of the Oregon country be terminated and that the United States receive all land below the 49th Parallel; in the Southwest he sent troops south across the Nueces River toward the Rio Grande, land held by the Republic of Mexico. Already embarrassed and angered by the United States' annexation of Texas, this further provocation incensed Mexico. In the winter of 1845-46, the Mexican government refused to negotiate the sale of part of its northern

territory with Polk's envoy, John Slidell. Rebuffed, Slidell returned to the United States to report his failure. Thwarted in its quest for territorial expansion, the United States found its relationship with Mexico no longer salvageable through diplomacy. Following an incident in which Mexican troops crossed to the northern bank of Rio Grande and attacked an American mounted patrol, Polk declared to Congress on May 13, 1846, "War exists."

As the Americans set about quintupling the size of their army to 50,000 troops, they developed a strategy in which their main forces would invade Mexico across the lower Rio Grande, attempting to penetrate into the heartland of the country to secure a peace on American terms. At the same time, a force consisting of three hundred dragoons form the Regular army commanded by Col. Stephen Watts Kearny, 1,000 members of the First Missouri Volunteers commanded by Col. Alexander Doniphan, and the 500-man Mormon Battalion was created. Departing from the Jefferson Barracks in Kansas, the group was called the Army of the West and was charged with seizing New Mexico and then advancing on to occupy California. Moving his units in discreet detachments to avoid overgrazing along the Arkansas River portion of the Santa Fe Trail, Kearny had massed most of the Army of the West, excepting the Mormon Battalion, at Bent's Fort on the northern banks of the Arkansas River by late July and was poised to march on Santa Fe.

The goal of the Army of the West was to conduct a bloodless war--to seize New Mexico while avoiding open conflict. Intelligence reports, as well as conditions in New Mexico, gave Kearny good reason for optimism in achieving that objective (Wilson 1989: 100). Far removed from Mexico City, beset by increasingly bold attacks form Navajo and Ute raiding parties, and with the bloody uprising of 1837 a recent memory, the Department of New Mexico was scarcely in a position to defend itself. While historians differ about the motives and effectiveness of Manuel Armijo, New Mexico's governor, the fact remained that his department was vulnerable. Successful in capturing one group of invaders from Texas in 1841, Armijo had retreated when confronted with a second group of Texas brigands along the Dry Cimarron Branch of the Santa Fe Trail in 1843.

So poorly equipped were Armijo's troops that in the period leading to the 1846 invasion "in all New Mexico there were probably no more than 250 operable muskets, and usually fewer than 100 trained presidial soldiers" (LeCompte 1989:86). Further illustrating New Mexicans' precarious defensive capabilities, LeCompte estimates that most of the trade caravans heading down the Santa Fe Trail carried more arms than existed in all of New Mexico. Kearny's strategy of displaying the full array of his forces and weapons to New Mexicans passing by Bent's Fort sought to reinforce the perception that the American force of conquest was substantial.

In all likelihood, Governor Armijo, the politician and military leader, was also influenced by the concerns and insights he also held as a veteran Santa Fe Trail trader. Reports of the

size of Kearny's army were probably offered by his trading partner, Albert Speyer, whose caravan, carrying goods including guns destined for Mexican buyers, had managed to stay ahead of Kearny's army thereby avoiding detention at Bent's Fort. Speyer and the other traders, anxious to head south and take advantage of a seller's market already uneasy with rumors of war, no doubt prompted Armijo to consider his own economic prospects as he weighed his alternatives. Similar reports also came from Kearny's advance party which included Captain Cooke and James Magoffin, a trader and secret negotiator for Polk, who arrived in Santa Fe on August 12, 1846 and urged, some accounts suggest bribed, Armijo to surrender to the Americans peaceable. Briefly posturing as New Mexico's defender, Armijo summoned militia volunteers to accompany him to defend Santa Fe at Apache Canyon. Although later travellers would remark at how easily troops could have defended the narrow defile, for whatever reasons, Armijo fled south with his presidial forces prior to Kearny's arrival (Gilmer to Totten, Sept. 6, 1846; Hunter 1992:50).

Thus it was that on the gray, rainy afternoon of Aug. 18, 1846, Brig. Gen. Kearny and his column entered Santa Fe, paraded around the muddy plaza, and were greeted by Lieutenant Governor Juan Bautista Vigil y Alarid and a delegation of the city's leaders. A brief reception followed in which the military and civilian leaders drank locally made wines and brandy, thirteen artillery pieces sounded a salute, and the American flag was raised above the Palace of the Governors. The twenty-five year period of Mexican rule had come to an end. The next day, much as he had done in Las Vegas and San Miguel del Bado, Kearny declared the people to be American citizens, telling them that they were required to obey the laws of the United States and that he would protect them. Then Lieutenant Governor Vigil spoke, offering the citizens' allegiance. Observing that political allegiances and cultural ties did not always go hand in hand, he warned:

> Do not find it strange if there had been no manifestation of joy and enthusiasm in seeing this city occupied by your military forces. To us the power of the Mexican Republic is dead. No matter what her condition, she was our mother. What child will not shed abundant tears at the tomb of his parents? (Utley 1983:43)

This recapitulation of an often-told story offers the necessary military and political context for understanding the construction of Fort Marcy. The bloodless seizure of a vulnerable New Mexico had been realized, the remnants of the Mexican army garrisoned in Santa Fe had fled, the American flag flew over the Governor's Palace, and troops of the Army of the West were continuing to arrive. Yet a new flag unfurled above the city did not a conquest complete. Further territories awaited Kearny and Doniphan, and their stay in Santa Fe would be brief. For those who remained and the replacements who followed, the task of occupying a captive city and governing a captive people was now at hand.

Fort Marcy: Its Construction and Architecture

On August 19th, the day after his arrival, Kearny moved quickly to solidify his control of Santa Fe. Of paramount concern was making the city secure for his troops and asserting his control over New Mexico. To this end he ordered Lieutenants William H. Emory and Jeremy F. Gilmer, in the words of Emory, "to make a reconnaissance of the town and select the site for a fort" (Emory 1848:32). For two days Emory and Gilmer surveyed the environs and on August 21st provided Kearny with a map that indicated a proposed site for a fort. The following day, they submitted a plan for the fort, which Kearny also approved. Located on top of a bluff 660 yards northeast of the plaza and approximately eighty feet above it, the site, as Emory described it, was one "which commands the entire town, and which itself is commanded by no other." Later, on Sept. 16, Kearny decided to name the fieldwork Fort Marcy in honor of William L. Marcy, Polk's Secretary of War.

The collaboration between Emory and Gilmer to select a site and design a fieldwork is indicative of how the Army was coming to rely on officers with specialized, non-combat skills during the Mexican-American War. Emory, the senior of the two officers, was a member of the Army's recently formed Corps of Topographical Engineers. Although the "topogs," as they were called, had served the Army dating back to the War of 1812, they had remained secondary to the Corps of Engineers. During the 1820s, they had conducted most of the surveys pertinent to the nation's internal improvements projects, planning canals, harbors, lighthouses and other navigational projects, and even supervising some construction. Yet most military leaders tended to view the "topogs" merely as surveyors, according greater status to the engineers who actually designed and constructed fortifications.

In 1838, however, Congress elevated the Bureau of Topography to the status of a corps, equal to that of the engineers. Despite a cut in funding that accompanied the Panic of 1837, congressional leaders realized that as the nation expanded westward the need for mapping and surveying these vast unknown lands was critical and that topographic engineers were best trained to fulfill that mission. The explorer John C. Fremont was the first "topog" to fire the public's imagination for learning more about the West, but the Mexican-American War opened the way for other members of the corps to study and record it. Typically, topographical engineers were placed under the tactical command of the unit they accompanied, but continued to make reports to their corps commander, Col. John James Abert.

As he explored the environs of Santa Fe, Lt. Emory was carrying out Gen. Kearny's command. He was also gathering data to forward to Col. Abert, information that would serve as one of the first comprehensive reports of a vast, virtually unknown territory that shortly was to become part of the United States. Among the other "topogs" assigned to the Army of the West was Lt. James W. Abert, son of Col. Abert. Forced to remain at Bent's Fort while he

recuperated from an illness, Abert arrived in Santa Fe several weeks after Emory. There he used his considerable drawing skills to record the appearance of the city, providing illustrations that would accompany Emory's report and that remain important resources depicting the city and Fort Marcy as they appeared in 1846.

Accompanying Emory on August, 19, 1846 was Jeremy F. Gilmer, a First Lieutenant in the Engineer Corps. Graduating from West Point in 1839, he had spent the first six years of his career teaching engineering at West Point, serving as assistant engineer in the building of Fort Schuyler in New York harbor, and then assisting the Chief Engineer in Washington. Gilmer's early career steps suggest the role the Corps of Engineers played in the Army in the first half of the nineteenth century. Responsible for constructing most of the nation's fortifications and for operating the military academy at West Point, the corps oversaw a curriculum heavily weighted toward mathematics, civil and military engineering, and drawing. Thoroughly versed in all matters of fort and fieldwork construction, Gilmer was now billeted as the chief engineer of the Army of the West but like Emory was under the tactical command of the military field commander. Travelling with those units following Kearny's main column down the Santa Fe Trail, Gilmer had caught Kearny at Las Vegas, delivering notification of his promotion to brigadier general. Kearny's order to perform a reconnaissance and to determine the site for a fort was Gilmer's first engineering mission.

Over the next six months as he supervised the construction of the fort above Santa Fe, Gilmer was also an active writer. As part of his duties, he regularly prepared reports which he sent to Col. Joseph G. Totten, the long-time commanding officer of the Engineers' Corps. Gilmer also wrote a series of personal letters to his friend and classmate, Capt. George L. Welcker (West Point, 1836). Many of his observations about New Mexico and the fort construction project also appeared in some of the important newspapers of the Mississippi Valley, such as the New Orleans Daily Picayune, although it is not clear whether Welcker or Gilmer himself supplied the articles. While both sets of letters contain frequent references to the construction project, a valuable resource for students of Fort Marcy, they also differ considerably in content and tone. The former displays the crisp reportage characteristic of a junior officer reporting to his superior, one in which his initial optimism for rapidly completing the project gradually shifts to explanations for its delayed completion. The latter reveals a more complex young man. Concerned about completing his project despite an array of setbacks, he also frets about advancing his career as he languishes in Santa Fe. As a whole, these documents offer not only a step-by-step account of the fort's construction but the attitude its architect held toward army procedures and personnel and toward New Mexico and its people.

The city and its environs that Emory and Gilmer reconnoitered and then mapped had changed only slightly from the Santa Fe mapped by the Spanish military engineer, Urrutia, eighty years earlier.

The town, estimated to have a population of about five thousand, stretched more than two miles along an east-west axis created by the Rio de Santa Fe. While Urrutia's map indicates less of a concentration of buildings around the plaza than do Emory and Gilmer's maps, both portray the city as having a small urban core and being largely agricultural. Encircling the urban area is a more dispersed settlement consisting of individual and small groups of houses lining roadways set among numerous fields. More or less paralleling the river along both of its banks are irrigation ditches, or acequias. One of Gilmer's maps, the Plan of Santa Fe, indicates a more complex system of acequias along the north bank than Urrutia portrayed (Snow 1988:10).

Lining the irrigated fields and acequias to both the north and south were barren hills. More gradual were the slopes to the south, broken by roads leading to the Rio Grande, Galisteo, and Pecos. As Emory and Gilmer surveyed those southern slopes, they saw encamped just above the Barrio Analco, the area around what is now DeVargas St. on the south side of the river, the Fist Missouri Volunteer Regiment. Included in the encampment was a line of artillery pointed toward the plaza approximately seven hundred yards to the north.

Climbing the Taos Road north from the plaza, near the cemetery east of the road Emory and Gilmer encountered the small fortified military building known as La Garita. Serving variously as a jail, fortress, and magazine since 1806, the structure on a low hill overlooking the town represented Spain's attempts to improve the security of Santa Fe following Napoleon's cession of Louisiana Territory to the United States in 1803 (Ellis 1978:8). Above La Garita Emory and Gilmer encountered a more severe escarpment rising above the northernmost acequia, quickly rising more than sixty feet above the plaza. Depicted on both of their maps and Urrutia's map is a mesa periodically eroded by arroyos with a series of promontories extended outward toward the city like the toes on a giant foot. One point along this plateau, flanked both to the southeast by Arroyo Saiz and to the northwest by Arroyo Muralla, offered an ideal location for a fortification.

Although Gilmer never pondered the site's past uses in his letters, others did, noting the earth beneath the surface to be "more like an ash heap" where workers "continue to dig up human skeletons, which are scattered all over the hill" (Gibson 1935:260). The Missouri Volunteer Gibson further noted, "There is a tradition that the Indians and Spaniards fought a battle at this place, but I can learn nothing certain about it." In another instance, when referring to a "great many coffins and bones," exhumations also noted by others, he noted, "It is said to be the American graveyard," (Gibson 1935:237; Hunter 1992:54). A century later, studies suggested that during the era of the Pueblo revolts, both Pueblos and Spaniards fought to control the strategic location (Espinosa 1940:90; Hackett and Shelby 1942:15, 101). The archeological evidence also confirms that the site had a variety of previous uses with the artifacts found in ramparts including

prehistoric ceramics, bones, lithics and ashes. Their presence in the embankment suggests that as Gilmer's work details were using a cut and fill method to shape the fieldwork they were also redistributing the site's earlier artifacts.

By August 24th only six days after occupation, Gilmer was ready to begin construction. The intent of the fieldwork was modest. Writing to Col. Totten, he described the fortifications as "a fieldwork to secure our position," characterizing it as "small," not requiring "a garrison of more than 275 men to make a good defence; and at the same time retain complete command of the town" (Gilmer to Totten, Aug. 24, 1846). Its elevation above the plaza led him to plan that "portions of the parapet will be armed with field pieces, 12 or 13 in all, the remainder with musketry." While estimates of the number of artillery complement vary in other correspondence and maps, the 660 yard distance from the fieldwork's southwestern bastion to the plaza, and the heart of Santa Fe, was point blank for the ordinance in the Army of the West's arsenal.

The guns in which Gilmer placed his confidence were of various types. Some were pieces captured from Armijo's fleeing army (Utley 1959:np). Others consisted of smoothbore six and twelve-pound guns whose mostly bronze tubes weighed 800 and 1,7000 pounds respectively. At five degrees elevation their range was 1,523 and 1,663 yards. Also included in the Army of the West's arsenal, through more likely to be used in the field, was the easily transportable twelve-pound mountain howitzer with a range of 900 yards (Peterson 1969:96). At less than half their maximum range, the solid shot projectiles these guns fired held the potential to severely damage, if not destroy, the adobe brick city below. Using the recently improved spherical case, or shrapnel, projectiles, the guns also held the potential to inflict great harm on those who might attempt to storm the hill armed with muskets. As Susan Mogoffin, escorted to the construction site by Gen. Kearny on September 23, 1846 observed, Fort Marcy was "sole master of the entire plain below. Not only every house in the city can be torn to attoms, but the wide plain beyond is exposed to the fullest view" (Magoffin 1926:140).

To store powder and projectiles for the artillery, Gilmer also included a magazine and storehouse "within the field work." To protect the northeastern flank of the fieldwork, the only access not marked by the sheer drop of the bluff, he planned a "defensive building, 50 ft. square to furnish quarters for one company and its officers and to contain a store room." Optimistically, Gilmer confided to his friend Welcker that he hoped to complete the "temporary defence of Santa Fe" during the fall so that he could return to the East by way of Mexico during the winter (Gilmer to Welcker, Oct. 9, 1846).

Despite his optimism that he could complete the fieldwork within a few months, Gilmer soon discovered that executing his plans and actually constructing a structure were more complicated. Though modest in comparison to the often multi-storied, casemated,

or masonry enclosed, fortifications defending the American coast and its major waterways, the small earthen fieldwork located above the capital city of the newly occupied land presented unique challenges to its engineer. The site's irregular contour forced Gilmer to depart from standard plans he, no doubt, had taught cadets at West Point and to adopt an irregular trace, a "'Star Fort'... within the sides of an irregular hexagonal polygon, each face having the dimensions necessary to adapt it to the accidents of the ground which forms the site" (Gilmer in Bloom 1963:143). Faced not only with the need to adapt a plan to meet a specific site, Gilmer was also forced to rely on the local building material, sundried adobe brick, and local workman skilled in adobe masonry.

These factors of setting, available materials and work force influenced the form and plan, building schedule and ultimate appearance of Fort Marcy. Despite the site's irregular contours, Gilmer developed a plan that incorporated most of the essential elements of a defensive fortification. His plan consisted of an enclosed area 270 ft. long and 180 ft. wide. He oriented the southwestern salients of the fort toward the gradual slopes of the land northeast of the plaza, the most likely angle of attack and one that the field artillery could completely cover. At the same time he incorporated the natural curving contours of the hillside to shape the salient angles of the southern ramparts. By excavating a dry moat around the entire fort, he was able to secure a ready source of fill to raise the height of the ramparts, giving the exterior revetments a total relief of seventeen feet.

As he went about shaping the fieldwork, Gilmer quickly learned, as had a generation of American trappers and traders who had come down the Santa Fe Trail before him, to build with adobe. By the end of September, he estimated that the "larger portion of the embankments were made" and one third of the "revetments of the interior and exterior slopes constructed" (Gilmer to Totten, Oct. 12, 1846). These embankment linings, Gilmer advised Totten, were constructed of sun-dried adobe bricks which were much more durable than the fascines, or bundles of long sticks, normally used for earthern fieldworks and were "more easily obtained." Noting that they were made of "common earth near the fort by forming it into a mortar," and then dried for "five or six days," he likened molding the adobe to "making common brick."

In another report, Gilmer described his plans for the blockhouse as including "sun-dried brick with exterior walls three feet thick and pierced with loop-holes for defence" (Gilmer to Totten, Sept. 10, 1846). Using a roof formed by "logs laid side by side and covered with earth from two to three feet deep" Gilmer planned to add an eighteen-inch thick wall "6 feet above the top of the roof." This high parapet lined with loopholes, Gilmer informed Col. Totten would provide a "double tier of musketry fire" for the company defending the blockhouse. So substantial was the appearance of the second tier parapet that when he visited the fort in July, 1849, William W. Hunter described the blockhouse as a "two

story building" (Hunter 1992:54). Hunter's description, however, differs from the inscription on Mansfield's map of the fort drawn in 1853 which states, "Parapet on the top of this block house and two stories at the abutment & loopholed" (Mansfield 1963: Plate 6). While offering no evidence concerning the number of stories in the block house, the archeological investigation did confirm the dimensions of the blockhouse walls as well as the building's interior plan as depicted on Mansfield's map. The investigations also revealed that some interior walls were lined with a white plaster, evidence that the block house was completed for occupation, if only by troops assigned as caretakers.

Although he never noted explicitly where the sun-dried adobe bricks were made, Gilmer's references to the availability of earth near the work site suggest they were made in the proximity of the fort. One of the liabilities of the fort--one that assured its role as a temporary defence--was its lack of water, also a necessary ingredient in making adobe mortar. Addressing the issue of water 1847, Lt. Richard Smith Elliot noted a spring at the foot of the escarpment to which a "covered way, cannon and bomb proof, could easily be made" (Bieber 1936:318). Near the spring ran Santa Fe's northern acequia madre, indicated on Gilmer's map as an "irrigation canal" (Snow 1988:10). With work parties numbering up to one hundred soldiers and including local masons as well, Gilmer's workers may have carried water up to a mixing site near the fort from the springs Lt. Elliot referred to or from the nearby acequia madre, or they may have mixed the mortar and molded the adobe bricks below the fort.

The archeological evidence suggests that mixing of mortar for cement may have occurred both at the site and elsewhere, while the adobe bricks were most likely manufactured elsewhere. The gray mortar, seemingly poured as a slurry over the banquette, or firing ledge below the upper ramparts, and appearing at the blockhouse, suggests that as the project progressed workers resorted to using this ash-like material lying below the surface at the site for their mortar mix. In contrast, the mortar from earlier phases of the project, such as that cementing the adobe bricks lining the revetments, contains more sand and clay similar to that found in the adobe bricks. Unlike the soil on the bluff, this more reddish mortar used in earlier phases of the construction and the bricks bears greater similarity with the soil found on the flood plain below the bluff.

Lt. Gilmer's reliance on earth and adobe continued to grow as the fieldwork project progressed, albeit more slowly than the had originally anticipated. By early November he was able to inform his friend Welcker that "Fort Marcy is now in a defensible state" (Gilmer to Welcker, Nov. 6, 1846). Listing the embankments, their parapets, the revetments and banquettes as completed, he conceded that the ditches surrounding the for still needed to be deepened and widened. He also feared that the arrival of cold weather would force him to postpone completion until spring, but noted that completing the task was "not essential to a respectable defence."

During the same week Gilmer also reported to Col. Totten that the embrasures had been completed but that the magazine and blockhouse were not. Noting the quartermaster's inability to provided milled lumber, he informed Totten that he intended to place the guns on "earthen platforms made firm by pounding" (Gilmer to Totten, Nov. 5, 1846).

This decision to rely on what may approximate rammed earth as a substitute for lumber to form the banquettes was one Gilmer reached through necessity. The mix of cobbles and hardened earth suggests that work crews may have poured a thick slurry of over ten inches over the upper embankment in an effort to stabilize the much looser soil beneath. Like the gray mortar at the block house, this mortar, filled with prehistoric artifacts, was probably taken from the site. While it did succeed in providing a hard surface for the banquettes, the relatively loose, unpacked soil of the embankment below raises the issue of how successfully the fort's walls would have withstood artillery fire.

Not only did Gilmer's project want for basic hand tools such as picks and shovels, but the quartermaster was unable to "supply the most essential wants of the troops stationed here, even at the high price of $60 and $70 for thousand feet [of lumber]" Gilmer to Totten, Nov. 5, 1846). Other references lend support to Gilmer's lament. Ten days later, George Rutledge Gibson noted in his diary that lumber was in short supply, cut only with a whip saw, and that "the quartermaster has to use wagon bodies to make coffins" (Gibson 1935:272).

Earlier, Gibson had noted that Manuel Alvarez, a trader and the United States' former counsel in Santa Fe, had shipped a "set of sawmill irons" to the city but that "the unstable condition of the public mind deterred" him from erecting a mill. Based on Gibson's speculation that the equipment "may now be found of great benefit," it is quite likely that the mill construction Kearny ordered at what is now the Randall Davey House used Alvarez' sawmill irons. Reporting to Major General Thomas S. Jesup, the Quartermaster General, Capt. Thomas Swords, Kearny's quartermaster, noted that he was "building a sawmill preparatory to building quarters and finishing the block house and Fort now being constructed by the Engineers Department at this place" (Swords to Jesup, Sept. 16, 1846).

Well after Gilmer's estimation of completing the fort, by April, 1847 the army's sawmill was complete, milling "fine executions and is the wonder and delight of the inhabitants" (Capt. McKissack April 12, 1847). Unwilling to wait for the completion of the mill, during October, the army had dispatched additional work details to the hills above the city. Establishing a small camp, the cut "timbers for the fort and mill" (Gibson 1935:254). These references to the use of logs as well as Abert's description of the blockhouse and magazine as "constructed of pine logs one foot square" suggest that despite the unavailability of milled lumber at least some elements in the fort complex consisted of roughly milled

pine (Abert 1848:754). The absence of wood among the materials recovered by the archaeological investigation, however, may suggest that as the fort deteriorated still useful materials were removed and reused in new buildings elsewhere.

Woven through Gilmer's discussions about choosing the fort's site, its plan and the constructing process are frequent references to its actual builders, the soldiers comprising the work detachments and the Mexican masons. His reference as early as September 6th to the "difficulties of getting soldiers to work" as threatening his ability to "accompany the army going west" hints at the delays that began to dash his hopes of completing Fort Marcy quickly. References such as this, as well as widespread evidence of the poor discipline of the Missouri Volunteers, the logistical difficulties of feeding both soldiers and the army's livestock, and the poor health that decimated the Santa Fe garrison during the winter of 1846-47 indicate that adjusting to life in New Mexico was much more challenging for the Army of the West than was seizing it.

The problems that beset the units of the Army of the west remaining in Santa Fe stemmed, in part, from the nature of the Kearny's army itself. In addition to the five companies of the First Dragoons who were disciplined, professional soldiers, the majority of the units consisted of Doniphan's First Regiment of the Missouri Volunteers. By October, Col. Sterling Price had relieved Doniphan, freeing him to conduct a brief campaign against the Navajo before marching south to Chihuahua. Price's Second Missouri Volunteers were similar to those who departed. Westerners, at once supporters and the instruments of manifest destiny, drawn by the promise of adventure and battlefield glory, they were also inexperienced, poorly trained, and led by officers whom they had elected and who, in general, exercised little command authority.

When Gen. Kearny approved Gilmer's plan for the fort, a small detail of soldiers was assigned to the site, but by August 27th, Kearny had ordered that the detail be increased to one hundred men and that any soldier who labored ten or more consecutive days be compensated with eighteen cents a day in addition to his regular pay (Gibson 1935:220). By the end of the month, thirty Mexican masons had also been hired to make the adobe bricks required for the revetments. This practice of Americans in the Southwest hiring New Mexicans who were familiar with working with adobe was common along the Santa Fe Trail. Bent's Fort, a private trading post consisting mostly of adobe, had been constructed in 1832 by New Mexicans drawn to the Arkansas by the promise of work along the trail.

There are no known accounts revealing the experiences of the masons at the fort. Their hiring out to American employers, however, fits the pattern of how the opening of the Santa Fe Trail and then the coming of the American Army and its establishment of posts contributed to the emergence of a cash economy in New Mexico during the nineteenth century. The soldiers, on the other hand, found that working with picks and shovels was hardly consistent

with their visions of expanding the United States' western boundaries. Even with the extra pay and, soon, full rations, an inducement in Santa Fe where low food supplies sometimes dictated half rations, the work parties assigned to the fort performed poorly.

As early as late September, Gilmer confided to his friend Welcker that the people of Santa Fe "remain quiet and seem to be fully reconciled to the present state of things" and that he presumed they would remain that way "if the volunteer troops can be kept in any kind of discipline" (Gilmber to Welcker, Sept. 23, 1846). By November, however, their continued unruliness prompted him to gush, "a sweet set of boys are they," noting with irony that "all do as they please, and demonstrate to the Spaniards daily, that they belong to the freest and smoothest people in creation" (Gilmer to Welcker Nov. 6, 1846). Reporting to Col. Totten, his tone was more serious as he informed him that he feared the completion of the fort would be delayed until the spring. The problem, he explained, was that with volunteers there was "great confusion in everything that is done; no details are regularly made and the officers do not exact much work of their men when they are sent to the fort for labor" (Gilmer to Totten, Oct. 12, 1846).

Gilmer's concerns over the volunteers, who after Kearny's departure for California in late September composed virtually the entire Santa Fe garrison, received further vindication as the construction project came to a halt with the onset of winter. Attention turned to preparing for the cold with the officers and some troops quartered in private houses and the barracks abandoned by Armijo's soldiers and others still encamped above the Barrio Analco. Food, forage, and health became pressing matters.

1846 had been a particularly dry year in northern New Mexico. Unlike other agricultural areas in New Mexico which still possessed large acreages of uncultivated irrigable lands, all of the irrigable land along the Rio Santa Fe was already under cultivation (Conrad 1851:9). Stretched to maximum use to meet the needs of Santa Fe's residents, the area's agriculture was unable to meet the needs of an army that suddenly raised the city's population by at least twenty percent. By October, Gibson noted that "scarcely a red pepper is to be found in the market" and declared "Santa Fe is completely eaten out" (Gibson 1935:252).

Similarly, forage was so scarce that Gibson noted, "It is impossible to procure feed within fifty miles for the cattle belonging to this department, the whole country being literally eaten up" (Gibson 1935:261). With soldiers dispatched to Galisteo and areas fifty miles from Santa Fe to graze the army's livestock, during the last weeks of work that fall Gilmer's workers lacked the teams to haul supplies to the fort. This shortage may account for the work crew's shift to the earth at the fort site to make the mortar used for the block house and banquette. Wanting for picks and shovels, strong well-fed teams, and adequately nourished workers, Gilmer saw the project he had hoped to complete "by early

October" begin stretching to 1847.

As winter approached, the low food supplies, especially fruits and vegetables, and the absence of strong teams to haul fuel began to take their toll on the garrison at Santa Fe. In mid-October Gibson worried that "there is great anxiety about subsistence," and by November 9th noted that "the general health of the country is not good" (Gibson 1935:254, 270). Two days later he remarked that with "six deaths yesterday and five today. . .there exists considerable uneasiness lest we lose a great many this winter." Outbreaks of measles, scurvy and dysentery decimated the Second Missouri Volunteers. By the time he returned to Santa Fe in August, 1847, Philip Gooch Ferguson walked up to the fort, "built last year by the volunteers but never been occupied," and surveyed on the slope just below the southwestern rampart "over three hundred [soldiers'] graves, all dug within eighteen months" (Ferguson 1936:317-318). Ferguson's description of the graveyard corroborates that of Gibson who described it as located "on the hill near the fort, where all the soldiers are interred, and is almost immediately under the guns of Fort Marcy" (Gibson 1935:253).

Later, after he had been sent with other volunteers into Mexico and was returning to Missouri, Gibson paid a last visit to Fort Marcy. As he stood gazing over the city, he remarked that he was "not only astonished but grieved at its [the post's cemetery] magnitude," and that "its 300 new graves attest to the mortality which existed among the troops and teamsters" (Gibson 1981:39). Although his attitude toward the work habits and discipline of the volunteer soldiers was less charitable than Gibson's, Gilmer, too, must have realized that despite his displeasure over the troops poor work that had contributed to the delays in his project, the ill-prepared army was paying a great toll during its first winter in New Mexico. Seizing the land had been bloodless, but the cost of holding it would be apparent every time he climbed the hill to inspect his project. The graveyard below the fort remained apparent well into the twentieth century, long after Fort Marcy had been abandoned.

The Fort on the Hill

By November of 1846, fort Marcy had assumed an outward appearance of completeness. Although completion of the magazine and blockhouse awaited the return of warm weather and the moat required deepening, the fort on the hill had become, as it remains today, a part of Santa Fe's landscape. Looming over the city, it was daily reminder that the Army of the West had taken Santa Fe and intended to hold it. Seen from the plaza, the fort appeared as an earth-toned set of planes, punctuated by salient angles, rising above the irregular contours of the bluff. With its periodic splayed embrasures creating a crenellated effect, and already with the relief of its moat and rampart making it taller than any of Santa Fe's buildings, save the churches' facades, the fort assumed a symbolic role for the city's occupation force.

Lt. Abert, returning from Albuquerque in October, for example, noted his first glimpse of Santa Fe as occurring when "Fort Marcy came in view, and our glorious flag" (Abert 1848:754). The two illustrations he prepared of Santa Fe that were included in Lt. Emory's report on the Army of the West's campaign convey a similar perspective. One illustration, "A View of Santa Fe, New Mexico" views the city from a southside perspective above the Barrio Analco. It depicts the city as a collection of rectangular buildings most of which are set amongst fields but more heavily concentrated near the plaza, which reposes beneath an enormous flag. Cactus, yucca, and a few residents compose the foreground. Across the valley in the background rises Fort Marcy, crowned by a flag and appearing as the upper portion of a truncated pyramid.

His other illustration, "Fort Marez (sic) and the Parroquia-Santa Fe," offers a close up view of the Parroquia detailing its architecture and its social and material setting. To the left, set beneath the crest of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains but clearly above the church and its parishioners stands the fort. Offering no accurate depiction of its irregular form, the illustration emphasizes its embrasures and, again, the American flag. So immense is the scale of Abert's flag that one suspects it might completely enshroud the Parroquia's belfries. Iconographically, the fort and the flag of its builders appear to rise above all other human endeavors as if a reminder of American control over the entire landscape.

The views of Abert and Magoffin that the fort was a welcome and commanding site were shared by many others visiting Santa Fe during the first year of occupation. Most of these diarists note making a special trip up the hill to visit Fort Marcy. John Hughes, a Missouri Volunteer described its appearance as "commanding the city"; another Volunteer, Philip Gooch Ferguson, thought it was "of great strength...on a hill commanding the town"; and William H. Hunter, travelling to the gold fields of California the following summer, stood on its ramparts, noting how it commanded "entirely all its [Santa Fe's} most densely populated portion" (Hughes 1907:245; Ferguson 1936:317; Hunter 1992:54). As Hunter weighed its "position and substance," he felt it "capable of resisting any attack the Mexicans or indians might ever feel inclined to make." Noting its potential as "a citadel in case of extremities...until help arrives, " Lt. Emory offered a more blunt assessment that "its chief object" was to use "its imposing position" to achieve" a moral effect over a feeble and distracted race, who are now, since the capture of their artillery, without a single gun" (in Gibson 1935:220).

Responses such as these are consistent with what cultural geographer Donald Meinig views as an imperial power's efforts to "ensure domination at minimum cost and trouble" (Meinig 1993:176). In discussing the transition of Santa Fe from a Mexican capital to the seat of American territorial rule, Meinig traces the symbolic shift from Gen. Kearny's forces raising the flag over the Palace of the Governors, the traditional locus of authority, which Kearny and

his successors then occupied, to the gradual imposition of a "more visible imperial geography and landscape."

In the case of all conquest, the imposition of this "imperial geography" is an evolving process. Generally politically initiated, as with Polk's declaration of war, it is most often accompanied by the appearance of a coercive military force which manifests its presence through a display of power, often through establishing or taking control of a fort. In Louisiana, the United States asserted its purchase of the territory by taking control of and then expanding Fort Saint Phillip along the Mississippi; in Hawaii, where it found itself competing with other imperial powers, it resorted to having the Pacific Squadron show the flag with frequent appearances; and in the Great Salt Lake Basin, where it sought to reassert its control over Brigham Young's Kingdom of Deseret, it sent one-sixth of its army to establish Camp Floyd and then Camp Douglas on the plateau overlooking Salt Lake City. As the process moved forward, the new imperial geography began to assert itself in various forms. The forts, transitional symbols of military imposition, gave way to more complex expressions of cultural imperialism, ranging from shifts in building materials and architectural styles to the emergence of bi-culturalism and shifts in economic patterns. Evidence of this evolving "imperial geography" is present to this day and contributes to interpretations of the cultural landscape and social history of Louisiana, Hawaii, and Utah.

Applying this process to the American experience in New Mexico, Fort Marcy represented a transitional symbol. A readily definable structure associated with the military phase of conquest, the fort represented an entry-level manifestation of imperial authority. Having already created an economic sphere of influence in northern Mexico, through trade along the Santa Fe Trail, the forces of American imperialism now imposed a military-political dimension. Later, military roads and additional forts would be augmented and then give way to the foundations of a federal building, a bi-lingual newspaper, the American legal system, and the offices of the Surveyor General as America's "imperial geography" took hold in New Mexico.

More difficult to ascertain due to the absence of known written material is the perspective of the conquered peoples, the New Mexicans themselves. One account of Santa Fe by Col. Francisco Perea, who had served in the Union army and whose reminiscence was recorded in the 1880's, offers the perspective of a young New Mexican who had been educated in St. Louis. The nephew of Don Jose Leandro Perea, a leading member of New Mexico's elite, wealthy class, or <u>ricos</u>, he visited Santa Fe shortly after Kearny arrived. To the young Perea, the city seemed prosperous with money "more plentifully distributed in and about Santa Fe, than at any other time in its long history" (Allison 1915:396). Attributing this prosperity to the arrival of the army paymaster and the army's purchase of food supplies and forage, he noted that "large sums of money were also paid for labor and material used in the

construction of Fort Marcy."

These benefits prompted Perea to conclude, "The greatest blessing that has ever been bestowed upon the people of New Mexico was given them when the United States arbitrarily extended its jurisdiction over their province and demanded their future allegiance" (Allison 1915:394). These remarks certainly are not representative of those of some New Mexican political leaders to whom a change in government represented a loss of authority, nor of the masses of laborers and subsistence farmers. They do, however, represent the economic interests embraced by both the American and Mexican trader and merchant classes. Commenting on various motives shaping the mission of the Army of the West, Howard Lamar suggests that beyond the "vaguer expansionist sentiment called Manifest Destiny...American conquest meant regularizing and securing rich trade and safe transportation routes for a previously erratic, uncertain enterprise" (Lamar 1966:63). Viewed in this light, Fort Marcy was not simply a symbol of the imposition of American political and military will in New Mexico, but also a symbol of reassurance for those seeking economic stability in the Santa Fe Trail trade.

In the absence of accounts written by New Mexicans who were not ricos, inferential evidence must suffice. Certainly the remarks of Lieutenant Governor Vigil y Alarid concerning the need of children to weep at the tomb of their parents speaks for many who otherwise remain silent to history. As the fall gave way to winter, many people in New Mexico became increasingly uneasy with the occupying army. The undisciplined troops of the Second Missouri Volunteers under Col. Sterling Price, who had replaced Col. Doniphan in October, disrupted city life. Their public drunkenness, attendance at a seemingly endless series of fandangos, and their loud, unruly manner had prompted the army to enforce curfews and left many citizens puzzling over whether Gen. Kearny's promise to protect them applied to protection from the American soldiers as well. Moreover, the institution of the Kearny Code and the appointment of a set of territorial officials, including some of the ricos, whose past actions were hardly sympathetic with the interests of most New Mexicans prompted some Santa Feans to plan an insurrection in December, 1846.

Alerted, Col. Price suppressed the plot before it unfolded only to see a more lethal one erupt in January, 1847 when Governor Charles Bent and several others were killed in Taos and Mora. The army's retaliation was swift and severe as it took the offensive, moving units out of Santa Fe to pursue and punish the perpetrators. Although he makes no reference to any role Fort Marcy played during those bloody weeks, the fort's builder was sufficiently sobered to reflect on the meaning of the events. Sending his report of the uprising and ensuing battles, in which he apparently did not participate, Gilmer shared a lesson he had learned. "The friendly deportment of the leading Mexicans--the Ricos--when we first came into the country, led many of us to suppose that they were pleased with the change of Government, but it has been now fully

demonstrated that such was not the case" (Gilmer to Totten April 1, 1847). While the role of some ricos in fomenting the uprising remains unresolved, the shock of recognition in Gilmer's tone suggests how incompletely the Americans understood how New Mexicans perceived them. So great was this animosity that a state of "guerilla warfare" persisted in which American soldiers "were found beaten to death with rocks" and buried with the others below Fort Marcy (Bloom 1959:198).

The uprising, louder and more long-lasting than the written words in whose absence it stands, suggests the widespread discontent many New Mexicans felt toward their American occupiers. Poorly armed, lacking military leadership, but insistent upon striking back at those who now ruled their land, those New Mexicans who rebelled did so not by confronting the fort above the capital city but by carrying out a series of strikes in the more distant, less protected towns of the territory. True, Fort Marcy may have discouraged Santa Fe's would be rebels, though the troops encamped there and the guns on the plaza were more immediate and probably more threatening. The symbol of conquest to so many Americans, the defensive fieldwork was of little strategic value during the one period of open, mobile conflict in New Mexico prior to the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in February, 1848.

An Expendable Symbol

By early August, 1847, Lt. Gilmer realized his hopes of leaving Santa Fe and departed to his new assignment as Assistant to the Chief Engineer of the Army. Despite delays, by late April in his last report to Col. Totten, Gilmer estimated that he would finish the block house "as early as the middle of June" (Gilmer to Totten April 28, 1847). During following years, he worked on numerous other fort projects along the Atlantic Coast, southern rivers and in San Francisco Bay. At the outbreak of the Civil War, he ended his career with the army to become the Chief Engineer of the Confederate States of America. By his death in 1883, this nineteenth century engineer had overseen the installation of gas lights in Savannah, Georgia.

With the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo the Mexican-American War came to an end, and the reasons for a defensive fieldwork above Santa Fe also ended. The initial goal of seizing Santa Fe and then maintaining order among its newly conquered inhabitants gave way to providing protection from Navajo, Ute and Apache raiding parties. At the same time, typical of the United States' efforts to cut its military budget following the conclusion of any war, Congress brought pressure on Charles N. Conrad, President fillmore's Secretary of War, to reduce the army's costs, especially in New Mexico, now called the Ninth Military Department.

Conrad, in turn, instructed Lt. Col. (Brevet) Edwin Vose Sumner, the commander newly assigned to the department, to "revise the whole system of defence" (in Mansfield 1963:xvi). Already

aware of some of the conditions in New Mexico through Col. George A. McCall's report of his inspection of the department in 1850, Conrad included some of McCall's recommendations in his orders to Sumner. Especially compelling to Conrad was McCall's insistence that if the Indian threat were to be stopped forts must be located "in the heart of Indian country" and troop strength must e "in sufficient strength to awe the Indians" (Conrad 1851:26). Recommending troop strengths for each post in New Mexico, McCall allowed but a single infantry company of eighty-four men for Santa Fe. Envisioning future conflicts based upon the abilities of "mounted riflemen" which he saw as a less expensive alternative than the cavalry, McCall completely ignored the defensive installation, Fort Marcy, in his report.

Within months of McCall's report, Conrad instructed Sumner to determine locations for forts in New Mexico based on three considerations. First, the forts were to protect New Mexicans; second, they were to defend against Indians, including those raiding into Mexico (a provision of Guadalupe-Hidalgo); third, they were to emphasize "Economy and facility in supporting the troops, particularly in regard to forage, fuel, and adaptation of the surrounding country to cultivation." Above all, Conrad urged Sumner to "reduce the enormous expenditures...particularly in the quartermaster's and subsistence departments" (in Mansfield 1963:xvi).

Under orders to promote efficiency, when Sumner arrived in Santa Fe quickly determined to withdraw troops quartered in New Mexico's towns, removing them to Fort Union which he established in 1851. Although he decided to leave an artillery company in Santa Fe and, by 1852, determined that it was expedient to return the departmental headquarters to the territorial capital, he deplored the city as an army post, labeling it "that sink of vice and extravagance: (Frazer 1963:xvi). Later that year, Major Thomas Swords, assistant quartermaster, also inspected New Mexico. Accompanied by Sumner as he made his inspection, he too was aware of the need to cut the costs of quartering troops and forage and also recommended removing garrisons from the towns. Noting that the army owned a "secure storehouse" in Santa Fe and that a company of artillery remained there, however, he urged retaining the facilities "until proper storehouses were provided [elsewhere]" (Swords s1851:238). The prospects of Santa Fe remaining an army town were further undermined when the army's Report of the Colonel of Ordnance also noted that a permanent arsenal, recently established at the new Fort Union, should replace the "temporary depot...at Santa Fe" (Craig 1851:450).

By 1853 when Col. Joseph King Fenno Mansfield made his inspection tour of western forts, the role ascribed to the fort on the hill was minor. Describing it as having "no suitable quarters," he deemed it as "only fit to be occupied in time of war" (Mansfield 1963:41). He did, however, include a drawing of the fort in his report which remains its most detailed depiction other than Gilmer's plans and, with its representation of fourteen

embrasures, helps to account for the disparity that occurs in accounts of the fort's armaments. Instead, Mansfield focused his report on the post northwest of the Palace of the Governors where the army's hospital, gardens, and storehouses and department headquarters came to be known as Fort Marcy. In 1856, when he arrived in New Mexico as United States Attorney for the territory, W.W.H. Davis described the town, noting the imported institutions and architectural styles that had taken hold. To the northeast, Davis noted "the ruins of old Fort Marcy, built during the late war with Mexico, but which has not been occupied since the conclusion of peace" (Davis 1938:42).

No references to the fieldwork were found in accounts of Santa Fe during the Civil War. The Union army's abandonment of Santa Fe as indefensible suggests that whatever defensive capabilities the fort was thought to have possessed fifteen years earlier were no longer deemed adequate. When the army issued Special Orders No. 91 on Sept. 25, 1867, directing the abandonment of Fort Marcy, the caretaker detail at the fieldwork was also withdrawn. That same year the first known photograph of the hilltop fort, depicting it in the background of a picture taken of the post's headquarters, reveals the southwestern salient seemingly intact. Later, in 1875, when the post behind the Palace of the Governors, and then known as Fort Marcy, was reestablished, the fieldwork was not. In effect, Fort Marcy, the fieldwork, had a military life of twenty-one years. Measured in terms of the active role it played in the military events that occurred in New Mexico, it was considerably less, not so much a fort as a brief, transitional symbol of conquest.

Broadening Santa Fe's Historic Context

The last decades of the nineteenth century saw the cultural imperial expansion that Meinig discusses move ahead in Santa Fe. The fort as a representation of American authority gave way to Greek and Gothic Revival style buildings, the coming of the railroad, and a gradual reordering of the landscape that began to give Santa Fe an appearance typical of small towns elsewhere in the country. Fort Marcy deteriorated, offering children like Marion Sloan Russell a playground to indulge their fantasies as they hunted for exposed bones and climbed among the ruins (Russell 1954:48). So removed was the fort from the changing town that one bird's eye view of the city simply omitted it and another map portrayed it peripherally.

In 1880, however, L.B. Prince and W.T. Thornton acquired the property from Gaspar Ortiz y Alarid. Following a series of claims and court cases revealing forgery and an incorrect location of the Roque Lovato Grant, by 1901 Prince and Thornton were able to file a quitclaim deed on the property and hold it (Wozniak 1992:10). during this period, one final reference to the fort appears in a note about the observatory at Old Fort Marcy burning to the ground in 1883 and a $100 reward being offered for the capture of the arsonists (Sheldon, 1883: TANM, roll 22, frame 53). The archaeological investigations at the block house, which was

hypothesized to be the observatory, however, revealed no notable evidence of carbon, and whether the block house was also the observatory remains unresolved.

It wasn't until statehood and the concurrent move to develop tourism that the leaders of Santa Fe began to revisit Fort Marcy. In 1911, as the editors of the New Mexican sought to prompt city leaders to promote the city, they likened it to Athens, arguing that it was the Acropolis "with its magnificent buildings" that gave Athens its "crown of beauty" (New Mexican, Aug. 24, 1911). Likewise, they urged, Santa Feans should look to Fort Marcy and its "bold promontory" as the site for city's "architectural adornment." Advocating that the city should eventually construct "public buildings and monuments" there, the writer suggested that in the meantime it might plant a grove of trees under which a "summer school of archaeology," Chautauqua meetings, or a public playground be established.

Prince himself began promoting the site, publishing a pamphlet entitled "Old Fort Marcy" in which he offered readers a description of the panoramic view the hilltop offered (Prince 1912). That same year he also made improvements on the property, building a road up to the fort and landscaping the road with trees. Unfortunately, just as lack of water had doomed the fort to temporary use as a garrison, the same lack of water caused many of Prince's trees to die (New Mexican, July 27, 1912). Although the account of Prince's improvements makes no mention of treating the site as a public park, the references to public visitation imply, at least, his willingness to share the site. During the same year, the Santa Fe Planning Board released its report on proposed improvements for the city (Santa Fe City Planning Board 1912). Comprised of several of the city's cultural and political leaders including Bronson M. Cutting, Edgar L. Hewett, Celso Lopez, Sylvanus G. Morley, Miguel A. Otero, and Arthur Seligman, the board advocated promoting tourism as a way o overcoming the city's economic decline, a chronic condition begun when the Santa Fe Railroad bypassed the city in 1880. Included in its list of assets for tourists were the city's old streets and architecture, the plaza and Palace of the Governors, and Fort Marcy, which the board proposed for restoration.

These early efforts to include Fort Marcy in the telling of Santa Fe's history reflect a more linear perspective of history shared by that generation of Santa Fe's cultural leaders than the more selective perspective that followed. Composed of both the city's Spanish-American and Anglo (the term had just begun to appear) elites, these leaders tended to view the city's history as a progression of events. Indicative of their perspective were the elaborate pageants staged on the Fourth of July. During these pageants events such as DeVargas' reconquest of Santa Fe of 1692 and Kearny's occupation of 1846 were reenacted. These leaders also chose to reenact Mexican Independence on its centennial in 1921, and, in 1920, dedicated the Cross of the Martyrs, just below the fort, commemorating the twenty-one Franciscan priests killed in the

1680 revolt. While their rhetoric today seems overtly boosterish, and while the pageants they sponsored seem excessively commercialized, those shortcomings should not preclude recognizing their efforts at historical inclusiveness.

As the 1920's progressed, however, this broad approach to Santa Fe's history, contrived as it sometimes was, gradually narrowed. Encouraged by the success of the replica of Acoma's San Estevan Church as the new state's exhibition building at the panama-California Exposition in San Diego in 1915, Santa Fe's new generation of cultural leaders increasingly began to treat the city's past more selectively. Some of these leaders, such as Witter Bynner, Dolly Wall Sloan, and Mary Austin, advocated remaking the city's image emphasizing its romantic pre-American history. The "imperial geography," of diverse imported architectural styles, for example, was rejected in favor of what today is termed the Spanish-Pueblo revival. Ironically, even as they parodied tourism and the solemnity of the earlier pageants during events such as the Hysterical Pageant and, then, their creation of Zozobra, the city continued to draw visitors.

The "City Different," as it was already terming itself, had become a destination offering a distinctive, now endorsed, regional architecture, Indian Detours (1926), and an illustrious past replete with ancient pueblos, conquistadors, and a nascent art colony. Notably missing from this revised panorama of the past were events associated with the Mexican and American periods. Symptomatic of this change, the reenactment of Kearny's entry was dropped in 1927. When the National Old Trails Highway Association working with the Daughters of the American Revolution offered the city one of several statues they were distributing to commemorate the trails of the westward movement, Santa Fe's leaders chose to reject it. The "Madonna of the Trail" was then offered to Albuquerque which accepted it, placing it along what was then US 66.

These efforts at tailoring Santa Fe's history ignored Fort Marcy. This first symbol of American conquest ran against the romantic current shaping the city's self-portrait of its past. In fact, it wasn't until the 1950's that historians began to reexamine Fort Marcy. Beginning with Robert Utley's efforts, interest in Fort Marcy began to rise (New Mexican, Jan. 25, 1959). Over the next few years John Porter Bloom, Bruce Ellis, William Brown, surveying the site for the National Park Service, and John Gaw Meem voiced their support for trying to find ways of presenting the site to the public (New Mexican, Aug. 12, 13, 1963; CBIC 1963). while its advocates varied what form the presentation would assume, suggesting approaches from partial excavations to a complete restoration of the fort, all agreed that the site was important and should no longer be ignored. After all, they argued, the site is the only extant fort on now American soil dating to the Mexican-American war, and it is the first American fort in what became the Territory of New Mexico, and it did symbolize the expansionism that drove westward expansion. When the heirs of L.B. Prince offered

the site to the city with the provision that its past be interpreted, the New Mexican supported the idea, beginning and ending its editorial with the question, "What are we waiting for?" (New Mexican, Aug. 14, 1963).

Thirty-two years later, the City of Santa Fe may be in a better position to answer that question. The City has used its resources to complete three archaeological and historical investigations of Fort Marcy. This essay has attempted to broaden the perspective from which Fort Marcy may be viewed. Certainly, the arguments already offered by Bloom, Utley, and Wilson convey the importance of the fort to understanding the Mexican-American War, American expansionism, and a military dimension of the Santa Fe Trail. The additional information gained by this project's investigations offers an opportunity to revisit Fort Marcy and to see it with a broader, perhaps more insightful, perspective.

APPENDIX C

NMCRIS FORMS

LABORATORY OF ANTHROPOLOGY PROJECT/ACTIVITY RECORD

1. PROJECT DATA

NMCRIS Project Number: 41184 Parent Project Number: _____

Sponsoring Agency: City of Santa Fe

Project ID: _____ Project Name: Fort Marcy, Phase III

Project Dates (dd-mmm-yyyy): 29 Mar 1995 to 06 Dec 1995

Project Type (choose one): [ ]cultural resource management [ ]regional or topical overview [X]research project
[ ]other project type: _____

Project Description (optional): 1995 Test Excavations at Historic Fort Marcy, Santa Fe, NM.

Proposed Action: [ ]materials pit/stockpile [ ]transmission line [ ]military target site [ ]reservoir/dam
[X]research project [ ]railroad [ ]seismic line [ ]land exchange [ ]water system
[ ]drill hole [ ]road/highway [ ]fence line [ ]land management project [ ]other action:
[ ]mining [ ]buried pipeline/cable [ ]trail [ ]building/facility

Other Permitting Agencies: NM Archaeo. Permit No. SE 109 (Issued to Northern Research Group, Inc.)

2. ACTIVITY DATA

NMCRIS Activity Number: 49311

Performing Agency: Northern Research Group, Inc./Cordelia Thomas Snow.

Activity ID: _____ Activity Name: _____

Activity Dates (dd-mmm-yyyy): 29 Mar 1995 to 06 Dec 1995

Activity Type: [ ]research design preparation [ ]archeological excavation [ ]monitoring or damage assessment
[ ]cult. res. overview/lit. review (Class 1 Surv.) [ ]archeological survey (Class 2 or 3 Surv.)
[ ]ethnographic study [X]archeological testing [ ]collections and non-field studies
[ ]other activity: _____

Activity Description (optional): _____

Studies and Analyses Performed: [X]lithic technology [X]lithic tool typology [ ]ceramic technology
[X]ceramic typology [X]faunal analyses [ ]human osteology [ ]archeomagnetic dating
[ ]obsidian hydration dating [ ]radiocarbon dating [ ]tree ring dating [ ]pollen, phytolith analysis
[X]macrobotanical analysis [ ]site distribution [ ]isolated artifact distribution [ ]architectural studies
[X]historic artifact analyses [X]historic records studies [ ]soils, stratigraphy,

NMCRIS Activity Number:_____

geomorphology
[ ]geology, lithic materials sourcing [ ]ethnographic interviews/oral history studies
[ ]other studies:_____

_____

3. SURVEY ACTIVITIES

Total Area Surveyed:_____ acres Total Activity Area (if <100% coverage):_____

_____ acres

Survey Intensity (choose one): [ ]intensive (BLM Class 3; 100%) [ ]reconnaissance (BLM Class 2; < 100%)

Survey Configuration: number of survey units:_____ [ ]block survey units [ ]linear survey units
[ ]other survey units:_____

_____

Survey Scope (choose one): [ ]non-selective [ ]selective/thematic

Survey Coverage (choose one): [ ]systematic pedestrian coverage [ ]other coverage method

Standard Survey Interval:_____ Standard Crew Size:_____

Source Graphics: [ ]copies in report [ ]copies attached to report or form

[ ]USGS 7.5' topographic maps [ ]rectified aerial photos (Scale:_____)
[ ]other topographic maps (Scale:_____) [ ]unrectified aerial photos (Scale:_____)
[ ]GPS Unit [ ]other source:_____

___

Survey Results: Sites Discovered and Registered:_____ Total Number of Sites Visited:_____
Sites Discovered and Not Registered:_____ Total Isolated Occurrences:_____
Previously Recorded Sites Revisited:_____ [ ]Non-Selective IO Recording?

Land Ownership:	State	Acres Surveyed
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Counties/States Surveyed:_____

_____

USGS Quadrangles Included in Surveyed Area:

Quadrangle Name/Date:_____	Quadrangle Code:_____
Quadrangle Name/Date:_____	Quadrangle Code:_____
Quadrangle Name/Date:_____	Quadrangle Code:_____
Quadrangle Name/Date:_____	Quadrangle Code:_____

Previously Registered Sites (LA nos.):_____

_____

New Sites (LA nos.):_____

_____

NMCRIS Activity No. _____

4. NON-SURVEY ACTIVITIES

Investigated Sites (LA nos.): LA 111, Fort Marcy

5. REPORT INFORMATION

Document Type (choose one): [ ]manuscript [ ]article in a magazine
[X]report, monograph, or book [ ]volume in a report series[ ]dissertation or thesis
[ ]title in an edited collection [ ]article in a journal [ ]paper presented at meeting
[ ]other document type:

Year Issued: 1995 [ ]no date [ ]draft?: Main Author: Cordelia Thomas Snow

Additional Authors: David Kammer

Title #1: "Not Occupied. . .Since the Peace:" The 1995 Archaeological and Historical Investigations at Historic Fort Marcy, Santa Fe, New Mexico

Title #2 (additional citation data):

Prepared By: Cordelia Thomas Snow

Preparing Agency Report No.:

Published By (publisher, city, state):

Report Recipient: City of Santa Fe

Other Agency Report Nos.:

LABORATORY OF ANTHROPOLOGY SITE RECORD

1. IDENTIFICATION & OWNERSHIP 1

LA Number: LA 111 [X]Site Update?

Site Name(s): Fort Marcy

Other Site Numbers: None

Agency Assigning Number:

Current Site Owner(s): City of Santa Fe

2. RECORDING INFORMATION

NMCRIS Activity Number: 49311

Field Site Number: None Site Marker?: [X]no [ ]yes (specify ID#):

Recorder(s): Cordelia Thomas Snow (Northern Research Group, Inc. Susan Swan)

Agency: City of Santa Fe Recording Date (dd-mmm-yyyy): 30 Jun 1995

Site Accessibility (choose one): [X]accessible [ ]buried [ ]flooded [ ]urbanized [ ]not accessible

Surface Visibility (% visible; choose one): [ ]0% [ ]1-25% [ ]26-50% [X]51-75% [ ]76-99% [ ]100%
Remarks:

Recording Activities:
- [X]sketch mapping
- [X]instrument mapping
- [ ]surface collection
- [ ]in-field artifact analysis
- [X]photography
- [ ]shovel or trowel tests
- [X]test excavation [ ]excavation (data recovery)
- [ ]other activities:

Description of Analysis or Excavation Activities: Test excavations--3 trenches, 1 test pit. Mapping with transit, tape, and stadia.

Photographic Documentation: Black and white prints and color slides.

Surface Collection (choose one): [X]no surface collections [ ]controlled surface collection (sample)
[ ]uncontrolled surface collections [ ]controlled surface collections (complete)
[ ]collections of specific items [ ]other collection method:

Surface Collection Methods:

Records Inventory: [X]site location map [X]excavation, collection, analysis records [ ]field journals, notes
[X]sketch map(s) [X]photos, slides, & associated records [ ]NM Hist. Building Inventory form
[X]instrument map(s) [ ]other records:

Repository for Original Site Records: ARMS

Repository for Collected Artifacts: Laboratory of Anthropology Site Repository.

LA Number: LA 111 Field Number_____

3. CONDITION 2

Archeological Status: [ ]surface collection [X]test excavation [ ]partial excavation [ ]complete excavation

Disturbance Sources:[ ]wind erosion [X]water erosion [ ]bioturbation [ ]vandalism [X]construction/land development
[ ]other source:_____

Vandalism: [ ]defaced glyphs [X]damaged/defaced architecture [X]surface disturbance [ ]manual excavation
[ ]mechanical excavation [ ]other vandalism:_____

Percentage of Site Intact (choose one): [ ]0% [ ]1-25% [ ]26-50% [X]51-75% [ ]76-99% []100%

Observations on Site Condition: Parts of site disturbed by development of Prince Park, vehicular traffic, and and landscaping.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS

National Register Eligibility (choose one): [X]eligible [ ]not eligible [ ]not sure
Applicable Criteria: [ ]criterion a [ ]criterion b [ ]criterion c [ ]criterion d

Basis for Recommendation: Site is on State Register of Cultural Properties (SR 87) and National Register of Historic Places.

Assessment of Project Impact: Minimal damage from 1995 excavations.

**Treatment Recommendations: No further excavations recommended.

*recorder's OPINION only - this is NOT an official determination of NR eligibility **performing agency: consult with sponsoring agency before completing these data items

5. SHPO CONSULTATIONS (SHPO use only)

SHPO Determination (choose one): [ ]eligible [ ]not eligible [ ]not determined
Applicable Criteria: [ ]criterion a [ ]criterion b [ ]criterion c [ ]criterion d

HPD staff:_____ Date (dd-mmm-yyyy):_____ HPD Log No.:_____

Register Status: [ ]listed on National Register [ ]listed on State Register [ ]formal determination of eligibility

State Register No.:_____

Remarks:

LA Number:_____ Field Number_____