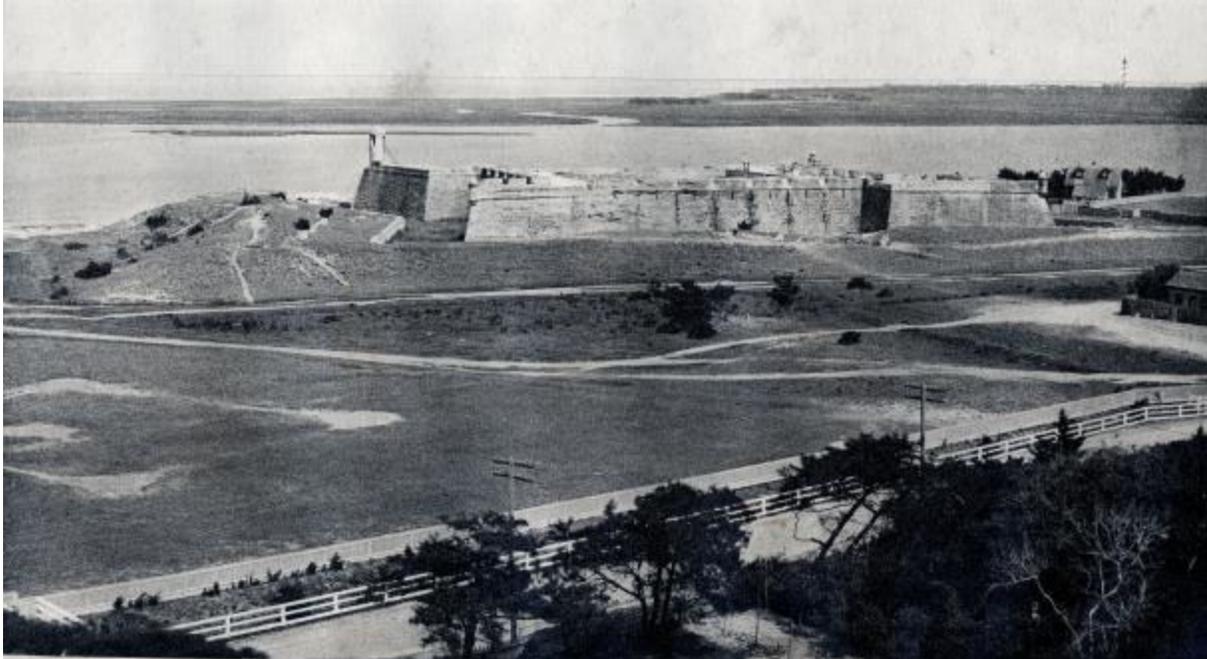

National Park Service
Cultural Landscapes Inventory
2020



Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas National Monuments
Saint Augustine, Florida

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Cultural Landscape Inventory (CLI) General Information:

Purpose and Goals of the CLI

The Cultural Landscapes Inventory (CLI) is a comprehensive inventory of all significant landscapes located in units of the National Park System in which the National Park Service has, or plans to acquire any enforceable legal interest. It is one of the most ambitious initiatives of the National Park Service Cultural Landscapes Program. Landscapes documented through the CLI are those that individually meet criteria set forth in the National Register of Historic Places such as historic sites, historic designed landscapes, and historic vernacular landscapes, or those that are contributing elements of properties that meet the criteria. In addition, landscapes that are managed as cultural resources because of law, policy, or decisions reached through the park planning process, regardless of whether they meet the National Register criteria, are also included in the CLI.

The CLI provides a management inventory of evaluated cultural landscapes, as per Section 110(a)(1) of the National Historic Preservation Act, NPS Management Policies and Cultural Resource Management Guideline. Additionally, the CLI assists in establishing "a scientific/scholarly basis for resource management decisions," one of the primary goals identified in the National Park Service Strategic Plan. As such, the CLI aids managers in planning, programming, and recording treatment and management decisions.

The diversity of cultural landscapes in the National Park System, both in terms of scale and physical complexity, presents a significant challenge for a standardized inventory. Based on this diversity and the need to clearly articulate the physical character of the landscape for the purposes of the CLI, and ultimately for management, a hierarchy has been defined for subdividing a landscape into identifiable components and/or features. The following three categories have been selected to delineate a cultural landscape for inventory purposes:

Landscape: the primary focus of the CLI. It is the combination of component landscapes and/or features that define a cultural landscape that is eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.

Component Landscape: the definable physical area of a landscape that contributes to the significance of a National Register property or, in some cases is individually eligible for the National Register. A component landscape warrants individual documentation to adequately record the physical character of the overall landscape and can be further subdivided into smaller features. Examples may include a garden, canyon, overlook, cemetery, farmstead, or a memorial road system.

Landscape Feature: the smallest physical unit that contributes to the significance of a landscape and can be managed as an individual element. Examples may include a woodlot, earthwork, hedge, lawn, specimen tree, allée, barn, agricultural field, or vista. Information about landscape features is recorded in the Analysis and Evaluation section of the CLI.

The legislative, regulatory, and policy direction for conducting the CLI include:

National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA) (16 USC 470h-2(a) (1)): Each Federal agency shall establish a preservation program for the identification, evaluation, and nomination to the National Register of Historic Places of historic properties.

Executive Order 13287: Preserve America, 2003: Sec. 3(a) Each agency with real property management responsibilities shall prepare an assessment of the current status of its inventory of historic properties required by section 110(a)(2) of the NHPA. No later than September 30, 2004, each covered agency shall complete a report of the assessment and make it available to the Chairman of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and the Secretary of the Interior (c). Each agency with real property management responsibilities shall, by September 30, 2005, and every third year thereafter, prepare a report on its progress in identifying historic properties in its ownership and make the report available to the Council and the Secretary.

The Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Federal Agency Historic Preservation Programs Pursuant to the National Historic Preservation Act, 1998 Standard 2: An agency provides for the timely identification and evaluation of historic properties under agency jurisdiction or control and/or subject to effect by agency actions (Sec. 110 (a) (2) (A))

Management Policies 2006.5.1.3.1 Inventories: The Park Service will (1) maintain and expand the following inventories about cultural resources in units of the National Park System...Cultural Landscapes Inventory of historic designed landscapes, historic vernacular landscapes and historic sites....

Cultural Resource Management Guideline, 1997, Release No. 5, page 22 issued pursuant to Director's Order #28. As cultural resources are identified and evaluated, they should also be listed in the appropriate service-wide inventories of cultural resources.

Scope of the CLI

This CLI uses information derived from existing primary and secondary resources that contain information on the historical development and significance of Castillo de San Marcos National Monument. Sources include Edwin Bearss and John Page's 1983 *Historic Structure Report*, Jere Krakow's 1986 *Administrative History*, Albert Manucy's 1959 *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos* and Cécile-Marie Sastre's 2000 draft *History of the Cultural Landscape*. Other sources from the NPS archives at the Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve further inform the historic narrative.

The inventory of cultural landscape features applies the categories defined by the National Park Service in the 1998 *Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports*: natural systems and features, spatial organization, land use, cultural traditions, circulation, topography, vegetation, buildings and structures, views/vistas, setting, cluster arrangement, small-scale features, archeological sites, and constructed water features. An evaluation of the site's overall historic integrity and condition follows the methodology presented in the NPS Cultural Landscapes Inventory Professional Procedures Guide (2009). The CLI provides site plans that illustrate information from the site inventory and depicts the significant historic landscape and architectural features in the boundaries of the study area. The CLI does not provide treatment recommendations for management of the historic site.

Inventory Unit Summary and Site Plan

Cultural Landscape Inventory Name: Castillo de San Marcos National Monument

Cultural Landscape Inventory Number:

Parent Landscape: Castillo de San Marcos National Monument

Parent Landscape Inventory Number:

Park Name: Castillo de San Marcos National Monument

Park Alpha Code: CASA

Park Organization Code: 5260

Property Level: Landscape

Inventory Unit Size: Approximately 20 acres

Inventory Unit Description:

Castillo de San Marcos was the last of ten fortifications that Spain built in the area around present-day St. Augustine, Florida, which they founded in 1565. St. Augustine was the first permanent European settlement in what is today the continental United States. Castillo de San Marcos is the oldest masonry fortification remaining in the continental United States. The approximately twenty acres that comprise the grounds of the Castillo de San Marcos National Monument provide a manicured landscape setting for the impressive renaissance-style fortification. The historic landscape features associated with the fortress date to the Spanish colonial period (e.g., glacis, ravelin, covered way, moat, the reconstructed western portion of the Cubo Line, and the City Gate), as well as to the War Department period (e.g., shot furnace, water battery, and sea wall). In addition to these historic resources, which materially convey the fort's importance as a coastal defensive structure, landscape features have been added to address the needs of the hundreds of thousands of visitors who tour the fortification each year. These Park Service-era additions include an administration/maintenance complex north of the fortress, a fee booth south of the fort entrance, an automobile/bus parking lot south of the fort, two planned walkways on the north green, one planned walkway from the western approach, two planned walkways leading to the fee booth on the south side, and a dirt trail paralleling the Cubo Line to the south. Ornamental vegetation is scattered across the site.

Castillo de San Marcos represents the efforts that Spain made to settle northeast Florida and to protect Spanish interests in the New World. In the years prior to the fort's construction, the area around St. Augustine experienced numerous military events. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés led Spanish forces against French forces, led by Jean Ribault, in 1565. Francis Drake led English troops in an expedition against St. Augustine in 1586. John Davis led a group of pirates in a raid of the city in 1668. Following the raid in 1668, the Spanish began construction in 1672 of the masonry fortifications that became Castillo de San Marcos. The structure was largely complete by 1696, at which time the fort walls, moat, seawall, and ravelin were in place; but modifications and additions to the fort continued over the next century. The Spanish eventually added a covered way, glacis, and raised the walls of the fort in the 1700s.

The Spanish built Castillo de San Marcos on the eastern shore of a peninsula of land bounded by the Tolomato River and Matanzas River on the east and the San Sebastián River on the west and south. St. Augustine inlet provides access to the Atlantic Ocean from the northern end of Matanzas River. According to historian Albert Manucy, Spanish officials considered the natural defenses of the harbor when siting Castillo de San Marcos. The shallow sandbars at the entrance into the channel prevented larger warships from entering the bay and threatening the fort and town. Additionally, rivers and streams around St. Augustine presented natural obstacles against potential invaders. St. Augustine and the fort had rivers on three sides and a creek crossing the fourth approach.¹

During the War of Spanish Succession, Governor James Moore of Carolina led an attack against St. Augustine in 1702. Moore's successful occupation of St. Augustine prompted a second period of construction when the Spanish added additional earthworks to defend the fort and St. Augustine. The Spanish also constructed defensive earthworks, eventually encircling the town of St. Augustine. These earthworks included the Cubo Line, begun in 1704; the Hornwork, begun in 1706; and the Rosario wall, begun in 1718. General James Oglethorpe led an assault on St.

¹ Albert C. Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos* (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 1959), 14-15.

Augustine in 1740 and besieged the fort for thirty-eight days. Many of the landscape features representative of the Castillo de San Marcos colonial period were completed by 1756.

In 1763, Castillo de San Marcos and the other Spanish possessions in St. Augustine transferred to British control according to the terms of the Treaty of Paris ending the Seven Years' War. The British called the fortress St. Mark.² During the American Revolution, Spain declared war on Britain in 1779; and following the conclusion of the American Revolution in 1785, Britain returned to Spain ownership of Castillo de San Marcos and other properties transferred in 1763. United States Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams led the negotiations with Spain, which resulted in the 1819 Adams-Onís Treaty where Spain ceded Florida to the United States. The treaty was not ratified by both nations until 1821, when Spain transferred ownership of Florida and all Spanish possessions in the region to the United States. The United States government placed the property under the administration of the War Department.

In 1825, the United States government renamed Castillo de San Marcos as Fort Marion. The War Department used Castillo de San Marcos as a garrison prior to the Civil War and as a military prison, where they incarcerated numerous Native Americans following various conflicts with tribes in Florida and in the American West. After the Civil War, the War Department deemed the fort and its associated defensive earthworks as unnecessary for national defense. As early as the 1830s, military officials recognized the historic significance of Castillo de San Marcos and attempted to repair broken and deteriorated features.

Beginning in the late 1880s, the War Department began creating a park-like landscape at Castillo de San Marcos. The addition of concrete walkways, shade trees, and benches facilitated a passive recreational use of the property. A baseball diamond was installed on the fort's grounds in the 1880s. An exhibition game, featuring members of the Cuban Giants, a professional African American team, occurred on the grounds in 1885. In 1895, a group of winter residents of St. Augustine constructed three holes (later five) for the first golf course in Florida on the fort green.

² This report refers to the fortress as Castillo de San Marcos. Other names associated with the fortress include Castle of St. Mark, St. Mark, and Fort Marion.

The course included private property, owned by the St. Augustine Golf Club, and part of the military reservation.

A Presidential Proclamation made the Castillo de San Marcos (still called Fort Marion at the time) a national monument on October 15, 1924. The War Department continued to manage the site until the National Park Service took partial administrative responsibility of the site in 1933 and exclusive responsibility two years later. The United States Congress renamed the national monument in 1942, reinstating the title, Castillo de San Marcos.

The NPS has managed the site as an educational resource and public facility. The grounds are open to the public and the fort is open for tours that require tickets. The NPS has restored historic resources and reconstructed missing military-related features from the Spanish period, including the Cubo Line. The NPS constructed the Park Headquarters and Maintenance Facility on the northwestern edge of the national monument in 1965. The complex has been enlarged and is still used.

Presidential Proclamation 1713, signed on October 15, 1924, designated Castillo de San Marcos (then called Fort Marion) as a National Monument. Castillo de San Marcos was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966, with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act. In 1973, the NRHP received documentation for the water battery and City Gate to be added to Castillo de San Marcos National Register nomination; it does not appear that this documentation was officially accepted. A revised National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form providing additional documentation on the water battery and the City Gate was submitted to the National Register of Historic Places on November 29, 1976 and accepted on March 4, 1977.³ This initial documentation included three structures: Castillo de San Marcos, the City Gate, and the water battery. A subsequent National Register of Historic Places Registration form was submitted on behalf of the national monument in 1996. This form added the moat, covered way, glacis, ravelin, hot shot furnace, seawall, and Cubo Line to the list of contributing resources.⁴

³ Luis R. Arana, "Castillo de San Marcos," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, National Park Service, St. Augustine, June 14, 1973, Revised June 1976.

⁴ Jennifer D. Brown, "Castillo de San Marcos National Monument," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, National Park Service, Atlanta, August 5, 1996, Section 8, Page 15.

The 1996 NRHP registration form for the Castillo de San Marcos National Monument assigns two periods of significance: 1672-1821 and 1821-1924. The first period (1672-1821) begins with the construction of Castillo de San Marcos and ends with the transfer of the fort to the United States. The second period begins with the transfer in 1821 and ends in 1924 when President Calvin Coolidge declared Castillo de San Marcos (then called Fort Marion) a national monument.

The 1996 NRHP registration form states that Castillo de San Marcos National Monument is historically significant under Criteria A, B, and C. It also includes special Criteria Consideration E: a reconstructed building, object, or structure. Castillo de San Marcos National Monument is historically significant on the national level under Criterion A in the area of Military History for its association with European settlement and struggle to control this region of North America. The district is considered significant under Criterion B for its association with Chief Osceola. It is also historically significant under Criterion C in the area of Military Engineering as an example of European military architecture of the 1600s and later conversion to a U.S. coastal defense site. Criteria Consideration E applies to the 1963 Cubo Line reconstruction.

The National Park Service prepared a *Final General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement* (GMP/EIS) for Castillo de San Marcos National Monument in March 2007. That document considers four alternatives for managing the park “for the next 15 to 20 years.”⁵ The NPS’s preferred alternative was Alternative C, which the document described as:

Alternative C ... would implement a phased removal of some modern intrusions from the fort and the landscape. Some administrative functions would be removed from the fort and three casemates would be returned to a more historic appearance and part of the visitor parking lot would be removed (specific size and configuration would be determined in a later planning and design phase). The ticket booth would be relocated to enhance the view of the fort at the entrance.

⁵ National Park Service, “Final General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement Castillo de San Marcos National Monument,” March 2007, i.

Administrative offices and maintenance operations would remain in the current locations at the north end of the site.

The visitor center authorized by Public Law 108-480 would be located off-site and convenient to the park and the Spanish Quarter.⁶

The NPS cancelled the visitor center project when the land upon which it was to be built became unavailable. This affected other projects described in Alternative C, including the redesign of the parking lot and relocation of the ticket booth.

The June 2016 *Foundation Document for the Castillo de San Marcos National Monument* lists four fundamental resources and values (FRVs) that are essential to the park's significance. These FRVs include Castillo de San Marcos and its surrounding outworks, the City Gate Pillars and a section of reconstructed Cubo Line, the U.S. Water Battery and Hot Shot Furnace, and the Ledger Art and American Indian Wall Art from the Incarceration Period.

According to the foundation document's purpose statement, Castillo de San Marcos National Monument "preserves the oldest masonry fortification in the continental United States and interprets more than 450 years of cultural intersections." The document identifies four statements of significance:

- Primarily constructed of locally quarried coquina stone, Castillo de San Marcos is a remarkably well-preserved example of Star Fortress military architecture and illustrates Spanish military engineering adaptation in the New World;
- Castillo de San Marcos is a tangible representation of more than 250 years of conflict between European colonial powers in what is now the southeastern United States and Spain's military struggle to protect the vital Gulf Stream trade route;
- Castillo de San Marcos was the principal fortification in the region from 1672 to 1900, having been occupied by the armies of Spain, Great Britain, the Confederate States of

⁶ National Park Service, "GMP/EIS 2007," iv.

America, and the United States, and has meaningful connections to diverse cultures in St. Augustine and the world;

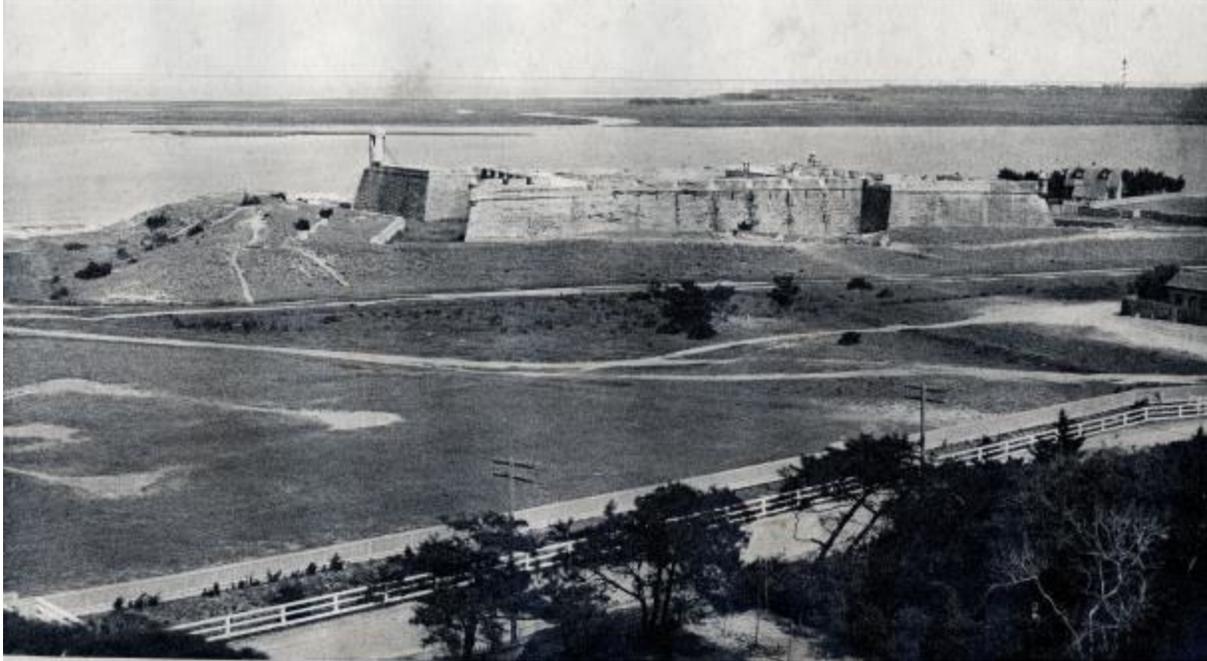
- Castillo de San Marcos, known as Fort Marion at the time, became a military prison for American Indians; including the Seminoles in 1837, Plains Indians from 1875 to 1878, and Apaches from 1886 to 1887.

In addition to the preservation of the most visible historic resources, the national monument's foundation document also identifies the viewshed, artillery collection, and archeological resources as other important resources and values (OIRVs) warranting special consideration in park planning. The interpretive themes, discussed in the foundation document, span from the Spanish colonial presence in North America to more recent preservation and stewardship efforts by the War Department and the NPS. Under "preservation and stewardship," the foundation statement asserts "the stewardship of the oldest masonry fort in the continental U.S. requires careful preservation methods and techniques to maintain and safeguard the Castillo, its surrounding defensive structures, and its landscape features for the purpose of providing an authentic place for reflecting on our nation's past. These structures, originally built to protect people, are now in need of our protection."⁷

Neither the GMP/EIS nor the Foundation Document assigns a management category to the park. While the Foundation Document emphasizes preservation of historic resources, preferred Alternative C of the GMP/EIS is consistent with the Standards for Rehabilitation.

⁷ National Park Service, "Foundation Document Castillo de San Marcos National Monument," 2016, 9.

Park Report Cover Image:

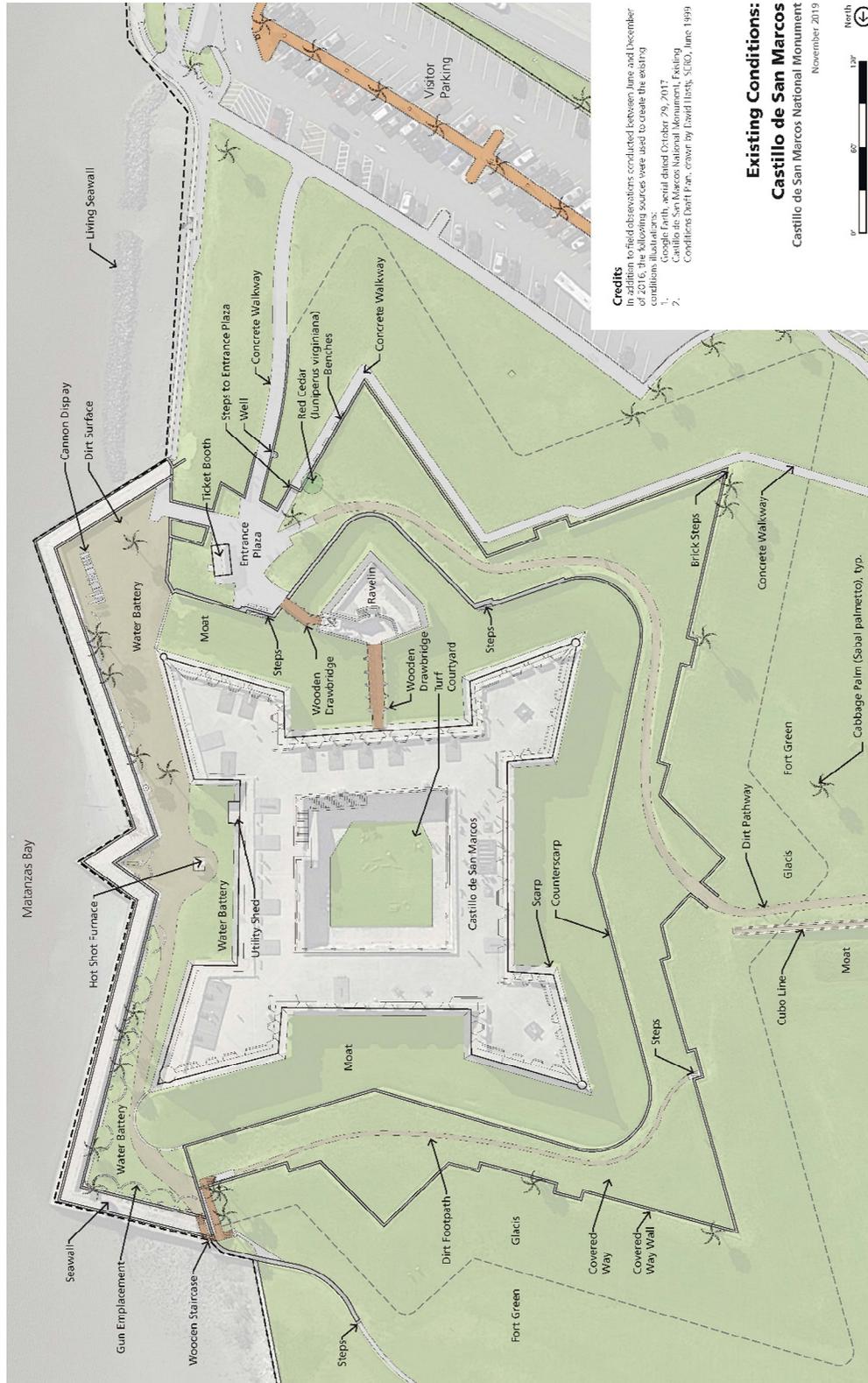


Fort Marion from Hotel San Marco (CASA no. A4809)

Site Plan Graphic:



Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, December 2019.



Detail of Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, December 2019.

Key	Botanical Name	Common Name
Trees	<i>Callistemon citrinus</i>	Bottlebrush
CI	<i>Carya illinoensis</i>	Pecan Tree
CF	<i>Cornus florida</i>	Flowering Dogwood
GL	<i>Gordonia lasianthus</i>	Lokkily Bay
IA	<i>Ilex x attenuata 'Savannah'</i>	Savannah Holly
IV	<i>Juripiperis virginiana</i>	Red Cedar
QV	<i>Quercus virginiana</i>	Live Oak
LI	<i>Lagotis caesia indica</i>	Cape Myrtle
MG	<i>Magnolia grandiflora</i>	Southern Magnolia
SP	<i>Sabal palmetto</i>	Cabbage Palm
UA	<i>Ulmus americana</i>	Florida Elm (ex. Florida)
Shrubs	<i>Cycas revoluta</i>	Sago Palm
HS	<i>Hibiscus syriacus</i>	Rose of Sharon
IV	<i>Ilex vomitoria</i>	Yaupon Holly
LI	<i>Ligustrum lucidum</i>	Glossy Privet
RH	<i>Rhododendron spp.</i>	Dwarf Azalea
SR	<i>Serenia repens</i>	Saw Palmetto
YA	<i>Yucca aloifolia</i>	Spanish Bayonet
ZF	<i>Zamia floridana</i>	Cycad
Groundcover	<i>Hemerocallis filiformis</i>	Yellow Daylily
SS*	<i>Stenotaphrum secundatum</i>	St. Augustine Grass

Credits:
 In addition to field observations conducted between June and December of 2016, the following sources were used to create the existing conditions illustrations:
 1. Google Earth, aerial dated October 25, 2017
 2. Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, Existing Conditions Map, drawn by David Harty, AICP, June 1999

**Existing Conditions:
 Park Headquarters and
 Maintenance Facility, City Gate**
 Castillo de San Marcos National Monument
 November 2019



Detail of Park Headquarters and City Gate Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, December 2019.

CLI Hierarchy Description:

The Castillo de San Marcos National Monument is an approximately 20-acre site managed by the National Park Service (NPS) in St. Augustine, Florida. The national monument is roughly triangular in shape, with State Road A1A/South Castillo Drive forming its western boundary.

Castillo de San Marcos is located on the eastern edge of the national monument along Matanzas Bay. Castillo de San Marcos is a symmetrical four-bastioned fortification surrounded by a series of defensive outworks including a ravelin, moat, covered way, and glacis. An open area extends out from the glacis to the north, west, and south. A visitor parking lot occupies the southern boundary of the site and a smaller staff parking lot occupies a triangular parcel on the opposite side of State Road A1A/South Castillo Drive. In 1963, the NPS reconstructed the Cubo Line, a defensive earthwork crossing the fort green on the western side of the fort.

The NPS constructed an administration and utility building (called the Park Headquarters Building and Maintenance Facility as of 2018) on the northwestern edge of the national monument site in 1964 and 1965. In 1991, the NPS added a maintenance shop to the Park Headquarters Building and Maintenance Facility complex. The NPS added a library and archives wing onto the building in 1994. In 2000, the NPS added again onto the Park Headquarters Building and Maintenance Facility complex by enlarging the maintenance building and adding accessible parking spaces. The facility is visually separated from the rest of the national monument by buffer of evergreen trees the NPS planted during original construction of the building in the 1960s

A disconnected, triangular-shaped parcel on the opposite side of State Road A1A/South Castillo Drive contains the City Gate, which is part of the national monument. The City Gate features two 14-foot-tall pillars. A stone wall extends east and west on either side of the pillars. A coquina bridge spans a shallow moat north of the wall. The City Gate was originally part of the Cubo Line and today features short sections of a recreated Cubo Line extending beyond the masonry walls.

Concurrence Status

Concurrence Status:

Inventory Unit Completion Status:

Park Superintendent Concurrence:

Park Superintendent Concurrence Date:

National Register Eligibility: Eligible

National Register Eligibility Date: October 15, 1966

Completion Status Explanatory Narrative:

The CLI for Castillo de San Marcos was completed through a contract agreement between the Southeast Regional Office (SERO) and the contractor, WLA Studio. Keyes Williamson (Principal) conducted fieldwork in 2017 and 2018 to document existing site conditions. Archival research and analysis for the CLI was conducted in October 2018.

Geographic Information and Location Map

Boundary Description:

The boundary of the Castillo de San Marcos historic district is the boundary of the national monument. It contains approximately twenty acres, bounded on the east by the Matanzas River, on the east and south by South Castillo Drive (SR A1A), and on the north by the City of St. Augustine. The boundary crosses South Castillo Drive to include the triangular parcel around City Gate and to include a staff parking lot on a triangular parcel bounded by Cuna Street, Charlotte Street, and South Castillo Drive.

According to St. Johns County, Florida records, the parcel ID number is 1961700000.

State and County:

State: Florida

County: St. Johns

Size (Acres): approximately 20 acres

Location Map Graphic Information:

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument

Location Map Graphic:



Castillo de San Marcos National Monument is located in downtown St. Augustine, Florida, on the banks of Matanzas Bay.

Boundary Points:

Datum: WGS 84

Lat: 29.899408

Long: -81.311392

Lat: 29.898504

Long: -81.310753

Lat: 29.897213

Long: -81.310701

Lat: 29.895625

Long: -81.310870

Lat: 29.897771

Long: -81.313813

Lat: 29.899155

Long: -81.314191

Regional Landscape Context

Landscape Context Type: Physiographic

Context Description:

The physiography of the area around St. Augustine includes subtle topographic rises and drainage areas. The site of St. Augustine is part of the Eastern Valley that lies between the Atlantic Beach Ridges along the coast and the Atlantic Coastal Ridge across the San Sebastián River, west of the national monument. The region is relatively flat. Drainage courses, including rivers and streams, cut through the higher, dryer elevations. Salt marshes occupy the low-lying areas along brackish water courses. Barrier islands along the coast protect the interior mainland. The area around St. Augustine has sandy, moderately draining soils that are not subject to flooding.

The Spanish built Castillo de San Marcos on the eastern shore of a peninsula of land bounded by the Tolomato River and Matanzas River on the east and the San Sebastián River on the west and south. St. Augustine inlet provides access to the Atlantic Ocean from the northern end of Matanzas River. From this point, Matanzas River flows 16 miles south, creating Anastasia Island, which is across the river from the national monument.

Landscape Context Type: Cultural

Context Description:

The earliest evidence of human occupation in the area containing the Castillo de San Marcos National Monument is during the Orange period (2000-1000 BC). This period, named for the Orange Mound in Volusia County, is associated with the development of distinctive fiber-tempered pottery. American Indians of the Orange period established seasonal camps and settlements, exploiting natural environment through hunting, fishing, and gathering subsistence activities. The national monument also shows evidence of occupation during the Transitional period (1200-500 BC), a period when American Indians developed sophisticated ceramics and established permanent settlements in the region. American Indians also occupied the area around the national monument during

the St. Johns period (500 BCE to CE 1565), which was a period of American Indian population increase and development of new styles of pottery. It was also the period when oysters became the most dominant shellfish utilized for food.⁸

The Spanish explorer Juan Ponce de León investigated Florida in 1513, laying claim to the peninsula for Spain. Spain sought to establish control of Florida because of its strategic location along the sailing route between the Caribbean and Europe. Efforts to colonize Florida increased after Jean Ribault established a French settlement at Fort Caroline, on the St. Johns River in northeast Florida. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés led Spanish forces against Fort Caroline and its defenders in 1565. During this expedition, Menéndez established contact with a local Timucua leader, Chief Seloy, from which he received permission to establish a base of operations within his village. Within a year, the Spanish abandoned Seloy's village, to establish other settlements, eventually moving to the present-day site of St. Augustine.

Spain built Castillo de San Marcos to defend St. Augustine, their main colonial outpost in southeastern North America, and to protect the important sea routes from the New World to Spain. Before the construction of the existing masonry structure, the Spanish built nine wooden forts between 1565 and 1672. The first forts were on Anastasia Island, on the east side of the Matanzas River, before the Spanish relocated their settlement to the present location of St. Augustine. Following an attack by pirate raiders in 1668, the Spanish began construction in 1672 of the masonry fortification that became Castillo de San Marcos. After completing Castillo de San Marcos in 1695, the Spanish made numerous additions and modifications to both the main structure and its outlying landscape. Many of the landscape features representative of the Castillo de San Marcos colonial period were completed by 1756.

In 1763, Castillo de San Marcos and the other Spanish possessions in St. Augustine transferred to British control according to the terms of the Treaty of Paris ending the

⁸ Stephen C. Byrne, *Archeological Investigations at the Visitor Center Midden Site Fort Matanzas National Monument St. Johns County, Florida*, (Tallahassee: National Park Service Southeast Archeological Center, 1990), 10-12.

Seven Years' War. The British called the fortress St. Mark. During the American Revolution, Spain declared war on Britain in 1779; and following the conclusion of the American Revolution in 1785, Britain returned to Spain ownership of Castillo de San Marcos and other properties transferred in 1763. During the first decades of the 1800s, Spain faced multiple insurrections in its colonies in Central America and South America. Additionally, the United States desired Spanish territory in Florida. In the 1810s, when the Spanish were unable to control Seminole Indians from leading raids into Georgia, United States soldiers under Andrew Jackson pursued Seminole's into Spanish territory, further weakening Spain's grip over Florida. United States Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams led the negotiations with Spain, which resulted in the 1819 Adams-Onis Treaty where Spain ceded Florida to the United States. The treaty was not ratified by both nations until 1821, when Spain transferred ownership of Florida and all Spanish possessions in the region to the United States.

In 1825, the United States government renamed Castillo de San Marcos as Fort Marion. The War Department used Castillo de San Marcos as a garrison prior to the Civil War and as a military prison, where they incarcerated numerous Native Americans following various conflicts with tribes in Florida and in the American West. After the Civil War, the War Department deemed the fort and its associated defensive earthworks as unnecessary for national defense and began treating the property more as a historic resource than a military installation. A Presidential Proclamation made the Castillo de San Marcos (still called Fort Marion at the time) a national monument on October 15, 1924. The War Department continued to manage the site until the National Park Service took partial administrative responsibility of the site in 1933 and exclusive responsibility two years later. The United States Congress renamed the national monument in 1942, reinstating the title, Castillo de San Marcos.

Landscape Context Type: Political

Context Description:

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument is located within the city limits of St. Augustine, Florida and within St. Johns County, Florida. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés founded St. Augustine in 1565, making it the oldest permanent European settlement in the United States.

Management Information

General Management Information

Management Agreement: Must be Preserved and Maintained

Management Agreement Explanatory Narrative:

The National Park Service (NPS) currently manages Castillo de San Marcos in accordance with Alternative C of the 2007 *Final General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement* (GMP/EIS). That document considered four alternatives for managing the park “for the next 15 to 20 years.”⁹

The NPS’s preferred alternative was Alternative C, which the document described as:

Alternative C ... would implement a phased removal of some modern intrusions from the fort and the landscape. Some administrative functions would be removed from the fort and three casemates would be returned to a more historic appearance and part of the visitor parking lot would be removed (specific size and configuration would be determined in a later planning and design phase). The ticket booth would be relocated to enhance the view of the fort at the entrance. Administrative offices and maintenance operations would remain in the current locations at the north end of the site.

The visitor center authorized by Public Law 108-480 would be located off-site and convenient to the park and the Spanish Quarter.¹⁰

The NPS cancelled the visitor center project when the land upon which it was to be built became unavailable. This affected other projects described in Alternative C, including the redesign of the parking lot and relocation of the ticket booth.

⁹ National Park Service, "GMP/EIS 2007," i.

¹⁰ National Park Service, "GMP/EIS 2007," iv.

The June 2016 *Foundation Document for the Castillo de San Marcos National Monument* lists four fundamental resources and values (FRVs) that are essential to the park's significance. These FRVs include Castillo de San Marcos and its surrounding outworks, the City Gate Pillars and a section of reconstructed Cubo Line, the U.S. Water Battery and Hot Shot Furnace, and the Ledger Art and American Indian Wall Art from the Incarceration Period.

Under "preservation and stewardship," the foundation statement asserts "the stewardship of the oldest masonry fort in the continental U.S. requires careful preservation methods and techniques to maintain and safeguard the Castillo, its surrounding defensive structures, and its landscape features for the purpose of providing an authentic place for reflecting on our nation's past. These structures, originally built to protect people, are now in need of our protection."¹¹

Neither the GMP/EIS nor the Foundation Document assigns a management category to the park. While the Foundation Document emphasizes preservation of historic resources, preferred Alternative C of the GMP/EIS is consistent with the Standards for Rehabilitation.

Additionally, the NPS Cultural Resource Inventory System for CASA includes ten certified listings for historic structures, including Castillo de San Marcos, Water Battery, Glacis, Covered Way, Ravelin, Moat, Seawall, Hot Shot Furnace, Reconstructed Cubo Line, and City Gate Pillars. These are all classified as "Must Be Preserved and Maintained."

Adjacent Lands Information

Do Adjacent Land Contribute? Yes

Adjacent Lands Description:

The landscape around Castillo de San Marcos includes the historic city of St. Augustine, the first permanent European settlement in the continental United States. Don Pedro Menéndez de Avilés established the town in 1565. The Spanish constructed several forts to defend St. Augustine in the 1500s and 1600s, eventually building Castillo de San Marcos between 1672 and 1695.

¹¹ National Park Service, "Foundation Document Castillo de San Marcos National Monument," 2016, 9.

Today, St. Augustine's historic district reflects the physical layout of a typical 16th century Spanish Colonial town.

Management Agreement

Type of Agreement: Cooperative Agreement

Expiration Date: NA

Management Agreement Explanatory Narrative:

The City of St. Augustine maintains the parking lot in front of Castillo de San Marcos. The city collects \$2.50 per hour for parking in the lot.

NPS Legal Interest

Type of Legal Interest: Fee simple

Public Access to Site

Public Access: With Permission

Public Access Explanatory Narrative:

Castillo de San Marcos is open to the public every day except Thanksgiving Day and Christmas Day. Access to the fort requires payment of an entrance fee.

FMSS Asset

FMSS Asset Location Code:

To be completed by NPS SERO.

National Register Information

National Register Landscape Documentation: Entered – Inadequately Documented

National Register Explanatory Narrative:

Castillo de San Marcos was listed on the National Register of Historic Places on October 15, 1966, with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act. In 1973, the National Register of Historic Places received documentation for the water battery and City Gate to be added to Castillo de San Marcos National Register nomination; it does not appear that this documentation was officially accepted. A revised National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form providing additional documentation on the water battery and the City Gate was submitted to the National Register of Historic Places on November 29, 1976 and accepted on March 4, 1977.¹² This revised nomination form included three contributing structures: Castillo de San Marcos, the City Gate, and the water battery. A subsequent National Register of Historic Places Registration form was submitted on behalf of the national monument in 1996. This form added the moat, covered way, glacis, ravelin, hot shot furnace, seawall, and Cubo Line to the list of contributing resources.¹³

The 1996 National Register of Historic Places registration form for the Castillo de San Marcos National Monument assigns two periods of significance: 1672-1821 and 1821-1924. The first period (1672-1821) begins with the construction of Castillo de San Marcos and ends with the transfer of the fort to the United States. The second period begins with the transfer in 1821 and ends in 1924 when President Calvin Coolidge signed Presidential Proclamation 1713, making Castillo de San Marcos (then called Fort Marion) a national monument.

National Register Update

While the National Register documentation is thorough for Castillo de San Marcos, this CLI recommends amending the National Register listing extending the period of significance to 1933,

¹² Luis R. Arana, "Castillo de San Marcos," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form.

¹³ Jennifer D. Brown, "Castillo de San Marcos National Monument," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Section 8, Page 15.

which marks the end of the War Department's management of the site. This CLI also recommends expanding the statement of significance. Because the statement of significance focuses on the military history and military engineering, the War Department's efforts to preserve the fort and associated landscape features are not currently recognized under Criteria A. War Department staff considered the fort as historically significant as early as the 1820s and 1830s. Over several decades, the army repaired numerous historic features in an effort towards their preservation. In 1884, congress appropriated money for the restoration of the fort, which may be the first appropriation of federal funds specifically towards the preservation of a historic structure.

This CLI also recommends expanding the statement of significance of the site to include recreation under Criteria A. The fort's green was the site of an early exhibition baseball game in 1886, which included members of the Cuban Giants, considered the first African American professional sports team. The fort's green was also the location of the first golf course constructed in Florida. In 1895, a group of winter residents in St. Augustine installed a course on the fort's grounds. The course remained in operation until 1925.

Additionally, this CLI recommends examining the eligibility of Mission 66 resources at Castillo de San Marcos. In addition to constructing an administration building (currently called Park Headquarters and Maintenance Facility), the NPS also reconstructed historic features, including the Cubo Line and City Gate moat, which are contributing features to the National Register-listed district.

A June 2016 foundation document for Castillo de San Marcos National Monument identifies archeological resources as warranting special consideration in park planning. It seems likely that the property would meet National Register Criteria D for the potential to yield important information about early inhabitants of the area. They would also meet Criteria D for the potential to yield information about the Spanish colonial period.

National Register Eligibility

National Register Concurrence: Entered-Documented

National Register Eligibility Concurrence Date: *10-15-1966 (revised 9-6-1996)*

National Register Concurrence Explanatory Narrative: N/A

National Register Significance Level: National, State, Local

Contributing/individual: Contributing

National Register Classification: District

National Historic Landmark Information

National Historic Landmark Status: No

National Historic Landmark Date: Not applicable

Landmark Theme: Not applicable

World Heritage Site Information

World Heritage Site Status: No

World Heritage Site Date: Not applicable

World Heritage Category: Not applicable

World Heritage Statement of Significance:

Statement of Significance:

The 1996 NRHP registration form states that Castillo de San Marcos National Monument is historically significant under Criteria A, B, and C. It also includes special Criteria Consideration E: a reconstructed building, object, or structure. Castillo de San Marcos National Monument is historically significant on the national level under Criterion A in the area of Military History for its association with European settlement and struggle to control this region of North America. The district is considered significant under Criterion B for its association with Chief Osceola. It is also historically significant under Criterion C in the area of Military Engineering as an example of European military architecture of the 1600s and later conversion to a U.S. coastal defense site. Criteria Consideration E applies to the 1963 Cubo Line reconstruction.

Criterion A: Military History

Castillo de San Marcos, the moat, covered way, glacis, and ravelin are considered nationally significant under National Criteria A for the 1672 to 1821 period. These resources "represent the military struggle that occurred in Florida between European powers, particularly Spain and England, for control of North America."¹⁴ The seawall, water battery, and hot shot furnace are considered significant under A for the 1821 to 1924 period of significance for "their association with the early American occupation of Florida."¹⁵

In the years prior to the fort's construction, the area around St. Augustine experienced numerous military events. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés led Spanish forces against French forces, led by Jean Ribault, in 1565. Francis Drake led English troops in an expedition against St. Augustine in 1586. John Davis led a group of pirates in a raid of the city in 1668, an attack that motivated the Spanish to construct a masonry fort, Castillo de San Marcos.

Governor Manuel de Cendoya broke ground on the fort on October 2, 1672. The fort was largely completed in 1696 after a generation of work, but construction on outworks and modifications to the fort continued throughout the colonial period. During the War of Spanish Succession,

¹⁴ Brown, "Castillo de San Marcos," Section 8, Page 14.

¹⁵ Ibid.

Governor James Moore of Carolina led an attack against St. Augustine in 1702. Moore's successful occupation of St. Augustine prompted a second period of construction when the Spanish added additional earthworks to defend the fort and St. Augustine. General James Oglethorpe led an assault on St. Augustine in 1740 and besieged the fort for 38 days.

Spain ceded its possessions in Florida to the United States in 1821. Castillo de San Marcos, called Fort Marion during this period, served the U.S. Army during the Second Seminole War from 1835 to 1842. While never under attack, the fort served as a storehouse for weapons and supplies and was used as a prison for captured American Indians. Even though the War Department did not initially consider Fort Marion a strategic asset within the national coastal defense system, after the Second Seminole War, it invested in several upgrades to the fort in the 1840s, including the construction of a new water battery.

Florida militia occupied Fort Marion in January 1861, leading to its occupation by forces aligned with the Confederate States of America. Federal troops retook the fort in March 1862 and occupied the fort through the duration of the Civil War. In the 1870s and 1880s, the U.S. Army used Fort Marion as a military prison where it incarcerated captured American Indians during the Western Indian Wars. The army removed its garrison from Fort Marion in 1900; but during World War II, the U.S. Army and Coast Guard used the grounds as a training facility. The army transferred the site to the National Park Service in 1933.

Criterion B: Osceola

Osceola led the Seminole tribe against the U.S. Army during the Second Seminole War. Beginning in 1835, the U.S. Army pursued Osceola and his band of warriors as they withdrew to avoid capture. In October 1837, Osceola arrived under the flag of truce in St. Augustine to negotiate with American government officials. Osceola was seized and imprisoned at Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion.) In December 1837, the army sent Osceola to Fort Moultrie, near Charleston, South Carolina, where he died on January 30, 1838.

Criterion C: Military Engineering

The 1996 NRHP registration form states that Castillo de San Marcos "is architecturally significant as the oldest masonry fortification remaining in the United States." Castillo de San Marcos, the moat, covered way, glacis, and ravelin are nationally significant under Criterion C because they represent the "military theories prevalent at the time of their construction."¹⁶ The Cubo Line and City Gate are significant as 1800s additions to the defense of the fort. The water battery, seawall, and hot shot furnace are significant as mid-1800s updates that reflect military and engineering conventions related to coastal defense.

The Spanish built Castillo de San Marcos between 1672 and 1695. It was remodeled in 1738-1740, 1752-1756, and again in 1762. The Spanish constructed the moat, covered way, glacis, and ravelin between 1672 and 1762.

Castillo de San Marcos reflects the military engineering principles of the 1600s. Historians credit Spanish military engineer Ignacio Daza for developing the design for Castillo de San Marcos. According to Albert Manucy, "Daza was apparently schooled in the Italian-Spanish principles of fortification as developed from the sixteenth-century designs of Francesco de Marchi."¹⁷ Manucy writes, "The Castillo de San Marcos was a typical example of European design transplanted to the Western Hemisphere."¹⁸ European military engineers adopted the bastion fortress to defend against cannon bombardment. With the introduction of gunpowder and artillery, military engineers lowered the walls of fortifications, reducing their profile, and constructed earthworks beyond the fortification to protect against direct fire. Moats, covered ways, and glacis were common earthwork features that presented obstacles to an advancing adversary and provided a protected, advanced position for the fort's defenders.

The U.S. Army constructed the seawall, water battery, and the hot shot furnace between 1833 and 1844. They reconstructed the seawall after residents of St. Augustine raised concerns about the deteriorated condition of the existing seawall and the potential threats of flooding. While the U.S. Army initially did not consider the fort as a strategic resource, after the outbreak of the

¹⁶ Brown, "Castillo de San Marcos," Section 8, Page 15.

¹⁷ Albert Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, n.d.), 15.

¹⁸ Albert C. Manucy, *Defending San Marcos*, National Park Service Historical Handbook, accessed online 4/20/2018, <http://npshistory.com/series/interpretive/1/is1c.htm>.

Second Seminole War, the military decided to make improvements to its coastal defense systems. This resulted in the construction of a water battery with twenty gun emplacements and a hot shot furnace.

National Register Significance Criteria:

- A- Associated with events significant to broad patterns of our history
- B- Associated with the lives of persons significant in our past
- C- Embodies distinctive construction, work of a master, or high artistic values

National Register Criteria Considerations:

- E- An accurately reconstructed structure

National Register Period of Significance:

Start year: 1672 CE

End year: 1924 CE

Historic Context Theme

Time Period: 1672-1821 CE

Historic Context Theme: Peopling Places

Subtheme: Colonization and Conflict

Facet: Spanish settlement of Florida

Time Period: 1672-1821 CE

Historic Context Theme: Expressing Cultural Values

Subtheme: Architecture and Engineering

Facet: Colonial fortification design

Time Period: 1821-1924 CE

Historic Context Theme: Expressing Cultural Values

Subtheme: Architecture and Engineering

Facet: U.S. coastal defense strategy

Time Period: 1672-1821 CE

Historic Context Theme: Shaping the Political Landscape

Subtheme: Military Institutions

Facet: Defense of Florida and St. Augustine

Time Period: 1821-1924 CE

Historic Context Theme: Shaping the Political Landscape

Subtheme: Military Institutions

Facet: Development of Fort Marion Military Reservation

Time Period: 1672-1821 CE

Historic Context Theme: Transforming the Environment

Subtheme: Landscape Architecture/Engineering

Facet: Construction of Castillo de San Marcos and outworks

Time Period: 1821-1924 CE

Historic Context Theme: Transforming the Environment

Subtheme: Landscape Architecture/Engineering

Facet: Construction of Water Battery and Sea Wall

National Register Areas of Significance:

Area of Significance Category: Architecture

Area of Significance Subcategory: *None*

Area of Significance Category: Engineering

Area of Significance Subcategory: *None*

Area of Significance Category: Exploration/Settlement

Area of Significance Subcategory: *None*

Area of Significance Category: Military

Area of Significance Subcategory: *None*

State Register Documentation

State Register Documentation Name:

State Register Identification Number:

State Register Date Listed:

State Register Documentation Explanatory Narrative:

NRIS Information

Name in National Register: Castillo de San Marcos National Monument

NRIS Number: 66000062

Primary Certification:

Primary Certification Date: 10/15/1966

Chronology and Physical History

Primary Historic Function:

Major Category: 13 - Defense

Category: 13 B - Fortification

Use: 13 BC – Fortification-Other

Primary Current Use:

Major Category: 99A – Trust Asset (Held by Government)

Category: N/A

Use: N/A

Other Current and Historic Uses/Functions:

Major Category: 08 – Recreation/Culture

Category: 08 F Outdoor Recreation

Use: 08 FA Sports /Athletic Field (Baseball)

Type: Historic

Major Category: 08 – Recreation/Culture

Category: 08 F Outdoor Recreation

Use: 08 FD Golf Course

Type: Historic

Major Category: 13 - Defense

Category: 13 C – Military Facility (Post)

Use: N/A

Type: Historic

Major Category: 15 – Landscape

Category: 15 – A Leisure-Passive (Park)

Use: N/A

Type: Historic and Current

Major Category: 15 – Landscape

Category: 15C – Functional Landscape

Use: 15CA – Vehicular Circulation

Type: Both Current and Historic

Major Category: 16 – Transportation

Category: 16D – Road-Related

Use: 16DA - Automobile

Type: Both Current and Historic

Major Category: 16 – Transportation

Category: 16 –D Road-Related

Use: Parking Area

Type: Historic and Current

Major Category: 15 – Landscape

Category: 15C – Functional Landscape

Use: 15CB – Pedestrian Circulation

Type: Both Current and Historic

Major Category: 08 – Recreation/Culture

Category: 08C – Museum

Use: 08CC – Exhibit

Type: Current

Major Category: 05 – Education

Category: 05G – Interpretive Landscape

Use: N/A

Type: Current

Current and Historic Names

Name: Castillo de San Marcos National Monument

Type of Name: Current

Name: Castillo de San Marcos

Type of Name: Historic

Name: Fort Marion

Type of Name: Historic

Name: St. Mark

Type of Name: Historic

Cultural Landscape Types

- Historic Designed Landscape
- Historic Site

Ethnographic Associated Groups

- No Ethnographic Study Conducted

Chronology

Year	Event	Description
CE 1492	Explore	Christopher Columbus explores Western Hemisphere.
CE 1562	Built	French Huguenots, led by Jean Ribault, built Charles Fort at Port Royal Sound.
CE 1564	Built	French Huguenots, led by Jean Ribault, built Fort Caroline on St. John's River.
CE 1565	Military Operation	General Menéndez's ships arrive from Spain to remove French on St. John's River and establish compound north of present-day Castillo de San Marcos named St. Augustine.
CE 1565	Military Operation	General Menéndez's troops double massacre Ribault and French soldiers at an inlet along the south end of Anastasia Island resulting in this inlet and the river running behind Anastasia Island to being known as the Matanzas River
CE 1565 - 1574	Constructed	Spanish authorities construct four wooden forts in the area around the present town of St. Augustine
CE 1586	Constructed	Spanish constructed their sixth fort, named San Juan de Pinos, on the mainland in a location near the present site of St. Augustine and Castillo de San Marcos
CE 1586	Destroyed	Francis Drake, English privateer, led attack on St. Augustine capturing the town, burning down Fort San Juan de Pinos and capturing its bronze cannon.
CE ca. early 1600s	Built	Spanish built Castillo de San Marcos of wood.
CE 1668	Military Operation	Robert Searles attacks St. Augustine.

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CE October 2, 1672	Built	Groundbreaking of masonry fort, Castillo de San Marcos under the leadership of Governor Cendoya and supervised by Engineer Daza.
CE 1682	Built	Construction of original Ravelin.
CE 1683	Military Operation	English pirates burn Matanzas watchtower, sail into Matanzas Bay, but never launch attack on St. Augustine.
Circa CE 1685	Built	Construction begins on earthworks around fort, including moat.
CE 1687	Built	Construction begins on covered way.
CE 1695	Built	First phase of construction of the masonry fort, Castillo de San Marcos complete.
CE 1702	Military Operation	James Moore attacks St. Augustine.
CE 1704	Built	Construction begins on Cubo Line.
CE 1706	Built	Construction begins on Rosario Line and hornwork.
CE 1736	Engineered	Antonio de Arrendondo arrives and begins planning improvements to fort and earthworks.
CE 1738	Rehabilitated	Work to complete north side of covered way nears completion.
CE 1739-1740	Military Operation	James Oglethorpe leads assault on St. Augustine.
CE 1752-1756	Rehabilitated	Improvements made to fort, including raising parapet walls.
CE 1760	Rehabilitated	Work begins to replace covered way palisade with masonry wall.
CE 1762	Altered	Covered way wall increased in height.
CE 1763	Built	Construction begins on new ravelin and bridges.
CE 1763	Inhabited	Great Britain takes possession of St. Augustine.

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CE 1776	Built	British troops build redoubts and rebuild other earthworks around St. Augustine.
CE 1784	Inhabited	Spanish troops retake possession of St. Augustine under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles.
CE 1808	Built	Spanish build new Cubo Line and constructed pillars of the City Gate.
CE 1812-1813	Military Operations	Soldiers aligned with the United States occupy area north of St. Augustine and besiege city.
CE 1817-1819	Rehabilitated	Spanish make improvements on deteriorated earthworks around fort and St. Augustine.
CE 1821	Inhabited	United States takes possession of St. Augustine.
CE 1832	Memorialized	United States changes name of fort to Fort Marion in honor of Francis Marion.
CE 1837	Military Operation	U.S. Army captures Osceola and briefly incarcerates him at fort.
CE 1833-1846	Built	Construction begins on new seawall.
CE 1842-1844	Built	Construction of new water battery and hot shot furnace.
CE 1861	Inhabited	Florida State Militia occupy fort.
CE 1862	Inhabited	Union forces occupy fort.
CE 1875-1878	Military Operations	American Indian leaders captured during military operations on the western plains incarcerated at fort.
CE 1886	Military Operations	Another group of American Indians incarcerated at the fort.
CE 1882	Rehabilitated	Army repairs fort, bridges, and earthworks.
CE 1870s	Built	Blacksmith shop built on west fort green.
CE ca 1880	Built	Boat house/bath house built on dock east of fort.
CE ca 1890s	Built	Ordnance-sergeant cottage built in covered way.
CE 1895	Built	Three-hole golf course built on fort green.
CE ca 1886	Built	Baseball diamond built on fort green.
CE 1900	Removed	U.S. removes active garrison from fort.

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CE 1908	Built	Federal government deeds land upon which to build road called Fort Marion Circle.
CE 1912	Rehabilitated	City of St. Augustine repairs City Gate.
CE 1914	Destroyed	Large fire destroys large sections of St. Augustine.
CE 1925	Removed	Golf course on fort green removed.
CE 1926	Built	Twelve-car parking lot and twenty-car parking lot constructed south of fort.
CE 1928	Rehabilitate	War Department undertakes several projects to protect fort, including waterproofing terreplein.
CE 1933	Land Transfer	Management of Castillo de San Marcos transferred to National Park Service.
CE 1938	Rehabilitate	NPS proposes adding soil to glacis.
CE 1940	Altered	NPS adds floodgates and floods the moat.
CE 1940	Reconstruct	NPS reconstructs bridges at fort.
CE 1940	Built	NPS and WPA construct new parking lot on north side of Fort Marion Circle south of fort.
CE 1947	Rehabilitate	NPS makes repairs to masonry at City Gate.
CE 1952	Rehabilitate	NPS repoints masonry wall of covered way.
CE 1952	Reconstruct	NPS reconstructs drawbridge at fort.
CE 1950s-1960s	Built	NPS and State of Florida realign South Castillo Drive (formerly Fort Marion Circle).
CE 1964	Built	NPS constructs 122-car parking lot south of fort.
CE 1964	Reconstruct	NPS reconstructs Cubo Line in fort green.
CE 1964-1965	Built	NPS constructs administration building (currently called Park Headquarters).
CE 1965	Built	NPS completes several Mission 66-related projects including work on glacis, new plantings, installation of irrigation and drainage systems.
1976-1977	Built	NPS constructs ticket booth near fort entrance.
1987	Built	NPS constructs larger ticket booth at fort entrance.

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1994	Built	NPS adds wing onto existing administration building.
1996	Altered	NPS drains moat of water.
2000-2001	Built	NPS adds onto maintenance building.
2003	Rehabilitated	NPS repairs low wall on north glacis.
2004-2005	Rehabilitated	NPS repairs mortar at covered way and moat walls.
2005	Rehabilitated	NPS repairs bridge at fort.
2006	Rehabilitated	HPTC staff repair sections of covered way wall and repair sections of scarp wall.
2011	Built	NPS replaces concrete sidewalks at parking lot.
2012	Rehabilitated	NPS rebuilds sections of covered way wall.

Physical History:

Period 1: 1513-1565 CE

Period 2: 1672-1695 CE

Period 3: 1695-1762 CE

Period 4: 1763-1784 CE

Period 5: 1784-1821 CE

Period 6: 1821-1933 CE

Period 7: 1784-1821 CE

Period 8: 1933-Current CE

Physical History Narrative:

Project Setting

The Castillo de San Marcos National Monument is an approximately twenty-acre site managed by the National Park Service (NPS) in St. Augustine, Florida. The national monument is roughly triangular in shape, with State Road A1A/South Castillo Drive forming its western boundary. Castillo de San Marcos is located on the eastern edge of the national monument along Matanzas Bay. The park headquarters and maintenance facility occupies the northwestern corner of the site. A visitor parking lot occupies the southern boundary of the site. A disconnected parcel on the opposite/west side of State Road A1A/South Castillo Drive contains the City Gate, which is part of the national monument. The city of St. Augustine currently surrounds the northern, western, and southern sides of the national monument. Historically, the colonial town of St. Augustine occupied a smaller area southwest of Castillo de San Marcos and was protected by a series of earthwork defenses known as the Cubo Line and Rosario Line.

Castillo de San Marcos is a symmetrical four-bastioned fortification surrounded by a series of defensive outworks including a ravelin, moat, covered way, and glacis. The curtain walls of Castillo de San Marcos and many of the earthworks' retaining walls feature local coquina quarried on Anastasia Island near current day Anastasia State Park. The coquina walls of the fort are thirty feet high, ten to fourteen feet thick at the base, and five feet thick at the top. The entrance or sally port into the fortress is located in the southern curtain wall.

Castillo de San Marcos' ravelin, a triangular, masonry structure, is located within the fort's moat to protect the sally port on its southern elevation. The fort is accessed over two bridges that use the ravelin to span the moat. Spain replaced an original ravelin with the existing one in 1762.

The moat currently surrounds the fort on three sides (northern, western, and southern). For much of its early history, the moat also extended around the eastern side of Castillo de San Marcos, but the United States Army Corps of Engineers modified the eastern section of the moat during the construction of the water battery in 1842-1844. The moat is approximately forty-two feet wide. It has a coquina retaining wall or counterscarp that is approximately six feet tall. The water battery is an earthen platform with coquina retaining walls on the eastern side of the fort facing Matanzas Bay. The water battery was a firing platform for coastal artillery, and it retains features relating to the mounting of coastal defense artillery. It also features a hot shot furnace, a coquina and stucco structure, that the Army constructed in 1842 to heat projectiles.

A seawall extends north and south from the water battery to hold back the waters of Matanzas Bay. Spain originally built a seawall adjacent to Castillo de San Marcos in the 1600s, but the United States Army Corps of Engineers (U.S. ACOE) largely rebuilt the seawall in the 1830s and 1840s using granite and coquina. The U.S. ACOE subsequently extended the seawall to the south and north, so today, the entire eastern boundary of the national monument includes a seawall.

The covered way occupies the area beyond the moat, on the northern, western, and southern sides of the fort. It features a five-foot-tall coquina retaining wall that generally parallels the outline of the fort's curtain wall. It is approximately thirty feet wide, with a level grass surface between the moat's counterscarp and the covered way wall. The glacis, a grassy slope, extends out from the covered way wall. The glacis and covered way occupy the northern, western, and southern sides of the fort. The glacis leads down to a large, open greenspace. Modern walkways cross the greenspace, connecting to adjacent roads and points of crossing.

In 1963, the NPS reconstructed the Cubo Line, a defensive earthwork crossing the glacis on the western side of the fort from the edge of the covered way to today's State Road A1A/South Castillo Drive. The northern and southern surfaces of the Cubo Line have concrete-cast palm logs to recreate the historic wooden revetment retaining wall. A shallow moat is north of the Cubo Line.

The City Gate is on the opposite/west side of State Road A1A/South Castillo Drive from Castillo de San Marcos. The City Gate features two 14-foot-tall pillars. A stone wall extends east and west on either side of the pillars. A coquina bridge spans a shallow moat north of the wall. The City Gate was originally part of the Cubo Line and today features short sections of a recreated Cubo Line extending beyond the masonry walls.

The open spaces are mostly turf, with a combination of Bermuda and St. Augustine grass. Where trees are present, predominant species include live oak (*Quercus virginiana*), red cedar (*Juniperus virginiana* var. *silicicola*), and cabbage palm (*Sabal palmetto*). Spanish bayonet (*Yucca aloifolia*) plantings are located near the Cubo Line and City Gate. Other understory plantings can be found near the site's three parking lots. The general lack of understory vegetation provides mostly unobstructed views throughout the fort grounds and to Matanzas Bay and the St. Augustine Historic District.

Period 1: Spanish Territorial Claims in the New World (1513-1672)

Christopher Columbus's voyage of 1492 laid the groundwork for the Spanish colonization of portions of the Caribbean over the following decades. The Spanish began exploring North America soon thereafter. The “principal impetus for the Spaniards’ exploration to the north of their Caribbean colonies was their need for slave labor.”¹⁹ They were also attracted by the continent’s natural resources. Juan Ponce de León explored the coastline of Florida in 1513, claiming the area for the Spanish Crown. His attempt to establish a colony in *La Florida* in 1521 was contested by local American Indians however and failed.²⁰ Panfilo de Narváez landed in Tampa Bay in 1528 and explored the western edges of the Timucua territory. In 1539, Hernando

19 Charles Hudson, Knights of Spain, *Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms*, (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 32.
20 Ibid.

de Soto led an army of five hundred soldiers through north and central Florida, fighting two battles against the Timucua, killing hundreds.²¹ In order to justify the invasion of American Indian lands, Spanish explorers greatly exaggerated the presence of natural resources, gems and precious metals, and the barbarity and strangeness of the people living there, explaining to their Spanish financiers that the region was “begging for colonization.”²²

The Spanish wanted to establish a military outpost near the coast of North America from which to defend shipping lanes between the Spanish colonies in the New World and Spain. Ships laden with valuable cargo followed the Gulf Stream paralleling the Florida coast on their return voyage from ports in the Caribbean and South America.²³ Spanish sailors learned that the current helped propel ships along the coast of Florida and across the Atlantic. Preventing other European nations from interfering with the maritime routes became a primary military strategy of the Spanish. This resulted in the development of military strongholds in the Caribbean and in Spanish-controlled Florida.

The interaction between the missionaries and American Indians had a devastating impact on the tribes, who did not have immunity to infectious diseases introduced by the Europeans.²⁴ The Timucua in east Florida and Guale tribes along coastal Georgia were among the hardest hit. Despite the hardships wrought by enslavement, conquest, and conversion, American Indians from the Timucua, Guale and Apalachee (occupying the area of Florida between the Aucilla and Apalachicola Rivers) played a significant role in the history of the Spanish establishment of St. Augustine and the construction of Castillo de San Marcos.

Between 1562 and 1564, French Huguenots established control over an area along the southeastern Atlantic coastline by building Charles Fort in 1562 at Port Royal Sound (present-day South Carolina), which was quickly abandoned, and Fort Caroline in 1564 on St. John’s River (present-day Jacksonville, Florida). Spain believed these French colonists, led by Jean

21 NPS, “Timucuan: Original Florida Natives.”

22 *Ibid.*, 36.

23 The Gulf Stream is a water current that originates in the Gulf of Mexico, flows between the southern tip of Florida and Cuba, then flows north-eastward along the coast of Florida before turning across the Atlantic Ocean towards Europe.

24 Jason B. Palmer, “Forgotten Sacrifice: Native American Involvement in the Construction of the Castillo de San Marcos,” *The Florida Historical Quarterly* Vol. 80, No. 4 (Spring 2002): 438.

Ribault, threatened their control over the important shipping channel along the coast of Florida. Spain's King Philip II sent General Pedro Menéndez de Aviles to remove the French. In August 1565, General Menéndez's ships, carrying 800 people, arrived at the St. Johns River. "After a brief sea chase [of Ribault], the Spanish retired south to a site they had reconnoitered, a Timucuan village called Seloy."²⁵ Menéndez established contact with a local Timucuan chieftain, Cacique Seloy. From Seloy, Menéndez received permission to fortify an existing building north of the present location of Castillo de San Marcos. Menéndez added "earthworks, a moat, and artillery."²⁶ Menéndez named the fortified compound St. Augustine, because he had first sighted the land on August 28, the Feast Day of St. Augustine of Hippo.²⁷

On September 10, Jean Ribault sailed south to confront Menéndez, but a hurricane carried his ships farther south and wrecked his fleet between present-day Daytona Beach and Cape Canaveral. At this time, Menéndez marched north to attack the mostly unguarded French settlement at Fort Caroline. Menéndez then marched south in search of Ribault. Ribault and 127 of the shipwrecked Frenchmen were blocked by an inlet as they tried to return over land to Fort Caroline.

Menéndez, along with about seventy soldiers, encountered a detachment of Ribault's men near the inlet along the south end of Anastasia Island.²⁸ As the Frenchmen had lost most of their food and weapons in the shipwreck, Menéndez seized the advantage and captured the French force. Menéndez "demanded that they give up their Protestant faith and accept Catholicism."²⁹ When the Frenchmen refused, 111 of them were killed. Two weeks later, a second group of French soldiers, including Ribault, appeared at the inlet. On October 12, Ribault and his men surrendered. After refusing to give up their faith, 134 of the men, including Ribault, were killed. The double massacres of French troops resulted in this inlet and the river running behind

²⁵ NPS, "The Massacre of the French," https://www.nps.gov/foma/learn/historyculture/the_massacre.htm

²⁶ The Historic Fortifications of St. Augustine Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas National Monuments Nomination to the World Heritage List by the United States of America 1990, 12.

²⁷ Brown, *Historic Resource Study*, 7 and NPS, "The Massacre of the French."

²⁸ According to a Historic Structure Report on Fort Matanzas, "the island became known in succession as La Escolta, Island of La Cantera, and Santa Anastasia." See The Fort Matanzas Stabilization Team, Fort Matanzas Historic Structure Report (Denver: Denver Service Center, 1980).

²⁹ NPS, "The Massacre of the French."

Anastasia Island to being known as the Matanzas River; "Matanzas" is the Spanish word for massacre or slaughter.³⁰

Now in control of the region, over the next hundred years, Spanish authorities constructed nine wooden forts in the area around the present town of St. Augustine: the first fortified structure in Seloy's Timucua village, the next two on Anastasia Island, and the next six on the mainland near today's St. Augustine. The first four forts, including the one occupying Seloy's communal building, were constructed between 1565 and 1574. In 1586, the Spanish constructed their sixth fort, named San Juan de Pinos, on the mainland in a location near the present site of St. Augustine and Castillo de San Marcos.³¹ Soon after the workers completed San Juan de Pinos, most of the Spanish settlers living on Anastasia Island moved to be close to the fort and the protection it provided against potential enemies. The Spanish also recognized that an enemy could attack St. Augustine from either direction along the Matanzas River. To protect against an attack from the south, the Spanish constructed a wooden tower at the inlet to watch for hostile ships.

The developing network of Spanish defensive positions was meant to counter a growing list of threats to Spanish control over Florida. Local American Indian tribes resisted Spanish efforts to control territory and extract labor from their tribespeople. Uprisings against the Spanish included those by the Timucua in 1565, the Guale in 1576-1579 and 1597, and the Apalachee in 1638 and 1647.³² Threats to the Spanish settlers also included European adversaries who challenged Spain's claim to Florida. In the 1660s, King Charles II of England granted the Lords Proprietors the Carolina territory. This extended the southern boundary of the colony of Carolina to include a 150-mile line of Spanish settlements all the way from St. Catherine's Island to St. Augustine. Subsequent attacks by the English on Spanish missions along the southeastern coast and fortifications on barrier islands tested Spanish defenses. Additionally, English privateers, some with the support of the English monarchy, were increasingly active in Florida and throughout the Caribbean, raiding Spanish ships and towns.

³⁰ NPS, "The Massacre of the French."

³¹ Cécile-Marie Sastre, *Castillo de San Marcos NM History of the Cultural Landscape for the Cultural Landscape Report (St. Augustine: Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas National Monuments, 2000)*, 26.

³² Palmer, *Forgotten Sacrifice*, 440.

Francis Drake was one of the more active English privateers in the 1500s. Drake had become famous in for his circumnavigation of the globe between 1577-1580. Later, Drake “devastated the Spanish colonies in the Caribbean through the spring of 1586.”³³ That year, Drake also led an attack on St. Augustine. His men quickly captured the town, burned down Fort San Juan de Pinos, and captured its bronze cannon. Thomas Cate, who sailed with Drake, described the fort:

When the day appeared we found it built all of timber, the walls being none other but whole masts or bodies of trees set upright and close together in manner of a pale, without any ditch as yet made, but wholly intended with some more time; for they had not as yet finished all their work, having begun the same some three or four months before: so as, to say the truth, they had no reason to keep it, being subject to fire, and easy assault.³⁴

Drake's raid led Spanish authorities to recognize the weaknesses of a wooden fort, “Such forts could be built quickly But with equal facility could they be destroyed. If Indian fire arrows, enemy attack or mutinies failed, then hurricanes, time, and termites were certain to do the job.”³⁵ In 1580, Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués, Menéndez de Aviles' nephew who served as the governor of Florida from 1577 to 1594, reported the discovery of coquina, a local rock buried beneath the sand on barrier islands along north Florida. Coquina is a consolidated sedimentary rock composed of fragments of various shells, sand, and limestone. Menéndez recognized that coquina was solid enough to serve as a building material. Several years later, in 1595, Governor Domingo Martínez de Avendaño requested permission from Spanish authorities to construct a fort using the stone. A group of laborers, including stonecutters and masons, arrived in St. Augustine but a new fort was not immediately constructed.³⁶ According to Albert Manucy, the first confirmed use of masonry construction in St. Augustine was for a "stone powder magazine built at the fort by order of Governor Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo between 1596 and 1598.”³⁷

33 NPS, "Sir Francis Drake," Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, accessed April 24, 2018, <https://www.nps.gov/people/sirfrancisdrake.htm>

34 Brown, *Historic Resource Study*, 9; (Archaic spellings have been corrected in this quotation).

35 Historic Print and Map Company, *The History of Castillo de San Marcos* (St. Augustine: Historic Print and Map Company, 2005), 9-13.

36 Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 26-27.

37 Albert Manucy, *The houses of St. Augustine, 1565-1821* (St. Augustine: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1962), 17.

During this period, largely as a response to the growing threat posed by England and France, Spain began developing a new defensive strategy for their settlements in the Caribbean and Florida. In 1586, Bautista Antonelli, a Spanish military engineer, travelled to the Caribbean to inspect fortifications and to develop a strategy to improve Spanish defenses. Two years later, Antonelli presented a general plan for fortifying Spanish sites, which employed engineering principles characteristic of the Renaissance but adapted them to local terrain and changes in military technology.³⁸ Several of forts attributed to Antonelli exhibit characteristics later seen in the design of Castillo de San Marcos. Antonelli's 1563 design for a fortress in Bernia is similar to that later used for Castillo de San Marcos. It has a similar symmetrical, quadrilateral-shaped plan with four corner bastions. The interior rooms of the fort are organized around a courtyard, which served as a parade ground and service area.³⁹

On September 22, 1599, a major storm struck St. Augustine, destroying portions of the existing fort.⁴⁰ Subsequent Spanish governors in St. Augustine continued to advocate for replacing the wooden fort with a more substantial, masonry one. In the early 1600s, Governor Juan Fernández de Oliveras and Governor Andrés de Villegas argued to authorities in Spain that a masonry fort was more defensible and would provide better protection to the residents of the town. Despite the governors' enthusiasm for using coquina, Spanish authorities did not provide enough funds for masonry construction and the next fort was again built of wood. This fort was named Castillo de San Marcos.

By 1655, according to a report describing the conditions of buildings in St. Augustine written by accountant Don Pedro Beltán de Santa Cruz, the wooden Castillo de San Marcos was in such poor condition it could not support cannon to defend itself or the city. In 1668, the pirate Robert Searles (John Davis) of Jamaica attacked St. Augustine. Davis and his men used a captured Spanish ship to sail undetected into Matanzas Bay. Under cover of darkness, his troops attacked

³⁸ Roy Eugene Graham to Joy MacMillan, June 16, 2012, "Working/ Narrative to date," pages 38-40.

³⁹ Sandro Parrinello and Silvia Bertacchi, "The Fort of Bernia by Giovanni Battista Antonelli," accessed April 20, 2018, <https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2Fs00004-014-0214-8.pdf>

⁴⁰ Jeanette Thurber Connor, *The Nine Old Wooden Forts of St. Augustine*, accessed April 24, 2018, <http://cdm16455.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15428coll2/id/1512>,1.

St. Augustine. Both soldiers and residents retreated into Castillo de San Marcos and Searle's force took possession of the abandoned town. After ransacking the homes and removing anything of value, the pirates departed.⁴¹

After the attack, Governor Francisco de la Guerra renewed efforts to secure funds to construct a masonry fort to replace the dilapidated wooden fort. In March of 1669, Mariana, Queen Regent of Spain, ordered the authorities in Mexico responsible for governing the Spanish colonies in the Americas to supply the necessary funds to construct a new fort and to pay for a garrison of 300 soldiers to defend St. Augustine.⁴² Adding to the urgency for a more substantial fort, in 1670, English settlers established the city of Charles Town (modern day Charleston), which the Spanish authorities saw as another challenge to their sovereignty over its territory in North America. Queen Regent Mariana also appointed a new governor of Florida—Manuel de Cendoya. Governor Cendoya travelled to Mexico to secure the funds for the project before arriving in St. Augustine in 1671. He brought laborers that he recruited from Cuba, including masons and stonecutters. He also brought a military engineer, Ignacio Daza, and a Master of Construction, Lorenzo Lajones.

Period 2: Construction of Castillo de San Marcos (1672-1696)

A formal ground breaking for the masonry fort, also called Castillo de San Marcos, occurred on October 2, 1672; construction began on November 9. Workers began digging coquina from a quarry on Anastasia Island and assembled lime and other construction materials. Construction of the fort began under the leadership of Governor Cendoya and supervised by Daza. The Spanish selected the site for Castillo de San Marcos based on its proximity to the Matanzas River and its harbor. According to Albert Manucy, “Engineer Daza and Governor Cendoya decided the new fort should be erected on the west shore of the bay by the side of the old fort, a site which took into account every natural defense feature of the site.”⁴³

⁴¹ Historic Print and Map Company, *The History of Castillo de San Marcos*, 5.

⁴² Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 28, 56-57.

⁴³ Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 14.

Daza, who is believed to have drafted the plans for the fortification, would have been familiar with the principals of military engineering exhibited in recently constructed Spanish forts in Havana, Cuba. These fortifications include the Castillo de Real Fuerza (1562), designed by Bartolome Sanchez and Fransico de Calona; and the Castillo de San Salvador de la Punta (1589-1600) and the Castillo de los Tres Reys del Moro (1589-1630), designed by Battista Antonelli. Antonelli was among the most influential military engineers during this time and designed several more fortresses for Spain in the Caribbean. The design of Castillo de San Marcos was in keeping with the general engineering principles exhibited in these other forts.⁴⁴

During the initial phase of construction, Castillo de San Marcos was designed as “a bastioned masonry square lined with wooden guardrooms that supported a planked terreplein, a small ravelin to defend the entrance gate, a moat and a water battery with three salients.”⁴⁵ In December of 1672, Cendoya wrote King Charles II of Spain that construction of the new fort was proceeding and “possesses several advantages over any adversary who might dare attack by sea as well as by land...The square of [the new fort] is the same size of the old one, save that it is larger where the bastions are thrown forward.”⁴⁶ Neither Governor Cendoya nor Daza lived to see the fort completed however; Cendoya died on March 8, 1673 and Daza died a few days later.⁴⁷ An early plan from 1677 shows the general outline of the fort from this period.

The work force used to construct Castillo de San Marcos included "Spanish artisans and convicts, black royal slaves, drafted Indians, and English prisoners of war."⁴⁸ The Spanish tried to use members of the local Timucuan tribe and members from the Guale tribe as laborers.⁴⁹ The Spanish implemented the *repartimiento* system, which required tribal leaders to supply workers in exchange for "religious education, military protection, and trading privileges."⁵⁰ After a 1656 uprising, the Spanish had relocated several Timucuan villages, concentrating Timucuan and Guales into "a few main villages located along transportation routes to the west and north of St.

44 Roy Eugene Graham to Joy MacMillan, June 16, 2012, "Working/ Narrative to date," page 30.

45 Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 28.

46 Connor, *Nine Old Wooden Forts*, 5.

47 Palmer, *Forgotten Sacrifice*, 447

48 Nomination to the World Heritage List, 14.

49 Palmer, *Forgotten Sacrifice*, 443.

50 Palmer, *Forgotten Sacrifice*, 440.

Augustine."⁵¹ As the Timucuan and Guale populations declined as a result of infectious disease, the Spanish turned to the Apalachee tribe to provide labor and to grow food crops for the settlement.⁵² After an epidemic killed many of the local American Indian workers, Cendoya secured permission to import thirty enslaved Africans from Havana to continue the work. By 1673, the Spanish conscripted members of the Yamasee tribe to supplement the labor force.⁵³ Throughout the construction of Castillo de San Marcos, a lack of labor, food, or funds resulted in periodic work stoppages. In 1673, more than three hundred American Indians were in St. Augustine working on the Castillo. Because the tribes had long histories of conflict, “cultural friction between groups became a daily source of tension on the construction site.”⁵⁴ The workers also faced high mortality rates, with infectious disease particularly damaging to the American Indian laborers.⁵⁵ In 1675, work temporarily halted when a ship bringing provisions and material wrecked. Construction stopped again in December 1677 when local authorities ran out of money to pay the laborers. Work resumed in August 1679 after five thousand pesos arrived from New Spain and American Indian laborers returned to finish construction on the fort’s walls.⁵⁶ In the fall of 1681, Juan de Císcara, a military engineer, arrived in St. Augustine to inspect the fort. In January of 1682, he reported on the work required to complete the project and made recommendations to improve the fort’s design, such as having a shallow moat with a tall moat wall.⁵⁷ Construction of these recommended improvements continued under the supervision of Captain Diego Díaz Mejía.

The masonry ravelin was located on the south side of the fort. It was a triangular outwork with coquina-faced retaining walls that protected the main entrance (or sally port) into Castillo de San Marcos. Placing this structure in front of the entrance blocked direct fire from an enemy force. Two wooden bridges, providing access to the fort, used the ravelin to span the moat. The original ravelin was built around 1682; the Spanish replaced it with the current ravelin in the 1760s.⁵⁸

51 Palmer, *Forgotten Sacrifice*, 439.

52 Palmer, *Forgotten Sacrifice*, 440.

53 Palmer, *Forgotten Sacrifice*, 444.

54 Palmer, *Forgotten Sacrifice*, 443.

55 Palmer, *Forgotten Sacrifice*, 447.

56 Palmer, *Forgotten Sacrifice*, 449.

57 Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 59.

58 Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 128.

English pirates tested the incomplete defenses around St. Augustine in March 1683. They landed at the mouth of the Matanzas Inlet at the south end of Anastasia Island. After surprising the soldiers stationed at a watchtower near the inlet, the corsairs marched overland towards St. Augustine. A Spanish soldier saw the pirates and alerted officials in St. Augustine, who sent a force of soldiers to intercept the attackers. The pirates retreated to their ships, and after burning the Matanzas Watchtower, sailed up the Matanzas River and “anchored at the inlet in plain sight of the unfinished Castillo.... But the corsairs, looking at the stone fort and nursing their wounds, decided to sail on.”⁵⁹

According to Palmer's history of the fort, by “spring 1685, focus shifted to the third and last major phase of the work—the moat and earthworks outside the fort.”⁶⁰ Again, American Indian workers provided much of the labor, digging and transporting dirt around the site. In August 1687, work stopped due to a shortage of food, but construction resumed the following year.⁶¹ The engineers of Castillo de San Marcos utilized the natural water systems when designing the defensive earthworks that extended out from the fort. The workers constructed ditches and moats that drained into adjacent rivers and creeks to minimize standing water, which the Spanish considered unsanitary.⁶² The moat at Castillo de San Marcos was comprised of the curtain wall of the fort (or scarp), an outer retaining wall (or counterscarp), and the moat floor. The counterscarp of the Castillo de San Marcos moat ranged between six and seven-feet in height.⁶³ Seventeenth-century moats were either wet moats or dry moats. Evidence suggests that the Castillo de San Marcos was a dry moat that could be flooded for defensive or sanitary purposes. This conforms to seventeenth-century fortification design. Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban, whose treatises on military architecture were widely influential at that time, recommended dry moats for larger fortresses.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ National Park Service, *Castillo de San Marcos: a Guide*, 28-29.

⁶⁰ Palmer, *Forgotten Sacrifice*, 452.

⁶¹ Palmer, *Forgotten Sacrifice*, 452.

⁶² Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 123-124.

⁶³ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 59.

⁶⁴ Sébastien le Prestre de Vauban, *The New Method of Fortification, as practiced by Monsieur de Vauban, Engineer General of France with an explication of all terms appertaining to that art/made English*, London: Abel Swall, 1691, 76-77; accessed on line <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A47731.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext>.

The area beyond the moat, extending away from the fort, was the covered way. Known in Spanish as an *estrada encubierta*, the covered way provided a narrow passage through which soldiers could move outside the walls of the fort while being protected from enemy fire. The covered way occupied the space between the top of the moat's outer wall (counterscarp) and a second retaining wall (covered way wall). Castillo de San Marcos' covered way encircled the perimeter of the fort on the north, west, and south sides. The shape of the covered way generally followed the outline of the fort. The covered way had a level ground plane approximately thirty-five feet wide. A five-foot-high coquina retaining wall separated the covered way from the glacis beyond and provided protection to soldiers. The Spanish constructed a firing step at the base of the covered way wall that allowed soldiers to rise and shoot over the wall towards an invading force. Construction on the covered way began in 1687, fifteen years after work began on the main fort. It was mostly complete in 1695, about the same time as the fort, but work continued on the covered way into the 1730s.⁶⁵

Spanish engineer Alonso Solana wanted to construct a water battery with a wide seawall. This wall was "to withstand the beating of the waves and prevent them from breaking on the fortifications as well as for seeing from the top of the parapet the feet of those who might reach the moat wall."⁶⁶ It included a narrow terreplein and three salient angles where the Spanish installed guns to defend against ships entering the bay or passing in front of the fort. It was completed around 1695.⁶⁷

By 1695, the first phase of construction of the fort was complete. The fort's four masonry curtain walls completely enclosed the interior courtyard. Guardrooms, built using wood-frame walls and roofs, lined the courtyard. Above the guardrooms, wooden planks supported the terreplein. Outside the main structure, many of the defensive earthworks were either completed or under construction. The ravelin, water battery, and moat were in place.⁶⁸ The seawall holding back Matanzas Bay was also nearing completion. The general appearance of the fort remained

⁶⁵ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 135.

⁶⁶ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 152.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 28-29.

relatively consistent from this time until 1738, when the Spanish began making major alterations to the fort and additions to the surrounding earthworks.

Period 3: Conflict and Expansion of St. Augustine Defenses (1696-1763)

At the beginning of the 1700s, the territorial conflict between Spain, England, and France continued with the Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), also known as the War of Spanish Succession. England wanted Spain and France to relinquish its colonial territories in North America. Most of the primary features of Castillo de San Marcos were in place by 1701, when threat of war motivated the Spanish authorities in St. Augustine to strengthen Castillo de San Marcos in case of an attack. English settlers north of Florida made raids into East Florida, forcing Spanish authorities to send soldiers to several missions around Florida to watch out for possible threats.

One direct attack came in 1702, when James Moore, the Governor of the Carolina colony, led a force against St. Augustine. His force numbered approximately 1,200 men, including a large contingency of American Indians. The English force first occupied the Spanish outpost Santa María on Amelia Island and San Juan on St. Johns River. Two Spanish soldiers communicated these events to the main garrison in St. Augustine. Florida Governor Joseph de Zúñiga y Cerda prepared for the attack and moved four months of provisions into Castillo de San Marcos in case of a siege. Spanish forces cleared the grounds around the fort, removing all structures within musket range to prevent the English from using them to shield their movements. Colonel Robert Daniel led a group of soldiers towards St. Augustine, using canoes to paddle up the St. Johns River. They landed at another Spanish mission, San Diego de Salamatoto, from where they marched overland towards St. Augustine.⁶⁹

As Daniel moved overland, Governor Moore sailed several warships into position through the St. Augustine Inlet and surprised the Spanish in St. Augustine. Residents abandoned the town and sought refuge in Castillo de San Marcos. The combined English forces marched into the unguarded town, occupied the St. Francis Monastery south of Castillo de San Marcos, and

⁶⁹ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 31.

prepared to lay siege to the fort. Moore's men dug siege trenches towards the fort, where they set up artillery to bombard the newly completed fort. Moore only had four cannons however and was unprepared for a long siege. On December 26, Spanish reinforcements arrived in four ships.⁷⁰ Moore burned his own boats and retreated overland towards the St. Johns River. Upon their departure on January 29, 1703, Moore's troops set fire to St. Augustine, burning down most of its buildings.⁷¹

The masonry fort withstood the bombardment and successfully protected the residents and garrison of St. Augustine. Despite this success, the experience highlighted deficiencies in the fort. During the siege, the additional weight of soldiers and cannon on the terreplein damaged the structural beams supporting the upper platform. Spanish soldiers repaired the damage to the fort, but soon after the siege, Spanish officials in St. Augustine requested permission to replace wooden ramps and wooden beams with more substantial masonry. These improvements did not occur for several decades.⁷²

The boat that Governor Joseph de Zúñiga y Cerda sent to Havana requesting support had slipped out through Matanzas Inlet. Spanish officials recognized that the Matanzas River and Matanzas Inlet was a "weak spot in the St. Augustine defenses. An enemy could enter the inlet, sail north first on the Matanzas and then on the Sebastian River, land on the south or west shores of the latter, and thus surprise the town and its fort on a flank or the rear."⁷³ The Spanish had already constructed watchtowers along the coast to give St. Augustine warning of approaching ships, such as the watchtower at Matanzas Inlet as early as 1569. Between 1569 and 1740, the Spanish built a succession of wooden watchtowers at Matanzas Inlet, most located on the southern end of Anastasia Island.

Moore's siege also prompted the Spanish to build outworks to strengthen the defenses of St. Augustine from an overland attack. They constructed lines of entrenchment around the north, west, and south sides of the town. In 1704, the Spanish began constructing the Cubo Line, the

⁷⁰ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 32.

⁷¹ National Park Service, *Castillo de San Marcos, A Guide to Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, Florida* (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, nd), 38.

⁷² Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 61.

⁷³ The Fort Matanzas Stabilization Team, *Fort Matanzas Historic Structure Report* (Denver: Denver Service Center, 1980), 14.

line of entrenchment closest to Castillo de San Marcos.⁷⁴ The Cubo Line extended west from the fort, from the covered way to the San Sebastian River. The earth rampart wall generally paralleled the route of present-day Orange Street. There were small redoubts equally spaced along the line. The original City Gate was a 5 ½ feet wide opening in the palisaded segment of Cubo Line about 27 ½ feet west from the moat wall. It was the only opening through these defenses on the north side of Castillo de San Marcos. The road leading north from St. Augustine passed through this opening in the wall. This road split into two roads north of the town. One road traveled north along the coast. The second road travelled west towards Spanish outposts on the St. Johns River.

In 1706, Governor Francisco de Corcoles y Martínez directed the construction of a second line of entrenchment—the Rosario Line. Similar in construction as the Cubo Line, the Rosario Line was a palisaded earthwork protecting west and south sides of St. Augustine. The Spanish completed construction on the Rosario Line around 1718.⁷⁵ Towards the end of its construction, the Spanish also added the San Francisco redoubt on the southeastern end of the line. The San Francisco Redoubt featured coquina-stone construction, which differentiated it from the wood and earth redoubts built along the Cubo Line.⁷⁶ Two additional coquina-stone redoubts would later be added to the Rosario Line in the 1760s.⁷⁷ With the combination of the Rosario Line and the Cubo Line, St. Augustine became a walled city or *recinto*.⁷⁸ Also in 1706, Governor Francisco de Corcoles y Martínez ordered construction of a palisaded hornbeque or hornwork approximately a half mile north of the Cubo Line. The Hornwork ran east to west from Macariz Creek to the San Sebastian River. This Hornwork provided another line of defense from an attack from the north and provided a secure area for American Indians displaced during Moore's raid.⁷⁹

The Cubo Line, Rosario Line, and Hornwork earthworks, constructed using sandy soils, deteriorated quickly and required constant maintenance. By 1716, Spanish records describe them as in poor condition. In 1718, the Spanish made repairs to the Hornwork and Rosario Line and

⁷⁴ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 161-162.

⁷⁵ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 33; however, Sastre says construction began in 1718 on page 176.

⁷⁶ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 33.

⁷⁷ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 37.

⁷⁸ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 113-115.

⁷⁹ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 162.

rebuilt the Cubo Line, moving it north of its original location. During this time, officials in St. Augustine also constantly confronted maintenance issues with the fort. In 1721, the Viceroy in Mexico provided 6,000 pesos to fix the terreplein and gun carriages.⁸⁰ By 1735, the wooden timbers supporting the terreplein had deteriorated so severely that local workers inserted additional timbers to keep the upper platform from caving in. By 1737, the Hornwork had deteriorated to the point of becoming useless.⁸¹

In 1736, Antonio de Arredondo, a military engineer, arrived in St. Augustine to inspect the fort and to develop plans for improving the town's defenses. In January 1737, he reported on the poor condition of the fort. When describing the fort and its surrounding outworks, Governor Manuel de Montiano wrote that "this castle, the only defense here, has no bombproofs for the protection of the garrison, that the counterscarp is too low, that there is no covered way, that the curtains are without demilunes, that there are no other exterior works to give them time for a long defense; ... we are as bare outside as we are without life inside, for there are no guns that could last 24 hours and if there were, we have no artillerymen to serve them."⁸²

Arredondo devised a series of modifications to the fort and the outworks and prepared a map, *Plano del Castillo de San Marcos de la Florida*, to illustrate his plans.⁸³ Of note, the plan shows an unfinished covered way. It wraps around the north side of the fort and ends at its intersection with the Cubo Line on the west side of the fort. In the map legend, Arredondo describes the covered way as "in the shape of a wall with stakes on the inner and outer faces, which was traced out and it is to be built by convicts, with the objective of covering the Castillo on this land side and to shelter the townspeople."⁸⁴ Over the next two decades, the Spanish transformed the fort and associated landscape as they implemented Arredondo's recommendations.

In 1736, Arredondo left for Cuba but returned to St. Augustine in April 1738. When he arrived back in St. Augustine, Arredondo brought another engineer, Lieutenant Pedro Ruíz de Oláno, 81

⁸⁰ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 61.

⁸¹ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 162.

⁸² Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 136.

⁸³ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 96-97.

⁸⁴ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 97.

convict laborers, six stonecutters, a mason, a carpenter, 400 troops to reinforce the garrison, new artillery for the fort, and money to pay laborers. By 1738, the north side of the covered way neared completion, but work on the covered way continued for the next two decades.

Arredondo's plan also shows the Cubo Line extending west from its intersection with the covered way towards the north edge of the town of St. Augustine. The legend describes the Cubo Line as being "part of the line, made of yucca and stakes, which encloses the city." Upon completion, the Cubo Line had three redoubts at regular intervals: Santo Domingo, Medio Cubo, and Cubo Redoubts. The Santo Domingo Redoubt stood at the intersection of the Cubo Line and the Rosario Line. Also during this period, the Spanish relocated the City Gate, moving it to its current location at the north end of present-day St. George Street in 1738-1739.⁸⁵

Arredondo's 1737 plan shows the covered way on the north side of the fort "in the shape of a wall...with the objective of covering the Castillo on this land side and to shelter the townspeople." The "townspeople" entered the covered way through a gate on the west side of the wall (near the current location of the Cubo Line.)⁸⁶ Arredondo also shows the locations of four "fresh water wells." Three are in the courtyard and one is south of the fort, between the bridge to the ravelin and the seawall. Arredondo also provides the first documentation of the completed water battery.⁸⁷ On his map, the north and south salient walls are only a few feet from the edge of the moat. The inner faces of the north and south salient walls join near center of the water battery forming the middle salient. The water battery's retaining wall extended north, joining the northeastern edge of the covered way; and the sea wall extended south from the battery's south salient.⁸⁸

At this time, the Spanish built additional fortifications beyond St. Augustine. These also included outpost fortifications defending the main routes towards the city. For example, in the late 1730s, the Spanish founded the town of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mosé for Africans who had escaped from their former British masters and freed under the Spanish sanctuary policy. Fort Mose, several miles north of St. Augustine, added another layer of defense along the northern

⁸⁵ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 176-177.

⁸⁶ Historic Print and Map Company, *The History of Castillo de San Marcos*, 35.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 152-153.

approach to the town. Fort Francisco de Pupo and Fort Picolata were farther west along the banks of the St. Johns River. In 1738, the Spanish built a stone watchtower on Anastasia Island to protect against an attack from across the river.

By the end of the 1730s, General James Oglethorpe, the leader of the British colonial settlement in Georgia, established military outposts along the coast in southern Georgia and northern Florida. Great Britain formally laid claim to this territory with the Charter of the Colony of Georgia in 1732. Seeking to establish a permanent military stronghold in the Georgia colony, General Oglethorpe first arrived upon the future site of Savannah on February 12, 1733. In the 1730s, disputes between England and Spain culminated in the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739 - 1748). England declared war on Spain on October 23, 1739 after a series of naval battles in the Caribbean. Spain made the formal declaration of war on England on November 28.

In late 1739, General Oglethorpe assembled a regiment of men from South Carolina to challenge St. Augustine. General Oglethorpe invaded eastern Florida, first raiding Spanish outposts on the St. Johns River. In January 1740, his troops destroyed Forts Francisco de Pupo and Picolata. In June 1740, Oglethorpe attacked St. Augustine and laid siege of the fort. For twenty-seven days, Oglethorpe's troops bombarded Castillo de San Marcos. Governor Manuel de Montiano sent word to Spanish officials in Cuba asking for supplies and support. On July 7, six Spanish supply ships entered Matanzas Inlet. Oglethorpe had blockaded the Matanzas River and a brief naval battle occurred when the Spanish ships arrived. The British ships withdrew, opening a path for the Spanish to enter Matanzas Bay and dock at St. Augustine. On July 20, Oglethorpe abandoned the siege.

After the siege, Engineer Ruíz de Oláno reported that the fort had suffered minor damage. Because he was concerned that Oglethorpe would invade again, Ruíz de Oláno made recommendations to strengthen the fortifications. He argued that the outworks, including the covered way and Cubo Line, needed improvements to prevent an invading force from getting too close to the fort. The Spanish also realized they needed to reinforce the defenses outside of St. Augustine.

Castillo de San Marcos experienced another burst of activity between 1752 and 1756 as the Spanish attempted to complete Arredondo's and Ruíz de Oláno's plans. The Spanish finished the conversion of the casemates from frame construction to masonry in 1756.⁸⁹ As part of this construction project, they also raised the walls of the fort, increasing the height of the parapet from twenty-six feet to thirty-five feet. The parapet had embrasures cut into north, west, and south walls. The enlargement of the interior rooms decreased the size of the fort's courtyard. Most of the masonry features in the fort were covered in plaster and painted white. The *garita*, or sentry boxes, were painted red. The retaining walls of the outer works, including the moat wall and the covered way wall were not plastered nor painted.

In 1756, Pedro de Brozas y Garay prepared his *Plano Que Demuestra la perfecta conclusion del recinto del Castillo de S. Agustin de la Florida*. His map shows the plans to expand the covered way and glacis and rebuild the ravelin. In 1758, the project to renovate the covered way was still under construction when work stopped because of a lack of funds.⁹⁰

In the early 1760s, local authorities in St. Augustine feared they would be the target of a British invasion because of the ongoing French and Indian War (Seven Years War). Accordingly, they accelerated work on defensive upgrades. The Spanish sent Engineer Pablo Castelló to St. Augustine to help Pedro de Brozas y Garay.⁹¹ Under these two engineers' supervision, they completed several projects to improve the earthwork defenses around Castillo de San Marcos. Arredondo's plan called for replacing the wooden palisade of the covered way with a masonry wall. By 1760, work on the fortifications resumed and laborers were installing the coquina retaining wall of the covered way.⁹² The new coquina wall was approximately six feet high. During construction of the wall, workers added a glacis outside of the covered way by building up layers of earth. In 1760, the moat was described as measuring approximately forty-four feet wide and six-and-a-half- feet deep. By 1761, they had constructed two stone redoubts along the Rosario Line: the Rosario Redoubt and the Meriño Redoubt. In 1762, they began construction of the Mose Line, two miles north of the town. In 1762, Spanish also raised the height of the

⁸⁹ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 65.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 66.

⁹² Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 137.

covered way wall, installed a wooden palisade in the covered way, and continued construction on the glacis.⁹³

In 1763, Engineer Pablo Castelló determined that the ravelin of the fort was undersized and made plans to replace it with a larger structure. The new ravelin was large enough to mount five cannon and contain a powder magazine. During the construction project, the Spanish also replaced the wooden bridges and realigned the moat to accommodate the new ravelin.⁹⁴ In 1763, as part of an inventory of Spanish possessions in Florida, Engineer Pablo Castelló prepared a detailed plan recording the condition of the fort.⁹⁵ His plan shows that the Spanish had also built a seawall extending south from the water battery along the bay in front of St. Augustine. They had not built a seawall to the north, but they did construct a wall along the shore to hold up the edge of the glacis on that side of the fort.⁹⁶

Period 4: The British Occupation of Florida Period (1763-1784)

In 1763, France, Britain, and Spain agreed to the Treaty of Paris ending the French and Indian War. As part of the treaty, Spain relinquished control over Florida in exchange for maintaining possession of Havana, Cuba, which the British had captured during the war. Britain divided Florida into two territories: East Florida and West Florida. St. Augustine served as the capital of East Florida, which extended west to the Apalachicola River.

On July 21, 1763, Great Britain took possession of the Castillo de San Marcos, which they renamed Castle St. Mark. British military officials inspected the fort. Lieutenant Colonel James Robertson, Deputy Quartermaster General in North America, described the earthworks as unfinished but well designed. "The covered way and outworks being uncompleat and the grounds immediately round the fort very favorable for an approach. The Spaniards sensible of the risqué they would have run, had Mr. Oglethorp [sic] in place of battering the fort from the Island attack'd it on the land side. After his departure fortified themselves by lines which would be very difficult to approach and easy to defend, the Morasses being deep broad and

⁹³ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 138.

⁹⁴ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 28.

⁹⁵ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 101.

⁹⁶ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 160.

continued."⁹⁷ The Spanish had not completed their effort to replace the covered way wall with a coquina wall, leading John Bartram, who visited the fort in December 1765, to comment "It appears by ye many curious hewn stones lying on one side that it was not finished according to their intention."⁹⁸

By 1763, the Cubo Line was an earthen ruin covered in yucca. A map from 1764 records the lines of earthworks, the outline of the fort, and the general character of St. Augustine at this time. British troops made few changes to the Castillo de San Marcos (Castle St. Mark) during the first years of their occupation. By 1772, they confronted unavoidable maintenance issues. The British made minor repairs to the fort and its features, including routine maintenance on the moat; but with the Spanish gone from Florida, the British were not overly concerned about a direct attack on St. Augustine. This changed with the outbreak of the American Revolution in April 1775. Once the American Revolution began, Governor Patrick Tonyn led an effort to strengthen the defenses around the capital of East Florida. The British made changes to the fort, converting the casemates to barracks and adding a second floor to the rooms that lined the courtyard. In 1776, they began construction of seven redoubts west of St. Augustine along the banks of the San Sebastian River to protect from an attack from that direction.⁹⁹ They also repaired the four lines of entrenchment north of the city, including the Cubo Line, Rosario Line, the Hornwork Line, and Mose Line. They replaced the Cubo Line's retaining walls with a new revetment of pine logs, repaired the firing step, and repaired the moat.¹⁰⁰ It had three semi-circular redoubts (renamed Fort Moultrie, Fort Tonyn, and Fort Clarke). The British also added two earthwork features in the covered way north of the fort. These included a 12-foot tall bonnet and an 8-foot tall ravelin.

After Spain expressed support of the American colonists against Great Britain, British troops increased their efforts to fortify the earthwork defenses around Castillo de San Marcos (Castle St. Mark). Spain declared war on England on June 23, 1779. By 1781, Spain had captured British posts in West Florida, including Pensacola, Mobile, and Baton Rouge. Spanish commanders

⁹⁷ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 66-67.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 166.

¹⁰⁰ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 167.

made plans to retake St. Augustine, but they never executed these plans. In 1781, British engineer Captain Elias Durnford supervised the reconstruction of the line of circumvallation west of the Rosario Line. The redoubts and outworks appear on a British map from 1782.

Period 5: The Second Spanish Period (1784-1821)

At the conclusion of the American Revolution, the Treaty of Versailles returned ownership of Florida to Spain. According to the terms of the treaty, Great Britain surrendered the forts of St. Augustine but was able to remove its weapons. On July 12, 1784, Spanish troops under Governor Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes took possession of Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas.¹⁰¹ When the Spanish returned to St. Augustine, they found the improvements that the British had made to Castillo de San Marcos and its associated earthworks. In the late 1780s, the Spanish made several repairs to structural features at the fort and surrounding landscape that had deteriorated due to weather, insects, and age.

During this period, Spain again worried about possible attack on St. Augustine. In addition to Spain's traditional foes, England and France, this time an additional threat came from Americans living near Florida's northern border. The Americans wanted to push Spain out of Florida in order to expand southward. In 1795 a group of English-speaking settlers living in northeast Florida and along the coast of southern Georgia revolted against the Spanish. According to various histories of the event, the settlers both coveted the land controlled by the Spanish in Florida and resented the Spanish for not protecting them from American Indian raids. In July, the rebels attacked the Spanish battery of San Nicolas, killing three Spanish soldiers and capturing an entire company. San Nicolas was located on the northern bank of the St. Johns River, in present-day Jacksonville, where the Kings Road intersected the river at a narrow spot in the river called "Pass de San Nicolas" by the Spanish and "Cow Ford" by the British.¹⁰² The Spanish militia retook San Nicolas but the rebels escaped and most fled to Georgia. The rebels often presented themselves as members of the French Republic, leading to this rebellion being called "Florida's French Revolution."¹⁰³ Spanish officials, determined to punish the rebels and those

¹⁰¹ Matanzas Stabilization Team, *Matanzas Historic Structure Report*, 49.

¹⁰² Wayne Wood, *Jacksonville's Architectural Heritage: Landmarks for the Future* (Jacksonville: University of North Florida Press, 1989), 229-230.

¹⁰³ Cormac A. O'Riordan, "The 1795 Rebellion in East Florida" 1995, University of North Florida Thesis and Dissertation. <http://digitalcommon.unf.edu/edt/99>. 12-13.

known to have assisted the rebellion, arrested several suspects and incarcerated many of them at Castillo de San Marcos. The rebellion highlighted another threat to Spanish rule in Florida and provided additional motivation to improve the defenses around St. Augustine.

During this period, roughly 1784-1821, the Spanish built several military installations in addition to San Nicolas. These included Quesada's Battery at the mouth of the St. Johns River, Fort San Carlos in Fernandina, Buena Vista Blockhouse on the St. Johns just north of Palatka, and the Twenty Mile Blockhouse near Ponte Vedra Beach.

On the heels of "Florida's French Revolution," between 1796 and 1802, England and Spain fought the Anglo-Spanish War. Though the war was contested mainly in Europe, Castillo de San Marcos nevertheless experienced a burst of construction activity.¹⁰⁴ The Spanish made improvements to the Cubo Line, the water battery, the covered way, and the glacis. The Spanish also rehabilitated many of the features of the lines of entrenchment around St. Augustine and rebuilt a former British redoubt south of St. Augustine.¹⁰⁵ It was in 1808, that the Spanish, while making major repairs to the Cubo Line, constructed the coquina pillars of the City Gate.¹⁰⁶

From 1812 to 1813, Americans living near Florida continued their efforts to disrupt Spanish control over Florida. Wanting to expand into Florida, Americans, mostly from Georgia, tried to destabilize the region with periodic forays into the area around the St. Johns and St. Mary Rivers. In March 1812, George Mathews, serving as an agent for the U.S. Government, led American forces that took possession of Fernandina and Amelia Island. Mathews' troops were called the "Patriots," and U.S. Navy gunboats provided support during the invasion.¹⁰⁷ Around March 23, the Patriots dislodged a Spanish garrison from Fort Picolata, twenty-one miles west of St. Augustine.¹⁰⁸ By March 25, they had marched to the outskirts of St. Augustine. After a reconnaissance of the town's defenses, the Patriots decided not to attack and marched north. They soon occupied Fort Mose, blocking access to St. Augustine from the north and laid siege to

¹⁰⁴ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 73-74.

¹⁰⁵ Nomination to the World Heritage List, 20.

¹⁰⁶ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 168.

¹⁰⁷ James G. Cusick, *The Other War of 1812: The Patriot War and the American Invasion of Spanish East Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003).

¹⁰⁸ James G. Cusick, *The Other War of 1812*, 142.

the town. On April 11, U.S. Army troops arrived and took possession of Fort Mose.¹⁰⁹ In May, a small flotilla of Spanish ships sailed to within firing range of Fort Mose. After shelling the Patriot and American camps for several hours, the flotilla returned to St. Augustine. With the outbreak of the War of 1812 in June, President James Monroe distanced his administration from Mathews but decided to leave the American troops in Florida to block the British from gaining a foothold in Spanish territory. That summer and fall, Seminole warriors, allied with the Spanish, began raiding American positions. On September 11, 1812, Spanish forces, including twenty-five Spanish militiamen, thirty-two free blacks from the Seminoles' auxiliaries, and six Seminole braves, ambushed an American convoy headed to Fort Mose at the Twelve Mile Swamp, located approximately twelve miles out from St. Augustine.¹¹⁰ The Americans, dispirited after the fight, abandoned Fort Mose on September 14, ending the siege of St. Augustine.¹¹¹

In 1811, the commanding engineer at St. Augustine, Manuel de Hita, left for Santo Domingo. He was not replaced until December 1816, when Engineer Francisco Cortazar arrived. In January 1817, Engineer Cortazar prepared a report on the condition of Castillo de San Marcos. He provided estimates for necessary construction projects, including repairs to the ravelin wall and the bridge into the fort. According to his report, the Cubo Line was the only serviceable outwork. It had three redoubts, but these had no gun platforms or interior revetment. The moat was just over forty-one feet wide and over four feet deep at the time. Cortazar wanted to reconstruct the palisade and deepen the moat to eleven feet. To counter the effects of erosion, he recommended the addition of stone retaining walls. Cortazar also wanted to add wooden revetment to interior walls of the redoubts.¹¹²

On May 10, 1817, the Chief Engineer stationed in Havana approved a list of projects and provided the funds required to repair the terreplein, bridge, and Cubo Line. In July, under Cortazar's supervision, workers began work on several of the projects.¹¹³ Cortazar had included in his request a project to replace the bridge over the moat at the City Gate. This project was not

109 James G. Cusick, *The Other War of 1812*, 155.

110 James G. Cusick, *The Other War of 1812*, 232–34.

111 James G. Cusick, *The Other War of 1812*, 235.

112 Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 169-170.

113 Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 78-79.

funded. On March 1, 1818, work on the fort stopped because of the lack of funds. In June, four thousand pesos arrived and work on the repairs resumed. In July, Cortazar provided plans for multiple repairs to the fort, water battery, covered way, moat, and Cubo Line. To accomplish this work, Cortazar estimated needing twelve masons, six carpenters, one hundred laborers, four hundred bushels of lime, seventy-five cartloads of rip rap, one thousand stakes (nine feet long and eight inches thick), two thousand feet of four-inch-wide boards, and one hundred and fifty pounds of nails.¹¹⁴ Work resumed in July but stopped again in October because of the lack of workers. Cortazar requested permission to use prisoners for the work. Convicts worked on the Cubo Line until work stopped again in November.

Spain and the United States agreed to the Adams-Onis Treaty in 1819, which ceded Florida to the United States. The treaty stated, "His Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States, in full property and sovereignty, all the territories which belong to him, situated to the eastward of the Mississippi, known by the name of East and West Florida. The adjacent islands dependent on said provinces, all public edifices, fortifications, barracks, and other buildings, which are not private property, archives and documents, which relate directly to the property and sovereignty of said province, are included in this article."¹¹⁵ Spain, however, did not immediately sign the agreement.

In November 1819, the United States informed Spanish authorities that it would forcibly take Florida unless Spain honored the terms of the Adams-Onis Treaty. This resulted in another round of construction at Castillo de San Marcos to prepare for possible invasion by the United States. The Spanish made additional repairs to the wall of the covered way and repaired the Cubo Line. Labor issues continued to be a problem for the Spanish engineer overseeing work. Local authorities released the convicts used to repair the outworks of the fort and authorities in Spain denied requests for additional laborers.

In an 1820 report, Spanish authorities reported on the improvements made to the fort since January 1817. According to the report, workers had repaired the floor of the terreplein of the

¹¹⁴ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 79.

¹¹⁵ Digest of Legislative History Fort Matanzas National Monument (CASA FOMA Archives), 1.

main fort and repaired two of the bastions and firing steps. They replaced the drawbridges with fixed bridges.¹¹⁶ They rebuilt much of the palisade walls of the covered way and added traverses to the covered way.

In February 1820, Lieutenant Nicolás de Fano, who replaced Cortazar, reported that the Cubo Line was in fair shape and was being maintained by convicts. By April 1820, Castillo de San Marcos had a new engineer, Ramón de la Cruz. He described the Cubo Line as eroded and the counterscarp of the moat as in ruins. He recommended adding a log revetment to retain the sandy soil. In October 1820, de la Cruz issued another report on the declining condition of the fort. Engineer de la Cruz stated that the water battery wall was still in poor condition and expressed concern that river water could undermine the main walls of the fort. The Governor responded that there were no funds to be expended upon repairs.¹¹⁷ An inventory of the fort in June 1821 suggests that some work improving the Cubo Line had been completed.

Period 1: The War Department Period (1821-1933)¹¹⁸

On January 29, 1821, the Spanish Government finally ratified the Adams-Onís Treaty. Workers were still fortifying Castillo de San Marcos when news arrived that fort was to be turned over to the United States. Engineer de la Cruz prepared an inventory of Spanish public properties in St. Augustine prior to the formal transfer of ownership. This inventory includes drawings documenting structures and tracts of land, including a "plan of the Castillo, two cross-sections and four elevations of the courtyard walls."¹¹⁹ The plan, *Plano del Castillo de San Marcos, su explicación en el Inventario, No. 1*, provides a comprehensive record of the condition of the fort and its surrounding landscape at this time. According to Sastre's report on the cultural landscape, The folio provides precise measurements of the curtain walls, bastions, courtyard, ramp to the terreplein, ditch, counterscarp, main and ravelin bridges, covered way and traverses. The width of the moat at salient angles 1 and 2 measured eleven yards, one foot. The moat at salient angles 3 and 4 measured eleven yards, two feet in width. The counterscarp of the moat measures half a

¹¹⁶ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 129.

¹¹⁷ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 81.

¹¹⁸ The period of development extends to the year the War Department transferred administration over the site to the NPS, which is 1933. The War Department discontinued using the site as an active military post in 1900.

¹¹⁹ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 81.

yard in thickness. The ravelin was described as a flanked structure without a parapet, possessed of two staircases with an additional one in the center. The face of the ravelin (east) through which a bridge communicated with the covered way measured eleven yards, one foot. Its flank measured three yards, two feet. The other face (west) measured sixteen yards, two feet, and its flank measured five yards, one foot. The scarp measured half a yard. The moat measured six yards, six inches.

The width of the covered way measured nine yards, one foot. The coquina-stone covered way wall, which also served as a retaining wall for the glacis, measured half a yard. The parapet had no interior slope and the entire length of the covered way was lined with a palisade nine feet high from seven to eight inches thick and secured with girders. The slope of the glacis measured twenty-one yards from the top of the covered way wall to its base. The traverses that lay at right angles in the covered way were constructed of turf.¹²⁰

On July 10, Castillo de San Marcos and all Spanish governmental property, including land and military installations, in East Florida officially transferred to the United States.¹²¹ A presidential order on November 30, 1821, authorized the War Department to manage Castillo de San Marcos "with all the space immediately around it, recognized by the Spanish authorities as public property."¹²² At this time, Florida became a U.S. Territory; it would become a state in 1845. On January 7, 1825, the War Department renamed Castillo de San Marcos to Fort Marion to honor Revolutionary War General Francis Marion; Congress officially recognized the name change on June 28, 1832.¹²³

With the departure of Spain from North America, no European nation was blocking American expansion into Florida; and, as a result, the American military did not consider Castillo de San Marcos to be an important military asset.¹²⁴ The Matanzas River and the St. Augustine inlet were too shallow for larger ships that were becoming standard features of navies at the time. The

¹²⁰ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 82.

¹²¹ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 82-83.

¹²² Digest of Legislative History Castillo de San Marcos National Monument (CASA FOMA Archives).

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Albert C. Manucy, "Some Military Affairs in Territorial Florida," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (1946), 203.

shallowness of the inlet had long posed a risk for larger ships, going back as far as 1565 when Menéndez de Aviles sent his galleon, the *San Pelayo*, away rather than risk entering the harbor. Thus, Fort Matanzas was also not considered strategically important. Though Europeans were no longer a threat to expansion into Florida, American Indians posed a significant challenge to initial settlement.

With Florida now part of the United States, American settlers moved in, increasing the young Territory's population. As a result, tensions between the new settlers and the remaining American Indian population also increased. These settlers pressured the federal government to remove local American Indian tribes, notably the Seminole Nation, in order to acquire their land. As a result, the U.S. Government began the process of relocating members of the Seminole Nation from Florida to Indian Territory in present-day Oklahoma. Some Seminole leaders agreed to move and signed a treaty in 1832, but many other Seminoles rejected the treaty and retreated into remote areas of Florida. The U.S. Army pursued the Seminoles leading to seven years of fighting known as the Second Seminole War (1835-1842). In 1837, the army seized Seminole leader Osceola after duplicitously waving the white flag that signified a negotiation for peace. The army temporarily imprisoned Osceola at Castillo de San Marcos before it moved him to Fort Moultrie near Charleston, South Carolina. Approximately twenty Seminoles, captured in October 1837, escaped imprisonment at the fort in late November. Led by Wild Cat (Coacooche), the Seminoles crawled out of a small hole in the fort's wall and scaled down handmade ropes fashioned from torn bedding.¹²⁵ The subsequent Third Seminole War (1855-1858) reduced the Seminole nation to approximately 200 persons.

During the Seminole Wars, the U.S. War Department was responsible for maintaining both Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas. According to early inspection reports, Castillo de San Marcos was in a "rapid state of dilapidation."¹²⁶ Army personnel in St. Augustine made funding requests for maintenance, but the War Department provided just enough to maintain the structure in "an adequate state of repair."¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Kenneth W. Porter, "Seminole Flight from Fort Marion," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 22, no. 3 (1944): 113-33.

¹²⁶ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 36.

¹²⁷ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 84.

A hurricane struck the east coast of Florida on October 2, 1826 damaging many buildings in St. Augustine.¹²⁸ The following year, the City of St. Augustine made an effort to restore some of the historic Spanish structures. It advertised for bids to replace the bridge at the City Gate with a causeway; however, no acceptable bids were received. In June, the mayor of St. Augustine initiated work on the gates without the permission of the army. His crew was going to construct a new causeway reusing materials from the bridge and gates. The crew had dismantled portions of the masonry gate before the Post Quartermaster of Fort Marion, Lieutenant Harvey Brown, stopped the work because it was federal property. In August, the Quartermaster General rejected the city's claim of ownership of the City Gate.¹²⁹

In the early 1830s, St. Augustine residents campaigned to get federal funding to repair Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion) and the city's seawall. Judge Robert R. Reid of St. Augustine wrote Territorial Delegate Joseph M. White about the poor condition of the fort and asked for his assistance in preserving the "fine and venerable monument of art."¹³⁰ For the residents of St. Augustine, the condition of the seawall became an increasingly important issue. In addition to the old seawall deteriorating, the army had opened a section of the seawall to construct a wharf. In 1832, Congress set aside the land around the St. Francis Barracks as a military reservation. President Monroe had placed the building and lot under War Department administration in 1821.¹³¹ Originally constructed as part as a chapel and convent, the War Department used the building for various purposes, including as a jail and later as officer quarters and for administrative use. During the Seminole Wars, a portion of the garden was converted to a cemetery.

On March 2, 1833, President Andrew Jackson signed into law an act appropriating \$20,000 for repairs of Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion) and reconstruction of the seawall. On March 13, 1833, the Corps of Engineers assigned Lieutenant Stephen Tuttle to supervise repairs to the seawall and the fort. Tuttle arrived in June and prepared a work proposal for his superior, Chief

¹²⁸ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 44.

¹²⁹ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 179-180.

¹³⁰ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 46-47.

¹³¹ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 46-47.

Engineer Charles Gratiot. Tuttle reported that water was undercutting the seawall and entire sections of the wall had failed.¹³² Tuttle also commented upon the condition of the earthwork defenses. According to Tuttle, the Cubo Line was in poor condition and its parapet was in ruins. The City Gate was partially dismantled, because of the city's 1826 project, and was missing its doors. The bridge was gone, and the City of St. Augustine had replaced it with a stone causeway. In his proposed work plan, Tuttle included an extensive list of projects to repair the fort. When the army rejected his proposal, Tuttle revised his plans to focus on resurfacing the fort's terreplein and rebuilding the failed sections of the water battery.

On June 28, 1833, Captain G. S. Drane, the post commander at St. Augustine, put Tuttle in direct command of Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion) to expedite the construction projects and general maintenance. According to Sastre's report, by the end of September "Tuttle's workmen had cleaned the fort, ventilated the casemates and purified them with fire, removed grass and weeds from its walls, the moat was cleared of rubbish, the bridges replaced, replaced broken tabby and policed the outworks."¹³³ The fort was, in Tuttle's estimation, a superior building, but he concluded that the building was obsolete from a strategic, military perspective. As such, the military began to value Castillo de San Marcos more for its historical significance than its military value.¹³⁴

Tuttle proposed building a new seawall on top of the existing seawall built by the Spanish. Residents of St. Augustine raised objections to the plan. Secretary of War Lewis Cass ruled that a new seawall should be constructed "without regarding the old structure."¹³⁵ According to Edwin Bearss and John Paige's *Historic Structure Report for Castillo de San Marcos*, among the workers on the seawall project were enslaved Africans, "most of whom were to be employed in the Anastasia Island quarries."¹³⁶ The workers at the quarries began digging and cutting coquina in October 1833. In November, Tuttle had teams and carts sent to haul stone from the quarries. Tuttle contracted John M. Hanson to build the new seawall. The project faced numerous

¹³² Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 53-54.

¹³³ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 87.

¹³⁴ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 40 and Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 182-184.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 75.

challenges and bad weather caused delays. The War Department relieved Tuttle from his duties in June 1834 after work had begun on the seawall. Lieutenant Francis S. Dancy replaced Tuttle and found serious issues with the seawall, still under construction. Dancy concluded that the new seawall was poorly constructed and rejected the work completed by Hanson. The foundation was not built as specified and, according to Bearss' *Historic Structure Report*, "For about a third of the wall's length, new stone was laid on the foundation of the old."¹³⁷ The old foundation was undermined and leaning outward.¹³⁸ Also, after inspecting the fort, Dancy reported that no repairs had been made to the "salients of the water battery and one had crumbled into the water."¹³⁹

Dancy expressed an appreciation for the historic significance of the fort and argued on behalf of its preservation. President Jackson made another \$50,000 available for the War Department for repairs to the fort and to construct a new seawall between the fort and St. Francis Barracks.¹⁴⁰ In March 1836, the residents of St. Augustine petitioned the U.S. Congress for permission to construct a public street, 30 feet wide and 2,500 feet long, "paralleling the immediate rear of the old Spanish Cubo Line."¹⁴¹ This is present-day Orange Street.

In 1836, the army transferred Dancy to the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers so he could directly supervise the work in St. Augustine to the fort and seawall. A series of controversies and staff changes occurred in the next few years, complicating work at Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion). Residents criticized Dancy. They complained about the cost of the project and questioned Dancy's salary. President Martin Van Buren dismissed the Army Corps of Engineer's Chief Engineer, Charles Gratiot, who was Dancy's supervising officer. Colonel Joseph G. Totten replaced Gratiot. Totten then appointed Lieutenant Henry W. Benham to replace Dancy in January 1839. When Benham arrived in St. Augustine, the Army Corps of Engineers had completed 2,120 feet of new seawall.¹⁴²

¹³⁷ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 114.

¹³⁸ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 73.

¹³⁹ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 88.

¹⁴⁰ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 89.

¹⁴¹ Digest of Legislative History Castillo de San Marcos, 2.

¹⁴² Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 114.

Like Dancy, Benham advocated for preserving the fort because of its historic significance. Benham, however, also made a case for its use as a military depot. In October 1839, Benham issued a report describing the condition of the fort. According to his report, the glacis was missing in places and the covered way was in poor condition. The water battery and terreplein of the main fort could not support the weight of artillery. These structures would need work to accommodate the new guns in use by the military. The water battery required immediate work because the salient angles had largely failed and had collapsed into the bay. Large openings had developed within the water battery walls, and Benham was concerned that water would threaten the main fort.

In March 1840, Benham provided the Army Corps of Engineers with a proposal and cost estimate for repairs to the fort. In his proposal, he provided additional descriptions of the condition of the landscape around the fort. Roads and footpaths cut into the earth mounds of the glacis.¹⁴³ Local residents had developed a potter's field north of the fort in the open field beyond the glacis.¹⁴⁴ In April 1842, Benham prepared a topographic map of the grounds around Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion). According to Sastre, Benham's map shows that the Cubo Line was essentially gone. The map shows a foot-deep depression where the Cubo Line moat had been. Slight mounds of earth, rising between three and six feet above the ground, were the only remains of the line.¹⁴⁵

Benham discounted the strategic importance of the glacis, arguing that it was not wide enough to protect the fort. The walls were not tall enough and the slope of the glacis was too steep. He proposed extending it further from the fort, doubling its width.¹⁴⁶

In December 1841, Benham sent a proposal to Totten where he argues for completely reconstructing the water battery. He recommended widening the water battery by filling in the moat on the east side of Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion). From 1842 to March 1844, under the guidance of Benham, workers rebuilt the water battery. By February 1843, Benham began

¹⁴³ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 153-154.

¹⁴⁴ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 156.

¹⁴⁵ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 173.

¹⁴⁶ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 92.

work positioning the traverse circles and pintle-blocks for twenty gun emplacements. While waiting for delivery of the ironwork, Benham had workers prepare the granite blocks by drilling pintle holes. Pintles and pintle-plates arrived in November. Benham notified his superiors that the water battery was completed in March 1844.¹⁴⁷

In February 1842, an Executive Order established the Military Reservation of Fort Marion, recognizing a change in the army's estimation of the strategic value of the fort's military assets. The Military Reservation in the 1840s included Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion), St. Francis Barracks, two large lots formerly used for powder houses, the lighthouse, the quarries, the Dragoon Barracks lot, the King's Forge, the Military Hospital lot, and the Cubo Line with the City Gate. The military reservation included several individual reservations. Those created in 1842 (with their acreage) included: military reservation on Magazine Lot (11-1/3 acres), military reservation at Fort Marion (19 acres), military reservation on new hospital lot (5/6 acre), military reservation on St. Francis Barrack Lot (3-5/6 acre), military reservation on Old Powder Lot (6-1/4 acre), military reservation on Dragoon Barrack Lot (5/6 acre), military reservation on Blacksmith's Lot (595 square yards).¹⁴⁸

In May 1844, the War Department received additional funds for projects at Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion). By 1845, military officials expressed concern that the reconstructed seawall would result in land-grab by local residents, who would try to extend their existing property lines towards the new wall. In July, the St. Augustine City Council agreed to construct a street along the backside of the seawall from the plaza on the north to St. Francis Barracks to the south. As the wall neared completion, the city had still not begun work on the street. Secretary of War William L. Marcy agreed not to complete construction until they could get residents to relinquish any claim on the area behind the seawall. Once satisfied that the city would comply with the agreement, from December 1845 to April 1846, workers completed the seawall project by filling in behind the wall with sand and earth.

¹⁴⁷ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 223-230.

¹⁴⁸ Congressional Serial Set (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1870), accessed November 4, 2019, <https://books.google.com/books?id=F0ILAAAYAAJ&pg=RA1-PA70&lpg=RA1-PA70&dq#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

In March 1849, the Secretary of War stated that his agency reserved “all the public land in the town (St. Augustine) and vicinity, including the site of the work at Matanzas Inlet.” Because there was no known survey of the property, the boundaries of the War Department claim created confusion that lasted many years.

In 1859, the U.S. Army sent William H. C. Whiting to inspect the physical condition of Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion). Because the army made only minor repairs to the fort in the first few decades under their control, Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion) and the surrounding landscape was in poor condition. The building itself was deteriorating. Residents of St. Augustine made use of the area outside the fort, grazing cattle on the glacis, in the covered way, and in the moat. Trash and vegetation filled the moat. Footpaths still crisscrossed the grounds around the fort.¹⁴⁹ Whiting recommended that the military reservation be fenced to protect it from additional damage. He also recommended that the moat be cleaned and the deteriorating bridges to the fort be replaced.¹⁵⁰

The peacetime repairs on the fort were interrupted by the outbreak of the Civil War. On January 7, 1861, troops of the Florida State Militia occupied Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion). Three days later, Florida seceded from the Union and joined the Confederate States of America. In May, the Confederate Army transferred several weapons stationed at Castillo to fortify other areas of the Confederacy.¹⁵¹ In February 1862, Confederate military officials decided to abandon East Florida. In March 1862, Union forces captured Jacksonville and St. Augustine. The Union Army focused on defending the St. Johns River. As a result, Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion) was not a high priority; however, Union forces did have guns in position at the fort.¹⁵² The military also constructed other ancillary structures to support their use of the fort.

Approximately 6,000 Federal troops occupied St. Augustine during the war. Most were quartered in the St. Francis Barracks, while others were housed in temporary huts or tents on the terreplein at the fort. In mid-September, the 7th New Hampshire arrived to relieve an earlier garrison. Some

¹⁴⁹ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 157.

¹⁵⁰ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 157-158.

¹⁵¹ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 255.

¹⁵² Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 260.

of the troops were quartered around Fort Marion, mostly north of the fort, where they built “comfortable quarters for themselves.”¹⁵³ By June 1863, reports of Confederates in the area prompted Union troops to fortify the fort. They “emplaced seven or eight heavy guns and a battery of light artillery, commanding the approaches to the town.”¹⁵⁴ They removed the top of the garita on the northwest bastion to create a clear line of fire for the large gun mounted there to cover the road to Jacksonville.¹⁵⁵ (Army records indicate that they reconstructed the northwest garita in 1866.¹⁵⁶) The troops also reactivated the Hornwork Defense line north of St. Augustine. After the Civil War, the War Department concluded again that Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion) was not vital to their overall coastal defense strategy. According to their reasoning, the historic, coquina walls could not withstand a bombardment from modern weapons. The depth of the harbor also limited its usefulness. Nevertheless, the Military Reservation of Fort Marion and the St. Francis Barracks would serve as the Florida Headquarters of the U.S. Army from the end of the Civil War until 1877. During the early 1870s, officials made repeated requests for appropriations to pay for “cleaning and repair of Fort Marion.”¹⁵⁷ According to his report from 1873, Major Quincy Gillmore, an engineer with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, commented that “the channel leading up to the harbor is not practicable for even light draught vessels of war.”¹⁵⁸ Regardless, the War Department did recognize its historic value and deemed it suitable for continued use as a military prison.¹⁵⁹

In January 1872, residents of St. Augustine again petitioned U.S. Congress for appropriations to restore Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion). At this time, the War Department and the City of St. Augustine cooperated to repair the City Gate. Army officials agreed to reconstruct the stone bridge if the city agreed to restore the masonry piers of the gate. The city had constructed a temporary stone causeway leading to the gate, and the army proposed to replace this with something more historically appropriate. The sentry boxes remain partially dismantled, a result

153 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 260.

154 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 260.

155 Luis R. Arana, “Fort Marion in Civil War Times,” *El Escribano* 23 (1986): 60–61.

156 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 263.

157 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 269.

158 Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 270.

159 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 262.

of the city's attempt to reuse material from the gate in 1827. (These were both reconstructed in 1879.)¹⁶⁰

After the 1870s, Florida and St. Augustine experienced a boom in tourism. Henry Morrison Flagler, co-founder of Standard Oil, was instrumental in developing the tourism industry in the state. He visited St. Augustine in 1878 and returned each winter beginning in 1883. In 1885, the Flaglers and Rockefellers stayed at the San Marco Hotel, which opened the previous year, as they were friends of the builder, Issac Cruft of New England. That year, 1885, Flagler bought land west of the city for construction of a 450-room hotel, the Hotel Ponce de Leon, which opened in January 1888. He soon purchased the Jacksonville, St. Augustine & Halifax Railroad, which he renamed the Florida East Coast Railway. Flagler developed the railroad line in conjunction with hotels to support each other and attract visitors to Florida.¹⁶¹ Visitors to the hotels used the grounds of Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion). The area around the fort became the location "for outdoor activities such as picnics, leisurely strolls, games, and sports."¹⁶²

Between 1875 and 1878, the army imprisoned captured chiefs and leaders from the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Comanche, and Kiowa tribes at Castillo de San Marcos.¹⁶³ Seventy-two Plains Indians arrived to the prison on May 21, 1875 under the supervision of Captain Richard Henry Pratt.¹⁶⁴ Captain Pratt experimented with a combination of penal reform and education at Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion), which eventually led to his founding of the Carlisle Indian School in 1879. At Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion), Pratt supplied the prisoners with paper and drawing material, encouraging them to record memories of their life. These artworks, drawn onto pages from cast-off account books, became known as "ledger drawings." Pratt encouraged the prisoners to sell the artworks to townspeople and tourists, allowing them to keep the profits for themselves.¹⁶⁵ Pratt also allowed the prisoners to sell polished palm seeds and alligator teeth to

¹⁶⁰ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 180.

¹⁶¹ Leslee F. Keys, "Preserving the Legacy: The Hotel Ponce de Leon and Flagler College" (PhD diss., University of Florida, 2013), 224. Roosevelt's speech is reprinted in Alfred H. Lewis, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Speeches of Theodore Roosevelt 1901-1905* (Bureau of National Literature and Art, 1906), 132.

¹⁶² Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 53.

¹⁶³ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 46.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ Richard Pearce, *Women and Ledger Art: Four Contemporary Native American Artists* (University of Arizona Press, 2013), 4.

local vendors.¹⁶⁶ Tourists and townspeople were drawn to the fort to see the prisoners or to watch special performances by the American Indians. One of the ledger drawings depicts a “buffalo chase” on the fort green. The drawing shows four American Indians and two soldiers on horseback pursuing a bull. While spectators watched from the green and from the terreplein, the performers eventually killed and butchered the bull for a banquet that followed the spectacle. The American Indians also performed dances for spectators. One such event, also captured in a ledger drawing, shows “The Indian and Sports War Dance,” sponsored by the local yacht club to raise funds for Pratt’s school.¹⁶⁷

Another group of American Indian prisoners arrived at Fort Marion in April 1886. Over 500 Apaches lived in cone-shaped Sibley tents on the terreplein. Like the earlier contingent of Plains Indians, the Apaches could leave the fort and earn money by selling willow baskets, moccasins, and other trinkets for sale. Local women in St. Augustine came to the fort to teach classes, which focused on reading, writing, and speaking English. Young children attended classes taught by nuns at the local Sisters of St. Joseph convent. The Apache were incarcerated at the fort for just over one year before most of them were moved to Alabama and then to Oklahoma. Richard Pratt selected a group of 103 of the children to attend the Carlisle School¹⁶⁸

By January 1887, the army held 447 Apache Indians at the fort.¹⁶⁹ Because of limited space in the casements, most of the prisoners were housed in tents pitched on the terreplein. The Chiricahua Apaches at Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion) added another level of interest for tourists who travelled to the fort to see the “last remnant of a raiding band of American Indians.”¹⁷⁰

In the 1870s, government officials argued on behalf of rehabilitating the fort, describing the fort as a “castle 300 years old and a great place of interest.”¹⁷¹ In 1881, Lieutenant Colonel G. A. De

¹⁶⁶ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 49.

¹⁶⁷ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 48.

¹⁶⁸ “Apache Incarceration - Castillo de San Marcos National Monument (U.S. National Park Service),” accessed November 4, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/casa/learn/historyculture/apache-incarceration.htm>.

¹⁶⁹ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 305.

¹⁷⁰ Jere L. Krakow, *Administrative History of Castillo de San Marcos National Monument and Fort Matanzas National Monument* (National Park Service, 1986), 6.

¹⁷¹ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 282.

Russy described the fort as a "venerable old pile, blackened by time and falling into ruin and decay."¹⁷² He urged for its "preservation."¹⁷³ Chief Engineer Wright notified De Russey that, according to Bearss, he "was sympathetic to historic preservation, and would give the restoration of Fort Marion all the assistance in his power."¹⁷⁴ In 1882, the army made several repairs, including rebuilding bridges and repairing the demilune ditches. In 1884, the War Department appropriated \$5,000 towards "the preservation of Fort Marion, and the improvement and enclosure of its grounds."¹⁷⁵ According to a review of the legislative history of Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, "This allotment of Federal funds, the first one voted for historic preservation exclusively, aimed at the conservation of Fort Marion as it was in 1821 and beautification and enclosure of the grounds."¹⁷⁶

In 1884, the War Department made plans to install a fence "enclosing the reservation at Marine, Charlotte, and St. George Streets."¹⁷⁷ In 1885, Mayor John G. Long of St. Augustine wrote to Secretary of War Robert Todd Lincoln objecting to plans to enclose the military reservation with a fence. The project would have resulted in the closure of several roads and would inconvenience property owners who had built upon federal property. He suggested that the fort grounds be converted to a city park for the residents of St. Augustine.¹⁷⁸

In January 1886, the army appointed Lieutenant William M. Black to oversee projects at Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion). Black immediately undertook projects to stabilize and waterproof the fort. A photograph dated circa 1886 shows the condition of the landscape around the fort, including the covered way walls and glacis on the southwest side of the fort. The covered way wall was in poor condition and had a large gap in the southwest salient. The ground had large bare places that appear to be the result of erosion.

¹⁷² Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 283.

¹⁷³ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 283.

¹⁷⁴ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 284.

¹⁷⁵ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 293.

¹⁷⁶ Digest of Legislative History Castillo de San Marcos, 2.

¹⁷⁷ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 295.

¹⁷⁸ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 320.

In 1886, United States Representative Charles Dougherty of Florida introduced legislation "for repair of Fort Marion..., and for the inclosure of the grounds attached to the fort as a park or place of public resort."¹⁷⁹ Congress did not pass this bill. Chief Engineer J. C. Duane estimated that the cost to restore the fort to be ten thousand dollars.¹⁸⁰ United States Senator Wilkinson Call continued efforts to increase funding for maintenance and repairs to Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion). He introduced numerous funding bills in the U.S. Congress in the 1880s and 1890s. In 1889, Senator Call introduced Senate Bill 250, which included \$15,000 to "restore the fort, beautify the grounds, and extend the seawall to the north boundary of the reservation." This bill passed, and President Benjamin Harrison signed it into law on August 18, 1890.¹⁸¹

Overseen by Captain Black (after a promotion) and Lieutenant D. D. Gaillard, laborers made significant changes to the grounds around Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion). These changes resulted in a very different landscape, converting the site from a military reservation to a more park-like setting. They constructed curvilinear walkways across the fort green and planted trees and shrubs across the landscape. Additionally, during this period, laborers made various repairs to the Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion) and the Army Corps of Engineers extended the seawall further north from the water battery all the way to the northern boundary of the military reservation.¹⁸² Captain Black's work at Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion) coincided with a dramatic change in the federal role in historic preservation. It was also in the 1890s that Congress established the first five Civil War national battlefield parks to be administered by the War Department—Chickamauga and Chattanooga, Antietam, Shiloh, Gettysburg, and Vicksburg.¹⁸³

A photograph dated circa 1890 shows the fort landscape prior to Captain Black's beautification of the fort green. The remains of the Cubo Line moat, since converted to a drainage ditch, are visible in the photograph. A small bridge, likely wooden, spans the moat, which appears to be

¹⁷⁹ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 333

¹⁸⁰ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 334.

¹⁸¹ Bearss *Historic Structure Report*, 334-335.

¹⁸² Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 144, 159-160.

¹⁸³ This topic is most thoroughly investigated in Timothy B. Smith, *Altogether Fitting and Proper: Civil War Battlefield Preservation in History, Memory, and Policy, 1861-2015* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2017).

filled with water. This bridge may be one the War Department built in September 1885.¹⁸⁴ A blacksmith shop, constructed in the 1870s is also visible near the grove of trees on the fort green. The St. Augustine lighthouse on Anastasia Island is visible in the background. This 165-foot tower was constructed in 1874, replacing an earlier lighthouse constructed in 1824.¹⁸⁵ A photograph dated 1894 shows the landscape around the fort after the completion of Captain Black's projects. (The Library of Congress has mislabeled this photograph. It was taken from the San Marco Hotel not from a local residence). The Cubo Line moat is not visible in the photograph. A small white building is visible southeast of the fort near the bay. This was a boat house/bath house built circa 1880 on a short dock off the south flank of the water battery. It was removed in 1913. Black also removed the blacksmith shop because it was in poor condition.¹⁸⁶

In the early 1890s, the War Department employed an ordnance-sergeant "to take care of the reservation grounds and fort."¹⁸⁷ According to Bearss, this individual's duties "included mowing the lawn, cultivating trees and shrubbery."¹⁸⁸ The ordnance-sergeant lived in a cottage located on the south side of the fort in the covered way. By 1892, it was clear that one person alone could not maintain the property.¹⁸⁹ In 1895, responsibility for maintaining the grounds was divided between the Army Corps of Engineers and the Quartermaster General.¹⁹⁰

In 1895, a group of wealthy winter visitors constructed three holes (later five) on the fort green, creating the first golf course in Florida. The course included private property, owned by the St. Augustine Golf Club, and part of the military reservation. Three holes of the course traversed the fort green on its west and north sides. After the San Marco Hotel burned in 1897, the course expanded with additional holes added on Golf Club-owned land extending west from San Marco Avenue to the San Sebastian River.¹⁹¹ It was not until 1902 when the War Department entered into a formal agreement to allow the St. Augustine Golf Club permission to use the fort grounds.

184 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 321.

185 <https://www.staugustinelighthouse.org/get-involved/about-mission-uvp/history/>

186 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 331.

187 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 351.

188 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 351.

189 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 351-352.

190 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 353.

191 Tingley, Timeline.

Henry Flagler brought the Cuban Giants baseball team to St. Augustine for several winters beginning in 1885. Flagler was a proponent of the sport and financed exhibition games and stadiums across Florida. Flagler was involved in the staging of an exhibition game in 1886 in St. Augustine. The local paper announced, "The colored employees of the Hotel Ponce de Leon will play in a game today at the fort grounds with a picked nine from the [Hotel] Alcazar. As both teams possess some of the best colored baseball talent in the United States being largely composed of the famous Cuban Giants, the game is likely to be an interesting one."¹⁹² The Cuban Giants were a semi-professional team whose home field was in St. Augustine. They were not, despite their name, comprised of Cuban nationals. The Cuban Giants were a team of African Americans and are considered the first all-black professional team.¹⁹³ A baseball diamond is visible on the fort's grounds in a photograph taken around this time. St. Augustine was also home of the Ponce de Leon festival, a multi-day celebration "that included a variety of town events including baseball, fireworks, and reenactments." Designed to increase tourism in St. Augustine, the festivals reenactments included "the arrival of Juan Ponce de Leon in Florida," the founding of St. Augustine, and the raids by Drake and Oglethorpe. The festival began in 1883 and ended during the Depression.¹⁹⁴

The U.S. Army stopped using Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion) as a military prison in 1900. On September 12, 1900, the army withdrew the St. Augustine garrison, effectively ending its use as a full-time military facility. According to Charles Tingley, in 1901 the army loaned the City of St. Augustine obsolete armament from Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion). The Mayor and the President of the Historical Society were concerned that the historic guns not meet the same fate as the one that had been placed in a battery near the lighthouse during the Spanish American War in 1898. It was destroyed and the sold for scrap. The loaned weapons included: four 32 pounders, one rifled gun, two 8-inch Columbiads, one 10-inch seacoast mortar, and 1840 cannonballs. Sometime prior to 1900, the War Department installed a weather radio tower in the covered way, east of the main entrance to the fort. The tower remained until 1938.

192 Geoff Dobson, "Historic City Memories: First pro baseball team" (article assessed online: <https://historicity.com/2009/staugustine/news/florida/historic-city-memories-first-pro-baseball-team-1852> on July 21, 2017.)

193 Frank Ceresi and Carol McMains, "Original Photo of the 1885-1886 Cuban Giants: Black Baseball's First Professional Team" (article accessed November 5, 2019: <https://www.thenationalpastimemuseum.com/article/original-photo-1885-1886-cuban-giants-black-baseballs-first-professional-team> on July 21, 2017). Charles Tingley points out that the date of the game must be incorrect because the Ponce Hotel did not open until 1888.

194 Melissa Klatzkow, 1927 Ponce de Leon Festival, accessed on November 5, 2019, <https://guides.uflib.ufl.edu/Ponce>.

On October 21, 1905, President Theodore Roosevelt visited St. Augustine, staying at the Hotel Ponce de Leon, and spoke at the fort.¹⁹⁵ In 1907, the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in The State of Florida installed a tablet "depicting the significance of the City Gate."¹⁹⁶ In 1908, the federal government deeded a strip of land that had been part of the military reservation to the St. Johns County Board of Public Instruction upon which to build a school. This parcel included the Cubo Line area extending west from City Gate. By July of 1908, workers had filled portions of the Cubo Line moat to accommodate the construction project but spared the City Gate. Also, in 1908, the federal government permitted the City of St. Augustine to construct a twenty-five-foot wide road on federal property. It was named Fort Marion Circle; it was realigned and renamed Castillo Drive in 1965 and became South Castillo Drive in 1992. The War Department transferred to the city "a strip of land not exceeding 23 feet in width on the north line of Fort Marion Reservation, for the purpose of restoring the street formerly known as Clinch Street, extending from San Marcos Avenue, on the western boundary of said Reservation, eastward to the Matanzas River."¹⁹⁷ By 1915, however, city leaders had decided against building this road and requested the federal government to take the land back.

Despite the diminished presence of the army in St. Augustine, the War Department remained responsible for maintenance of the fort and grounds. In June 1906, Secretary of War Lindley Garrison declared a number of historic structures under War Department control to be historic landmarks.¹⁹⁸ District Engineer George R. Spalding reported in September 1908 that "certain repair work is urgently needed" at the fort.¹⁹⁹ Among his complaints was that the fort's bridges were rotten and unsafe. The War Department attempted to accommodate to the growing number of visitors to the fort. According to Bearss, in 1910, Sergeant George M. Brown opened the fort to the public but proved not to be a hospitable host.²⁰⁰

195 Keys, "Preserving the Legacy," 702-706.

196 Keys, "Preserving the Legacy," 76.

197 Digest of Legislative History Castillo de San Marcos, 6.

198 Matanzas Stabilization Team, Matanzas Historic Structure Report, 110.

199 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 355.

200 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 356-357.

In 1912, Mayor of St. Augustine, Dr. DeWitt Webb, received permission from the army to repair the City Gate. The project resulted in repairs to the foundations of one pillar, repointing masonry, replacing wood in the sentry boxes, and removing overgrown vegetation.²⁰¹ A fire devastated large areas of downtown St. Augustine in 1914. The headquarters of the St. Augustine Historical Society was one of the buildings burned. The society requested permission to use Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion) as a headquarters and museum.²⁰² In following decades, the Historical Society led public tours of the fort and provided for interpretive displays.

The War Department declined to spend money repairing non-strategic properties during World War I. Following the war, in 1921, the War Department listed Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion) among the federal properties slated for disposal. By this time, the War Department had long concluded that Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion) and Fort Matanzas lacked military value. Residents of St. Augustine however protested the disposal. Major William C. Lamien, with the Jacksonville office of the Corps of Engineers, also argued against it. "To allow a spot so intimately connected with the history of this country to pass into the hands of private parties or to be controlled by state or municipal authorities would outrage local public sentiment somewhat similar to what would follow the suggestion that Washington's Monument or Arlington Cemetery be disposed of."²⁰³

There was also incredible public interest in Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion). Bearss suggests that in the early 1900s, 50,000 people visited annually.²⁰⁴ On February 22, 1921, the Historical Society and Colonial Dames participated in a large event at the fort to celebrate George Washington's birthday and to "launch the Centennial anniversary of Florida's acquisition as a territory by the United States."²⁰⁵ President-elect and Mrs. Warren G. Harding attended the event just months prior to his inauguration. Harding had a history of visiting St. Augustine,

201 Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 181.

202 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 359.

203 Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 54.

204 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 358.

205 Keys, "Preserving the Legacy,"78.

having made annual visits to the city beginning in 1904.²⁰⁶ In the year ending June 30, 1921, records indicate that 31,065 people visited the site.²⁰⁷

The Secretary of War sought the opinion of Major General Black, the now-retired engineer who had previously served in St. Augustine, about the future of the historic structures under their control. Black recommended that both Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion) and Fort Matanzas be preserved. The District Engineer in Jacksonville agreed.

In July 1922, the War Department removed both forts from their excess property list. In March 1923, Secretary of War John Weeks visited Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion). On October 15, 1924, President Calvin Coolidge, who became president following Harding's death in 1923, designated Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion) and Fort Matanzas national monuments through provisions of the Antiquities Act of 1906. The Fort Marion National Monument included 18.09 acres encompassing the fort and surrounding grounds. That year, U.S. Congress appropriated funds for the "protection, preservation, repair and maintenance of historical fortifications" that included Fort Marion.²⁰⁸

At this time, the War Department negotiated a new agreement with the St. Augustine Golf Club. The document, entitled "To the St. Augustine Golf Club, To Occupy and Use Certain Portions of the Military Reservation Pertaining to Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida," states that the license to use the fort green had been granted by the Secretary of War on May 8, 1902. It was amended in 1905. The new document terminated these previous agreements and replaced them with a "license revocable at will by the Secretary of War." The Club was "authorized to occupy and use for golfing purposes all that portion of the reservation situated eastward of the road designated as San Marco Avenue and Fort Marion Circle, exclusive of the bastioned masonry work within the moat."²⁰⁹ According to the new terms, the St. Augustine Golf Club paid \$200 a year for maintaining the grounds. The club was also permitted to build and maintain three sand greens

206 Keys, "Preserving the Legacy," 224.

207 Luis R. Arana, et. al. "Historical Research Management Plan for Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine, Florida" (CASA FOMA Archives), 23.

208 Digest of Legislative History Castillo de San Marcos, 7.

209 Secretary of War, To the St. Augustine Golf Club, To Occupy and Use Certain Portions of the Military Reservation Pertaining to Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida, (Folder 22: Care and Protection of City Gates and Grounds, 1915- 1923).

and three tees. This agreement continued until the club disbanded in 1925 at which time the club president, J. L. Ketterlinus, agreed to pay for removing the tee boxes and greens.²¹⁰

In 1926, the St. Augustine Historical Society installed a twelve-car parking lot on army property at the intersection of Bay Street (now Avenida Menendez) and Fort Marion Circle (now South Castillo Drive). A second lot, which would accommodate twenty cars parked perpendicular to the street, "extended west along the north side of Ft. Marion Circle."²¹¹ In 1927, "the federal government opened US Route 1, a national road running north from Miami, Florida, up the east coast through St Augustine to Kent, Maine."²¹² The construction of this road helped facilitate tourism in St. Augustine by providing another connection to the city. Visitors continued to travel to St. Augustine by boat and rail, and as automobile usage increased, more visitors arrived in their personal automobiles.²¹³

In July 1925, the Corps of Engineers transferred responsibility for the military reservation to the Quartermaster Department. A hurricane damaged the seawall in September 1928. The Corps of Engineers repaired the holes.²¹⁴ In April 1929, the War Department entered into an agreement with St. Augustine Historical Society to become caretakers for Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion) and help with its interpretation. However, during the early years of the Great Depression, funds were scarce and "repairs to the fort and improvements to the grounds were minimal."²¹⁵ Workers repaired walkways, pruned trees, and graded the "parkway."²¹⁶ In 1928, the Quartermaster Department undertook several projects to waterproof the terreplein, spreading coats of hot asphalt over layers of felt.²¹⁷

Florida in the 1920s experienced a rapid increase in development leading to a real estate boom that spread to St. Augustine. Supported by improved railroad connections, like Henry Flagler's

210 Krakow, *Administrative History*, 20. Ketterlinus was the son-in-law of Standard Oil Partner William Warden, whose winter home was located immediately north of the fort property.

211 Charles A. Tingley, "Report on the history of the parking lot at the Castillo de San Marcos," (CASA FOMA Archives).

212 Keys, "Preserving the Legacy,"79.

213 Ibid.

214 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 372.

215 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 380.

216 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 380-381.

217 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 374.

line that connected Florida with New York, real estate speculators bought and sold land at a rapid pace. Local community leaders in St. Augustine, wanting to promote real estate development on Anastasia Island, initiated plans to construct a new bridge over the Matanzas River. In 1927, construction finished on the Bridge of Lions between downtown St. Augustine and Anastasia Island. The 1,538-foot bridge, built in the Mediterranean Revival style, replaced a flat wooden bridge constructed in 1895 by the St. Augustine and South Beach Railway company. Developer David Paul Davis created the first significant residential development on Anastasia Island.²¹⁸ Davis received permission to dredge material from the bay, which he spread over the low-lying marsh ground on the north end of the island across the river from Castillo de San Marco. He laid out an elaborate subdivision, which he named Davis Shores.²¹⁹ Two hurricanes that struck the area in 1926 and 1928 temporarily slowed development. Then, with the stock market crash in 1929, St. Augustine's boom ended for a generation.

Period 8: The National Park Service Period (1933-Current)

President Woodrow Wilson signed the Organic Act on August 25, 1916 creating the National Park Service (NPS), a new federal bureau within the Department of the Interior. On June 10, 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 6166 that reorganized the National Park Service and dramatically increased the number of sites under its jurisdiction. This was followed on July 28, 1933 by Executive Order 6228 that specified the sites, parks, monuments, and memorials to be placed under Nation Park Service administration. These two executive orders transferred to the NPS the "functions of administration" for these sites then being managed by other federal agencies, in particular the Forest Service and the War Department. In total, 56 national monuments and military sites, including Fort Matanzas and Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion), transferred to NPS administration according to Executive Order 6228. On August 10, 1933, the War Department transferred one acre of land around Fort Matanzas to the NPS. The NPS chose to honor the War Department's agreement to permit the St. Augustine Historical Society to share management responsibilities at the two sites.²²⁰

218 David Nolan, *The Houses of St. Augustine* (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, Inc., 1995),76.

219 Robert Steinbach and Larry Paarlberg, "Bridge of Lions/ DOT Structure No. 780074," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, August 13, 1982.

220 Krakow, *Administrative History*, 40.

The NPS soon transferred Herbert Kahler to St. Augustine to oversee New Deal-created Civil Works Administration (CWA) projects at the two sites. The NPS promoted Kahler to Acting Custodian of the national monuments in October 1934. He became Superintendent in August 1936 and served until May 1939. Early CWA projects at Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion) included the removal of soil from the moat, replacement of the drawbridge, and installation of floodlights to illuminate the fort at night.²²¹ Kahler also initiated a project to create a research team to develop interpretive programming. According to Bearss, Kahler found nine informational signs at the fort, all "put up by local groups," which he wanted to replace with NPS signs.²²²

Projects funded under the New Deal transferred from CWA to the Public Works Administration (PWA) in 1934. The Historic American Building Survey sent a team to document Fort Matanzas in February 1934 and Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion) in April 1934. WPA also funded archaeological studies around Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion). This was part of a comprehensive program to regenerate St. Augustine's economy based on its Spanish heritage as the city faced bankruptcy. Superintendent Kahler promoted local historic preservation efforts in St. Augustine by facilitating a federal-local partnership involving NPS staff and the Carnegie Institution.²²³ On October 26, 1936, members of "the newly-constituted National Committee for the Preservation and Restoration of Historic St. Augustine" held their first meeting in Washington, D.C.²²⁴ The St. Augustine Historical Society and the City of St. Augustine contributed funds to the effort, as did the Carnegie Institution and private donors. The initiative resulted in research on historic resources and surveys of historic structures, including documentation by the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS).

The cooperative management agreement between the NPS and the St. Augustine Historical Society expired in June 1934, but the NPS extended the agreement another year. In July 1935, the NPS began its exclusive administration of the national monuments but continued to have a working relationship with St. Augustine Historical Society for several decades.

²²¹ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 420-421.

²²² Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 422.

²²³ Keys, "Preserving the Legacy," 83.

²²⁴ Keys, "Preserving the Legacy," 85-86.

In 1937, Verne Chatelain, the first chief historian for the NPS Branch of History and member of the National Committee for the Preservation and Restoration of Historic St. Augustine, submitted a report outlining a preservation strategy for St. Augustine.²²⁵ Soon after, archeologists investigated various historic resources associated with Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion). In 1937, John C. Winter supervised an archaeological dig for the Carnegie Foundation of Washington around the Cubo Line and the City Gate. Beginning at the City Gate, Winter moved eastward toward Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion). In addition to recording the Cubo Line, Winter also determined the "stratigraphy of the glacis slope."²²⁶ Reconstruction of the Cubo Line had actually begun in 1933, when "William R. Kenan, Jr., Florida East Coast Railway and Hotel Ponce de Leon chief executive and brother-in-law of Henry M. Flagler, invested in reconstruction of the defensive line."²²⁷ In 1938, the NPS proposed spreading new dirt over the glacis and reseeding with grass to stop erosion of the slopes. That year, the NPS also requested permission to remove fill dirt from the moat. The NPS sent F. F. Gillen, Chief of Construction Section for the Branch of Engineering of the Eastern Division, to Castillo de San Marcos to evaluate the project. Gillen recommended excavating soil from the moat and filling it with water. The plan called for the installation of tidal gates at the water battery to maintain four feet of water in the moat.²²⁸ When NPS workers dug two feet of mud from the bottom of the moat, they spread the mud over the glacis slope. The NPS finally installed the tidal gates to feed water into the moat in 1949.

In the 1940s, the NPS also explored the recreation of the type of drawbridge that the Spanish would have had at Castillo de San Marcos in the colonial period. Architect Thor Borresen led the team investigating the drawbridge. Borresen left the NPS before the project was completed. After the NPS filled the moat with water, it also replaced the piers of the bridge between the ravelin and the fort. The project to rebuild the bridges happened in the 1950s.

²²⁵ Keys, "Preserving the Legacy," 87.

²²⁶ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 429.

²²⁷ Keys, "Preserving the Legacy," 90.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

The NPS retained the parking lots installed in the 1920s for several years, but expressed concerns about cars having to back out into traffic. The parking area south of the fort is seen in a 1939 photograph. In January 1938, the WPA proposed construction of a new parking lot in the fort green along the north side of Fort Marion Circle (South Castillo Drive.) The NPS eventually constructed the lot in 1940.²²⁹ In 1938, the NPS removed the storm-warning radio tower from the water battery that the United States Weather Bureau installed decades previously. The NPS moved a flagpole, erected in 1926, to a new location on the south curtain. Also, in 1938, the NPS initiated a landscape maintenance plan for the national monument that included pruning and treatment of diseased trees around the fort.²³⁰

Edward Freeland became the superintendent of the national monuments in May 1939. He served until December 1941, when C. Raymond Vinten replaced him. Superintendent Vinten served in the position until 1961. Fort Marion National Monument was renamed Castillo de San Marcos National Monument by an Act of Congress on June 5, 1942. During World War II, different branches of the United States military utilized Castillo de San Marcos for training. The U.S. Coast Guard held infantry drills on the grounds in 1942 and 1943.²³¹ St. Augustine was also a popular destination for troops on leave from the Jacksonville Naval Air Station and the Army's Camp Blanding. The large numbers of soldiers in St. Augustine led the NPS to construct a shelter on the edge of the fort green where soldiers could wait while hitching for a ride back to their bases.

The NPS submitted lists for ongoing maintenance of the two forts and surrounding grounds during WWII. The war delayed most of the projects. In 1946 and 1947, the NPS received additional funding to address the backlog of work. In 1947, the NPS repointed the masonry at the City Gate and along the causeway. NPS staff, including Albert Manucy, the historical technician at the national monument, reported that masonry joints had opened and stones were missing on the City Gate walls and towers. The brick dome of the sentry box, according to NPS records, had a "sizable crack." The NPS completed repair of the City Gate by December 1947.²³² The next

²²⁹ Tingley, "Report on the history of the parking lot."

²³⁰ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 430.

²³¹ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 439.

²³² Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 444.

year, the NPS began repairing the foundation walls of Castillo de San Marcos. In 1952, the NPS repointed the masonry walls of the covered way.

In 1950, Ripley's Odditorium, now known as Ripley's Believe It or Not, opened its doors in the former "Castle Warden," on the parcel adjacent to the national monument. Warden had been a partner in the Standard Oil Company.²³³

In 1956, Conrad Wirth, Director of the National Park Service, launched a plan to enhance national parks around the country, improving interpretive and visitor services as well as making major upgrades to park infrastructure. Wirth's initiative became known as Mission 66, because the ten-year program was designed to be completed by 1966, the 50th anniversary of the National Park Service. Mission 66 provided \$1 million for physical improvements at Castillo de San Marcos, "with an accelerated time frame to coincide with St. Augustine's 400th anniversary."²³⁴

The Mission 66 master plan for Castillo de San Marcos National Monument focused on improving visitor services and the preservation of structures and the landscape. The plan acknowledged that the national monument "will receive an increasing number of visitors, [but] there is no reason to make major changes to the present pattern of use."²³⁵ It does state that the NPS "must constantly seek means and methods of improving services to the visitor [and] there must be an awareness that overdevelopment and intrusions upon the historic scene must be avoided."²³⁶ The Mission 66 master plan stated it was necessary to extend the park boundaries in order to "permit restoration of the glacis of the fort, to preserve the historic setting of the Castillo and the City Gate, to permit moving Fort Marion Circle (South Castillo Drive), and to provide off-street parking near the entrance to the Castillo."²³⁷ According to the Administrative History of the national monument, Congress enacted legislation that authorized the acquisition of 1.185 acres for relocating Fort Marion Circle (South Castillo Drive).²³⁸ During the decade, the NPS completed several projects at Castillo de San Marcos to reestablish a more historically

233 Keys, "Preserving the Legacy," 91-92.

234 Keys, "Preserving the Legacy," 103.

235 National Park Service, Master Plan Narrative for Castillo de San Marcos National Monument Mission 66 Edition (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 1961), 6.

236 Ibid.

237 NPS, Mission 66 Master Plan, 8.

238 Jere L. Krakow, *Administrative History*, 56.

appropriate landscape. It removed overhead telephone cables from the perimeter of the park and removed curbs from the City Gate area. Several of the projects repaired historic landscape features, including restoration of Cubo Line. In 1958-1959, under the supervision of historian Albert Manucy, the NPS reconstructed the drawbridge at Castillo de San Marcos.²³⁹

In the 1950s, the road leading into St. Augustine, San Marcos Avenue, changed names at the City Gate, becoming Fort Marion Circle. In 1951, the City of St. Augustine, the Florida Department of Transportation, and the NPS began making plans to widen Fort Marion Circle.²⁴⁰ This project was included in the goals for Mission 66 and planning continued into the late 1950s and into the 1960s. Land for widening the road came from both the NPS and adjacent landowners. After the realignment project, Fort Marion Circle was renamed Castillo Drive. Today, the entire stretch of road along the national monument is South Castillo Drive/SR A1A/US Business 1. Also in the late 1950s, the city and Florida Department of Transportation widened Bay Street (presently Avenida Menendez) into four lanes with additional parking areas. This project involved the construction of a new seawall doubling the width of Bay Street (Avenida Menendez). This project required the demolition of the Hotel Bennett and exposed the foundations of the seventeenth-century "King's Smithy" which was briefly interpreted by the NPS.²⁴¹ In January 1962, the NPS began construction on a temporary parking area south of Fort Marion Circle (South Castillo Drive) on the site of the former Hotel Bennett. According to Bearss, during construction crews encountered an artesian well. The project was completed in February, but the NPS had to remove this parking area a few years later during the road alignment project.²⁴²

In 1957, during the development of the road realignment plan, the NPS approved a landscape plan for the area around the realigned road as part of a larger Master Plan. The plan calls for new walkways and the construction of a new 122-car parking area south of the fort and accessed off Fort Marion Circle (South Castillo Drive.) This new lot, constructed in 1965, replaced the parking area that the NPS developed in this area in the 1940s. The 1957 landscape plan also

²³⁹ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 129.

²⁴⁰ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 448.

²⁴¹ Tingley, "Report on the history of the parking lot."

²⁴² Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 457.

proposed a new walkway behind the Cubo Line (then proposed for reconstruction). It does not appear that the NPS ever constructed this walkway.

According to Bearss, "park staff began making tentative plans in 1963 to improve the physical setting of the city gate and re-establish its historic relationship to the fort."²⁴³ Work on the City Gate began in November 1964.²⁴⁴ The NPS widened the moat in front of the City Gate and restored the masonry bridge. The NPS installed a path between the pillars and paved the sidewalk with crushed seashells. The NPS also reconstructed the palm log revetment extending out from the City Gate walls. The NPS also added a "message repeater" to assist with interpretation of the area. The NPS completed this work in 1965.²⁴⁵

In 1964, the NPS reconstructed a section of the Cubo Line inside of the national monument's boundary, between the covered way and South Castillo Drive. The NPS began installation of an irrigation system and new storm drain system across the fort grounds in 1964.²⁴⁶ That September, Hurricane Dora struck St. Augustine.

The NPS constructed an administration and utility building (called the Park Headquarters Building and Maintenance Facility as of 2019) on the northwestern edge of the national monument site in 1964. Staff occupied the building in January 1965. The administrative building was named for Albert Manucy, NPS staff member, historian, and native of St. Augustine.²⁴⁷ When originally constructed, the building had three linear masses arranged in the shape of a "Z" in plan. The wing closest to South Castillo Drive was oriented south to north. A second wing, slightly longer than the first, extended to the east. The final wing, the largest of the three, extended north towards the national monument's boundary. A walkway entered the complex from the south, connecting to building at the main entrance near the junction of the two first wings described above. A screen wall aligned with the south elevation of the first wing enclosed a shell concrete entrance courtyard with benches and plantings that included crepe myrtle,

²⁴³ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 458.

²⁴⁴ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 458.

²⁴⁵ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 458.

²⁴⁶ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 460.

²⁴⁷ Keys, "Preserving the Legacy,"104.

gardenia, and ligustrum. A second walkway traveled beneath the overhanging roof of the middle wing to create a loggia along the south façade of this wing. A freestanding wall extended east from the building to create another courtyard that the NPS possibly used as a service yard. Much of the surrounding area was covered in turf, but hedges along the loggia and enclosing the paved courtyard in front of the building included tea olive and dwarf yaupon holly.

As the South Castillo Drive road realignment project neared completion, the NPS added new concrete walkways and curbs around the parking lot and between the parking lot and the entrance into the fort. It also planted trees and palms north of the fort to create a vegetative screen between the national monument and the adjacent residential neighborhood.²⁴⁸

Superintendent Roberts prepared a list in 1965 of projects completed as part of Mission 66 program. It included eighteen projects. Landscape-related projects included restoration of the southwest glacis, construction of the utility and administration buildings (Park Headquarters), new walks and landscaping on the fort green, planting trees and palms, new entrance and access walkways, relocation of SR A1A and construction of new parking lot, redevelopment of the City Gate area, reconstruction of the Cubo Line, and installation of a new irrigation well, irrigation system, and drainage system in the fort green.²⁴⁹

Castillo de San Marcos was administratively listed on the National Register of Historic Places on October 15, 1966 with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act. Luis R. Arana, an NPS historian, prepared additional documentation to the nomination on a form dated June 14, 1973. The purpose of the additional documentation form was to add the water battery and the City Gate to the National Register listing.²⁵⁰

Theodore Davenport replaced Roberts as superintendent in early 1966. He served in the position until 1971. George F. Schesventer became superintendent in March 1971. During his nine-year tenure, the national monument prepared several planning documents and made changes to park

²⁴⁸ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 462.

²⁴⁹ B.C. Roberts to Thad Belm, May 17, 1965 (located in CASA FOMA Archives).

²⁵⁰ Luis R. Arana, "Castillo de San Marcos," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, National Park Service, St. Augustine, June 14, 1973, Revised June 1976.

operations. In 1971, the NPS prepared another master plan for the national monument. Among its goals was to "preserve and maintain the Castillo and its associated historic structures as closely as possible to their period of greatest military strength (1763)."²⁵¹ The 1971 master plan mentions the visual intrusion created by the parking lot and South Castillo Drive. In 1976-1977, the NPS constructed a cashier's booth outside the entrance into Castillo de San Marcos, near the bridge to the ravelin. This structure replaced the "Cash Booth" built in the mid-1960s. In 1977, the NPS Southeast Regional horticulturalist Lynch H. D. Boykin Jr. recommended removal of all trees and shrubs growing near the fort.²⁵² In May of 1978, the NPS addressed the erosion of fill and failure of coquina walls at the ravelin. The NPS eventually filled the ravelin with additional soil, built a wooden deck for pedestrians, and installed sod on the exposed sections. During the Schesventer administration, the national monument initiated historic structure reports on Castillo de San Marcos. This resulted in several preservation projects, including repair to scarp walls and the terreplein. It was also during this period that ferry service to Fort Matanzas began.

Martha Aikens served as superintendent between 1980 and 1983. Barbara Griffin then served between 1984 and 1987. Michael Tennent served as acting superintendent for a brief time prior to both of these superintendents. In 1985, the NPS repaved the parking lot in the south fort green at Castillo de San Marcos National Monument.²⁵³ Wallace Hibbard became superintendent in 1987. In 1987, the NPS constructed a larger fee booth on the same site of the previous one. In 1991, the NPS added a maintenance shop to the Park Headquarters Building and Maintenance Facility complex. A few years later, in 1994, the NPS added a library and archives wing onto the existing utility and administration buildings. This wing aligned with South Castillo Drive, extending north from the existing building and creating an interior courtyard in the middle of the complex. The addition was constructed by NPS staff. It sits on a slab foundation and features CMU walls covered in stucco like the rest of the complex.

In 1993, the City of St. Augustine assisted the NPS with landscape improvements at South Castillo Drive. As part of the project, the NPS planted 318 wax myrtle shrubs to screen the

251 National Park Service, "A Master Plan for Castillo de San Marcos National Monument" (Atlanta, GA: National Park Service Southeast Region, 1971), 10.

252 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 465-466.

253 Krakow, *Administrative History*, 67.

parking lot from the fort. The NPS and the city also installed parking meters at the parking lot to encourage short-term parking. In 1994, local merchants raised concerns about the parking lot and pedestrian safety. They petitioned the NPS to keep the lot open after the fort had closed so visitors to St. Augustine could use the lot. They also asked the NPS to install cross walks across San Marco Avenue to make it safer and easier for tourists to walk between the town and the national monument.

In 1996, the NPS drained the moat of water, closed the moat floodgates, installed a perforated drain pipe, and brought in fill dirt from different locations in St. Augustine to raise the level of the bottom of the moat. The NPS, working with the Denver Service Center, also made repairs to the covered way walls, and repaired structural cracks. Other projects in the late 1990s at Castillo de San Marcos included the addition of a course of coquina to the ravelin wall. NPS reports indicate the project was to prevent erosion that impacted the counterscarp wall.

Hurricane Dennis and Hurricane Floyd struck the eastern coast of Florida in 1999, resulting in damage to trees and shrubs at both national monuments. In March 1999, the NPS removed dead shrubs from around the parking lot at Castillo de San Marcos National Monument. According to the 2000 Superintendent Annual Narrative Report, the NPS added onto the Park Headquarters Building and Maintenance Facility complex by adding a small hipped-roof maintenance office just to the north of the headquarters. They also adding accessible parking during this project. Around 2000, the NPS worked with the Historic Preservation Training Center to make repairs to the City Gate. Repairs included repointing the masonry walls, repairs to the sentry box, and replacement of one of the pomegranate-shaped finials on top of the stone pillars. In April 2000, NPS staff installed new sod in the covered way. In May, the NPS had to rebuild the entrance sign on South Castillo Drive because of damage.

Tropical Storm Gabrielle struck St. Augustine in September 2001. Afterward, NPS staff removed dead trees from around Castillo de San Marcos National Monument and repaired damaged walkways. Also in 2001, the NPS finished construction to enlarge the maintenance compound and add accessible parking at the park headquarters. In 2002, the NPS completed a large

preservation project on the covered way retaining wall. Staff with the Historic Preservation Training Center removed previous Portland cement patches to the wall and repointed the wall using flexible lime putty. They replaced missing capstones on the wall coping. These missing stones had allowed erosion to develop along the top of the wall and water flow along the face of the wall had damaged the coquina stones. According to records, more than 70 cracks had developed in the walls. The NPS completed a similar project on the moat wall in 2004 and 2005.

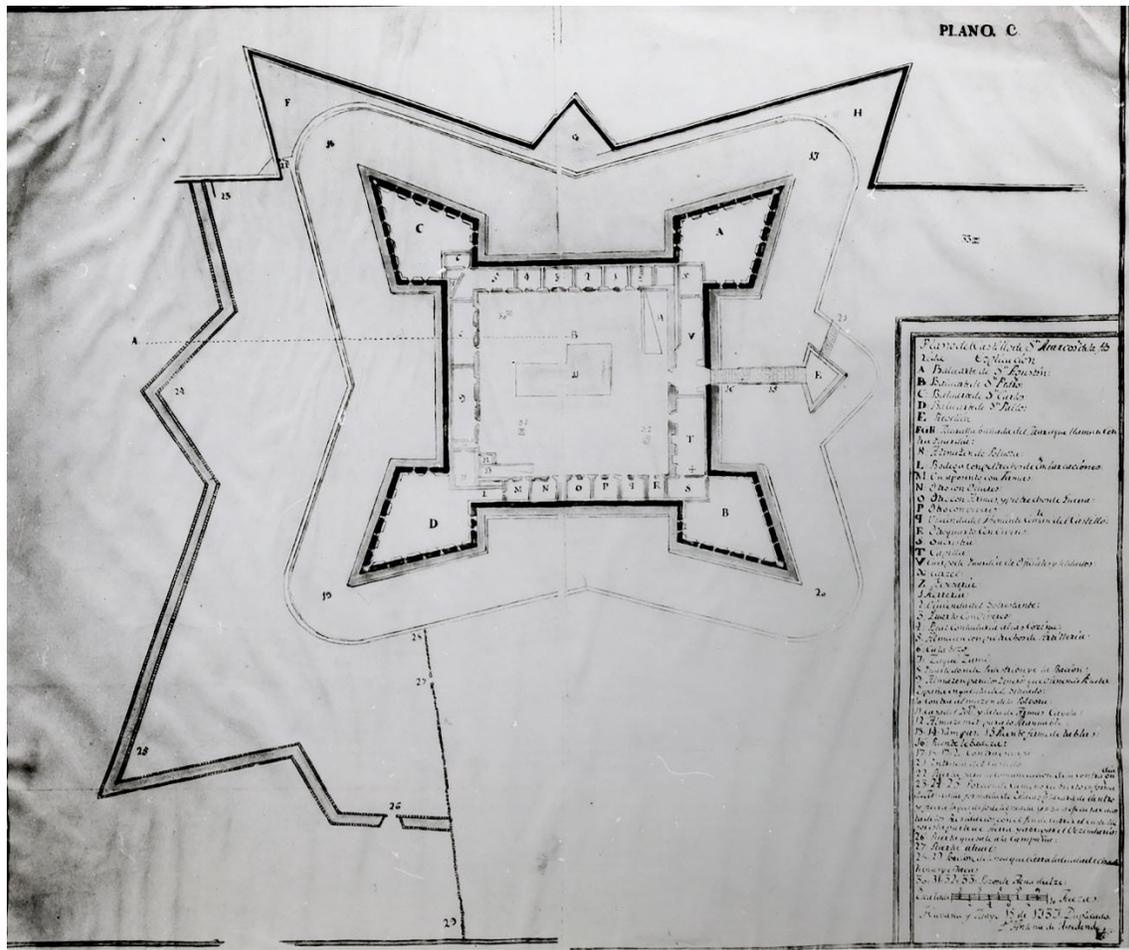
In 2003, the NPS installed a wooden picket fence and a hedge of pittosporum between South Castillo Drive and the main parking lot at Castillo de San Marcos. The purpose was to encourage pedestrians to use the designated crosswalks. The NPS removed the fence five years later. At this time, the NPS replaced the wooden walkway and staircase that provides pedestrian access between the water battery and the covered way north of the fort. This wooden staircase and walkway were first installed in April 1992, according to an Assessment of Actions Having an Effect on Cultural Resources. The one built in 1992 had deteriorated to the point of posing a safety risk to visitors. The NPS proposed replacing it "in-kind in exactly the same location." Also in 2003, the NPS repaired the low retaining wall at the base of the north glacis. This retaining wall was used as a walkway that joined the concrete walkway leading towards Water Street. The wall was originally added in 1849 as part of the U.S. Army work on the water battery. The stucco on top of this wall had cracked, exposing the stone underneath. The project repaired stones and resurfaced the entire feature with a new layer of lime-based stucco.²⁵⁴

In 2005, the NPS completed a project to repair the bridge between the ravelin and Castillo de San Marcos. During the project, the NPS replaced the bridge's piers with new coquina blocks placed on new concrete footings. The NPS also replaced the wood decking of the bridge in 2005 and repaired the decking again in 2018. In 2006, members of the Historic Preservation Training Center (HPTC) repaired large sections of the covered way wall and scarp walls. The project staff dismantled and rebuilt approximately fifty feet of the covered way wall. They also filled large cracks in the scarp wall with new coquina to protect against moisture infiltration. After numerous vehicular collisions, the NPS constructed a new entrance sign to Castillo de San Marcos National

254 Archives North Green Retaining Wall Project 2003 (CASA Central Files Administrative Records, in CASA FOMA Archives).

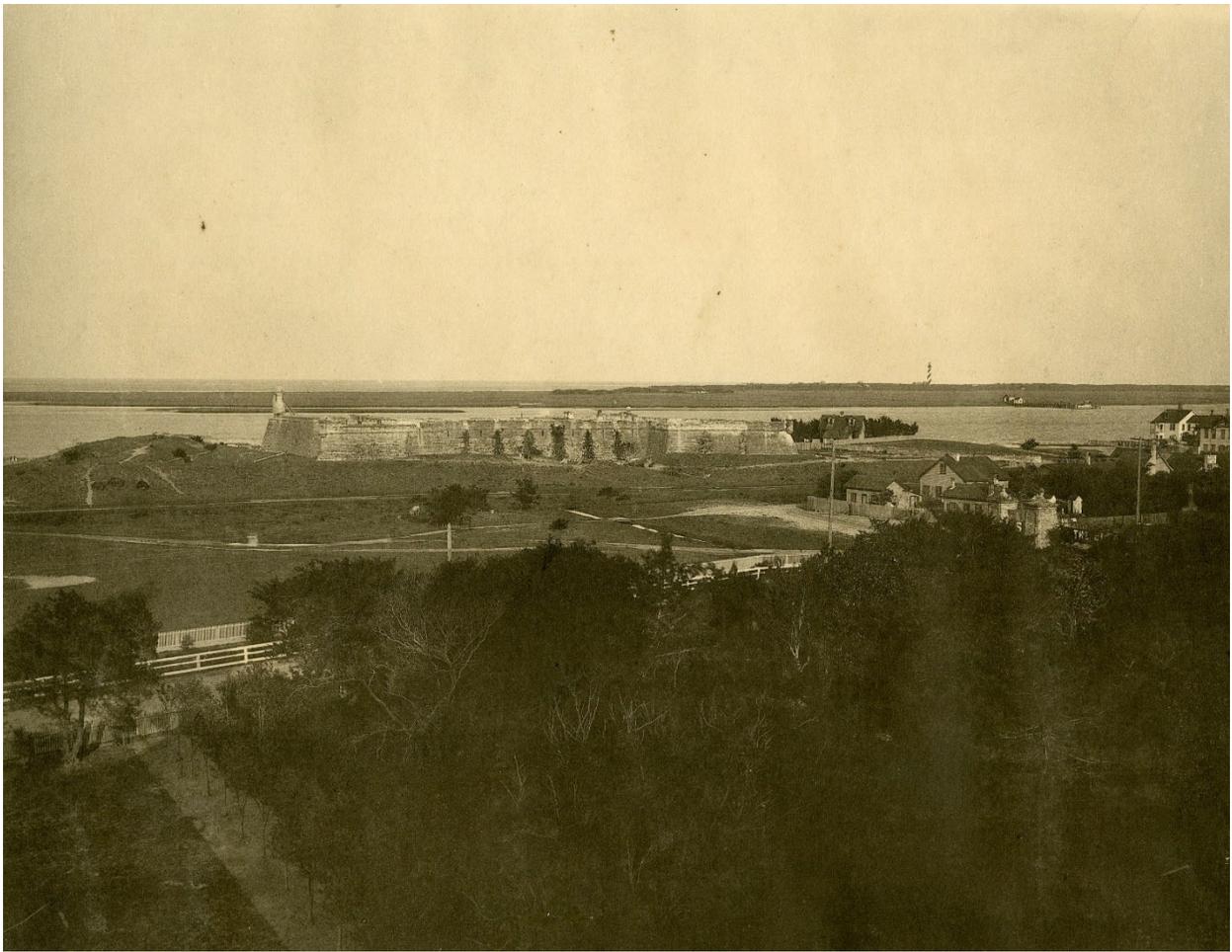
Monument in 2009. In 2011, the NPS replaced the concrete sidewalks around the parking lot at Castillo de San Marcos National Monument and along South Castillo Drive. The next year, the NPS installed new crosswalks and pedestrian signals on South Castillo Drive. Also in 2012, the NPS rebuilt sections of the covered way wall. In circa 2012, Ripley's Museum removed the wooden pickets and rails from between the concrete posts of the fence along their property line. This necessitated the NPS to construct a metal fence extending from the northwest corner of the park Headquarters Building towards the sidewalk on South Castillo Drive. The NPS has also constructed a tall concrete wall east of the maintenance building to screen the Ripley's Museum parking lot.

Major hurricanes struck the St. Augustine area. Hurricane Matthew struck the Florida coast in October 2016. The following year, in October 2017, Hurricane Irma hit St. Augustine. Both storms produced flooding, deposited debris, and uprooted trees at the national monument.



1737 Arrendondo Map of Castillo de San Marcos (CASA no. A400)

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument



View of Castillo de San Marcos circa 1890 (CASA no. A19); baseball diamond is visible on the left side of photo.

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument



William Henry Jackson, "Fort Marion from the Warden residence," circa 1894 (Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/det1994005120/PP/>)

Analysis and Evaluation of Integrity

Analysis and Evaluation Summary:

The National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) recognizes seven qualities that define historic integrity. Integrity is the ability of a property to convey its historic significance. The seven aspects of integrity are location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. To retain historic integrity, a property will always possess several, and usually most, of the aspects of integrity. Because Castillo de San Marcos retains many of its character-defining landscape features and these features contribute to our ability to understand the physical qualities that make the site historic, the cultural landscape retains integrity. Although some alterations have been made since the period of significance (1672-1924), the overall sense of place associated with Castillo de San Marcos is retained in the natural systems and features, topography, land use, cultural traditions, buildings and structures, spatial organization, circulation, and, views and vistas. Cluster arrangement is less significant for the Castillo de San Marcos landscape character than spatial organization. Small-scale features have largely been replaced since the period of significance except for a few cannon on display.

Aspects of Integrity:

Location

Location is the place where the historic property was constructed or where the historic event occurred. The location of a historic property, complemented by its setting, is particularly important in capturing the sense of historic events and persons. Except in rare cases, the relationship between a property and its historic associations is destroyed if the property is moved.

The historic landscape features that exist at the site are in their original location. Most notable are the fort and the defensive outworks. Overall, the Castillo de San Marcos cultural landscape retains integrity of location to the period of significance.

Design

Design is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property. The original layout of Castillo de San Marcos and its defensive outworks evolved over time, as features were altered, maintained, or replaced. However, the design of each existing feature reflects its final form reached during the period of significance and is legible to a visitor.

The design of the fort and associated landscape reflect military engineering principles of the time and include the fort and a series of earthworks extending out into the surrounding landscape. While the War Department altered the design of the moat, added walls in the covered way, and the NPS has reconstructed walls and other missing feature, the original design of the fort and outworks are legible today. The design related to the Spanish Colonial period of significance retains integrity.

The designs of landscape features added by the War Department, including the Water Battery, Hot Shot Furnace, and seawall, reflect military engineering practices of that time. Other landscape features added by the War Department, including vegetation and circulation features, have been lost over time. Despite the loss of features from the War Department period of significance, the designs of those remaining features retain integrity.

Setting

Setting is the physical environment of a property and the general character of the place.

Throughout the period of significance, the fort fronted Matanzas Bay and was surrounded by open ground, which is consistent with current conditions. The most significant change in the setting of Castillo de San Marcos is the growth of St. Augustine around its perimeter.

Commercial and residential development has occurred along the national monument's boundaries and within its viewshed across Matanzas Bay. Furthermore, the NPS installed a parking lot south of the fort and a major roadway encircles half the site. Despite the modern impacts to the setting, the Castillo de San Marcos cultural landscape retains integrity of setting for the historic period of significance.

Materials

Materials are the physical elements added during the period of significance in a particular pattern or configuration to give form to a property.

The use of coquina stone for building construction is one of the character-defining landscape features of the site. Many of the materials of the contributing resources at the national monument date from the period of significance. These features have been repaired, but repairs used existing materials or compatible materials. As such, the Castillo de San Marcos cultural landscape retains integrity of materials.

Workmanship

Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts and methods of construction used during the period of significance. The integrity of workmanship in the Castillo de San Marcos cultural landscape is visible in the planning and construction of the fort and earthworks around the fort. While individual landscape features may be missing today, those that remain support the Castillo de San Marcos cultural landscape in retaining integrity of workmanship to the period of significance.

Feeling

Feeling is an expression of the aesthetic or historical sense of a particular time resulting from the presence of physical features that, taken together, convey a property's historic character. The site is very similar to how it was during the period of significance. The military use of the site is visible in the fort and the surrounding earthworks. The surviving landscape features express enough of the military history of the site that the Castillo de San Marcos landscape retains integrity to the period of significance.

Association

Association is the direct link between a property and an important event or person. The landscape features at Castillo de San Marcos are directly related to the period of significance and

the Spanish construction of the fort to defend St. Augustine. The Castillo de San Marcos cultural landscape retains integrity of association to the period of significance.

Landscape Characteristics

This CLI identifies the following landscape characteristics as tangible and intangible aspects of the cultural landscape of Castillo de San Marcos that have influenced the history of its development or are products of its development. These characteristics were identified and documented during the archival/historic research and/or the field work conducted for this CLI. The character-defining landscape features associated with each landscape characteristic are listed after each description. A reference after each feature indicates whether the feature is contributing or noncontributing to the National Register eligibility of Castillo de San Marcos. Some features are listed with an undetermined status.

Natural Systems and Features

During the historic period, the natural systems and features of the site influenced the design, construction, and evolution of Castillo de San Marcos. The most significant natural systems and features of the Castillo de San Marcos site include the waterways around St. Augustine and the St. Augustine landmass.

The area around St. Augustine includes subtle topographic rises and drainage areas that are typical of the Eastern Valley of Florida. The Spanish built Castillo de San Marcos on the eastern shore of a peninsula of land bounded by the Tolomato River and Matanzas River on the east and the San Sebastián River on the west and south. The Matanzas River, the site's most dominant waterbody, borders the site's eastern edge. This river is part of the Intracoastal Waterway, which runs alongside the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean and Gulf of Mexico. It is a relatively narrow estuary, approximately 22 miles long, which is separated from the Atlantic Ocean by Anastasia Island.

St. Augustine inlet provides access to the Atlantic Ocean from the northern end of Matanzas River. During most of the history of the site, the channel into St. Augustine was difficult to navigate. Boats entering the inlet had to steer through shifting sandbars at its entrance.

According to historian Albert Manucy, Spanish officials considered the natural defenses of the harbor when siting Castillo de San Marcos. The shallow sandbars at the entrance into the channel prevented larger warships from entering the bay and threatening the fort and town. Additionally, rivers and streams around St. Augustine presented natural obstacles against potential invaders. St. Augustine and the fort had rivers on three sides and a creek crossing the fourth approach.²⁵⁵

By 1696, the Spanish constructed a seawall to protect St. Augustine from flooding. The seawall and water battery were rebuilt and moved eastward in 1833-1844 during the War Department period. In 1940, the US Army Corps of Engineers cut a new channel through to the Atlantic Ocean to replace St. Augustine Inlet. The sandbars and a small landmass, Bird Island, south of the new inlet, eventually combined with the north end of Anastasia Island. In 1959, the City of St. Augustine widened Avenida Menendez (SR A1A), burying the historic seawall south of Castillo de San Marcos. The sea wall along Avenida Menendez was moved eastward again in 2013. The NPS added a living seawall south of Castillo de San Marcos in 2011. The living seawall is within the water and mostly submerged during high tides. It features large coquina stone and functions as a breakwater, dissipating the damaging effects of crashing waves.

Today, Castillo de San Marcos National Monument is located within the urban setting of St. Augustine, Florida. As an urban-based park, the national monument features little natural vegetation. The grounds are mostly grass lawn with a few trees and shrubs. The soil in the area surrounding Castillo de San Marcos is nearly entirely mapped as St. Augustine-Urban land complex. This area is composed of 55 percent St. Augustine soils, 35 percent buildings and pavement (which account for the urban land portion of the soil classification), and the remaining 10 percent is made up of other soil types.

The climate of northeastern Florida is temperate, semitropical with hot summers and mild winters. The average annual temperature of the area is 70.0 degrees Fahrenheit. The warmest month on average is July (81.5 degrees) and the coolest is January (56.7 degrees).²⁵⁶ The spring

²⁵⁵ Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 14-15.

²⁵⁶ Jessica L. Dorr, David M. Palmer, and Rebecca M. Schneider, *Natural Resource Condition Assessment Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas National Monuments, Florida* (Fort Collins: National Park Service Natural Resource Stewardship and Science, 2012), 5.

months see an average rainfall of 3.25 inches. During the summer months, this average is 5.7 inches. The average rainfall during the fall is 4.62 inches. Winter is the driest season, averaging 2.76 inches. Because of the area's geography, major storms are a concern. St. Augustine is either hit directly or touched by a tropical storm system every 3.63 years. This is evidenced by the arrival of Hurricane Matthew in October of 2016 and Hurricane Irma in September of 2017, both of which caused extensive damage throughout the region.²⁵⁷

The relationship between Matanzas River, Matanzas Bay, and the site of Castillo de San Marcos is an essential characteristic of the site. The waterways, wetlands, and marshes in the surrounding area were important features in the lives of the historic inhabitants of St. Augustine, including the American Indians who lived in the area prior to the Spanish. The shape of the landmass that contains St. Augustine, bounded by water on three sides with high land suitable for settlement, is also an important historic feature. Commercial and residential development has changed the appearance of the natural features and adversely impacted the ecology of the natural system. Despite these changes, the natural systems and features retain enough aspects of location, feeling, and association to convey the condition of the landscape during the period of significance.

Landscape Features

Matanzas River

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Matanzas Bay

- Contribution Status: Contributing

St. Augustine Landmass

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Anastasia Island

- Contribution Status: Contributing

257 National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, "National Centers for Environmental Information Web Services," accessed online on 7/31/2017, (<https://www.ncdc.noaa.gov/cdo-web/>)(NPS NRCA).

Character-Defining Features Graphics – Natural Systems and Features



View looking north from Castillo de San Marcos towards Matanzas Bay and local marsh land

Spatial Organization

During the historic periods of significance, the spatial organization of the Castillo de San Marcos remained relatively consistent despite the urbanization of St. Augustine and development of tourism in the 1800s and 1900s. Among the most significant aspects of spatial organization at Castillo de San Marcos are the orientation of the fort to Matanzas Bay, the formal arrangement of defensive earthworks around the fort, and the spatial relationship between the fort and St. Augustine.

The Spanish selected the site for Castillo de San Marcos because of its proximity to the Matanzas River and its harbor. According to Albert Manucy, "Engineer Daza and Governor Cendoya decided the new fort should be erected on the west shore of the bay by the side of the old fort, a site which took into account every natural defense feature of the site."²⁵⁸

Over the next hundred years, the Spanish added a series of defensive earthworks, creating a fort that exemplifies the defense in depth principles prevalent in military engineering of the 1600s. The main outworks extending from the fort include the moat, covered way, glacis, and esplanade. The Spanish also built earthen walls to protect St. Augustine, eventually encircling the north, west, and south sides of the town. The Cubo Line was a portion of this defense system, extending from the fort to the San Sebastian River, protecting the north side of St. Augustine.

The esplanade was an open area around the fort that the Spanish kept clear of structures or vegetation. The esplanade functioned as a defensive feature, providing clear lines of sight to defend the fort from invaders.

Spanish settlers chose to live close to the military forts to take shelter during periods of unrest or in case of an attack. The town of St. Augustine was destroyed during the siege of 1702. The residents rebuilt the town and the Spanish governor reported it was growing full of tabby houses by 1761. By 1672, most Spaniards in Florida lived within the protected confines of St. Augustine.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 14.

²⁵⁹ Charles Arnade, "The Architecture of Spanish St. Augustine," *The Americas* Vol. 18, no. 2 (1961): 151-152.

The War Department maintained the spatial organization of the site, which was, by that time, the fort surrounded by earthworks and open ground. They added the water battery on the east side of the fort in the 1840s. By the late 1800s, the area north of Castillo de San Marcos experienced both residential and commercial development. Residential and commercial buildings also began to encroach onto the west side of the military reservation. In 1885, military personnel constructed a fence to delineate the reservations' boundary.

While the fence provided a physical barrier around the reservation, beginning in the 1890s, the War Department created a park-like landscape around the fort, installing walkways, planting trees, and adding benches. Over time, the military reservation essentially functioned as a public park for residents of and visitors to St. Augustine.

The NPS has largely preserved and has restored features of the landscape's spatial organization present during the period of significance. In the late-1950s and early-1960s, the NPS demolished several buildings along the western and southern edges of the national monument during the realignment of the road around the national monument.

Today, the historic fort sits in the center of an open space at the eastern edge of St. Augustine's historic downtown area. South Castillo Drive passes along this edge of the city and divides the site into western and eastern sections. East of this road, along the Matanzas River's western limit, is Castillo de San Marcos. This section of the study area includes Castillo de San Marcos, associated landscape features and earthworks as well as pedestrian sidewalks and crosswalks. A visitor parking lot is located southwest of the fort. The park headquarters and maintenance facility is located north of the fort, with an access drive linking these buildings to South Castillo Drive and Water Street. The City Gate section of the national monument is located west of South Castillo Drive at the road's intersection with Orange Street. Moving farther south from City Gate, a parking lot used by employees of the NPS is found between Cuna Street and South Castillo Drive. A crosswalk links this parking lot to the visitor parking area and sidewalks at the southern end of the Castillo de San Marcos grounds.

The spatial relationship between Castillo de San Marcos and the Matanzas River remains similar as it was in the historic period. The spatial organization of defensive outworks remains essentially intact from the period of significance. This includes the location, design, setting,

workmanship, and materials of the moat, covered way, water battery, and glacis. This also includes the open space between the fort and St. Augustine, which was originally part of the Spanish esplanade and later the fort green. The NPS reconstructed the Cubo Line, restoring the spatial relationship between the fort and the City Gate, replicating the workmanship, location, and design of the original feature. While the visual character of St. Augustine has changed since the period of significance, the spatial relationship between the fort and the town retains integrity of feeling, association, and setting as during the historic period.

Landscape Features

Castillo de San Marcos (spatial relationship with Matanzas River)

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Defensive outworks around Castillo de San Marcos

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Castillo de San Marcos (spatial relationship with St. Augustine)

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Land Use

During the period of significance, the land use for Castillo de San Marcos was primarily for military purposes. Even prior to the construction of Castillo de San Marcos, St. Augustine was the site of historically significant military events, including Francis Drake's raid in 1586. From its initial construction in 1672 to 1900, Spanish, British, Confederate, and American military forces occupied and utilized Castillo de San Marcos. The features related to the military use include the fort, defensive outworks, and esplanade/fort green.

New land uses appeared during the War Department period of significance. Secondary uses of the property during the War Department period of significance include military prison, cemetery, recreation, preservation, historic interpretation, tourism, and commercial advertising. Recreational uses of the site include both passive (e.g. walking) and active opportunities (e.g. baseball and golf).

The Spanish periodically used Castillo de San Marcos to incarcerate people, as they did in 1795 during the uprising by Anglo-speaking settlers in northeast Florida. The U.S. War Department also used it as a prison as early as 1837, when it imprisoned Chief Osceola at the fort. The fort was also used as a military prison in the 1870s for American Indians captured during battles in the western territories of the United States. The fort is the landscape feature associated with this land use.

According to Edwin Bearss, residents of St. Augustine developed a "potters' field" in a section of the north glacis prior to 1840.²⁶⁰ The exact location of this landscape feature is unknown. Beginning in the late 1880s, the War Department began creating a park-like landscape at Castillo de San Marcos. The addition of concrete walkways, shade trees, and benches facilitated a passive recreational use of the property. A baseball diamond was installed on the fort's grounds in the 1880s. An exhibition game, featuring members of the Cuban Giants, a professional African

260 Bearss, *Historic Structure*, 156.

American team, occurred on the grounds in 1885. In 1895, a group of winter residents of St. Augustine constructed three holes (later five) for the first golf course in Florida on the fort green.

The War Department recognized the historic significance of the Spanish fort and made efforts at its preservation. As early as the 1830s, military officials attempted to repair broken and deteriorated features. Throughout the period of significance, the War Department made repeated funding requests to pay for repairs at the site. Many of the historic landscape features received some level of maintenance and repair during this period, including historic walls, bridges, and features at the fort. The War Department also opened the fort to visitors. According to historian Luis Arana, the fort became a tourist attraction after the Civil War when "affluent Northerners began wintering in Florida."²⁶¹ By 1910, the War Department had a staff person designated to give tours of the site. In 1914, the War Department entered into an agreement with the St. Augustine Historical Society to provide tours of the fort. A "large advertising sign board" was in the open space west of the fort prior to 1886. That year, Captain Black alerted his superiors to its presence and his intention to remove it.²⁶²

Today the land use is commemorative, interpretive, recreational, and administrative. The NPS has managed the site as an educational resource and public facility. The grounds are open to the public and are enjoyed by residents and visitors. Landscape features associated with current cultural tourism include walkways, parking lot, benches, ticket booth, interpretive waysides, and other site furnishings. Preservation has been a large part of the land use during the NPS period, as it has largely maintained the character of the site from the previous periods. The NPS has restored historic resources and reconstructed missing military-related features from the Spanish period, including the Cubo Line. The NPS has also performed preservation maintenance on many of the historic landscape features, including most of the walls and other features of the fort and outworks. The NPS constructed the Park Headquarters and Maintenance Facility on the northwestern edge of the national monument in 1965. The complex has been enlarged and is still used.

²⁶¹ Luis Rafael Arana, "Conservation and Reutilization of the Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 65, no. 1 (1986): 83.

²⁶² Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 332.

Throughout the period of significance, Castillo de San Marcos' land use was primarily military-related. The landscape features associated with the military land use include the fort and the defensive outworks. While the military land use was discontinued, that land use determined the location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association of the historic landscape. These aspects retain integrity and are legible in the landscape today. The other land uses that developed during the War Department period of significance reflect the military's diminished opinion of the fort's strategic importance in its coastal defense system. The recreational use of the property during the War Department period is historically significant because it featured an early baseball game, which included pioneer African American professional baseball players, and the first golf course built in Florida. The locations of these activities are known, and the setting is reminiscent of the historic period. The War Department made several repairs to the structure to stabilize and preserve it as a historical artifact. This work is visible today and retains integrity of design, materials, and workmanship.

Landscape Features

Castillo de San Marcos

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Moat

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Covered Way

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Glacis

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Ravelin

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Water Battery

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Hot Shot Furnace

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Cubo Line

- Contribution Status: Contributing

City Gate

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Site of Golf Course (Recreation)

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Site of Baseball Field (Recreation)

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Cultural Traditions

During the period of significance, the cultural traditions that most impacted the appearance of the landscape relate to military traditions. The design of Castillo de San Marcos reflects military engineering principles developed in Europe during the Renaissance and adapted by Spanish engineers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These military design traditions include the bastioned fort and the defense in depth outworks surrounding the fort. Similarly, the European tradition of enclosing a town with defensive structures occurred at St. Augustine. The use of coquina is in keeping with Spanish traditions of building masonry fortifications but uses a local resource for that purpose.

By the end of the 1800s, the traditions of tourism and recreation impacted the landscape. The War Department converted the fort grounds from a military reservation into a park-like setting and opened the fort to visitors. The fort grounds featured a golf course and baseball diamond. During the War Department period of significance, the War Department began to value Castillo de San Marcos as a historically significant structure and made efforts towards its preservation. The federal government designated the area a national monument in 1924.

After the period of significance, the military tradition that shaped the design and use of Castillo de San Marcos ended. Since the creation of the national monument, preservation, interpretation and tourism have continued and have become the primary cultural traditions that influence the landscape.

Spanish military traditions of engineering and architecture created the landscape and are visible today at Castillo de San Marcos. The cultural traditions of military engineering determined the location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association of the historic landscape. These are legible today and retain integrity. The other cultural traditions, including tourism, preservation, and recreation, introduced in the War Department period of significance have continued under the management of the NPS. The baseball field and golf course, historic recreation-related traditions, are not legible in landscape; but overall, the cultural traditions from the War Department period retain integrity of location, setting, feeling and association.

Landscape Features

Castillo de San Marcos and defensive outworks

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Site of Golf Course

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Site of Baseball field

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Cluster Arrangement

Castillo de San Marcos stands alone, surrounded on three sides by open lawn and on the fourth by open water. During the War Department period of significance, temporary buildings were constructed within and outside of Castillo de San Marcos. These included the ordnance-sergeant cottage, removed in 1890, an oil storage building, removed in 1934, and another storage building built in 1928 the north covered way, that the NPS removed in 1940.

The NPS constructed a ticket booth/visitor information building in the 1930s near the intersection of present-day South Castillo Drive and Avenida Menendez. The NPS constructed the Park Headquarters and Maintenance Facility in 1965, but it is separated visually from the rest of the national monument by a vegetative buffer. The NPS constructed a ticket booth near the entrance to the bridge to the ravelin in 1976. The NPS replaced this building in 1987. The current ticket booth, constructed in 2010 and enlarged in 2014, is on the east side of the concrete entrance plaza, still near the entrance to the ravelin bridge.

Because Castillo de San Marcos was designed to be a solitary building, cluster arrangement is not a character-defining feature of the site. The location of the ticket booth, the only structure with a clear visual connection to the building, is not historic.

Landscape Features

Arrangement of Fort and Ticket Booth

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Arrangement of Fort and Park Headquarters and Maintenance Facility

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Circulation

The following analysis separates vehicular and pedestrian circulation.

Vehicular Circulation

Albert Manucy describes the early roads around St. Augustine as "Indian trails and the quickest passage from one coastal fortified post to the next." According to the Florida Division of Historical Resources, the Spanish established roads between St. Augustine and missions and other forts in the 1500s. In the 1600s, the Spanish developed the Royal Road, or *Camino Real*, connecting St. Augustine to the missions in North Florida. In the 1680s, military engineer Enrique Primo de Rivera began construction of an improved road suitable for oxcarts, but he never finished the project.²⁶³

The road leading from the north into St. Augustine passed through the City Gate. The Spanish moved the City Gate to its current location in 1738-1739. The main road from St. Augustine split into two roads north of St. Augustine. One road traveled north along the coast. The second road travelled west towards Spanish outposts on the St. Johns River. The British, under Colonel James Grant, prioritized the development of better roads during their occupation of East Florida between 1763 and 1784.²⁶⁴ The British also developed new roads leading south of St. Augustine, creating the King's Road. Paul Weaver describes the roads at that time, the "few narrow routes that existed were often impassible in rainy weather and fit only for foot or horse traffic under optimal conditions."²⁶⁵

According to Weaver, the roads in St. Johns County were in poor condition in the period after the Civil War. A Sam Cooley photograph of the City Gate from this period shows that the narrow road through the gate had wagon wheel marks cutting into its muddy surface. The center of the road had stones laid down to create a more durable surface.

263 Division of Historical Resources, "El Camino Real," Florida Department of State, Division of Historical Resources, accessed 4/20/2018, <http://dos.myflorida.com/historical/explore/el-camino-real/>.

264 Paul L. Weaver, "The King's and Pablo Roads: Florida's First Highways," (St. Augustine: St. Johns County Growth Management Services, 2009), 14.

265 Weaver, "The King's and Pablo Roads," 15.

In 1737, Antonio de Arredondo prepared a plan for Castillo de San Marcos and St. Augustine that shows the road network in St. Augustine as well as paths leading to the fort. One path enters the covered way near its northwest corner. Two more circulation routes approach the fort from the south and a third road connects to a wharf south of the fort. It is likely that these doubled as footpaths and wagon roads.

The paths to the south entrance of the fort remained through the 1800s, though their exact alignment presumably changed over time. Historic photographs from the late 1800s show various dirt paths leading from St. Augustine and converging near the opening in the covered way wall south of the fort.

By the 1880s, a wagon road followed the western perimeter of the military reservation. This road passed behind residential lots, turned east along the south edge of the fort green, before turning south at the seawall. In 1884, the War Department made plans to enclose the military reservation with a fence. This would have resulted in the closure of several public streets that crossed into the reservation boundary.²⁶⁶ In 1890, Captain Black proposed a plan to eliminate roads crossing the reservation. According to Bearss, "A roadway would be left open along the southern and southwest sides of the reservation from Marine to St. George Streets at the City Gates. No roadway was required at the north boundary...."²⁶⁷

In 1884, the War Department gave the City of St. Augustine permission to install telegraph poles on federal property along the road the city had constructed along the Cubo Line and behind the City Gate. This road became Orange Street by 1886.²⁶⁸ The War Department gave the St. Augustine and Halifax Railway Company a license to develop a rail line beyond the west end of the Cubo Line on January 13, 1890. The license conveyed a 100-foot-wide right-of-way to the company.²⁶⁹ In September 1890, the U.S. Congress gave the St. Augustine Street Railway Company a right-of-way along Orange Street and along the west and south sides of the grounds

²⁶⁶ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 319.

²⁶⁷ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 337.

²⁶⁸ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 174.

²⁶⁹ Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 174.

surrounding Castillo de San Marcos (called Fort Marion at the time). The company laid tracks in 1891.

In May 1891, the War Department approved plans for the city to pave Orange Street. By 1902, San Marco Avenue leading into St. Augustine was paved with brick. In 1908, the federal government permitted the City of St. Augustine to construct a twenty-five-foot-wide road on federal property. It was named Fort Marion Circle and generally followed the route of the road along the western and southern perimeter of the site as seen in photographs from the late 1800s.

In 1926, the St. Augustine Historical Society installed a twelve-car parking lot on the army's property at the intersection of Bay Street (now Avenida Menendez, renamed in 1965) and Fort Marion Circle (now South Castillo Drive, renamed in 1992). A second lot, which accommodated twenty cars, "extended west along the north side of Ft. Marion Circle."²⁷⁰ The lot is a simple pull off from Fort Marion Circle, where cars parked perpendicular to the street.

A July 1936 map of the boundaries of the national monument shows the two parking areas: one parking area is next to the seawall; the second parking area is along Fort Marion Circle. In January 1938, the WPA proposed construction of a new parking lot in the fort green along the north side of Fort Marion Circle. The new parking lot was to be three hundred and fifteen feet long and sixty feet wide.²⁷¹ NPS staff complained that the existing parking lot had "a thin covering of cinders, consequently is deeply rutted and lacks proper drainage." The plan called for a compacted oyster bed base topped with coquina gravel and coquina curbs. City residents objected to the project and it was temporarily halted.²⁷² The NPS eventually constructed the lot in 1940.²⁷³

In 1937, the NPS began a project to restore the City Gate, at which time they closed the gate to vehicular traffic. At that time, the NPS reconstructed a section of the coquina causeway. The

²⁷⁰ Charles A. Tingley, "Report on the history of the parking lot at the Castillo de San Marcos," (CASA FOMA Archives).

²⁷¹ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 429.

²⁷² See the "Purpose" report that accompanies Conrad L. Wirth to the Coordinating Superintendent Fort Marion Monument, "ERA Fort Marion Monument Job 5, Parking Area," May 11, 1938 (CASA FOMA Archives: Folder CASA Administration/Job Applications and Completion Reports, 1937-1939).

²⁷³ Tingley, "Report on the history of the parking lot."

City of St. Augustine, the Florida Department of Transportation, and the NPS worked together to widen and realign the roads along the western and southern boundaries of the national monument. This project was included in the goals for the national monument's Mission 66 plan and was completed prior to 1965. Land for widening the road came from both the NPS and adjacent landowners. After the realignment project, Fort Marion Circle was renamed Castillo Drive in 1965. In 1959, the city and Florida Department of Transportation widened Bay Street into four lanes with additional parking areas. During the realignment of Castillo Drive, the NPS removed the 1940 parking lot.²⁷⁴ The NPS created a lot on the south side of Castillo Drive, on the site of the former Bennett Hotel. Between March and June 1965, the NPS constructed a new parking lot at the entrance into the fort.²⁷⁵

In 1964, Albert Manucy prepared plans for the City Gates, which included removing existing curbs and pavement and installing a new curb-line to create a triangular island. The NPS removed the existing pavement and reconstructed the Cubo Line moat in front of the gates. The project was completed in 1964.²⁷⁶ As of 2018, the triangular area completed in 1964 is still in place. The east side of the triangle is formed by South Castillo Drive. The west and south sides of the triangle are formed by Orange Street. The historic road through the gate, which aligns with St. George Street, is crushed gravel. A stone bridge spans the reconstructed moat.

Today, the entire stretch of road along the national monument is South Castillo Drive/SR A1A/US Business 1. SR A1A enters St. Augustine from Anastasia Island south of the national monument, crossing over the Matanzas River on the Bridge of Lions. The road turns north once it leaves the bridge and travels north towards the national monument. Between the bridge and the national monument, the road is also called Avenida Menendez. At the national monument, the road becomes South Castillo Drive as it follows the southern and western boundary lines, passing east of the City Gate, before exiting the national monument heading north.

²⁷⁴ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 462.

²⁷⁵ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 462.

²⁷⁶ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 458.

Today, the parking area south of Castillo de San Marcos includes 115 spaces for car parking (four of which are accessible spaces), six motorcycle spaces, and three bus spaces. This lot appears to have the same general configuration as the one the NPS installed in the 1960s. Today, a smaller parking area is reserved for NPS employees. This lot has approximately fifteen parking spaces and is located at the intersection of South Castillo Drive and Charlotte Street.

South Castillo Drive/SR A1A/US Business 1 enters the northwest corner of the national monument. The segment of road that aligns with the City Gate presumably occupies the general location of the historic road into St. Augustine. This short segment of road is historically significant. As part of the Spanish trail network connecting to missions and outposts north of St. Augustine, the route has remained largely intact since the 1600s. The short section in the national monument was part of the Pablo Road, and according to Weaver, "The Pablo Road is likely the oldest historic period road in Florida and certainly one of the oldest in the United States."

The section of South Castillo Drive that aligns with the City Gate as it enters the national monument has integrity of location, but has lost integrity of design, material, workmanship, setting, feeling, and association. The short section of road that passes through the City Gate retains integrity of location, design, feeling, setting, and association. South Castillo Drive was realigned in the late 1950s and early 1960s. This new road does not relate to routes present in the historic period and does not contribute to the historic significance of the site. The same is true for parking lots. Parking lots did exist on the site as early as 1926, but all existing lots are modern. The entrance drive and parking lots at the Park Headquarters Building and Maintenance Facility were not present during the period of significance.

Landscape Features

Roadway between City Gate

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Roadway South Castillo Drive between boundary line and City Gate

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Current NPS parking lots constructed in 1965

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Current NPS parking lots and roads begun in 1964 and added onto in 1990s at Park Headquarters Building and Maintenance Facility

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Current alignment of South Castillo Drive completed in mid-1960s

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Pedestrian Circulation

The pedestrian routes through the City Gate and towards Castillo de San Marcos in the Colonial period of significance would have served both pedestrians and wagons. The 1756 Brozas y Garay map of Castillo de San Marcos shows two openings in the covered way wall. One gate is at the intersection of the covered way salient, west of the fort, and the Cubo Line. The second entrance is south of the fort, between the south salient of the covered way and the water battery. The Brozas y Garay map shows three paths converging at the gate south of the fort. This southern entrance is described above when discussing roads into the fort. This served as the main entrance into the fort. The Pedro Díaz Berríos' map from 1796 shows the south and west gates; this map also shows a third gate in the north salient of the covered way. Paths are shown leading out from the fort from these three gates.

Another circulation feature was the wooden bridges between the fort, ravelin, and the covered way. These were finished during the initial construction of the fort and reconfigured with the replacement of the ravelin in 1672. Spanish records indicate work on the bridges throughout the historic period of significance. The Spanish added supports in 1785, rebuilt them in 1802, and fixed them in 1807 and 1820. The British added stone piers in 1796.

Photographs from the nineteenth century show that paths converged at the south passage through the covered way wall into the 1880s using similar routes present during the Spanish colonial period. Paths approached the fort from the south and southwest during this period. Historic photographs also show paths crossing the greenspace west of the fort. Captain Black, assisted by Lieutenant D. D. Gaillard, removed interior roadways from the fort green and constructed several

pedestrian walkways. In 1891, according to Bearss, Black proposed "A 4-foot concrete walkway [leading] from the reservation's main gateway to the fort's postern." They also constructed walkways across the west side of the fort green. The walkways, according to Bearss, "were to be built of rammed coquina or of cheap concrete."²⁷⁷ In 1891, workers constructed "two hundred square yards of concrete walks, 4 feet wide and 4 inches thick, and 1,269 square yards of concrete pathways, 3 feet wide by 3 inches thick."²⁷⁸ The alignments of the walkways Black constructed across this area in 1891-1892 appear to follow the routes of footpaths seen in earlier photographs taken prior their installation. This suggests that Black incorporated these informal paths into the layout of new walkways.

By the 1920s, a network of concrete walkways converged in the level area in the covered way where the bridge connects to the ravelin. The concrete walkways from this period used preexisting passages through the walls created in the Spanish colonial period. One concrete walkway led south towards Bay Street (present day Avenida Menendez). A second walkway led through the covered way wall to a concrete walkway that paralleled the top of the seawall extending south from the water battery. A curved walkway from the ravelin bridge terminated at a staircase that led over the covered way wall. Paths also appear in a historic photograph that also shows a wooden staircase at the southwest salient of the covered way. Golfers apparently used this feature to walk from tee to green while there was a golf course on the military reservation grounds.

In 1926, the Quartermaster Department, now managing the site, laid "about 400 square feet of concrete walkway from Bay Street and Marion Circle to the bridge at the entrance to the fort."²⁷⁹ A July 1936 map shows a ten-foot-wide concrete walkway passing between two parking lots before leading to the entrance into the fort. Another concrete walkway was along the top of the seawall. A third walkway extended to the entrance from the west side of the parking lot on Fort Marion Circle. This walkway traversed the glacis on its route towards the south salient of the covered way. Another walkway followed a route across the fort green roughly parallel to the

²⁷⁷ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 337.

²⁷⁸ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 340.

²⁷⁹ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 367.

alignment of Fort Marion Circle. Two concrete walkways entered the national monument property from the north at Water Street. These walkways occupied alignments similar to those installed in the 1890s.

In the 1930s and 1940s, the NPS removed the interior walkways crossing the west side of the fort green installed in the 1890s. A 1956 landscape plan for the national monument shows existing and proposed walkways around the parking lot and fort entrance. In the plan, the NPS proposed "obliterating" the two walkways from Water Street and creating new, more curvilinear connections. This did not occur. The NPS also proposed new sidewalks along Fort Marion Circle. Otherwise, the circulation system appears the same as that in the 1940s.

Between March and June 1965, the NPS constructed new concrete walkways at the new parking lot and between the parking lot and the entrance to the fort. Work on the walkways continued into 1967.²⁸⁰ At this time, the NPS also widened certain walkways, including the narrow walkway along the top of the covered way wall that was part of the 1891-1892 circulation system.

When the NPS constructed the Park Headquarters Building and Maintenance Facility in 1965, it added a short segment of concrete walkway between the main entrance and the sidewalk on South Castillo Drive. As the NPS expanded the complex to the east, it added sections of walkway and sidewalk to connect the new parking areas to the buildings. In 1964-1965, during the Mission 66 program, the NPS added a short section of concrete walkway to the eastern end of the Cubo Line, where it met the City Gate. This walkway led to a cross walk across South Castillo Drive. These circulation features appear on Manucy's 1964 plan for City Gate. Today, the same conditions exist, with the addition of a concrete sidewalk at the back of the curb at South Castillo Drive.

The NPS also constructed new wooden bridges in 1959 based on research of the Spanish bridges during the colonial period. They have been maintained and resurfaced over time. In April 1992,

²⁸⁰ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 462.

the NPS constructed a wooden staircase between the water battery and the covered way north of the fort. They replaced this staircase in 2003. In 2011, the NPS replaced the concrete sidewalks around the parking lot at Castillo de San Marcos National Monument and along South Castillo Drive. The next year, the NPS installed new crosswalks and pedestrian signals on South Castillo Drive.

Currently, pedestrian circulation at the national monument site is handled primarily through a network of concrete sidewalks and walkways. Where the segments of the site are separated by South Castillo Drive, brick paver crosswalks allow for pedestrian access across this road. A crosswalk connects the NPS staff parking lot to the visitor parking lot near the southern end of site's boundaries. Another crosswalk is located at the intersection of South Castillo Drive and Fort Alley. A concrete sidewalk, ranging from six to eight feet wide, lines the eastern edge of South Castillo Drive. This sidewalk connects with the park headquarters and maintenance facility before extending farther north to provide pedestrian access to the businesses along San Marco Avenue. Toward the southern end of the national monument, this sidewalk lining South Castillo Drive leads to the visitor parking area. A concrete walkway extends east from the intersection of the Fort Alley crosswalk and sidewalk and leads up the glacis to the southwestern corner of the covered way wall. This six-foot-wide walkway then follows the outside edge of the covered way wall. Before reaching the fort entrance, this walkway meets a three-step staircase near the entrance plaza. Just beyond this staircase, the walkway converges with others to form a collection of various material treatments, scoring patterns, and layout styles.

A sidewalk wraps around the northern and northeastern limits of the visitor parking lot and connects with a walkway following the St. Augustine seawall. This walkway then leads south to the Bridge of Lions, which crosses the Matanzas River. In the visitor parking lot, a central median constructed of concrete pavers with one section of poured concrete visually breaks up the asphalt-paved lot and provides a collection point for pedestrians. A ten-foot-wide walkway leads from the southeastern section of the parking lot to the entrance plaza. North of the Cubo Line, extending from the sidewalk adjacent to South Castillo Drive, a three-foot-wide walkway links to Water Street, just east of the maintenance area at the northern end of the site. Another three-foot-

wide walkway extends from the northeastern section of the Castillo de San Marcos, linking Water Street and the water battery. At the southern corner of the water battery, a ten-foot-wide walkway constructed of two-foot-square concrete pavers connects the water battery with the entry plaza.

Informal routes are used by many pedestrians and staff members to reach sections of the historic site where formalized paths, such as concrete walkways, are not provided. These are typically bare-earth paths that bisect turf areas. An informal pathway, approximately six feet wide, extends from South Castillo Drive toward the covered way wall at the western portion of Castillo de San Marcos. This path follows along the south side of the Cubo Line, up the glacis, and passes through an opening of the covered way wall. At the entrance to the covered way, this dirt path splits in two directions. One section widens to roughly ten feet and leads south, eventually ending at the fort's entry plaza. The other section, approximately four feet wide, extends north before turning east and leading down a set of steps, through the covered way wall, and to the covered way. The pathway continues until reaching the wooden staircase connecting the covered way and the water battery. At the water battery's northern end, a dirt path leads south, and eventually fades from view shortly after passing the hot shot furnace, as the primary surface shifts from maintained turf to sand.

The paths during the colonial period were informal. During this period, paths and roads converged and passed through the same opening in the south covered way used today. The walkways and paths through historic gates in the covered way retain aspects of location, design, setting, feeling and association.

The walkway between the parking lot and the entrance follows the route that was formalized by the end of the War Department period. The walkway along the top of the south covered way wall is in a similar location as one constructed in the 1890s, though the current walkway is wider than the historic walkway and the route from the salient to the road is slightly different. The two walkways from Water Street appear to follow the same alignment as those installed in the 1890s during the War Department period. The rest of the War Department pedestrian circulation system

is missing. Despite a few walkways sharing historic locations, the overall design of the War Department circulation system is not legible in the landscape today. The NPS has replaced all the walkways using modern concrete, so none of the original material exists today, and the original workmanship is lost. The walkways do not convey the military aspects of the site's history, for which it is historically significant, so the aspects of feeling and association do not apply. The setting is very similar today as in the historic period, so pedestrian circulation would retain integrity of setting.

Landscape Features

Existing paths and passages through Spanish Colonial period openings in covered way wall and City Gate

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Bridges between ravelin, fort, and covered way (originally constructed in 1670s, rebuilt numerous times)

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Modern concrete walkways and sidewalks constructed by the NPS and City of St. Augustine

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Wooden staircases constructed by the NPS

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Concrete plaza and walkways at Park Headquarters Building and Maintenance Facility

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Modern concrete steps constructed by the NPS in covered way

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Brick staircase in salient of covered way

- Contribution Status: Undetermined

Character Defining Features Graphics – Circulation:



South Castillo Drive/SR A1A; View looking north towards Castillo de San Marcos and parking lot. Photo taken by the author, October 2018.

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument



Concrete walkway along top of covered way wall; View looking east towards Castillo de San Marcos and entrance area. Photo taken by the author, October 2018.



Dirt path in covered way and passage through covered way wall; View looking east towards Castillo de San Marcos.
Photo taken by the author, October 2018.

Topography

The topography of the Castillo de San Marcos site was relatively level when the Spanish arrived. The land would have been approximately 5 to 10 feet above sea level, similar to current conditions. The land sloped from the high points on the peninsula down to the surrounding waterways, which included drainage ways, creeks, rivers, and marshes. The Spanish modified the site's topography during their construction of forts at the site. Juan Moreno y Segobia, the notary public for St. Augustine, recorded early construction activities on Castillo de San Marcos. On October 2, 1672, according to Segobia, Governor Manuel de Sendoya, accompanied by a number of dignitaries, "began this said day to dig the foundation trenches to commence the building of said castle."²⁸¹ From 1672 to the end of the Spanish Colonial Period in 1821, the Spanish repeatedly manipulated the topography of the site, constructing and maintaining various earthen outworks.

During the first phase of construction, workers dug a five-foot-deep trench in which they laid large foundation stones on top of packed sand.²⁸² Soon afterwards, the Spanish constructed a moat that would eventually surround the entire fort by 1696. The moat was at this time fourteen feet wide. They excavated the bottom of the moat to just above the water line, approximately five feet below the surrounding grade. By 1760, the completed moat was described as approximately forty-four feet wide and 6 ½ feet deep. Beginning in 1687, the Spanish raised the moat wall at the ravelin and developed a level area beyond the moat to serve as a covered way. The Spanish added a coquina retaining wall prior to 1762, raising the height of the covered way to six feet.

After the construction of the covered way wall, the Spanish built up soil on the outside of the wall to create a narrow glacis. Around 1779, the British military added earth to the glacis, extending the slope twenty-one yards from the top of the covered way.²⁸³ The esplanade extended beyond the glacis. The esplanade was a level area kept clear of vegetation and structures that provided unobstructed views out from the fort.

²⁸¹ Albert Manucy, ed. *The History of Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas From Contemporary Narratives and Letters* (Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), 15.

²⁸² Manucy, *The Building of Castello de San Marcos*, 17.

²⁸³ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 16, 57.

Beginning in 1704, the Spanish constructed a defensive wall, the Cubo Line, extending west from the fort to protect St. Augustine from an attack from the north. The Cubo Line featured a moat in front of an earth rampart. The moat, like most of the earthworks constructed during this period, was constructed from sandy soil and susceptible to erosion. During the Colonial period, the Spanish periodically redug the moat and reinforced the rampart walls. In 1743, for example, the Cubo Line moat was eleven feet wide and 5 ½ feet deep.²⁸⁴

After the U.S. Army occupied Castillo de San Marcos (renamed Fort Marion) in 1821, it continued to alter the site's topography during routine maintenance of the Spanish-period features. For example, the army periodically excavated the moat, beginning in the 1840s, to improve drainage.²⁸⁵ The U.S. Army added more earth to the glacis in the 1840s, because, according to Bearss, "nobody had overseen the preservation of the outworks . . . and roadways and paths meandered across the glacis."²⁸⁶ It was also in the 1840s when the army reconstructed the water battery and filled in the moat on that side of the fort. To deal with water standing behind the water battery's seawall, the army adjusted the grade of the ground plane so it would drain water into two culverts added to the seawall. Within a few decades, by the 1870s, the glacis eroded again, with large bare areas that appear almost like sand dunes in historic photographs.²⁸⁷ In the late 1880s, the army regraded the glacis and installed new sod during their efforts to create a more park-like setting around the fort. According to Bearss, in 1890, Captain Black proposed, "the slopes of the glacis would be restored to the grade, about 1 to 7, shown on Spanish plans. Spoil would be used to fill low places."²⁸⁸ In 1891, under Lieutenant D. D. Galliard's supervision, laborers "restored [the glacis] to their historic grade, and all low places on the reservation [were] filled and graded."²⁸⁹ To accomplish the project, workers moved "11,517 cubic yards of earth... an average distance of 1,032 feet."²⁹⁰

284 Sastre, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 164.

285 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 173.

286 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 156.

287 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 155.

288 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 155.

289 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 338-339.

290 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 339.

The army converted the Cubo Line moat into a drainage ditch around 1857. In 1891, army personnel reported cleaning and grading the ditch.²⁹¹ The area known as the esplanade during the Colonial period became known as the fort green during the War Department period. During the 1890s, Captain Black leveled the fort green and proposed keeping it "at 8 feet above mean low water."²⁹²

The NPS excavated 8,000 cubic feet of soil from the moat in 1933.²⁹³ After completing archeology on the moat and around the fort in 1938, the NPS lowered the moat another two feet and spread the dirt on the glacis.²⁹⁴ It filled the moat with water during this period.

In 1963, the NPS completed archeology and research to determine the location of the Cubo Line. In 1964, the NPS reconstructed the defensive line, including its moat and glacis. In the 1960s, during the Mission 66 projects at the national monument, the NPS sodded new grass across the site and restored the southwest glacis.²⁹⁵ In 1996, the NPS drained the moat and raised its floor level to protect the foundation stones on the scarp walls.

According to the St. Johns County GIS website, most of St. Augustine is between 5 and 10 feet above sea level.²⁹⁶ The area around the fort also falls within this range. The topographic features constructed and reconstructed during the period of significance are now maintained by the NPS and are legible in the landscape. The changes in grade are most dramatic near the fort, with the moat and covered way creating multi-level terraces extending out from the base of the fort walls. The glacis slopes down to the fort green, which is level except for the Cubo Line and moat. The Park Headquarters and Maintenance Facility occupies a level site. Grading certainly occurred during the construction of the buildings and parking lots, but there are not significant topographic features on the site. The City Gate occupies a relatively level triangular space, except for the reconstructed Cubo Line and moat.

291 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 341.

292 Ibid.

293 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 420.

294 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 429.

295 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 462.

296 <http://www.gis.bocc.co.st-johns.fl.us/imap/>

The defensive earthworks constructed by the Spanish in the 1600s and 1700s created a unique topographic character at the site. These earthworks were part of the defensive architecture of the fort and are characteristic of military engineering design principles of the time. They have changed slightly over time, as occupants of the fort lowered or raised landforms during phases of construction. The features generally reflect their original design and retain much of the original material. The workmanship to create the earthworks is evident in the walls, moats, and at the glacis. The aspects of association, setting, and feeling are also evident, because the presence of so many historic features accurately conveys the site's historic character. In general, Castillo de San Marcos National Monument retains integrity of topography.

Landscape Features

Moat

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Covered Way

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Glacis

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Esplanade/Fort Green

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Water Battery

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Reconstructed Cubo Line and moat

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Reconstructed City Gate moat

- Contribution Status: Contributing



Moat and covered way. View looking west. Photo taken by the author, October 2018.

Vegetation

Before the time of Spanish arrival, the area that became St. Augustine featured naturally occurring plant communities except for those areas impacted by local American Indians. According to Albert Manucy, "Beyond the marshes was wilderness—the pine barrens and cypress swamps, palmetto scrubs, and oak groves."²⁹⁷ Trees common to the Florida flatwood plant community include live oak, hackberry, long leaf pine, and slash pine. Indigenous shrubs include huckleberry, gallberry, palmetto, shining sumac, and wax myrtle. Areas along drainage courses would have featured species better adapted to swamp environments, including cypress trees and marsh grasses.

The Spanish cleared the area around Castillo de San Marcos to open sight lines and maintain lines of fire. Historic maps also suggest that the Spanish cleared an area on either side of the main trail leading north from St. Augustine. The Spanish likely cleared this land for defensive purposes but also for planting crops during the early years of construction to feed the laborers. Land further north of the fort was cleared for use by both American Indians and Spanish settlers and laborers. Even though the area immediately around the fort was supposed to be kept clear for defensive purposes, records show that the Spanish did plant corn close to the fort during the Spanish colonial period. According to Albert Manucy, in 1693 Spanish officials in Florida "resolved to plant great crops of maize nearby [St. Augustine]. They found men to plow up the broad, field-like clearings around the fort, and acres of waving corn soon extended almost up to the moat." In December, a royal order prohibited the growing of crops within "a musket shot of the Castillo."²⁹⁸

As Albert Manucy explains, during the early years of Spanish settlement, the Spanish cultivated crops to supplement supplies sent from Spain or from other settlements in the Caribbean. The Spanish were not familiar with farming in sandy soils and would have looked to the American Indians for cultivation techniques and crops. The list of crops grown during this time seems to support this, including crops familiar to American Indians at the time. According to Albert Manucy, "there were few garden vegetables. Squash grew well in the sandy soil, and there were

²⁹⁷ Manucy, *The Building of Castello de San Marcos*, 14-15.

²⁹⁸ Manucy, *The Building of Castello de San Marcos*, 25-26.

beans and sweet potatoes, citron, pomegranates, and figs. The orange had already been introduced. And of course there were the favorite seasoning of onion and garlic.”²⁹⁹ Yucca is another plant that appeared in the landscape during the Spanish colonial period, as the Spanish planted it along the town palisades to harass an attacking force.³⁰⁰ It is also known that marsh grass established itself in the moat by the 1800s, and it seems likely that it would be present in the moat during the earlier period also.

The British took possession of Castillo de San Marcos in 1763. In 1779, they reconstructed the glacis around the fort, presumably adding turf to stabilize the soil. When the U.S. Army occupied the fort in 1821, it repaired the fort and reconstructed the sea wall and water battery. In 1833, records indicate that troops removed weeds and grass from the fort, but there is no indication that the army planted any vegetation other than grass during this early period except for landscaping associated with closing construction ditches associated with projects.³⁰¹

Photographs prior to 1890 show a deteriorated landscape with few trees and bare earth. Photographs taken after 1890 show changes in the vegetation. The War Department resodded the glacis in 1888. Clumps of evergreen trees, likely red cedars, appear near the remnants of the Cubo Line. Cedars are also seen growing along the covered way wall on the north side of the fort. There are also large cedars growing behind (southeast) of the ordnance-sergeant cottage in the covered way near the ravelin.

Captain Black, who was then supervising maintenance at the fort, submitted a landscape plan in December 1890. In it, he proposed planting the entire reservation in grass and planting groups of trees and shrubs. Black designed the plan using native plants "so a minimum amount of care will be required" and that the plantings would not "dwarf or hide the fort."³⁰² In 1891, laborers graded, plowed, and seeded 8.8 acres surrounding the fort.³⁰³ Hired or contracted laborers planted trees and shrubs, including sixty-one cedars, twenty-nine myrtles, fifty-five palmettos,

299 Manucy, *The Building of Castello de San Marcos*, 14.

300 Manucy, *The Building of Castello de San Marcos*, 29.

301 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 64, 141.

302 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 337.

303 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 339.

twenty-four oleanders, one hundred and three casinos, and four hundred and seventy Spanish bayonets.³⁰⁴ The next year, they planted four hundred and thirty Spanish bayonets, one hundred and five myrtles, twenty palmettos, and sixty-two elm trees.³⁰⁵

The U.S. Army withdrew its garrison from Castillo de San Marcos (Fort Marion) in 1900, but they remained responsible for grounds maintenance until the property transferred to the NPS in 1933. A hurricane in September 1928 uprooted several trees on the fort grounds.³⁰⁶ In 1928, the army planted eight large palm trees along Fort Marion Circle.³⁰⁷ A July 1936 map shows the condition of vegetation during the early years of NPS management. The legend lists water oaks, cedars, swamp elm, crepe myrtle, pride of India, sabal palm, wax myrtle, and oleander. Cedars are the most numerous trees on the map. The cedars near the former location of the Cubo Line are very large, some reaching sixteen and eighteen inches in diameter. The area around the former site of the ordnance-sergeant cottage in the covered way has several trees noted, though the map does not identify the species. They range in diameter from six to twenty inches. Swamp (or American) elms line the walkway from Water Street to the City Gate. These range from one-inch diameter to twenty-four inches in diameter. Most are between ten and twelve inches in diameter. These date from Black's landscape project in the 1890s. In 1938, the NPS implemented a tree maintenance program.³⁰⁸ In October 1944, another hurricane damaged trees on the fort green.

In September 1964, Hurricane Dora uprooted several trees on the fort grounds. During the Mission 66 program, the NPS installed new sod on the park grounds. In June 1965, the NPS planted oak trees and palms along the north property line to screen residential houses and the new administrative building. Between April and August 1965, the NPS planted sod and shrubs at both the fort's parking lot and around the new administration building. By the mid-1960s, several trees shown on the July 1936 plan remained on site. These included the cedars in the

304 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 340.

305 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 342.

306 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 372.

307 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 372.

308 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 430.

covered way south of the fort and several cedars in the open space near the Cubo Line. A few elms survived along the Water Street to City Gate walkway.

In 1975, the NPS removed trees growing in the covered way because their roots were damaging the fortifications.³⁰⁹ In 1977, NPS horticulturalist Lynch H. D. Boykin Jr. inspected the fort and recommended the removal of six diseased and dead trees.³¹⁰ Boykin generally wanted all trees and shrubs growing close to historic walls removed. The NPS removed several cedar trees from the covered way, in particular south of the fort near the former location of the ordnance-sergeant cottage.

It appears that most the trees found on site as of 2018 were in place by 1965. This includes the palm trees growing inside the covered way north of the fort and the three palms growing above the covered way wall near the southwest salient. It also includes the nine sabal palms growing in the water battery. The number of trees currently growing along the Water Street walkway is less than in the 1960s. There has also been a loss of trees since the 1980s, including the removal of all but one cedar from the covered way and removal of most of the cedars in the lawn area west of the fort.

The NPS laid new sod around the grounds in 2000. It planted a pittosporum hedge to screen the parking lot in 2003, but it removed the hedge a few years later. Today, there are very few shrubs on site. These include a planting of yucca near the Cubo Line and near the City Gate.

The landscape around the Park Headquarters Building and Maintenance Facility has also experienced significant changes since the original construction of the building. Several plants from the original planting plan remain on site. This includes the cluster of sabal palms west of the building near the entrance driveway and the cluster of sabal palms in the yard east of the entrance courtyard. Underneath the former cluster, several zamias are growing. These appear on original plans. A few yuccas grow underneath the latter cluster of palms. These appear on original plans. A clipped yaupon hedge is shown on the plans along the loggia walkway. A hedge

³⁰⁹ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 464.

³¹⁰ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 465.

is there today; but it is unclear if this is the original hedge. A similar clipped yaupon hedge lines the west facade of the building. This was added in the 1990s. Most of the other plant material is not original. This includes the crepe myrtle, bottlebrush, and liriop.

The open character of the site reflects the presumed appearance of the site during the Colonial period of significance. The Spanish kept the area clear of trees for military purposes and planted grass to retain the earthworks. Therefore, the open lawn areas retain integrity of location, design, setting, feeling, and association for the Colonial period of significance. A few of the trees likely date from the War Department period of significance, including the mature cedar trees near the south covered way and west of the fort in the fort green. Some of the trees growing on the site during the War Department period of significance were naturally occurring. Black's 1890s planting plan introduced a design for the vegetation, but this design is not legible today. The loss of so many trees associated with the 1890s planting plan also diminishes the aspects of setting, feeling, and association for this period of significance.

Landscape Features

Open lawn area around fort (esplanade during Spanish colonial period and fort green during War Department period)

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Historic trees surviving from War Department period

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Yucca plantings at Cubo Line and City Gate by the NPS in 1960s

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Buffer of trees planted between fort and Park Headquarters Building and Maintenance Facility planted by NPS in circa 1965

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Plantings of trees and shrubs at Park Headquarters Building and Maintenance Facility planted by NPS beginning in the 1960s

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Palms planted by NPS around parking lot

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Character Defining Features Graphics – Vegetation:



View of Castillo de San Marcos with palm trees and juniper trail. View looking north. Photo taken by the author, October 2018.



View of juniper trees and palm trees in fort green area. View looking southeast. Photo taken by the author, October 2018.

Buildings and Structures

Spain built Castillo de San Marcos to defend St. Augustine, their main colonial outpost in southeastern North America, and to protect the important sea routes from the New World to Spain. Before constructing the existing masonry structure, the Spanish built nine wooden forts between 1565 and 1672. The first forts were on Anastasia Island, on the east side of the Matanzas River, before the Spanish relocated their settlement to the present location of St. Augustine. Following an attack by pirate raiders in 1668, the Spanish began construction in 1672 of the masonry fortification that became Castillo de San Marcos. After completing Castillo de San Marcos in 1695, the Spanish made numerous additions and modifications to both the main structure and its outlying landscape. Major periods of remodeling include 1738-1740, 1752-1756, and 1762. Many of the buildings and structures representative of the Castillo de San Marcos historic landscape were completed by 1762.

In 1763, Castillo de San Marcos and the other Spanish possessions in St. Augustine transferred to British control according to the terms of the Treaty of Paris ending the Seven Years' War. The British called the fortress St. Mark.³¹¹ During the British occupation, their troops made needed repairs to the fort and surrounding defensive outworks, including adding structures to the covered way and modifying the water battery wall. Following the conclusion of the American Revolution in 1785, Britain returned to Spain ownership of Castillo de San Marcos. During the first decades of the 1800s, Spain faced multiple insurrections in its colonies, threats from other nations, and pressure from Americans living close to Florida. As a result, the Spanish invested in repairs to the fort and outworks, repairing the terreplein and firing steps at the fort and repairing the defensive lines around the fort. Following ratification of the Adams-Onis Treaty in 1821, Spain ceded Florida to the United States and transferred ownership all Spanish possessions in the region to the United States. The United States government placed the property under the administration of the War Department.

In 1825, the United States government renamed Castillo de San Marcos as Fort Marion. The War Department used Castillo de San Marcos as a garrison prior to the Civil War and as a military

311 This inventory typically refers to the fortress as Castillo de San Marcos. Other names associated with the fortress include Castle of St. Mark, St. Mark, and Fort Marion. Each name change will be discussed and alternative names will be included parenthetically to highlight the name changes in each time period.

prison, where they incarcerated numerous American Indians following various conflicts in Florida and in the American West. After the Civil War, the War Department deemed the fort and its associated defensive earthworks as unnecessary for national defense and began treating the property more as a historic resource than a military installation. A Presidential Proclamation made the Castillo de San Marcos (still called Fort Marion at the time) a national monument on October 15, 1924. In the 1830s, in response to requests from St. Augustine residents, the War Department reconstructed the seawall, which was in poor condition. In the 1840s, during the Second Seminole War, the War Department decided to make upgrades to the fort, including adding an armed water battery. The War Department continued to manage the site until the National Park Service took partial administrative responsibility of the site in 1933 and exclusive responsibility two years later. The United States Congress renamed the national monument in 1942, reinstating the title, Castillo de San Marcos. The National Park Service has continued to maintain and repair historic features during their administration of the property. They have also reconstructed features, including the Cubo Line and portions of the Cubo Line at the City Gate in the 1960s. More recently, the NPS has reconstructed bridges and sections of historic walls.

The following narrative describes the buildings and structures of Castillo de San Marcos as of December 2019.

Castillo de San Marcos

Castillo de San Marcos was begun in 1672 and largely complete by 1695. The Spanish made modifications to its original design beginning in the 1730s, which added vaulted casements to the fort's interior and raised its walls from 26 feet to approximately 30 feet. It is a symmetrical, four-bastioned structure built of coquina block. A parapet with merlons and embrasures extends from this curtain wall. The base along the curtain wall of the Castillo de San Marcos is wider than its top, with the wall sloping toward the center of the fort as it reaches its peak. The walls are ten to fourteen feet thick at the base and five feet thick at the top. Condition of the fort's masonry varies upon location. The fort was historically painted with a protective stucco coating, which has largely deteriorated and is missing except in small sections. Despite the deterioration of the

coquina stone, a result of surface and internal erosion, and the presents of cracks in the curtain wall, the fort appears to be structurally stable.

City Gate

The City Gate features two fourteen-foot-tall pillars topped with pomegranate finials that flank an opening twelve feet wide. Stonewalls, thirty feet long and eleven feet wide, extend east and west on either side of the pillars. A coquina bridge spans a shallow moat north of the wall. The City Gate is contained within a small, triangular space formed by adjacent roads—South Castillo Road and Orange Street. The gravel path passing between the pillars of the gate is an extension of modern St. George Street.

The Spanish constructed coquina pillars and guardhouses in 1808. This site was the location of the gate into St. Augustine as early as 1804, when the Spanish rebuilt the Cubo Line. The structure was damaged during a hurricane in 1826. The War Department and City of St. Augustine undertook various projects to repair the gate in the 1800s. The NPS made repairs to the City Gate in the 1940s, 1960s, and in the early 2000s. The 1940s project included repointing mortar, replacing missing stones, and repairing cracks in the guardhouse roof. The 1960s project include the reconstruction of the Cubo Line and restoring the bridge and moat. During the reconstruction, the NPS installed drainage structures that included drop inlets and drainage pipe to convey water out of the moat. In the 2000s, the NPS replaced one of the finials, repointed the masonry walls, and repaired the guardhouses. The City Gate is in good condition.

Ravelin

Located in the southern section of the Castillo de San Marcos' moat, the ravelin is composed of an earthen terreplein surrounded by coquina walls. This part of the fort's defensive system consists of two levels connected by a small staircase. The triangular form of the ravelin is supported by coquina-block walls, which measure twenty-eight feet by twenty-eight feet by forty feet along their base. The longest wall faces the fort's scarp and primary entrance. The smaller walls mirror the angle of the nearby counterscarp, which serves as the outer boundary for the fort's moat and as structural support for the covered way. The walls support and protect the

terreplein at the upper level of the ravelin. Parapets extend from the ground plane on this upper level. Coquina-block pillars are built up at the lower level to support the drawbridge extending from the covered way. The Spanish constructed the ravelin during the initial construction of the fort in the late 1600s; they replaced the original ravelin with a larger one in the 1760s, which is the one currently at the site. The NPS made significant repairs to the ravelin in the late 1970s to correct problems associated with stormwater. Other than worn surfaces on the terreplein level, the ravelin is in good condition.

Bridges

Two entrance bridges connect to the ravelin. The bridges are similarly constructed, but the bridge extending to the ravelin from the covered way is supported by wooden piers. Piers constructed of coquina block support the second bridge, leading from the ravelin to the fort's sally port. The first of the two bridges extends approximately thirty feet from the covered way to the ravelin. About twenty feet from the covered way, the bridge turns slightly west. A timber counterweight constructed with metal hardware and chains connecting to the bridge deck allows for the remaining deck length to be raised and lowered. The second bridge extends approximately forty-five feet from the ravelin, north to the fort's sally port. It is here that a similar drawbridge structure is present, allowing NPS employees to raise and lower the remaining fourteen feet of the bridge's deck.

Moat

The Spanish developed the moat during the early years of the fort's construction. By 1695, a fourteen-foot-wide and ten-foot-deep moat encircled the fort. During the 1760s, the Spanish reconfigured the moat to accommodate a larger ravelin. The moat included a drainage structure, called a *cuvette*, which was a shallow channel along the centerline of the moat. The *cuvette* was dug to be at the water table at high tide. This ebb and flow of water helped drain the moat of unsanitary standing water.

The War Department modified the moat between 1842 and 1844, when they filled the moat on the east side of the fort during construction of the Water Battery. The NPS excavated the moat in

the 1930s and filled it with water. The NPS drained the moat in 1996, installing a drain line in the middle of the moat. Today, the forty-two-foot-wide moat extends from the wall of the fort, which serves as the moat's scarp, to the counterscarp, which is the wall supporting the covered way. The masonry walls are in fair to good condition, with mortar ledges that contribute to the deterioration of the coquina stone.

Moat Wall/Counterscarp

The moat's counterscarp establishes the outer limit of the moat while setting the elevation for the covered way, which extends from the top of this wall. The counterscarp is a coquina-block wall with lime mortar and varies in height, between approximately four and ten feet. The shortest segment is on the northern end of the fort, and the tallest is found at the southern end, near the ravelin. The NPS repaired walls in the 1970s and again in 2004 and 2005. Mortar ledges are present in the moat wall, which has been identified as contributing to the wall's deterioration. Other than some issues with mortar, the moat is in good condition.

Water Battery

The water battery is a level earth bank between the east curtain wall of the fort and the seawall. The U.S. Corps of Engineers constructed the water battery between 1842 and 1844, filling in the eastern section of the moat. The battery is approximately 249 feet long and forty-one feet wide. It has twenty emplacements for guns, ten of which retain their granite pintle blocks.

Water Battery Wall

A seawall forms the eastern edge of the water battery. The seawall associated with the water battery has three salients. The landward face of the wall is built of coquina block. Granite can be seen on the seaward side of the wall up to the high-water mark. The remaining section of the wall above the granite facing is coquina block. The War Department also added drainage structures to the water battery wall during the project. These included two-and-half-foot diameter culverts with floodgates in the seawall by which they controlled the flow of water into and out of the water battery. These culverts were repaired in 1948 and replaced in 1951.

Hot Shot Furnace

The War Department constructed the hot shot furnace during the construction of the Water Battery, which was completed in 1844. The stucco-faced furnace measures eight feet wide by nine feet long. It has an eleven-foot chimney on the south façade. The roof slopes downward from south to north. There are star-shaped iron anchors visible on the exterior walls. Cracks and missing sections of the concrete parging as of 2018 provide a route for rainwater to infiltrate the structure. Other than these cracks and rust on the metal parts, the hot shot furnace is in good condition.

Utility Shed

This coquina-block building with a shingle roof is located on the eastern curtain wall near the Bastion San Agustín. The shed extends seven feet out from the curtain wall. The eastern edge of the block building is eight feet long. A doorway is located on the northern face of the building. It is a modern addition to the landscape.

Seawall

The Spanish began construction of a seawall by 1685. The Spanish seawall featured drainage features, used to control the flow of water into the moat; it also had sluice gates and drain lines that carried privy waste out of the fort. The War Department built a new coquina and granite seawall between 1833 and 1845. The War Department extended the seawall north of the fort in the 1850s; they extended it again, to the north boundary of the military reservation in the early 1890s. The seawall currently exhibits evidence of erosion of the coquina stone. Gaps in the coping provides a route for stormwater to infiltrate the interior of the structure. Additionally, biological growth has established itself in some of the cracks in the parging. For these reasons, the seawall is in fair condition.

Living Seawall

The NPS constructed a living seawall in 2011. This fifty-foot-wide structure consists of a twenty-foot-wide strip of coquina rip-rap and a thirty-foot-wide sediment storage zone east of the seaward side of the historical seawall. The sediment storage zone between the breakwater and

the historical seawall allows for sand and other material to build up behind the riprap barrier after entering this space through an opening near the south end of the rip-rap strip. The living seawall extends 280 feet between the southern salient of the water battery and the historical seawall near the southeastern corner of the visitor parking area. It is in good condition.

North Glacis Wall

A low retaining wall projects into the north green to retain the north glacis. It is a projection of the northernmost water battery wall. This retaining wall ends in a set of steps that join the concrete walkway leading towards Water Street. The wall was originally added in 1849 as part of the U.S. Army work on the water battery. The wall is constructed from stone with a stucco coating.

Covered Way

The covered way is a level grassy area between the moat and the glacis. It begins at the top of the moat wall and extends to a four to five-foot-tall coquina wall that separates the covered way from the glacis. It is approximately thirty-five feet wide. It follows the general outline of the fort on the north, west, and south sides. Construction on the covered way began in 1687, fifteen years after work began on the main fort. It was mostly complete in 1695, about the same time as the fort, but work continued on the covered way into the 1730s. Other than areas where pedestrian foot traffic has worn paths into the turf, it is in good condition.

Covered Way Wall

This four-foot-tall coquina-block wall separates the covered way from the glacis. The wall begins on the northeastern corner of the fort site where the glacis terminates at the western limit of the water battery. The covered way wall extends west from a separate retaining wall, which supports the glacis at its terminus. The covered way wall follows the general outline of the moat, with salients extending from the northern, western, and southern ends of the wall as well as the northwestern and southwestern corners. There is an eleven-foot six-inch-wide opening along the western salient of the wall which allows for pedestrian traffic and for NPS utility vehicles to

enter the covered way. The NPS repaired large sections of the covered way wall in 2006. It is in good condition.

Glacis

The glacis is a grassy area that slopes from the top of the covered way wall to the open space on the north, west, and south sides of the fort. Its outline follows the general shape of the moat and covered way. The glacis extends approximately sixty feet from the top of the covered way wall. The Spanish constructed the glacis in the 1730s. The British enlarged the glacis in the 1760s. The War Department periodically made repairs to the glacis, after it deteriorated from erosion or traffic. They repaired the glacis, for example, in the 1840s and 1880s. Other than areas where the slope has eroded and the turf is worn from foot traffic, the glacis is in good condition.

Cubo Line

The Spanish constructed the Cubo Line, an earth rampart wall extending west from the covered way towards San Sebastian River, in 1704. In 1718, the Cubo Line was rebuilt north of its original, 1704 location. Portions of the Cubo Line had wooden palisade retaining walls, and the remaining section was only earth rampart walls. The rampart walls were susceptible to erosion and were constantly deteriorating, requiring the Spanish and British to both invest time upon their repair. By the mid-1800s, the Cubo Line was a ruin. In 1857, remaining portions of the Cubo Line's moat were converted into a drainage ditch. The NPS reconstructed the Cubo Line in 1964. During its reconstruction, the NPS added drainage structures to the Cubo Line moat, which included drain inlets, pumps, and drain pipes to convey water to Matanzas Bay.

Built of concrete pillars formed to resemble the original palm logs used by the Spanish, the Cubo Line extends from the covered way, 250 feet west to the sidewalk along the eastern edge of South Castillo Drive. While the northern and southern faces of the structure are composed of horizontal and vertical faux palm logs, the top is unfinished and the mounded earth is exposed along this surface. A moat, approximately forty-two feet wide, lines the northern face of the Cubo Line. The moat fills with water and the top of the Cubo Line has loose aggregate on top of the concrete. Other than these issues, the Cubo Line is in good condition.

Ticket Booth

This small building, originally constructed in 2010 and enlarged in 2014, measures 11 feet by 10 feet 6 inches. It is a simple rectangular structure with an open gable roof, covered in wooden shingles. Three ticketing windows are located on the western side of the building, which faces the entry plaza. One window is on the northern end and another is on the southern end. Doors on the northern and eastern sides of the building provide access for employees. The ticket booth is in good condition.

Drainage Structures in Fort Green

In the 1890s the War Department installed drains to convey water from areas of the fort green. The water was directed to the ditch near the Cubo Line, where it drained towards the San Sebastian River. At some point prior to 1935, a drain line was constructed in the north area of the fort green. By 1944, the NPS added drop inlet basins to this system that connected to pipes that carried water from the north fort green into the bay. In 1949, the NPS repaired this storm sewer system.³¹²

Park Headquarters

The headquarters for Castillo de San Marcos National Monument are housed in the administrative offices found at the site's northern boundary. The building is U-shaped, surrounding a central courtyard. A portion of the building extends south from the southwestern corner. The maintenance offices are located at the southeastern corner, adjacent to a maintenance yard. The outer walls of the building are faced with stucco and painted white. Brown wooden shutters are mounted on each side of the windows along the exterior walls. Wooden shingles cover the building's cross-hipped bonnet roof. The headquarters building was originally constructed between 1964 and 1965. The NPS added a library and archives wing onto the building in 1994. This wing extended north from the existing building to create an interior courtyard. The outer walls of the building are faced with stucco and painted white. Brown wooden shutters are mounted on each side of the windows along the exterior walls. Wooden

³¹² Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 446-449.

shingles cover the building's cross-hipped bonnet roof. The building was repaired in 2018 to address issues from hurricane-related flooding. The building complex is in good condition.

Park Maintenance Facility

In 1991, the NPS added a maintenance shop to the complex. The NPS enlarged the maintenance building again in 2000. The maintenance area is located just east of the park headquarters building. A linear, roofed storage building extends approximately 150 feet from the eastern facade of the headquarters building to the stucco wall lining the small parking area at the eastern end of the maintenance facility. Approximately fifty feet from the eastern facade of the headquarters building, a roofed extension of this building spans forty-five feet south to the stucco wall screening the maintenance facility from the access road between South Castillo Drive and Water Street. This forty-five-foot-long building extension separates the western and eastern maintenance yards. The wood-shingled roofs and the stucco-faced walls of the maintenance facility mirror the materials used to construct the headquarters building, located to the west.

Most of the buildings and structures in the national monument date from the Spanish colonial period. These features include the fort, ravelin, moat wall, and covered way wall. The bridges and Cubo Line are modern reconstructions. The water battery, seawall, and hot shot furnace date from the War Department period of significance. The War Department repaired many of the historic features from the Colonial period of significance. For example, the War Department rebuilt segments of historic walls that had fallen into poor condition. The repairs, while not meeting current preservation standards, used similar material, design, and workmanship of the originals; the exception being the use of Portland-based cement, which is an incompatible material.

The buildings and structures from the Spanish Colonial period of significance are listed on the National Register of Historic Places. They retain integrity of location, setting, design, material, workmanship, association, and feeling. They are all historically significant and character-defining features. They all contribute to the significance of the landscape. Similarly, the features

the War Department added to the site, mostly in the 1840s, are historically significant. They retain integrity of location, setting, design, material, workmanship, association, and feeling. Modern contemporary buildings that the NPS has added to the site, including the ticket booth and Park Headquarters Building and Maintenance Facility, do not date from the period of significance. The NPS added onto the building in the 1990s and early 2000s. The addition of a library/archives wing significantly changed the original configuration of the building. This building deserves consideration as Mission 66 visitor centers and other NPS buildings are evaluated for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. The changes to the building are extensive enough to potentially make it ineligible. The Cubo Line, however, is listed in the National Register of Historic Places as a contributing feature. As an accurate reconstruction, it retains integrity of location, design, setting, feeling, and association.

Landscape Features

Castillo de San Marcos

- Contribution Status: Contributing

City Gate

- Contribution Status: Contributing

City Gate moat drainage structures

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Ravelin

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Bridges

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Moat

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Moat wall/counterscarp

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Water Battery

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Water Battery wall

- Contribution Status: Contributing

War Department flood gates in water battery wall added in 1840s

- Contribution Status: Undetermined

NPS installed flood gates in water battery wall installed in 1937

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Hot Shot Furnace

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Utility Shed

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Seawall

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Living seawall

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

North glacis wall

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Covered Way

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Covered Way wall

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Glacis

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Drainage Structures in Fort Green

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Cubo Line

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Ticket Booth

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Park Headquarters Building and Maintenance Facility

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Character Defining Features Graphics – Building and Structures:



View of Castillo with water batter seawall in foreground. View looking north. Photo taken by the author, October 2018.

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument



View of ravelin, bridge, moat, and Castillo de San Marcos. View looking north. Photo taken by the author, October 2018.



View of City Gate. View looking south. Photo taken by the author, October 2018.

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument



View of Castillo de San Marcos headquarters building. View looking north. Photo taken by the author, October 2018.

Views and Vistas

During the Spanish colonial period, views from the fort were military assets, helping to alert soldiers of an enemy attack. Important views from the fort included those towards Matanzas Bay and across open ground around the fort, which would be likely routes of an assault. Among the reasons for the location chosen for Castillo de San Marcos was its view of Matanzas Bay and the approach to the harbor. This position allowed military personnel to see potential adversaries sailing into the bay to attack St. Augustine. During General Oglethorpe's invasion of Florida and siege of St. Augustine, the view across Matanzas Bay, where Oglethorpe positioned his artillery, featured prominently in the course of the action. Other important views were looking out from Castillo de San Marcos towards the north, west, and south across the glacis and esplanade. The view was kept open so invading forces could not hide and avoid detection. Views to the west and southwest during this period included the small town of St. Augustine.

During the War Department period, the town of St. Augustine expanded, and residential and commercial development began filling in much of the open space around the fort, except for an area known as the fort green. In the late 1800s, commercial development of St. Augustine included the construction of large hotels within the fort's view shed. Views of toward the water also changed during this period. In 1871, a lighthouse was constructed on Anastasia Island that is visible from Castillo de San Marcos. In 1895, a bridge was constructed across Matanzas River connecting to Anastasia Island. The view of Anastasia Island continues to change during the early 1900s as residential development began to occur on Anastasia Island.

Today, the view of Anastasia Island is full of residential buildings and docks. The NPS constructed the administration and utility building (called the Park Headquarters Building and Maintenance Facility as of 2018) on the north edge of the national monument property. The NPS planted live oaks and sabal palms as a buffer between this building and the fort. There are also important views towards the fort from various entry points into the national monument. The view of the fort from the City Gate is important because it helps connect the history of the two sites now separated by South Castillo Drive. The view of the fort from the entrance into the site at the west end of the Cubo Line is partially obscured by cedar trees. The view includes the Cubo Line

in the foreground, the glacis rising in the mid-ground, and the fort itself. A similar view is available at the cross walk to Fort Alley. Here the view includes the glacis rising to the fort. It also includes a glimpse of Matanzas Bay beyond the parking lot. The view from the main entrance walkway at the parking lot includes the glacis, the fort, the water battery seawall, and Matanzas Bay. The ticket booth is highly visible in the entrance plaza. Generally, the area around Castillo de San Marcos has become more urbanized, with wide roads and commercial buildings along the boundary of the national monument.

The most significant views at the site are those from the elevated areas of the fort. These views are intact, but have been negatively impacted by residential and commercial development. The introduction of modern intrusions along the edges of St. Augustine and across Matanzas Bay diminishes the aspect of setting from the period of significance. The introduction of modern intrusions, including the headquarters complex, modern roads, walkways, and parking areas, also negatively impacts the aspect of feeling and association from the period of significance.

Landscape Features

View to Matanzas Bay

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Views from Castillo de San Marcos to north, west, and south

- Contribution Status: Contributing

View from City Gate and other entry points towards Castillo de San Marcos

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Character Defining Features Graphics – Views and Vistas



View from Castillo de San Marcos towards St. Augustine; City Gate in background and Cubo Line in foreground.
Photo taken by the author, October 2018.

Constructed Water Features

The Spanish dug four wells at Castillo de San Marcos by 1737. Arredondo's 1737 map of the fort shows three wells located inside the fort, in the northeast, northwest, and southwest corners of the courtyard. A fourth is located on the south side of the fort. Pablo Castello's map of St. Augustine in 1763 shows one well inside the fort, in the southwest corner, which is described as "Well of brackish water."³¹³ He also shows a second well outside the fort near the south salient of the covered way. By 1776, the British redug the well in the courtyard.³¹⁴ War Department records indicate that there were two wells in the courtyard in 1834. According to Bearss, "Dirt and rubbish had been removed from two parade wells, though one had since been filled in."³¹⁵ In 1881, during a War Department inspection, Chief Engineer Horatio G. Wright reported, "the wells fallen in and the walls themselves cracked."³¹⁶ In 1882, War Department records include an estimate to construct a well platform.³¹⁷

By 1886, the fort grounds had two wells, one in the southwest corner of the courtyard and one near the south salient of the covered way near the fort's entrance. In June 1886, the War Department drilled a new well in the southeast corner of the courtyard. According to Bearss, "Its depth was 202 feet, and it discharged with a force sufficient to raise the water to a height of 30 feet above the parade. It was cased to a depth of 132 feet."³¹⁸ By 1890, there was a well along the path leading south towards St. Augustine through the opening in the covered way wall near the entrance to the fort. It appears in a photograph taken after the reconstruction of the covered way wall around 1891 but prior to the installation of new walkways. In 1908, District Engineer George R. Spalding reported that among the urgent work needed at the fort was repair to the "the covers over two wells."³¹⁹

In 1926, the Quartermaster Department covered an abandoned well in reinforced concrete.³²⁰ In 1927, during work on the courtyard, "the well was cleaned and covered with iron bars and a

313 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 472.

314 Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 27.

315 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 65.

316 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 283.

317 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 322.

318 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 308.

319 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 308.

320 Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 368.

heavy screen."³²¹ Two years later, according to War Department records, the "old well had been rebuilt and protected."³²² By the 1920s, the well outside the fort appears as a circle in aerial photographs. This is the condition today. Today there is a circle of concrete marking the location of the well. The top is covered with heavy bars and a screen. The well inside the fort is covered with a wooden top.

At least two existing wells were present during the period of significance. The well in the courtyard is in an original location. The well outside the fort is in a location that dates at least to the War Department period of significance. The well inside the fort retains integrity of location, design, setting, feeling, and association to the Colonial period. The well outside the fort retains integrity of location, design, setting, workmanship, materials, feeling, and association to the War Department period.

Landscape Features

Courtyard well from the Spanish Colonial Period

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Well south of fort present in Spanish Colonial Period

- Contribution Status: Contributing

³²¹ Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 370.

³²² Bearss, *Historic Structure Report*, 375.

Small-Scale Features

Many of the small-scale features of the site dating to the Spanish colonial period are unknown. Historic documents mention artillery mounted at the fort during the Spanish period and during the War Department period. During the Spanish period, entrances into the fort through the covered way wall and Cubo Line had wooden gates. The City Gate featured a wooden gate until at least 1821. Engineer Ramón de la Cruz's 1821 inventory describes two doors mounted on iron hinges at the City Gate.

During an 1877 survey of the military reservation by Captain J. C. Post, he recorded the condition of earthworks associated with Cubo Line. He marked the east end of the visible ruins of the line with a marble monument that is present today. In 1884, the army installed a fence around the perimeter of fort green, adjacent to the roads that enclosed the west and south sides of the fort green at that time. Other fences existed on the site in the War Department period, including a fence around the ordnance-sergeant cottage. Other features present during the late 1800s included an advertising sign mounted near the road west of the fort. During the landscape projects in 1891, workers also installed ten wooden benches for visitors. In the 1920s and 1930s, the War Department added concrete benches to the site. Other small-scale features present during this period included a flagpole mounted at the fort in 1927.

The NPS eventually removed all the War Department small-scale features, with possible exception of the displayed artillery. The NPS has replaced War Department features with more contemporary signage and site furnishings. They replaced interpretive signs in the 1930s and 1940s. By 1951, the NPS also added a flagpole and light standards at the City Gate. In 1965, they constructed the concrete bench behind the palisade wall and installed a message repeater. Both remain at the site. Tricentennial marker was attached to one of the pillars in 1972.

Today, small-scale features include benches for visitors located at the fort and in the landscape. Benches include several recycled plastic benches located at the entrance plaza, along the walkway to Water Street, and along the walkway near the south covered way wall. There is also a wooden bench mounted on metal posts near the sidewalk along South Castillo Drive near the

Cubo Line. There is combination of regulatory and informational signage at the national monument, including a new entrance sign installed in 2009 and new waysides installed in 2018. A simple metal fence was erected around the parking lot sometime after 2009, which replaced a wooden picket fence installed in 2003 in the same location. It is a simple metal fence, with panels of pointed pickets mounted on square posts. The site features also include modern electric light standards along the sidewalks and parking lot. The lights in the parking lot and along the sidewalks are consistent with those found throughout the St. Augustine historic district. They feature glass luminaires mounted on fluted metal poles. The lights in the parking lot have double luminaires. There are also waste receptacles located near the parking lot and at the entrance plaza. Park Headquarters Building and Maintenance Facility has a few small-scale features, including an aluminum fence, benches, and picnic tables. The fence was installed circa 2012 along the north property line behind the building; it is a simple metal fence with panels of pointed pickets mounted on square metal posts. It is painted black. These are all modern and noncontributing.

The landscape at Castillo de San Marcos evolved from a military site during the Colonial period of significance to a tourist attraction towards the end of the War Department period of significance. The displayed guns at the fort contribute to the significance of the site, because they relate to the military use of the fort. Most of small-scale features present at the site during the period of significance are now missing. The marble marker placed at the end of the Cubo Line is a contributing feature. Collectively, the loss of most small-scale features from the period of significance prevents this landscape characteristic from having integrity to the historic period of significance.

Landscape Features

Historic artillery currently on display at the fort

- Contribution Status: Contributing

British Colonial era artillery

- Contribution Status: Missing

Confederate era artillery

- Contribution Status: Missing

War Department pintles, pintle blocks, and traverses in water battery

- Contribution Status: Contribution

Marble Cubo Line marker installed in 1877

- Contribution Status: Contributing

Civil Engineering Landmark marker installed in 1976

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

War Department fences installed in the 1880s and 1890s

- Contribution Status: Missing

War Department wooden benches installed in the 1890s

- Contribution Status: Missing

War Department concrete and wooden benches installed circa 1927

- Contribution Status: Missing

NPS benches (recycled plastic benches at entrance plaza and near south covered way wall)

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

NPS benches (metal and wood bench at Cubo Line and South Castillo Drive)

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

NPS metal fence installed at parking lot circa 2009

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

NPS metal fence installed at property line at the Park Headquarters Building and Maintenance Facility

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

NPS recorded information box at City Gate in 1965

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

NPS installed floodlights at City Gate

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

NPS installed floodlights at Castillo de San Marcos

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

NPS installed site furnishings (flag pole, picnic tables, benches, gates) at Park Headquarters Building and Maintenance Facility

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

NPS installed site furnishings (waste receptacles, bike racks, and payment kiosks) at visitor parking lot

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Missing NPS installed signs from the 1930s-1990s (interpretive waysides, entrance sign, regulatory, and road signs)

- Contribution Status: Missing

Existing NPS installed signs (interpretive waysides, entrance sign, regulatory, and road signs) around national monument and Park Headquarters Building and Maintenance Facility

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Tricentennial marker installed at City Gate in 1972

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

NPS light standards at parking lot

- Contribution Status: Noncontributing

Character Defining Features Graphics – Small-Scale Features:



View looking north towards ticket booth. Small-scale features include waste receptacle, portable benches, interpretive signage and bollards. Photo taken by the author, October 2018.

Archeological Sites

Castillo de San Marcos and its immediate environs have been occupied by humans for several hundreds of years; first by local American Indians, then by a succession of European colonists, and finally by Americans. The fort and grounds have been the site of previous archeological excavations, some providing important information leading to the reconstruction of missing figures. It is highly likely that future archeological studies of the area around Castillo de San Marcos will locate additional resources, including resources related to both the colonial and post-colonial occupation and use of the fort. This information would provide information to inform future preservation and interpretation. Evidence of prehistoric occupation and use may also be revealed in future archeological excavations. Castillo de San Marcos retains archeological integrity.

Condition Assessment

Condition Assessment: Fair

Condition Assessment Date: **TBD**

Condition Assessment Explanatory Narrative:

The fieldwork for this CLI, performed in the fall of 2018 and the spring of 2019, includes general conditions assessments of the landscape characteristics of Castillo de San Marcos during research for the preparation of a CLR on the national monument. As stated in the Statement of Work for that project and confirmed during site visits, the high number of visitors has a negative impact on the condition of the fort, in particular the surrounding landscape. The high amount of pedestrian traffic has worn large areas of the turf, exposing the underlying soil, leading to erosion. This threatens buried archeological resources and other historic resources. Excessive foot traffic along the top of walls or behind the historic retaining walls has damaged protective coatings and creates forces that could lead to wall damage if not corrected. Additionally, past repairs to mortar create mortar ledges that exacerbates erosion of historic masonry, including the coquina stone, which is susceptible to erosive forces.

In order to improve the condition of the cultural landscape from fair to good, the following improvements should be implemented:

Update historic structure reports for the fort and associated features. The current historic structure reports are either old (1983) or only draft documents (1986). An updated HSR will provide a thorough examination of existing conditions and guide future repair and maintenance of the masonry features, including mortar repair and vegetation removal.

Address erosion issues. This includes addressing the cause for the erosion, including soil compaction and controlling pedestrian routes through the site. This would involve creating more legible pedestrian routes constructed from a durable, sustainable material. This would also involve incorporating turf reinforcement, either plastic grids or fibers incorporated into the turf to protect the rootzone.

Impacts to Inventory Unit:

Impact Type: Erosion

Internal/External: Internal

Impact Explanatory Narrative:

Turf areas that receive heavy visitor or service vehicle traffic are in poor condition. In many places, there is no turf and only exposed soil remains, resulting in erosion or an uneven walking surface. These uneven walking surfaces are comprised mostly of loose sand and do not provide a stable, accessible, or slip-resistant pedestrian route. These bare spots occur along the sides of walkways, at intersections of walkways, along frequently trafficked areas without walkways, and on the glacis. Constant pedestrian traffic results in soil compaction and the physical wear of the turf. The combination of damaged turf and increased water run-off results in soil erosion, which is occurring in several locations around the fort, including the water battery, the covered way, the glacis, and the Cubo Line.

Impact Type: Visitation

Internal/External: Internal

Impact Explanatory Narrative:

CASA visitation is approximately 800,000 visitor a year, with peaks in March, April, and July. This poses a threat to cultural resources given that a high number of people create a higher potential for damage to cultural resources. The most visible manifestation of the visitor impact is on the national monument's grounds, exhibited in large areas of worn turf. Other effects include damage to masonry features, including historic retaining walls and sea walls, upon which visitors climb and walk. Visitors also impact non historic resources, resulting in wear and tear to modern circulation surfaces and site furnishings.

Impact Type: Climate Variability

Internal/External: External

Impact Explanatory Narrative:

Increasing temperatures, rising sea levels, and increasing frequency of damaging storms pose a threat to the historic resources. Rain events are producing more amounts of annual precipitation

and often with greater intensities, resulting in erosion of the ground around the fort and erosion of masonry fabric of the walls of the fort and associated features. Extreme weather events, including tropical storms and hurricanes, also pose a threat to Castillo de San Marcos. These extreme weather events often result in flooding and high winds that can damage historic resources, including structures and vegetation.

Impact Type: Pollution/Air Quality

Internal/External: Both Internal and External

Impact Explanatory Narrative:

Many forms of pollution negatively affect Castillo de San Marcos. Air pollution originating from the use of automobiles in and outside of the national park paired with emissions from nearby power plants and other industrial sites negatively impact visibility and introduces chemicals detrimental to historic masonry and vegetation. Vehicular use along the boundary of the park and within the park contributes to noise pollution, detracting from the historic setting.

Impact Type: Structural Deterioration

Internal/External: Internal

Impact Explanatory Narrative:

The NPS has engaged in stabilization, repair, and partial reconstruction of landscape features, such as mortared-stone walls, walkways, and wooden structures. While most of these features are in fair to good condition, they require consistent maintenance to ensure their preservation.

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