1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Old San Juan Historic District/Distrito Histórico del Viejo San Juan

Other Name/Site Number: Ciudad del Puerto Rico; San Juan de Puerto Rico; Viejo San Juan; Old San Juan; Ciudad Capital; Zona Histórica de San Juan; Casco Histórico de San Juan; Antiguo San Juan; San Juan Historic Zone

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: Western corner of San Juan Islet. Roughly bounded by Calle de Norzagaray, Avenidas Muñoz Rivera and Ponce de León, Paseo de Covadonga and Calles J. A. Corretejer, Nilita Vientos Gastón, Recinto Sur, Calle de la Tanca and del Comercio. Not for publication:

City/Town: San Juan Vicinity:

State: Puerto Rico County: San Juan Code: 127 Zip Code: 00901

3. CLASSIFICATION

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

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
699	128	buildings
16	6	sites
39	0	structures
7	19	objects
798	119	Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 772

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing:

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

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

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

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

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

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

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic

Category: Domestic	Sub: single dwelling, multiple dwelling, secondary structure, hotel, institutional housing
Category: Commerce and Trade/Business	Sub: professional organizational, financial institution, Specialty store, department store, restaurant, warehouse
Category: Social	Sub: meeting house, clubhouse, civic
Category: Government	Sub: governor's palace, city hall, jail, custom house, post office, courthouse
Category: Education	Sub: school, college, research facility, education-related
Category: Religion	Sub: religious facility, church school, church-related residence
Category: Funerary	Sub: cemetery, mortuary
Category: Recreation and Culture	Sub: theater, sports facility, outdoor recreation, monument/marker, work of art
Category: Agriculture /Subsistence	Sub: processing, storage, agricultural, animal facility, fishing facilities
Category: Industry/Processing /Extraction	Sub: manufacturing facility, waterworks, energy facility, communications facility, industrial storage
Category: Health Care	Sub: hospital, clinic, sanitarium, medical business /office, resort
Category: Defense	Sub: arms storage, fortification, military facility, battle site, coast guard facility, naval facility.
Category: Landscape	Sub: park, plaza, garden, unoccupied land, natural features, street furniture/object.
Category: Transportation	Sub: rail-related, water-related, road-related, pedestrian related

Current

Category: Domestic	Sub: single dwelling, multiple dwelling, secondary structure, hotel, institutional housing

Category: Commerce/Trade	Sub: business, professional, organizational, financial institution, specialty store, department store, restaurant, warehouse, storage pit
Category: Social	Sub: meeting hall, clubhouse, civic
Category; Government	Sub: city hall, government office, diplomatic building, custom house, post office, public works, courthouse
Category: Education	Sub: school, college, library, research facility
Category: Religion	Sub: religious facility, church school, church-related residence
Category: Funerary	Sub: cemetery
Category: Recreation and Culture	Sub: theater, auditorium, museum, music facility, sports facility, outdoor recreation, monument/marker, work of art
Category: Agriculture/Subsistence	Sub: processing, storage, fishing facility
Category: Industry/Processing/Extraction	Sub: manufacturing facility, energy facility, communications facility
Category: Health care	Sub: clinic, medical business, resort
Category: Defense	Sub: battle site, coast guard facility
Category: Landscape	Sub: parking lot, park, plaza, garden, natural feature, street furniture/object, conservation area
Category: Transportation	Sub: water-related, road-related, pedestrian-related

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Other: Gothic, Renaissance; Baroque
Colonial: Spanish "Colonial"
Late Victorian: Second Empire
Late Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Revivals: Romanesque (*Rundbogenstil*); Renaissance (Neo-Cinquecento)
Late Nineteenth Century American Movements: Prairie School, Chicago
Modern Movement: Art Nouveau

MATERIALS:
Foundation: Earth, Stone, Brick, Concrete, Metal
Walls: Earth, Stone, Brick, Reinforced Concrete, Metal, Glass, Tiles (Sheathing)
Roof: Wood, Brick, Concrete, Metal, Terracotta
Other: Reinforced Concrete, Steel

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

SUMMARY

Founded in 1519 with Ponce de León as its highest authority, the Distrito Histórico del Viejo San Juan /Old San Juan Historic District in Puerto Rico[1] is the oldest continuously inhabited post-contact city in the United States, and the second oldest in the Western Hemisphere.[2] The district is a nationally significant urban core of exceptional significance. The oldest post-contact house, Christian temple, executive mansion, convent, and military defenses in the United States are found in this extraordinary district. Its Gothic, Decorated Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque buildings constitute the sole stylistic examples of their kind in Puerto Rico and the United States. The orthogonal matrix of 74 blocks platted before the *Leyes de Indias* (*Laws of Indies*) were enacted, and its impressive inventory of remarkable buildings, sites, and structures are enclosed by a seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries defensive stone-belt formed by bastions, defensive curtain walls, and two imposing castles. The core was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1972, and some of its components – the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro (San Felipe del Morro Castle), Castillo de San Cristóbal (San Cristóbal Castle), its circuit of defensive walls, and Palacio de Santa Catalina (Santa Catalina Palace) – were inscribed in UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1983.

The Old San Juan Historic District has served as the capital of the island of Puerto Rico since its founding in the sixteenth century. It was known during the first centuries of its existence as the *ciudad del puerto Rico* (the city of the rich Port),[3] confirming the relevance the bay has always had for the urban core. When royal authorization was granted to move from the then fledging settlement of Caparra, the whole San Juan Islet was declared *ejido*[4] of the new urban core. At this time, the small isle was uninhabited.[5] Despite the extension of its *ejido* (the whole islet), for centuries all urban activities, and at a later date the most important military fortifications including the third and fourth lines of defense, were located within the boundaries of the proposed National Historic Landmark district. By the nineteenth century, the urban core had two *extramuros* (outside the walls) service areas that contribute to its cultural significance. The first one, the Cementerio de Santa María

[1] The word *viejo* (old) as used in The Old San Juan Historic District is commonly used to differentiate the precinct from the rest of the San Juan metropolitan area. This name has been in use since the early decades of the last century, at the earliest, and is the name used in the municipality's anthem. The English version will be used throughout this work. Spanish names will be used for places and buildings since they are the best known and more commonly used. All translations (quotes, poems and songs) were made by Dr. Arleen Pabón-Charneco.

[2] It is historically documented that Old San Juan's municipal government was established after the first one in the city of Santo Domingo in neighboring Hispaniola. As expected, there are varied opinions regarding this topic. One important mistake made when considering Old San Juan's founding is that the date used is 1521 rather than 1519, when royal authorization was formally granted for the settlement to be established in the San Juan Islet. It is relevant to mention that other historic sources date the birth even earlier: *En el año de 1514 por orden del Rey de España, después de haber unido la isleta que está en la boca del puerto á la grande Isla por medio de un puente, se dio comienzo á la ciudad más importante, que hoy conocemos con el nombre de Puerto-Rico, nombre que trae su origen del puerto que la baña, según antes dijimos.* Juan de Laët, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo Descripción de las islas occidentales Escrita en 18 libros* (1640, repr., Universidad Simón Bolívar, 1988), 64-65. Translation into English: "In the year 1514, after the islet had been joined to the main island by means of a bridge, the King of Spain ordered the construction of the most important city with the name of Puerto-Rico, name that brings to mind the port that bathes the city."

[3] During the early stages of its history, the present day-island of Puerto Rico was known as San Juan Bautista, the original name given by Christopher Columbus when he discovered it on November 19, 1493, during his second trip. *Rico* (rich) in this context (description of the port) is a synonym of bountiful. Both Caparra and Old San Juan were known as the *ciudad del Puerto Rico*. The epitaph in the tomb of Brigadier Juan St. Just, located in the crypt of the Iglesia de San Francisco, describes him as born in *the ciudad del puerto Rico*. Since St. Just died in 1836, it is evidence that, even at this late date, the city was still known by this name.

[4] The word *ejido* refers to the land surrounding a particular town that is under its jurisdiction. It is formally defined as the: [C]*ampo común de un pueblo*. Translation into English: "[T]he land surrounding a particular town." *Diccionario de la Real Academia de la Lengua Española*, 22nd ed. (Madrid: Real Academia de la Lengua Española, 2001), s.v. "ejido."

[5] Two pre-Columbian sites found within the islet both dated earlier than the fifteenth century. One rests within the defensive circuit and the other one outside, in the Puerta de Tierra sector, outside the proposed boundaries.

Magdalena de Pazzis (Santa María Magdalena de Pazzis Cemetery), is positioned between the northern defensive wall and the Atlantic Ocean and still serves as the city's burial ground. The second service area was established in the mangrove sector between the southern curtain wall and the bay in the zone known as La Puntilla de San Lázaro (San Lázaro's Point), outside the southern perimeter of the defensive walls. While most of this sector was destroyed after 1921 by the US military, the Presidio de la Princesa (La Princesa Jail), Arsenal de la Marina de la Puntilla (La Puntilla Marine Arsenal) and Paseo de la Princesa (La Princesa Promenade) are contributing properties to the historic district.[6]

Because no formal guidelines were in place at the time of its founding, the city served as an urban laboratory and was one of the first places in the American continent where the Spanish tried their hand at city founding. Old San Juan became strategically important to the defense of the Spanish Empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the city was enclosed within defensive walls, and when the finishing touches to the Castillo de San Cristóbal and Castillo de San Felipe del Morro took place. By this time, the islet was militarily organized into four lines of defense; the last were intimately related to the city.[7] With the exception of the main entrance portal from the land side, and sections of the southern defensive wall, all major urban resources related to the historic defense plan have been preserved.

The buildings, structures, and objects found in Old San Juan create a unique tapestry that represents the finest example of Spanish colonial urban and architectural expressions in the nation. The architectural inventory embodies exceptional interpretations of public, domestic, and military designs fashioned by architects, royal engineers, sculptors, and artisans who for centuries created layered aesthetic expressions that gave shape to a historic urban landscape still active to this day. The city has retained its character-defining characteristics, such as all major buildings and urban resources considered culturally significant by 1898. This spectacular assemblage provides information on varied construction methods, aesthetic expressions, architectural styles, town planning ideas, colonization theories, daily life, gender interaction, and the underclasses – including slaves, free blacks, and the indigenous population. Old San Juan is significant to the nation for its unparalleled collection of public, domestic and military buildings and for its exceptional urban components. As is the case with viable urban centers, the area is characterized by multiple stages of urban development.

PRESENT AND HISTORIC APPEARANCE

Overview

The Old San Juan Historic District is composed of 862 *parcelas*[8] distributed among 74 blocks of varying sizes and rectangular configurations. There are 753 contributing *parcelas* and 109 which are noncontributing. Out of the 827 buildings within the historic district, 699 are contributing and 119 are noncontributing. Of this total,

[6] The Paseo de la Princesa was restored during the 1990s using historic information about the nineteenth-century promenade as part of the urban master plan of the historic district.

[7] The islet's four lines of defense were formed by the following: San Gerónimo (first line), Tajamar or Baxamar (second line), Castillo de San Cristóbal (third line) and the citadel, Castillo de San Felipe del Morro, (fourth and final line). Traditionally, the *Zanjón* (Big Ditch), located between the second and third lines, is not considered a formal line of defense.

[8] According to the Centro de Recaudación de Ingresos Municipales (CRIM) of the Government of Puerto Rico, a *parcela* may include a single dwelling, an apartment building, a hotel, a plaza, a government building, a fortress and, at times, two or more buildings and/or structures. The assignation of block and *parcela* numbers made by this agency is the official one used by all agencies of the Government of Puerto Rico. There are inconsistencies between the CRIM and what is physically present on the ground. Numbers of blocks and, at times, *parcelas* are not continuous and some *parcela* numbers within a block may be duplicated. The inventory carried out by the Puerto Rico State Historic Preservation Office (PRSHPO) during the summer of 2010 took into account the physical number of properties and matched them to the official document. Arleen Pabón Charneco, "Final Report: 2010 Inventory of the San Juan Historic District" (Tallahassee, Florida, 2010). Given the fact that two or more buildings may share a *parcela*, the word is not necessarily synonymous with "lot." For this reason, the term *parcela* will be used throughout this work.

approximately 758 were originally erected to serve as houses.[9] In addition, there are 16 contributing and 6 noncontributing sites; 39 contributing structures; and 7 contributing and 19 noncontributing objects.

The historic district is part of the Municipality of San Juan and serves as the center of the executive power of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Municipality of San Juan, and several Federal agencies, such as the US Post Office, US Coast Guard, US Federal Court System, and US National Park Service. The precinct has a multitude of residences and shops that include restaurants, department stores, as well as specialized retail.

Physical Description

A. Historic Development

The first cluster of buildings erected during the 1520s was located close to the *fondeadero* (port), still preserved in the form of a beach close to the Puerta de San Juan (San Juan Door), the urban portal that, after the eighteenth century, connected the core with the sea. During this period, the plan was for the city to surround the Plaza de la Catedral (Cathedral Plaza), located in front of the main church that, in turn, was situated on a hill opposite the above-mentioned water venue. The Calle Real de San Juan[10] ran from north to south dividing the Plaza de la Catedral from the church proper and connecting the core with the Dominican friars' enclave situated at the northernmost section of town. Throughout the history of the city, this thoroughfare, informally known as the Calle Museo[11] (Museum Street), has been considered one of utmost importance. A number of eighteenth century houses, two of the three original convents in town, and the two oldest churches, are aligned along it. Both religious (Easter Sunday Encounter procession) and sporting events (horse racing) used the road as a venue until the nineteenth century.

During the early seventeenth century, the town core had moved from the *fondeadero* sector and was established around the Plaza de Armas. The southern port was preferred over the sixteenth-century *fondeadero*, although this last venue was still in use until the early part of the nineteenth century.[12] For centuries, the Calle de Tetuán[13] (Tetouan Street) was the southernmost street, running from east to west while the Calle de San Sebastián (St. Sebastian Street) bordered the town on the north. Other major east-west roads were the Calle de la Fortaleza (Fortress Street), Calle de San Francisco (St. Francis Street), Calle de la Luna (Moon Street) and Calle del Sol (Sun Street). From west to east, the following thoroughfares ran from north to south: Calle de San José (St. Joseph Street), Calle de la Cruz (Cross Street) Calle de San Justo (St. Justus Street) and Calle de la Tanca (Tanca Street).

By the eighteenth century, the city had expanded and occupied most of the interior area of the defensive circuit finished during this period. Calle de San Sebastián consisted of four blocks; Calle del Sol of five; and Calle de

[9] Residences located in Block 172 and the guard house in Block 21 were not included in this number since this use was (still is) related to military activities.

[10] The Calle Real de San Juan (San Juan Royal Street) is presently known as the Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud (Blessed Christ of Health Street).

[11] The name is related to the number of exceptionally significant buildings situated along the street. Personal communication, Dr. Osiris Delgado, 1983.

[12] Adolfo de Hostos, *Historia de San Juan ciudad murada* (San Juan de Puerto Rico: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1979), 8.

[13] Since the first section of the defensive wall erected was along the southern border of the city, one of the historic names of the Calle de Tetuán was Calle de los Cuarteles (Barracks Street), reflective of its military heritage. During the 1770s it was still informally organized along its southern border, although by the 1880s both of its ends had been developed. The street ran from Bastión de San José to the wall behind the present-day Teatro Tapia, where the Batería de San Francisco de Paula was located. The Battle of Tetouan in Africa, fought by Spain in 1860, was led by Leopoldo O'Donnell, 1st Duke of Tetuán. The decisive victory helped shore Spain's claims in northern Africa. The Calle de O'Donnell, dedicated to the prime minister-cum-military leader who made possible the conquest of African colonies, is another street in the historic district related to the event.

la Luna had eight. All eight and six blocks of Calle de San Francisco and Calle de la Fortaleza, respectively, were formally developed. Calle de Tetuán also included its present day six blocks. Except for a small sector in the northeastern section of town, where the eighteenth-century slums were located, the city had its present configuration by this time. Eighteenth-century plans of the city reveal that, although platted, Blocks 20, 27, 29, 30, 38, 39, and 57 had green areas within them. Friar Abbad y Lasierra visited the city at this time and described it in the following fashion:

> *Six streets run from east to west, they are leveled, wide and straight. The seven that occupy the city's width from north to south even though they also are leveled and straight have an uncomfortable incline: they extend in length about 500 toesas and more or less 200 in width: all are unpaved: in some places one can still see the live rock: in other the sand, and this causes difficulties when walking. The incline of the city provides it with a wide perspective makes possible for it to enjoy better circulation and protects it from a variety of mosquitoes and other insects that torment the Island.*[14]

By the nineteenth century, the above-mentioned blocks had fully developed, as well as six more: Blocks 4, 6, 7, 8, and 10. Residential infill completed Block 3 and the surroundings of Block 9, where the Polvorín de San Sebastián (St. Sebastian Gunpowder Magazine) was constructed during the eighteenth century, had acquired their final shape. By the second half of this century, Block 58 had been formally delineated, as well as the Plaza de Colón in front of it. A final minor transformation took place during the turn of the nineteenth century when sectors of the *paseo de ronda* (defensive pomoerium) were transformed into the *recinto* streets.[15] The most relevant of all transformations experienced by the historic district at this time was the 1890s destruction of its eastern defensive enclosure that included the Puerta de Santiago/Puerta de Tierra, until that moment, the only portal opening to the islet or land.

During the late nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries, destruction of sectors of the southern wall took place. In the area where the Puerta de San Justo (St. Just's Door) had been located, new development took place during the early decades of the twentieth century, particularly federal government and banking institution buildings. The most relevant transformation the precinct underwent during the twentieth century was the creation of the US Army Fort Brooke Military Base inside the proposed boundaries. The compound included both defensive castles, Esplanade, Casa de Beneficencia (Beneficence Asylum), Casa de Locos (Insane Asylum), Cuartel de Ballajá (Ballajá Barracks), Hospital de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción El Grande (Our Lady of Immaculate Conception Hospital, The Big One), Casa Blanca (White House), Convento de los Dominicos (Dominican Convent) and assorted other buildings and sites. During the 1940s, several blocks of houses located between the Cuartel de Ballajá and the Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña were destroyed to create an urban moat for the army base. During the 1990s, infill structures were erected in this empty "moat" as part of the central government's rehabilitation master plan for the area.

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[14] Iñigo Abbad y Lasierra, *Historia geográfica, civil y natural de la isla de San Juan Bautista* (San Juan de Puerto Rico: Imprenta y Librería de Acosta, 1856), 211. En Español: "Seis calles que corren a lo largo de Occidente y Poniente son llanas, espaciosas y derechas. Las siete que cortan la Ciudad por lo ancho de N a S, aunque son igualmente anchas y rectas, y tienen una parte de cuesta incómoda: se extienden a lo largo como 500 toesas, y poco mas de 200 a lo ancho: todas están desempedradas: en algunas partes se ve la peña viva: en otras es el piso de arena movediza, que fatiga para andar. La posición pendiente en que se halla la Ciudad, le da una perspectiva mas extensa, la hace gozar mejor de los ayres [sic], y es menos molestada de la variedad de mosquitos, y otros insectos que atormentan la Isla." If the streets measured 500 in length by 200 *toesas* in width, as Abbad y Lasierra claimed, the extension of the core was approximately 990 meters by 396 meters for a *toesa* is equivalent to approximately 1.98 meters.

[15] They are the Calle del Recinto Norte (North Precinct Street), also known as Boulevar del Valle and Boulevard del Valle; the Calle del Recinto Sur (South Precinct Street); and the Calle del Recinto Oeste (West Precinct Street).

B. Present Configuration

The Old San Juan Historic District is located in the San Juan Islet, a small isle sited on the northern coast of the island of Puerto Rico. This land mass is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean to the north, Bahía de San Juan (San Juan Bay) to the west and southwest, Caño de San Antonio (San Antonio Channel) to the southeast, and Laguna del Condado (Condado Lagoon) to the east. The urban core sits on top of a promontory on the northwestern tip of the islet that gradually slopes down towards sea level along the east coast. This rock formation is between forty and ninety feet above sea level. The cliffs formed by this land mass run parallel to the north shore of the islet. The promontory also slants towards the south, originally covered with mangroves and, after colonization, palm trees. The mangroves have dried-up and the now flat strip of land serves as a transition to the bay.

Three bridges connect the islet to the main island: the two-way Puente Dos Hermanos, which becomes the Avenida Dr. Ashford in the Condado area and the inbound and outbound bridges of Route PR 1. This last thoroughfare continues to Old San Juan as Avenida Fernández Juncos via the port area. Route 25 slices through the center of the islet east-west as the Avenida Ponce de León which follows the historic Spanish *Carretera Militar* (Military Road) alignment. The Avenida Muñoz Rivera, a spur of Route 25, borders the northern shore of the islet. This roadway provides the main formal entrance into the historic district entering through the sector where the eighteenth century Puerta de Santiago/Puerta de Tierra was originally located. The original moat scarp wall with its imposing height is still visible, providing a dramatic historic reference that contributes to the spirit of place of the original interior precinct. A ferry service connects Old San Juan with the town of Cataño in the northern coast of the island.

The La Perla neighborhood, a non-historic low-income residential development that originated with squatters during the 1950s, is located to the east of the cemetery along the northern curtain wall. The La Puntilla sector, also situated outside the proposed boundaries, includes a large empty lot used as public parking, a 1960s non-historic residential complex, and a US Coast Guard Base.[16]

The Gridiron

The distribution and organization of the urban core by means of an orthogonal grid was inspired by European Renaissance ideas, specifically Italian ideas as influenced by Classical extraction. Though the vast majority of the area comprised by the city was platted before the end of the eighteenth century, the 74 existing blocks are not regular in terms of size. As a result, the number of *parcelas* per block varies. While the smallest blocks have one *parcela* (examples include: Blocks 1, 4, 9, 23, 44, 50, 58, and 63, among others) the largest one (Block 20) includes 35 *parcelas*. The grid has been preserved in its entirety with one minor intervention. The small street presently dividing Block 61 from Block 62 (Calle de la Cruz extension) is an early twentieth-century alteration aimed at organizing vehicular traffic.

The Architecture

As an active urban center that has existed for 493 years, Old San Juan has experienced changing aesthetics, demographics, urban and architectural trends, and cultural preferences brought forth by two different foreign cultures. All these influences have left their unique imprint upon the physical and aesthetic development of the urban core; the buildings and their arrangements provide evidence to these transformations. In spite of this natural state of development, the historic integrity of the core as an entity is extraordinary. Visual and physical cohesiveness is accomplished by the gridiron and the unique geography of the locale, and by the hundreds of crammed buildings, the vast majority of which share *paredes medianeras* (party walls), making for a densely

[16] The Coast Guard site has one building, erected after 1898, listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

populated district. Over time, and as a direct result of population growth, areas that were originally considered the exclusive terrain of the underclass during the eighteenth century and were relatively isolated, such as Culo Prieto, became an intrinsic part of the district. Most buildings and public areas continue to offer the same or similar historic uses. For example, the Calle de San Francisco, Calle del Cristo de la Salud, and Calle de la Fortaleza are still considered the most important commercial sectors. The surroundings of the Palacio de Santa Catalina are still dedicated to institutional activities. The eastern, western, and northern sectors of town still contain residential sectors where modest houses exist side by side alongside palatial residences, as was the case for centuries.[17] The area close to the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro concentrates institutional services in the exact same manner it did during the nineteenth century. The governor of the island has resided in the same building for four centuries. The Plaza de Armas, Iglesia de San José, Iglesia de San Francisco, Iglesia de Santa Ana, and Catedral de San Juan Bautista are other examples of sites and buildings that continue to function in the same manner as they have for centuries.

Most façades, regardless of date, are aligned along the streets and narrow sidewalks. Front gardens are unknown to the district. The exception to this rule is a handful of houses located in some of the eighteenth century *barrios* (neighborhoods) and the early twentieth century buildings built by the federal government and civic institutions.[18] Most buildings, regardless of their use, have either balconettes (first floor) or balconies (second floor and higher) that open directly onto the street. Although balconettes may appear in different floors, no building in the precinct has balconies in the first level. While many balconies with wooden balustrade are roofed, most of the ones with metal are not. There is, however, no uniform rule regarding these arrangements. After the nineteenth century, a pair of louvered doors was added to the standard double doors that by this time closed all openings. Façade decorations are relatively sober, usually limited to the use of encadrements (borders around the openings). During the nineteenth century, Second Empire, City Beautiful Movement, and Belle Époque examples introduced a taste for decoration that included gesso-applied decorations. At this time, some wooden balustrades were substituted with metal introducing fanciful filigree-like décor to the façades.

The vast majority of the domestic façades are organized by means of bays. Tripartite and quadripartite compositions are the most common, although a handful of narrow houses have one bay and some *palacetes* may have up to seven. Heights are quite standardized. One to three floors was the standard elevation of most houses, although during the nineteenth and early twentieth century many buildings included more levels. Scale is also quite systematic in domestic architecture while public buildings are grand and large in size, at times occupying one block.

All buildings, regardless of use, made use of interior courtyards. The only exception to this pattern are churches. While in many public buildings the interior patio tends to be centrally located, in houses the vast majority of these open spaces are situated close to the party wall. The use of grand loggias surrounding outdoor spaces in the manner known as cloister patios is almost non-existent in the district's residential architecture.[19] During the nineteenth century, several public buildings used the French *cour* (court) to organize their open spaces. Usually, the courts opened towards the back of the edifice, although in the case of the Casa de Locos (insane asylum), they opened onto the main façade allowing passerby to see the inmates inside the building. The preferred type of loggia, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, was the one created with semicircular arcades.

[17] These uses are not exclusive and houses can be found in the first two streets while small commercial ventures are located within the residential areas.

[18] The most relevant examples of this condition are the houses located on Block 27. Their addresses are: Calle del Sol #256 (Parcela 4), #258 (Parcela 5); and #264 (Parcela 8).

[19] In Hispanic architecture the term *patio claustral* (cloister patio) usually refers to centrally-located patios surrounded on all fours sides by loggias.

Within the interiors of most buildings, the rooms are aligned and open one unto the other in a shotgun manner. Domestic interiors during the sixteenth century also included a *cuarto esquinero* (corner room).[20] Two vernacular types of domestic interiors emerged during the Baroque Period: the Type A and Type B floor plans. In the first one, the main spatial sequence includes a *sala* (living room of sorts) and *saleta* (a secondary living area).[21] In the second one, a *zaguán*[22] (hallway) is located at the center of the residence.

Most buildings pre-dating 1898 are built of *tapiería*[23] and masonry of varying types. All interior and exterior surfaces were stuccoed to protect the rammed earth during the early centuries, and at a later time, to protect the

[20] A characteristic of domestic architecture in Havana during the same period, the corner room (usually sheltering the equivalent of the main living room on the first floor) may reflect both Moorish and Medieval influences. In the first case, the space has a lot in common with the *mirador* (outlook) while in the second one it mimics the look of diminutive *torres*. In essence, family housing conceived as defenses. Lillian Llanes, *The Houses of Old Cuba* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999), 28.

[21] The Spanish word *sala* comes from the French *salle*. *Sala* is defined as: *Habitación principal de una casa*. Translation into English: "[P]rincipal room in a house." *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, word: *sala*. In Puerto Rico, until the early twentieth century, the *sala* defined a space where both activities sheltered by a modern living room and a formal parlor occurred. *Saleta* – a Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan word – is formally defined as: *habitación anterior a la antecámara del Rey* (a room before the King's antechamber). *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* s.v. saleta. The term also defines a small hall. In Havana, *saleta* is the word used for the smaller *sala* that follows this last space and was utilized for varied uses, including sewing and other female domestic activities. While the term is very common in Cuba, it is not in Puerto Rico. Since this is the correct term used in Cuba, it will be used in this interpretation. On occasion, several *saletas* were used, one after the other. Thanks are extended to Architect Berenice Sueiro and Ms. Silvina L. Vázques for their help in understanding the role *salas* and *saletas* play in Cuban culture. Because their unique personalities do not necessarily coincide with the terms living room and parlor, the words *sala* and *saleta* will be used in Spanish throughout this work.

[22] A *zaguán* is defined in the following manner: [E]*spacio cubierto situado dentro de una casa, que sirve de entrada a ella y está inmediatamente a la puerta de la calle. Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, s.v. zaguán. According to experts, the word derives from the Arab *istawán*. The space has characteristics in common with the entrance hall, although its morphology responds to a different interpretation regarding the role it plays within the interior of the house. Because of its uniqueness, the word will be used in Spanish throughout this work.

[23] *Tapiería*, a system closely resembling rammed-earth construction, was the favorite Spanish construction method in Havana during the Conquest Period. The system included: [L]*a tierra, mojada y apisonada entre moldes paralelos de madera de un metro cuarenta a un metro sesenta de altura (tapias), rematándose cada tapia con dos o tres hiladas de ladrillos por vía de enlace y nivelación*. Joaquín E. Weiss, *La arquitectura colonial cubana Siglos XVI al XIX* (La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1996), 95. Translation into English: "[E]arth, wet and packed, between parallel wooden molds 1 m. and 40 cen. x 1 m. to 60 cen. in height, each *tapia* (wall section) ends with two to three rows of bricks to level and unite the sections." De Hostos describes the *tapias* found at the Caparra *casa-torre* in the following manner: "*Para formar las tapias de Caparra se ha pisonado, en moldes de madera clavados, tierra mezclada con pedazos de piedra, a menudo pedazos de cantería, de ladrillo y otras sobras de fábrica, así como, en mucho menor cantidad, piedra caliza y algunos cantos rodados.*" "*La tierra es suelta y, a juzgar por su color ligeramente más oscuro que la arena, parece contener alguna cantidad de ella. Algunos muros contienen poca mezcla de piedra u otra materia extraña, teniendo entonces la tierra que los forma la propiedad, si se la perfora o se la libra de la sujeción del encalado, de desmoronarse, para decirlo figuradamente, con fluidez parecida a la de arena suelta. . . .*" "*Nuestras tapias de 3 pies 1 pulgada con los muros exteriores y de 2 pies y 3 pulgadas en los de partición descansan directamente y sin enlace mecánico alguno entre ambas estructuras, sobre un cimiento o zócalo de dureza muy superior a la de la tapia y de mayor espesor que ésta, formado por una mezcla de color chocolate, de cal y de un material muy parecido a la tosca, por no afirmar, faltando un análisis químico, que lo es.*" "All walls made of *tapias* had to be protected: *en ambas cara, por una capa de cal de un cuarto de pulgada, más o menos, de espesor.* In spite of this, de Hostos desribed: *Es de sentirse q sentirse que a menudo esta capa, después de excavadas las ruinas se reseca al aire y al sol, y se cae a pedazos*." Adolfo de Hostos, *Las excavaciones de Caparra Investigaciones Históricas* (San Juan de Puerto Rico: Oficina Estatal de Conservación Histórica, 2011), 109 and 111. Translation into English: "To form the Caparra *tapias* earth mixed with rocks, at times pieces of stone, bricks and other materials, as well as smaller quantities of limestone and pebbles, was packed into wooden forms sunk into the soil." "The dirt was loose, a bit darker than sand, although it seems to have contained some amount of this material. Some walls have a small amount of rocks and other strange matter and it is characteristic for it to cave in like sand if the stucco is absent." "Our *tapias* are 3' 1" (exterior walls) and 2' 3" (interior partitions) and they rest directly without any tie to the other walls over a base much harder than the rammed-earth section and wider than it, chocolate brown in color made of lime and a material quite similar to silt, if it is not silt, which I dare not affirm because a chemical analysis is missing." "Both sides of the wall are covered with a layer of lime one quarter of an inch in thick. It is unfortunate that on many occasions this layer falls after the ruins are excavated because it

masonry components, including bricks, from the prevailing humidity. Colors, when and if applied, were natural hues, typically earth tones. Late during the nineteenth century painting became available and more common. The pastel combinations presently used, a by now historic treatment, was created during the 20th century. Now considered a traditional scheme: the encadrements, cornices, applied decorations, moldings and engaged orders (when present) are painted in a lighter color (usually white) and the rest of the wall in a contrasting pastel hue.

Integrity

The Old San Juan Historic District retains an exceptionally high level of integrity evident in the preserved essential form, design, and materials associated with the period of significance, all of which provide strong justification for NHL designation. Despite being a cultural historic urban landscape and a living city serving contemporary needs, the district retains integrity of association, location, feeling, workmanship, design, and most materials. The integrity of the historic district regarding such essential urban elements as thoroughfares, plazas, urban blocks, spatial organization, topography, vegetation, circulation, water features, buildings and structures, and artistic components is high. Restoration of balustrades and wooden components has understandably taken place over the centuries; the same applies to stucco finishes. After the 1950s when the district was declared a historic zone by the Commonwealth, all rehabilitation projects and interventions (of exteriors as well as interiors) have been guided by the Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña. After the 1960s, those with Federal participation have been required to work in close contact with the PRSHPO and, thus, use The Secretary of the Interior Standards as guidelines. The integrity of the relationship between the city and its natural environment has been preserved and positively contributes to the spirit of place of the district.

Spatial Organization

The main spatial organization of the historic district has been preserved almost in its entirety. Thoroughfares lead to important buildings that typically are underscored by public plazas. The main entrance and exit into the district is still through the sector where the Puerta de Santiago/Puerta de Tierra (St. James/Land's Gate) was located. Secondary access is closely related to the Puerta de San Justo (St. Just's Door) and Puerta de San Rafael (St. Raphael's Door) along the southern defensive boundary. The Calle de San Francisco still leads, as it has for centuries, to the Plaza de Armas, the heart of the city. This active public space is still surrounded by municipal and central government buildings. The historic pomoerium (Calle de Norzagaray) still connects the main entrance/exit to the two fortresses. Since the seventeenth century the Esplanade area opens unobstructed in front of the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro. The Calle de la Fortaleza's western terminus has been La Fortaleza (Palacio de Santa Catalina) since the sixteenth century and the Caleta de San Juan still connects the Cathedral and Plaza de la Catedral to the Puerta de San Juan, a role it has carried out since the first half of the sixteenth century.

After the visitor enters the walled city, there are two basic routes to follow. A right turn leads into the Calle de Norzagaray that borders along the northern cliffs and the via the Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud to the Calle de la Fortaleza and out of the core, departing along the Plaza de Colón and Teatro Tapia. The main route, however, continues along the Calle de San Francisco to the Plaza de Armas, then a left at the Calle de San José in order to exit via the Calle de la Fortaleza or Calle de Tetuán.

dries up and crumbles."

Topography

All the district streets follow the natural contours of the terrain with some having steep inclines, particularly those aligned from north to south. This geographical condition allows for beautiful perspectives and creates softly undulating streetscapes. When looking north from the port (at the south of the city), the thoroughfares create an amphitheater-like urban organization present as early as the nineteenth century:

> *From the port one can see the city looks like an amphitheater, and its houses, buildings and defensive walls organize a most pleasing and imposing sight particularly in the manner the fortifications contrast with the buildings . . . The streets are straight, they all have the same width, and they are divided into blocks of approximately 100 yards, well paved and with beautiful and very regular tiles in the sidewalks. There are about 1,000 houses made of stone and brick, of relatively regular construction, the principal houses have second floors and flat roofs like the ones in Cádiz, and have cisterns . . . Recently, construction and interior organization within the settlement have become better and all small houses and bohíos of the poor have started to disappear.*[24]

The siting of houses, streets and plazas, made difficult at times because of the topographical conditions, has been completely preserved. The same applies to the urban core's intimate relationship with the original port, now located via the eighteenth-century Puerta de San Juan. Most importantly, the relationship of the urban core with the nineteenth-century *dársena* and port has been preserved with a high degree of integrity.

Vegetation

As expected, Old San Juan's vegetation has been modified throughout time. The vegetation was portrayed as "verdant" during the sixteenth century and as a "forest" during the eighteenth century (due to the many plants planted in courtyards), the city experienced a population explosion during the nineteenth century that transformed the city into a more densely constructed core. La Puntilla, for example, described as a *palmar* and mangrove during the early part of the nineteenth century was drained by the Spanish so that this service sector could be created. Most plazas now have trees which they probably lacked during their early stage of development when those close to churches were used as burial grounds. Special urban features, such as the nineteenth-century Paseo de la Princesa promenade and the La Barandilla, have been replicated. The Caleta de San Juan presently exhibits a green canopy of trees which is not original. The same applies to a section of the Escaleras del Hospital. The Esplanade facing the Castillo de San Felipe is now devoid of trees as per the historic interpretation plan implemented by the National Park Service. The sunken, historic Jardín de la Fortaleza (La Fortaleza Garden) has been preserved and is considered an important feature of the Palacio de Santa Catalina. It was included in 1983 as part of the UNESCO nomination. The Jardín de Casa Blanca (Casa Blanca Garden) of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has also been preserved on the site of the sixteenth-century limestone quarry.

Circulation

As previously mentioned, the historic 1898 configuration of thoroughfares, plazas and blocks has been preserved in its entirety. The early twentieth-century division of Block 61 and Block 62 by means of the

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[24] Pedro Tomás de Córdoba, *Memorias geográficas, históricas, económicas y estadísticas de la Isla de Puerto-Rico* (San Juan de Puerto Rico: Oficina del Gobierno, 1831), 11. In Spanish: " *Desde el puerto se ve la ciudad como en un anfiteatro, y el conjunto de sus casas, edificios y murallas forman un todo de grato e imponente aspecto al observar y considerar sus hermosas fortificaciones, que descuellan sobre sus edificios . . . Las calles están tiradas a cordel, son de un mismo ancho, divididas en cuadras o manzanas de poco más de cien yardas, muy bien empedradas y con hermosas e iguales losas en las aceras. Las casas, que llegan a mil, son de piedra y ladrillo, de bastante regular construcción . . .*"

extension of Calle de la Cruz is the only relevant alteration. Probably around the same time, the Calle de la Tanca section between the Calle de San Francisco and Calle de la Luna was paved, resulting in the disappearance of the Second Empire public stairway known as La Barandilla. A few years ago, this important nineteenth-century component was found, the street eliminated, and the area restored to its original configuration. The Paseo de la Princesa, a nineteenth-century promenade, has been replicated and is now connected with the Extensión del Paseo de la Princesa (Extension of the La Princesa Promenade) and the Paseo de las Murallas (Promenade of the Walls). This makes it possible for visitors to leisurely walk next to the sea while enjoying the exterior of the fortification walls for almost a mile.

Water Features

All water features, whether natural or man-made, have been preserved, including the spring close to the Puerta de San Juan mentioned in sixteenth-century accounts. The nineteenth-century Plaza de Armas fountain was reinterpreted and now is part of this urban space. All natural water features, like the bay and port areas, are extant and venues have been created to promote the historic connections. For example, the twentieth century Extensión del Paseo de la Princesa and the Paseo de las Murallas take the visitor along the base of the defensive walls and the Puerta de San Juan allowing for a more intimate appreciation of the defensive walls, as well as the circuit in its entirety. This three-section promenade also allows for a more direct appreciation of the waterfront and the sixteenth-century port.

Layout of Thoroughfares

All thoroughfares are an intrinsic component of the original urban orthogonal grid. The liberal orthogonal grid is formed by four types of public thoroughfares: *calles* (streets), *callejones* (alleyways or lanes), *caletas* (streets uniting the city with a port area), and *escalinatas* (public stairways).

The following thoroughfares run from east to west, starting on the northern part of the city: Calle de Norzagaray; Calle de la Tranquilidad, Calle de la Virtud, Calle de la Beneficencia, Calle de San Sebastián, Calle del Sol, Calle de la Luna, Caleta de las Monjas, Caleta de San Juan, Calle de San Francisco, Calle de Cordero, Calle de la Fortaleza, Calle de Tetuán and Calle del Recinto Sur. Starting east of the urban core, the following thoroughfares run from north to south: Calle de Norzagaray,[25] Calle de O'Donnell, Calle de Acosta, Calle de Barbosa, Callejón del Tamarindo, Callejón del Toro, Callejón del Gámbaro and Callejón de la Capilla, Calle de la Tanca, Calle de San Justo, Calle de la Cruz, Calle Imperial, Calle de Tizol, Calle del Mercado, Calle de McArthur, Calle de San José, Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud, Calle de Morovís, Calle del Hospital, and Calle del Recinto Oeste. The most common type of thoroughfare is the street; the vast majority of these existed by the sixteenth century. From north to south, the oldest streets are: Calle de San Sebastián, Calle del Sol, Calle de la Luna, Caleta de las Monjas, Caleta de San Juan, Calle de San Francisco, Calle de la Fortaleza and Calle de Tetuán. From east to west, the following have that distinction: Calle de San Justo, Calle de la Cruz, Calle de San José and Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud.[26]

[25] This street starts at the northeastern sector of the Plaza de Armas and runs north until it reaches the entrance to the Castillo de San Cristóbal. At this point, it curves and runs from east to west along the northern cliffs. As mentioned, Calle de Norzagaray is also known as Bulevar del Valle and Boulevard del Valle.

[26] Presently, the short version of streetnames is preferred by the US Postal Service. Thus, the Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud is known as Calle Cristo and, also, as Calle del Cristo. The cultural associations of some of these names has inspired many, including modern writers and composers. José Curet's novel *Crimen en la calle Tetuán* (Crime on Tetuán Street) used the famed street as the stage for this historic novel while singer Héctor Lavoe utilized the iconic streets Calle del Sol and the Calle de la Luna to summarize the polarity present in human life. His iconic song *Calle Luna Calle Sol* parallels the day (*sol* or sun) to the night (*luna* or moon) in order to describe human frailties, as well as crimes and punishments. The grisly images conveyed by the song pay homage to the fame these two roads had during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when their eastern sections were associated to all

All the names of the thoroughfare except one were in use during the nineteenth century.[27] As mentioned, the roads bearing the name *recinto* (precinct) are located where the original defensive *camino de ronda* (pomoerium) was situated. This interior lane circled the district and provided rapid and unobstructed access to all the military defenses. During the nineteenth century, the Calle de Norzagaray was also known as Calle del Recinto Norte precisely for this reason. Most streets were given name of saints. Others were named after distinguished persons from the nineteenth century, like Spanish governor Fernando de Norzagaray y Escudero (1852-1855), or to commemorate decisive battles, such as Tetuán (Tetouan), while still others were named after special objects. The Calle de la Cruz (Cross Street) owes its name to the metal cross that for many years crowned its highest point. A Spaniard living in the city named Perico planted a metal cross aligned to the entrance of the then centuries-old Ermita de Santa Bárbara (St. Barbara's Shrine). The shrine disappeared and the cross remained in place for many years, the place came to be known as the Alto de Santa Bárbara.[28] The name of the road still honors that act. As expected of thoroughfares that have existed for various centuries, some have been known by different names.

There are four examples of the second type of thoroughfare, the *callejón* (alleyway or lane), a narrow pathway presently reserved for pedestrian use. All the lanes run from north to south and depict a certain amount of informality in terms of their configuration.[29] It is possible *callejones* resulted from the need to informally subdivide long blocks into two units. The *callejones* are: Callejón del Tamarindo (Tamarind Alleyway), Callejón del Toro (Bull Alleyway), Callejón de la Capilla (Chapel Alleyway), and Callejón del Gámbaro (Shrimp Alleyway).

The two streets that bear the historic name of *caleta* (cove or port) are examples of the third type of thoroughfare that connected the city to the port areas.[30] Presently, there are just two – the Caleta de las Monjas and the Caleta de San Juan – although historic sources mention that the Calle de San Francisco was known during the early days as the Caleta de San Francisco.[31] Historic records also mention the Caleta de los Frailes (Friars' Caleta) close to the Cerro de Santo Domingo (Santo Domingo Hill), originally defended by some of the bastions of Castillo de San Felipe del Morro . Its exact location is unknown, although it probably followed the present extension of the Calle del Recinto Oeste. Presently, both *caletas* run from east to west and they connect the Cathedral and the Plaza de la Catedral with the Calle del Recinto del Oeste and the Puerta de San Juan.

The list of thoroughfares includes two *escaleras* or *escalinatas* (public stairways),[32] probably among the oldest public connectors of the hilly district. Since they have flat sections between the flights of steps, at times they

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sorts of rugged lifestyles. The best known verse of *Calle Luna Calle Sol* proclaims: *Mete la mano en el bolsillo / saca y abre tu cuchillo y ten cuidao. / Pónganme oído en este barrio / muchos guapos lo han mataó. / Calle Luna, Calle Sol.* Translation into English: "Put the hand in the pocket, take out and open your knife and be careful. Hear me well; many presumptuous and courageous guys have been killed in this barrio. Calle Luna, Calle Sol."

[27] Calle de McArthur was named quite late in the history of the city. There is no evidence of other historic names or the reason for its present name. It is probably named after General Douglas McArthur.

[28] Alejandro Tapia y Rivera, *Mis memorias o Puerto Rico como lo encontré y como lo dejo* (Río Piedras, Puerto Rico: El Edil, Inc, 1996), 47. In Spanish: "*Desapareció la ermita y quedó la cruz por muchos años, denominándose aquel lugar El Alto de Santa Bárbara*."

[29] Since Calle de la Tanca becomes very narrow as it approaches the Calle de Norzagaray, at times, this section of the thoroughfare is known as Callejón de la Tanca.

[30] The Spanish word *caleta* is translated into cove, inlet, and small port. The *Diccionario de la Real Academia de la Lengua Española* does not define the term as used in Puerto Rico where *caleta* is also the name given to certain streets that lead to bodies of water. *Diccionario de la Real Academia de Lengua Española*, s.v. caleta.

[31] Although at present the Calle de San Francisco does not connect to the sea, it did so during the early years of the city's history.

[32] La Barandilla within the Plaza de San Francisco is not considered a thoroughfare but a monumental staircase that was designed as part of a plaza.

are also known as *callejón*. Both examples of this fourth type run from north to south. The first one, the Escalinata del Hospital (Hospital Stairway), connects the Calle de San Sebastián (at the point where the Hospital de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción El Grande is located) to the Calle del Sol. The Escalinata de las Monjas (Nuns' Stairway) unites de Calle del Sol with the Caleta de las Monjas. This last one borders the present day Hotel El Convento and the Iglesia de las Carmelitas Calzadas, hence, its name.

All thoroughfares were originally unpaved. During the eighteenth century, Friar Abbad y Lasierra mentioned they were extremely difficult to walk because of their incline and sandy composition. In some cases, the rock underneath was exposed making walking even more difficult. Those in the worst condition had lots of sand, which Friar Abbad y Lasierra compared to walking over quicksand. It is possible principal streets may have received some special treatment in terms of pavement, usually in the shape of *chinos de río* (round pebbles), although most lacked pavement and sidewalks until the nineteenth century. During the same century, slag mass-produced *adoquines* (similar to cobblestones) were used to pave sections of some thoroughfares. These silvery-grey parallelepipeds are approximately 3 x 5 inches and 4 inches deep. They are set in sand and provide a beautiful and unique pavement. *Adoquines* tint the roads in a silvery-grey tone while providing their surface with a rich texture.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries asphalt was used to pave streets and concrete was used in the public staircases. At the present time, all streets are lined with sidewalks on both sides, except for the alleyways and the public stairways. During the last three decades, all sidewalks have been covered with dark grey *losa canaria* (stone from the Canary Islands). Some have been widened to permit safer pedestrian circulation. At the present time, a modern *adoquín*, similar in color but of slightly different size, is used to cover some of the roads lacking historic *adoquines*.

DESCRIPTION OF CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

BUILDINGS

As expected in a city that has developed over five centuries, architectural transformations have taken place. From the sixteenth-century urban core formed by some 80 makeshift structures huddled around a plaza and a shed-like church, the district has evolved into a tightly-packed core where thousands live and work on a daily basis. The existing buildings can be subdivided into three major groups: public, domestic, and military. Twenty eight (28) public buildings date prior to 1898; all are contributing resources. Out of the total number of 862 *parcelas* and 798 buildings, approximately 758 sheltered residences at one time or another.[33] Presently, there are approximately 659 contributing and 99 noncontributing residences.[34]

Selected Contributing Buildings by Periods

Each and every single building in the historic district exhibits aesthetic characteristics reflective of its architectural style. All the buildings can be organized into four stylistic periods, three of which took place within the period of significance of the nomination. These are: the Conquest Period[35] (1519-1725), the Baroque

[33] As mentioned, the vast majority of buildings in the historic district were used as houses. In fact, until 1898, all commercial activities were sheltered in buildings that also served as residences. The possible exception to this rule is the building located in the Calle de San Justo 207 (Parcela 21, Block 47), the *La Mallorquina* restaurant locale, founded in 1848, has no residential quarters. It is possible, however, that some servants may have slept in makeshift accommodations.

[34] These numbers are estimates for there is no formal record of which buildings still serve as houses. Arleen Pabón Charneco, "Final Report: 2010 Inventory of the San Juan Historic Zone," 28.

[35] The use of the term Conquest Period to organize architectural development of the historic district reflects the interpretation made by historians of the first decades of the Spain-America encounter, particularly in the Caribbean, known as the Conquest. The

Period (1725-1812), and the Illustration or Enlightenment[36] and Historicist Period[37] (1812-1898). The periods are useful in terms of general organization of the architectural examples present in Old San Juan, however, they need to be interpreted in a flexible manner. For example, a sixteenth-century one-floor building may be encased by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century additions. Second, the use of certain aesthetic and organizational motifs lasted for centuries[38] making precise dating extremely difficult. For example, a façade dating to the second half of the nineteenth century may mask portions of a floor plan constructed during the sixteenth century, and the nineteenth-century design may incorporate eighteenth-century stylistic archaisms. Third, the local architectural examples do not correspond in terms of dates to their European counterparts. Aesthetic theories came to Puerto Rico via Spain and they took time to be accepted and used. Fourth, the European characteristics may differ from those present in Old San Juan. For example, no Baroque façade in the precinct ever used the quintessential concave-convex-concave Italian Baroque organization.

While varied styles influenced the *sanjuanero* façade, interior spatial arrangements were subjected to limited transformations. Although changes in floor plan were introduced between the first and second periods, as well as between the third and fourth, the different stages and periods are best discernible in the façades. Liberal nineteenth-century currents provided much impetus to the exploration of façades. It can be assumed that interiors underwent few dramatic transformations once the *sala-saleta* configuration appeared during Old San Juan's Baroque period. This spatial organization, with its perpendicular wing organized by means of an *enfilade* of rooms framing the interior side of the patio, became the most common one. When, at a later time, tenement houses became common, no special morphology was created for this use. The old types were transformed, usually with the insertion of a *zaguán*. The same applies to public buildings. Major stylistic trends and ideas are best reflected in the façade. Liberal and non-academic use of different aesthetic trends characterizes some buildings. In these cases, it is best not to define them stylistically but rather as unique expressions.

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name describes the first years of contact between Spain and the American continent. Humberto López Morales, *La andadura del español por el mundo* (Madrid: Santillana Ediciones Generales, 2010) and Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), among others.

[36] The term Illustration (*Lumières* in French; Enlightenment and Illustration in English; and *Ilustración* in Spanish) refers to the period that preceded the French Revolution. Different countries claim different dates for this stage when dramatic changes took place in all areas of knowledge. In Spain, the reigns of Fernando VI and Carlos II mark its development. Also known as the *Siglo de las luces* (Century of the Lights), the period took shape in the Spanish American colonies at a later time. Its use in architecture is justified for these ideas fostered a special spirit that is evidenced in buildings produced at this time. Among these is the new approach to the design processes favoring order, systematization, symmetry and a love for Classical and Renaissance precedents. The term is used by Spanish architectural historians.

[37] Historicism is a philosophical and aesthetic current that favors the interpretation of historic aesthetic movements belonging to the past. In architecture, this interest surpasses mere use of precedents and tries to distill theoretical postures favored throughout history. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1969); Hugo Honour, *Neo-Classicism* (Middlesex, United Kingdom: Penguin Books, 1996); Leonardo Benevolo, *Historia de la Arquitectura Moderna* (Madrid: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 1975), translation from: *Storia dell'architettura moderna* by Mariuccia Galfetti, Juan Díaz de Atauri and Anna Maria Pujol i Puigvehi; Fernando Chueca Goítia, *Historia de la Arquitectura Occidental VII Barroco en España* (Madrid: Editoriales Dossat, 2000) and *Historia de la Arquitectura Occidental X Eclecticismo* (Madrid: Editorial Dossat, 1979); and Javier Hernando, *Arquitectura en España 1700-1900* (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedras, 1989). Its use emphasizes how the past (historical styles) became a source of inspiration.

[38] One example of this tenacious embracement of favorite ideas is the use of the *sala-saleta* composition, utilized without variation from the moment it was created during the eighteenth century until the twentieth century. Another one is the motif of the "floating lintel," incorporated time and time again in dozens of façades. A third one is the use of the eighteenth century *zaguán* in some twentieth century apartment buildings.

THE CONQUEST PERIOD (1525-1625)

The Conquest Period Public Buildings

Iglesia de San José (Parcela 15, Block 3), Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud; Started in 1532; Decorated Gothic and Late Renaissance.

Originally known as the Iglesia Conventual de Santo Domingo (Conventual Church of St. Dominic), the building – the project of Friar Pedro Antonio de Montesinos – appears in a 1575 plan of the city. The church served the annexed Dominican Convento de Santo Tomás de Aquino (St. Thomas of Aquinas Convent) as well as the town. The simple gable and sole-entrance façade mask the three naves of differing heights into which the interior is divided. The main door faces the Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud while two other entrances open to the adjoining Plazoleta de Santo Domingo (Plaza de San José), used originally as a cemetery. The entrance closest to the street belongs to the chapter house located on the southwestern corner of the building. A fourth entrance connected the interior to the convent. The earliest sections of the building have quadripartite decorated Gothic vaults with liernes, while the central nave has a Late Renaissance barrel vault that includes a clerestory with Palladian or thermal windows. There are two underground burial vaults used to bury important members of society. The church is built of local masonry and completely stuccoed. During the 1970s restoration, part of the stucco covering was removed in some of the interior sections in order to allow the masonry ribs and liernes to be exposed. At this time, some seventeenth-century frescoes were discovered. The present rehabilitation activities have discovered additional frescoes. The church sits on top of the only known pre-contact site in the Old San Juan Historic District. The building belongs to the Catholic Church and derives primary significance from its architectural and urban importance.

Catedral de San Juan Bautista (Parcela 1, Block 32), Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud; Started in 1542 on the site of an older structure; Gothic and Renaissance Revival.

This masonry and brick church is located on top of a hill. A very narrow atrium separates the main façade from the wide staircase that leads from street level to the main entrance. The basilica[39] façade is divided into three levels and has three entrances with the same number of corresponding naves in the interior. Pairs of Tuscan-engaged pilasters support an entablature-like element that, in turn, supports two belfry-like portions crowned by a triangular pediment. The uppermost section was added in 1899 to make the façade taller. Although the site was chosen during the early years of the sixteenth century, formal construction of a masonry building started at a later date in 1542 under Bishop Rodrigo de Bastidas. The present building foundation, the extant bell tower facing the Calle de San José, its exceptional masonry circular staircase, underground burial vault, chapter hall, and study belong to the Gothic phase. These last two spaces are roofed with masonry quadripartite ribbed Gothic vaults. The building was partly destroyed in 1615 (earthquake), 1625 (fire set by retreating Dutch), and 1787 (hurricane). The Renaissance Revival barrel vault covering the main nave dates to 1849 and 1852. During the middle of the twentieth century, interior decoration in the form of exquisite frescoes was added. The building belongs to the Catholic Church and derives primary significance from its architectural and urban importance.

***Casa-Torre* de Ponce de León (Casa Blanca)** (Parcela 20, Block 15), Calle de San Sebastián; Started during the first half of the sixteenth century on the site of older structure; medieval.

[39] Basilica façade in this case refers to the organization that allows the varying heights of the naves to be expressed in the main façade. As known, this is the earliest treatment known for Christian churches, first used in Italy during the fourth century. A different treatment is the one known as westwork, invented during the eight century by Odo de Metz for the Palatine Chapel in Aachen. In this second type, towers usually frame the composition.

This masonry two-story residence was built by Ponce de León's son-in-law, Juan García Troche, during the third decade of the sixteenth century. The building belongs to the peninsular architectural typology of the *casa-torre* (tower-house) or *casa-fuerte* (fort-house), at times known simply as *torre* (tower), a medieval architectural type created to both shelter and defend a family. The other example within the district, the Fortaleza de Santa Catalina (La Fuerza), later annexed to the nineteenth century Palacio de Santa Catalina, was never finished. Casa Blanca has been preserved and the square tower is completely isolated, as originally intended, with a commanding location facing the first settlement by the *fondeadero* from its high location on top of a hill. The building was originally a square of approximately 24' by 24', with merlons or crenellations on the upper end of the walls. In 1779, the Ponce de León family sold the property to the Crown and it was assigned to the Maestranza de Ingenieros Militares (Military Engineers Arsenal). During the nineteenth century, a wing was added. After 1898, the property became part of US Army Fort Brooke Military Base and served as the house of the post commanding officer. The formal Spanish-inspired garden probably dates to this time. The building has been known as Casa Blanca since the eighteenth century (at the earliest) due to its white stucco finish and prominent location. In 1834, it was described in the following fashion:

> The first house, built in 1525, and inhabited by the first governor of the island, Don Ponce de León, still exists. It is called the White House. It is built on the side of a hill, which is cut, and strengthened with stone abutments and a stockade. It is preserved with great care, by order of government, as a venerable piece of antiquity. It appears to have been built for the purpose of resisting a sudden attack; and, even at the present day, it could present a formidable resistance to an armed body unprovided with artillery. It is now the workshop for the engineer department, which attends to its preservation.[40]

Although Juan Ponce de León did not inhabit the house, he did choose the location and his estate in the islet. As the above quotation demonstrates, by the first half of the nineteenth century its association to the *Adelantado* family merited that it be considered "a venerable piece of antiquity." The complex is now a museum and the garden is open to the public. Extensive rehabilitation took place during the 1960s and again over the last decade to protect the building and its environs. The rehabilitation work was done in a sensitive manner.

Convento de los Dominicos (Parcela 1, Block 3), Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud; Founded in 1521-1523; Renaissance.

Started by Friars Antonio de Montesinos and Luis Cáncer, the convent was finished approximately 100 years after its founding. Originally known as the Convento de Santo Tomás de Aquino, it was annexed to the Iglesia de San José and provided shelter to the Dominican order. The original two-story tall masonry building was organized as a large square with an interior courtyard in the center surrounded by arcaded loggias on all four sides. The main entrance was originally located on the south façade adjacent to the church's main façade. In 1645, a west wing was constructed to house novices. The simple building has large evenly-spaced windows on both floors framed by encadrements. A cornice ends the composition. During the nineteenth century, when the Dominican order was dissolved, the Real Hacienda took charge of the building and in 1843, the Real Audiencia Territorial[41] and the military moved to the building. Tribunals (under both Spanish and American rule) were also located here during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The northern part of the building was hit by an American bomb in 1898. When the courts vacated the building, it was transferred to the National Guard and then to the United States War Department until the late 1950s. At that time, it became part of the US

[40] George Flinter, *An account of the present state of the Island Puerto Rico. Comprising numerous original facts and documents illustrative of the state of commerce and agriculture, and of the condition, moral and physical, of the various classes of the population in that Island, as compared with the colonies of other European powers; demonstrating the superiority of the Spanish slave code,—the great advantages of free over slave labour, & C* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Green and Longman, 1834), 43.

[41] The Real Audiencia Territorial was the provincial court of first instance under Spanish rule.

Army Fort Brooke Military Base. The northern portal and *zaguán*-like entrance were inserted during the early part of the twentieth century. When it was returned to the government of Puerto Rico (1960s), the building was extensively rehabilitated to accommodate the Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña (Institute of Puerto Rican Culture). No adverse effect has occurred as a result of this work.

Introduction to Domestic Architecture

Although there are hundreds of domestic examples in Old San Juan, it is possible to organize them into four general periods that share commonalities in terms of design and spatial organization.[42] Three of these periods took place within the time frame of the period of significance (1519-1898). The first group includes all residences constructed during the Conquest Period (1520s-1700). The second stage, the Baroque Period, is centered on European Baroque ideas although two vernacular floor plans emerged at this time. This stage starts around 1700 and ends approximately in 1812. During the third period, roughly from 1812 until 1898, the façades are characterized by the inclusion of stylistic elements from different architectural revivals, as well as Second Empire and comparable styles.

The Conquest Period Domestic Buildings

Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud corner Caleta de San Juan (Parcela 11, Block 40); sixteenth century and eighteenth century; aka Casa del Cabildo.

This rammed-earth-wall house sits on the corner of Calle del Cristo de la Salud and Caleta de San Juan. In all probability, it originally faced the Plaza de la Catedral, an orientation that was changed during the eighteenth century when the main façade was organized to face the first thoroughfare. While the Baroque composition (facing east) includes two regularly-organized floors, the one from the Conquista Period (facing north) is irregularly organized into three levels that have non-aligned squat openings lacking encadrements around the openings. Characteristically, their height varies. Balconettes are extensively used on this side[43]. In addition to

[42] Arleen Pabón Charneco, "Final Report: 2010 Inventory of the San Juan Historic Zone." The four groups are the result of the interpretation of information gathered through research, including careful study of information compiled by inventories (specifically, the ones carried out during the 1990s and in 2010), site visits, and contrast and comparison of similar aesthetic and theoretical contexts (particularly, Spain and Havana, as well as other Hispanic American urban centers). Houses dated to the same century were grouped together and a preliminary analysis of their main characteristics, both in terms of façade and floor plan, was made, commonalities were discovered and groups organized using European styles as their stylistic frame. No other detailed previous study of the historic district houses exists.

[43] Balconies, at the time known as *voladizos* (cantilevers) and *colgadizos* (hangings), were limited (to the point of being almost non-existent) in terms of size during this time for several reasons. First, the structural system used, the trabeated, presented natural limits regarding the cantilevered elements – in this case, embedded short wooden beams – which would support the balcony. Until the advent of metal – used in iron bars, consoles, as well as balustrades during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries – and concrete during the twentieth century, balconies in the historic district were built of wood. Beams made of this material were inserted into the exterior façade wall that, although thick, lacked tensile strength. Second, the walls during the Conquest Period were constructed of *tapiería* or rammed earth, a material that has an almost negligible structural cohesion to support embedded cantilevered beams. Not only were balconies difficult to build, they were also expensive, requiring structural strength and the always costly balustrades made of wood which had to be perennially maintained. It is safe to assume that, when and if used prior to the eighteenth century, any cantilever structure would have as narrow a span as possible. In other words, the balcony would have been very narrow in order to make sure the wall unto which the beams were embedded could resist the resulting structural efforts. By the same token, given the negligible structural resistance of the wall, long balconies from one side of the façade to the other would have sagged in the middle. In any case, given the limited number of rooms during the period that were as wide as the lot and the preference for the *cuarto esquinero* (corner room), this type of balcony did not come into use until much later. Third, external balconies were limited due to social mores. Since there is scant information related to the history and development of each one of these three houses, there is no way to date the balconies. Early twentieth-century photographs reveal that the present-day balconies of the Casa de los Contrafuertes may be a liberal interpretation of the originals, particularly in terms of their roofs and width.

being a residence, the building was used as the first *Casa del Cabildo* or municipal government center when the town core was located close to the *fondeadero* and organized around the Plaza de la Catedral.

Calle de San Sebastián corner of Plaza de la Catedral (Parcela 13, Block 3); 16th century; aka Casa de los Contrafuertes.

This two-story house made of rammed-earth walls[44] has two façades, one facing Calle de San Sebastián and the other the Plaza de San José. It is not clear which one included the main entrance. Historic photographs dating to the middle of the twentieth century depict a small lane between the house and the Plaza.[45] Both façades exhibit simplicity and informality in terms of their organization and composition. The openings are irregularly spaced and vary in terms of size. They lack encadrements and use balconettes. A series of *contrafuertes* (buttresses) are aligned along the façade that faces the Plaza de San José, needed to reinforce the rammed-earth walls. There is no evidence as to when they were inserted. The interior is organized by means of an *enfilade*[46] of rooms that aligns four spaces on the west side of the lot behind a *cuarto esquinero* that frames the patio. A monumental staircase sits close to the open space. A unique two-story arcade created with semicircular arches faces the patio along its western border. The stocky proportions, thick walls, low ceiling, irregularities in the arches' span, the location of individual arches, and floor alignment, provide additional evidence as to the early date of this building.

Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud corner Calle de la Fortaleza (Parcela 14, Block 52); sixteenth century; aka Casa de los Ratones.

This two-story residence is made of rammed-earth walls and sits at the corner of two of the oldest and most important streets in the city: Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud and Calle de la Fortaleza. The organization of the openings in both façades is very irregular in terms of location, size, and alignment. None is bordered by encadrements; some are crowned with straight lintels while others make use of arcuated elements. The lack of standardization in the openings is matched in the balconettes and balconies. A *cuarto esquinero* occupies the corner formed by the intersection of the two streets. There is no cornice to finish the composition.

[44] There is no formal study of this structure, considered the oldest post-European house in Old San Juan and, thus, in the United States. According to Dr. Ricardo E. Alegría, the level of original floor pavement, thickness of the walls and proportional scheme of the openings, support this theory. Dr. Alegría carried out the first rehabilitation of the structure while directing the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture during the late 1950s-early 1960s. Personal communication, Dr. Ricardo Alegría, January 2011. An early twentieth-century photograph clearly depicts how the building looked at this time.

[45] It is problematic to assume the main entrance was located along the Calle de San Sebastián, particularly given the fact that the other façade faces the Plaza de San José, a more relevant urban space. The photograph and the earlier "Number 1 General Plan of San Juan," The Porto Rico Board of Fire Underwriters, September 30, 1921, depict a small street between the plaza and the Casa de los Contrafuertes that provided vehicle access to Parcela 13B, Block 3. This may have been a late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century transformation. A façade facing the Plaza de la Catedral and the small lane would make sense in terms of the orientation of the main staircase. However, it would be contrary to the local tradition of aligning the longer side of the interior patio with the main entrance axis. The CRIM lists both houses (Casa de los Contrafuertes and the house abutting it on the north wall and the Iglesia de San José) as Parcela 13, Block 3. Both belong to the Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña.

[46] *Enfilade* can best be described as a suite of aligned rooms opening to each other. In this type of organization, the doors of all the rooms are linked forming an axis and providing a vista of the entire suite. This kind of arrangement is known as shotgun in the United States, *enfilade* in French and *seriada* in Spanish. In Puerto Rico, the word *martillo* (hammer) is used to describe an *enfilade* located at ninety degree angle to the main part of the house. This composition creates an L-shaped floor plan.

THE BAROQUE PERIOD (1625-1812)

The Baroque Period Public Buildings

Hospital de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción el Grande (Parcela 1, Block 13), Calle de San Sebastián corner Calle del Doctor Goenága; Started during the 1770s; Bartolomé Fammí (1780 architectural plans); Baroque.

This two-story tall *mampostería ordinaria*[47] building, designed to shelter both a hospital and a church, was the dream of Bishop Manuel Giménez Pérez. Originally conceived within the *palazzo*-church architectural typology, an Italian and Spanish Baroque creation, the complex was never finished as intended. Although intended to serve the poor of the city, the building was forcefully taken by the military before it was finished. At a later date, a wing was returned to the Church and the building continued to house the military and the poor in separate wings until 1898. The sober, large building has a series of large windows framed by encadrements marking both floors. They are systematically organized and aligned on both floors on the main façade facing the Calle de San Sebastián. The Calle de la Beneficencia and Calle del Doctor Goenága façades, in turn, are irregularly organized. An elegant composition frames the principal entrance door and a centrally-located *zaguán* that provides access to the interior. The interior is organized around a central courtyard originally intended to have loggias on all four sides formed by semicircular arches. Until 1898, the building also housed the Real Botica (Royal Pharmacy) or Farmacia Militar (Military Pharmacy). There are two twentieth-century entrances located on the façade facing Calle de la Beneficencia, inserted when the hospital became part of the US Army Rodríguez Army Hospital. At that time, an elevated covered metal bridge was created to connect the building to the Cuartel de Ballajá. The structure was completely restored during the 1980s and now shelters the Escuela de Bellas Artes, a public university-level art school. The rehabilitation was compatible with the historic character of the building.

Palacio Episcopal (Parcela 4, Block 16), Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud corner Calle de San Sebastián; Started by 1733; Baroque.

This two-story tall *mampostería ordinaria* building sits on the corner of the Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud and Calle de San Sebastián. The lot and the private house occupying it during the eighteenth century were bought by Bishop Sebastián Lorenzo Pizarro. A few years later, Bishop Manuel Ximénez Pérez made possible the present configuration. Openings are organized throughout both façades and are bordered by encadrements on the second floor. While the composition is very regular along the main façade it is far more informal in the secondary one. The main entrance is located on Calle del Cristo de la Salud and includes an elegant portal crowned by a balcony-cum-tribune. Tuscan-engaged round section columns support a frieze with trigliphs and concentric circles inscribed in its metopes. Balconettes and a very narrow balcony were also used on the façade on Calle de San Sebastián. The pseudo-rustication treatment present in some historic photographs was abandoned during the early part of the last century. The sharp incline of the Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud is creatively solved by means of the introduction of a base or podium-like level upon which the first floor balconettes rest. The building belongs to the Catholic Church and derives primary significance from its architectural and urban importance.

[47] In Spanish, *mampostería ordinaria* refers to construction that uses rough, irregular blocks of stone. To avoid instability due to their variation in shapes, they are set in place with smaller rocks and mortar, known is Spanish as *ripios*. Generally, this kind of construction is covered with mortar or stuccoed. The term can be literally translated into ordinary masonry, a construction technique defined in Spain in the following manner: [R]*ealizada con piedras irregulares y sin labra aparente, adaptadas entre ellas lo más posible para dejar el menor espacio de huecos, que pueden ser rellenados con ripios*. *Mampostería concertada* (rubble stone masonry) was also used once the earlier rammed-earth wall technique was abandoned.

Capilla del Santo Cristo de la Salud (No block or *parcela* number assigned by CRIM), Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud; Erected 1773-1780; Juan Francisco Mestre; Baroque.

This one-story tall masonry and *mampostería ordinaria* small chapel serves as the southern terminus of the Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud and sits on top of the southern defensive wall and part of the defensive pomoerium. Three large semicircular arches provide entrance to the originally open portico where the assembly met to hear mass. The main façade facing the Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud is crowned by a curved belfry. The iron chancel was added during the 1940s to protect the interior. The west arch opens to the Parque de las Palomas (Pigeons' Park) (Parcela 16, Block 4), also built on the defensive pomoerium. The building's legendary birth is part of the district's folklore. The Capilla del Santo Cristo de la Salud belongs to the Catholic Church.

Palacio Rojo (Red Palace) (Parcela 1, Block 41), Calle de la Fortaleza; Erected in 1792; Juan Mestre; Baroque.

This two-story tall *mampostería ordinaria* building sheltered several auxiliary services related to the defense of the city, including a *sala de armas* (artillery park) that served the Palacio de Santa Catalina, the governor's residence. The edifice was also used as the Spanish post commanding officer's living quarters. After 1898, it continued to be used in a similar fashion. The sobriety of the façade is carefully balanced by the corner quoins and the asymmetrical decorated masonry portal. A podium-like element serves as a base for the first floor. All openings have slightly arcuated elements and are decorated with quoins and balconettes. The building presently shelters the public relations office of the Office of the Governor.

The Baroque Period Domestic Buildings (1700-1812)

Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud corner Caleta de San Juan (Parcela 11, Block 40); sixteenth and eighteenth centuries; aka Casa del Cabildo.

As previously mentioned, this rammed-earth wall and *mampostería ordinaria* house was begun during the Conquista Period. The tripartite two-story Baroque façade facing the Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud emphasizes all openings by means of decorative borders, in the manner of encadrements, and its regular alignment. The wide central opening softly arches by means of a wide segmental arch bordering on a small vault due to the width of the wall. The side openings framing the central one are topped with cusped arches. The proportions of the squat, lower side openings in the first floor reveal the age of the building. The three openings in the upper level cunningly use the encadrements to transform the Conquest Period proportions. They are physically united by the roofed wooden balcony. The building belongs to the Type B floor plan developed during the Baroque Period that includes a central *zaguán*.

Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud 53 (Parcela 22, Block 17); eighteenth century.

This two-story eighteenth-century *mampostería ordinaria* house incorporates wide encadrements on all secondary openings and reserves the cusped arch treatment for the central opening. This element also includes an oval window that further emphasizes the main entrance. The second floor tripartite arrangement is united by means of a roofed wooden balcony. The squat proportions of the openings reveal the age of the house. The central entrance opens unto the *zaguán*. The house is an example of the Type B floor plan. The façade composition adapts to the steep incline of the street.

Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud 154 (Parcela 12, Block 40), eighteenth century.

This two-story *mampostería ordinaria* house uses delicate encadrements on all of its squat openings and a segmental arch in the central opening to further emphasize its prominence. A wooden roofed balcony unites the three openings of the second floor. These are decorated with thin encadrements and "floating lintels" over each of them. This treatment can be considered a novelty of the period.[48] The façade is pseudo-rusticated. The central opening opens unto the *zaguán*. The house is an example of the Type B house.

Calle de San Sebastián 107 (Parcela 10, Block 3), ca. first half eighteenth century.

The two-stories of this rammed-earth wall house are irregularly organized. In spite of this informal approach, the main entrance is distinguished by an elegant doorway. Two Tuscan-engaged pilasters support a broken architrave that is treated in an *en ressault* manner creating a three-dimensional plastic composition resembling a portal-like structure. The abstemious second floor, crowned by a small cornice, lacks encadrements and sharply contrasts with the relative richness present in the main gateway. The squat proportions of the openings and their irregular organization reveals the age of the building. Balconettes are used in most openings. A roofed wooden balcony sits over the main entrance.

Calle de San José 101 (Parcela 1, Block 25); eighteenth century; aka Casa Alegría.

This two-story *mampostería ordinaria* house, sitting at the corner of the Calle de San José and Calle del Sol, is one of two outstanding eighteenth-century *palacetes* in the city. The tripartite main façade is distinguished by an exquisite entrance portal. Ionic pilasters, engaged to a second set paralleling the multiple-planes treatment favored by Juan de Herrera,[49] frame the main doorway. The central portal is contrasted in height with the side openings. "Floating lintels" crown each opening, including the principal one, and a long-roofed wooden balcony dignifies the second floor where the family resided. The squat proportions of most openings and the irregularity of organization in the Calle del Sol façade, reveal the age of the building. This composition contrasts sharply with the symmetrical arrangement present in the Calle de San José façade. All second-floor openings in the Calle del Sol façade have balconettes while the first level has doors. These are the result of the incorporation of *viviendas accesorias* (accessory housing units), characteristic of the period and which may have the Roman *taberna* (commercial space) as a historic precedent. These spaces could be rented or let as stores or offices and, at times, individual residences. The Alegría House is an example of the Type B floor plan arrangement. The wide central *zaguán* serves as both entrance and connector to the interior patio. The *zaguán* also connects with the monumental staircase with Delft tiles in its risers framed by a Tuscan column and by one of the galleries of the interior patio.

Calle de San José Street 109 (Parcela 13, Block 25), eighteenth century; aka Casa de los Dos Zaguanes.

This unique *mampostería ordinaria* three-level house is located at the corner of Calle de San José and Calle de la Luna, facing the first thoroughfare. In addition to being one of a handful of examples that incorporates a mezzanine in its façade, it is the only house in the entire city that has two *zaguanes*. The *entresuelo* or *entrepiso* (mezzanine) is visually incorporated in the main façade on the side bays framing the two central doors. The Calle de la Luna façade is treated as having three floors, the first one probably incorporating *viviendas accesorias*. Balconettes are used in all openings except the two central ones on the third floor. This

[48] Although the use of "floating lintels" can be dated to the seventeenth century in Havana, it was not until the eighteenth century that it became commonplace in Old San Juan. The "floating lintel" rejects de Herrera's favorite motif of a straight small cornice supported by two consoles, discarding the consoles. It can be considered a Caribbean aesthetic development. Joaquín E Weiss, *La arquitectura colonial cubana Siglos XVI al XIX*, p 127.

[49] Juan de Herrera (1530-1597) was the author of the Palacio Real de Aranjuez (Royal Palace at Aranjuez) and the Palacio y Monasterio del Escorial (Escorial Palace and Monastery). He was also the designer of the original Plaza Real de Madrid (Madrid Royal Plaza). He is considered one of Spain's most distinguished Baroque architects.

pair is united by means of a wooden-roofed balcony. To access the first level and the interior there are some steps leading down from the street level. The small entry lobby masterfully divides into two *zaguanes* that embrace the monumental staircase leading to the second and third floors. The *zaguanes* connect the entrance to the patio encircled by wooden loggias. The building was rehabilitated during the 1970s making sure all character-defining features were preserved. The house is an example of the Type B floor plan.

Calle de San José Street 159 (Parcela 14, Block 34), eighteenth century.

This three-level *mampostería ordinaria* house incorporates a mezzanine-like level in its façade. An oval window underscores the main entrance. The tripartite composition is united on the third floor by means of a roofed-wooden balcony. Balconettes are used on the mezzanine level and wooden *rejas abalaustradas* (wooden grilles) on the first. The house is an example of the Type B floor plan.

Calle del Sol 104 (Parcela 3, Block 24), eighteenth century.

This one-floor *mampostería ordinaria* house has a dramatic main entrance that belies its relative simplicity. Simple encadrements frame the secondary openings while a wide band with moldings emphasizes the portal-like center entrance. Three oval windows anchor each of the openings. The composition ends with a thin horizontal cornice. The house belongs to the Type A floor plan.

Calle de 61 (Parcela 18, Block 40), eighteenth century.

This one-floor *mampostería ordinaria* house has a bipartite organization crowned by a wide cornice. Wide encadrements frame the main body of the façade and create a decorative band under the cornice. One opening is treated as the main entrance while the other has a balconette. The house is an example of the Type A floor plan.

THE HISTORICIST AND ENLIGHTENMENT PERIOD (1812-1898)

The Historicist and Enlightenment Period Public Buildings

Seminario Conciliar de San Ildefonso (Parcela 4, Block 16), Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud corner Calle del Sol corner Escalinatas del Hospital; 1827-1832; Master builder Agustín Canter, Foreman Silvestre Andino, Carpenter Marcelo Figueroa and metalsmith Gualberto Muñoz (first phase); Architect Manuel de Zayas (second phase); Different styles.

The first phase of this religious seminary-cum-educational center was undertaken under the tenure of Bishop Gutiérrez de Cos and constructed using *mampostería ordinaria* and brick. It sits on the corner of Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud and Calle del Sol. The main façade adapts to the problematic incline of the first street by creating a podium that becomes higher as it nears the corner of Calle de Santo Cristo de la Salud and Calle del Sol. At this point, the building has two levels and there is access from the exterior into a large space that opens onto both streets. The main entrance portal is organized by means of a series of engaged pilasters supporting a triangular pediment that crowns a frieze organized with moldings and trigliphs. The classically-inspired portal and corner quoins contrast with the exotic baldachin-like curved elements that crown all the principal level openings facing Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud, transparently covered with *rejas abalaustradas* (balustraded wooden grills). The Calle del Sol façade has a balcony and balconettes rather than baldachins. The main entrance leads directly into a *zaguán* with stairs that, in turn, opens to a one-floor arcaded

gallery that surrounds the central courtyard. The interior of the first building is organized around this huge courtyard with semicircular arcades on three of its sides.

The second phase of the complex was undertaken during the tenure of Bishop Gil Esteve y Tomás. This new area, located at the corner of Calle del Sol and Escalinatas del Hospital, was organized around a smaller two-floor cortile, surrounded on all four sides by semicircular arcades. This new section includes a centralized chapel with a clerestory crowned by a dome, a refectory roofed by a sail vault unique in the whole historic district and the island, and a large kitchen with its original *fogón*.[50] The complex was completely rehabilitated during the mid-1980s with Federal funding (1984 Development Grants monies). All work strictly complied with "The Secretary of the Interior Standards for Rehabilitation." The Seminario Conciliar de San Ildefonso is owned by the Catholic Church. The building presently shelters a university-level institution.

Plaza del Mercado Municipal (Parcela 1, Block 4), Calle de Norzagaray; Different styles.

The one-story *mampostería ordinaria* and brick building sheltered the second formal *plaza del mercado* or *plaza del mercado municipal* (municipal market plaza). A new block was carved from the northern pomoerium and surrounded by Calle de Norzagaray, Calle Imperial, Calle de la Virtud, and Calle de McArthur. While the first formal *plaza del Mercado* was located in the northwestern corner of the Plaza de Armas, this one was situated in the northern outskirts of town due to hygiene considerations in the nineteenth century. To facilitate communication between the new venue and all parts of the district, the above-mentioned streets were created. At the time, Calle de Norzagaray did not exist and the building had no formal northern urban boundary although the principal door is located on this side. To further facilitate circulation, the short Calle del Mercado, running from north to south, was also created.[51] The Calle de la Tranquilidad (between present Block 5 and Block 14) did the same thing for the eastern part of the urban core. This urban configuration isolated the building as an urban block providing it with architectural drama and splendor while facilitating access to its interior. On the exterior façades, rectangular windows seem to support smaller ones crowned with segmental arches. As a result, all openings look like stilted arches. The principal entrance which faces Calle de Norzagaray is treated in a triumphal arch manner. A cartouche acts like a pediment emphasizing the urban and public relevance of the building. The treatment also serves to visually distinguish the entrance from the powerful horizontal organization created by the arcuated-like elements. The building is organized around a large courtyard. Historic photographs reveal that this area was also used for displaying and selling purposes. The four arcaded wings are covered with wooden trusses. The building was rehabilitated during the 1980s and houses the Museo de Historia de la Ciudad de San Juan (Museum of the History of the City of San Juan). It belongs to the Municipality of San Juan.

Asilo de Beneficencia (Parcela 2A, Block 15), Calle del Morro; 1840 (First phase), 1890s (Second phase); Architect Pedro García, Santiago Cortijo, José de Pezuela; Classical Revival and Second Empire.

This building was the first large structure erected during the nineteenth century in the Campo del Morro, the Esplanade of the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro, considered the last line of defense of the city. The area first belonged to the Ponce de León family who donated it to the Dominicans. A staircase leads to the main entrance since the building is located atop a small knoll. The original one-story *mampostería ordinaria* building was organized around two courts formed by an E-floor plan. The wings allowed for separation of the sexes while the central wing housed the vestibule, administrative offices, and *talleres* (workshops). The historic plans depict Gothick decorative elements.

[50] *Fogón* is a brick cooking stove that used charcoal or wood. It usually is accompanied by a metal *campana* (bell) that helps direct the smoke outside the cooking area.

[51] Until the construction of the Plaza del Mercado Municipal, Block 3 and Block 14 had been one urban organism.

The second floor was constructed during the 1890s when the complete façade was also rehabilitated. The building is organized by means of central and side pavilions (*avant-corps*), a Second Empire favored motif. Classically-derived motifs, like the triangular pediment that crowns the central pavilion and the *en ressault* pairs of Tuscan columns that support it, are contrasted by the filigree balcony and inscription that decorates the main entrance. A central vestibule-cum-*zaguán* leads to the interior. The building was rehabilitated during the 1990s and presently houses the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture.

Casa Alcaldía de San Juan (Parcela 2, Block 34), Calle de San Francisco; 1842-1843 (Plaza de Armas façade), 1930s (Calle de la Luna façade); Architect Pedro García (Plaza de Armas façade); Different styles and *Rundbogenstil* (Plaza de Armas façade), Mediterranean Revival (Calle de la Luna façade).

This lot runs from Calle de San Francisco, in front of the Plaza de Armas, to Calle de la Luna. It has been the site of the *casa Alcaldía* (mayoralty) of San Juan since the early years of the seventeenth century. Over time, the building also sheltered a jail, bank, and police station. It also served as the distribution center for the royal mail. The building was a work in progress for several centuries: in 1789, major renovations took place under the governorship of Francisco Torralba and, from 1795 to 1804, under Governor Ramón de Castro. During the early part of the nineteenth century, the main façade facing the Plaza de Armas only had one tower. In 1811, a prison opening onto Calle de la Luna was constructed following the design of Luis de Huertas. The two-floor brick and *mampostería ordinaria* principal façade faces Calle de San Francisco and Plaza de Armas and has the only open loggia in a façade in the historic district. This element is used in both floors and is composed of semicircular arches, pseudo-rusticated in the first floor. The arcade in the second floor level opens to the *sala capitular* (principal assembly hall) or audience room. Two towers frame the arcaded composition. The predilection of semicircular arches is considered a *Rundbogenstil* influence.

The twentieth-century reinforced concrete façade facing the Calle de la Luna is six stories high. Its Mediterranean Revival treatment includes a hodgepodge of elements: aedicule, curved pediments, glazed terracotta decoration, and classically-derived architectural orders. This jewel-like intervention is considered a contributing one and was the result of a desire to continue using the building for its original use. The building still serves as the principal center of the Municipality of San Juan.

Iglesia de Santa Ana (Parcela 14, Block 54), Calle de Tetuán; 1847-1849; Different styles.

The *mampostería ordinaria* and brick Iglesia de Santa Ana is an example of a nineteenth-century urban church that shares party walls with a domestic edifice on the west and the Convento de Santa Ana on the east. As expected, the façade obediently aligns with the street. The building was probably constructed at the site of the Ermita de Santa Ana (St. Anne's Shrine), one of several that existed since the early days of the city.[52] The westwork-inspired façade includes an eclectic mixture of aesthetic elements from different stylistic sources. The temple front component and its pediment stylistically owe much to Cinquecento and Baroque examples. The Sebastiano Serlio-inspired façade has two elements that relate to each other by means of consoles. The central rose window and curious tower-like elements that form the westwork are of medieval extraction. The single nave interior is roofed by means of a barrel vault with a creative clerestory formed by thermal or Palladian windows. The Iglesia de Santa Ana is used as a Catholic church.

[52] In 1597, the structure was mentioned by George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland who described it as a shrine. Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, *Puerto Rico A Guide to the Island of Boriquén* (New York: The University Society Inc, 1940), p 199.

Palacio de Santa Catalina (La Fortaleza) (Parcela 9, Block 41), Calle de la Fortaleza; sixteenth century (*Casa-fuerte* section), 1840s (palatial wing); Santiago Cortijo (nineteenth century); medieval (*Casa-fuerte*), Renaissance Revival (Palatial wing).

One of the earliest defensive masonry buildings in the city was erected at this site during the sixteenth century. Dedicated to St. Catherine, it was known as the Fortaleza de Santa Catalina (St. Catherine's Fortress) and also as La Fuerza (The Force). The building belonged to the *casa-fuerte* or *torre* type. Two round towers have been preserved, as well as the wall that united them, which is crowned by merlons or crenellations. Deemed unfit to defend the bay, the building changed function and became the residence of the *capitanes-generales* (captains-generals) or governors.

The three-story palace with its long tribune-balcony and metal balustrade was annexed to the east of the sixteenth-century fortress during the nineteenth century. Known as the Palacio de Santa Catalina (St. Catherine Palace), the building serves as the western terminus of the Calle de la Fortaleza and is the home of the governor of Puerto Rico and his/her family. The palatial wing, constructed of brick and *mampostería ordinaria*, was erected during the governorship of Rafael de Arestegui y Vélez, Count de Miraflores. Several colossal Tuscan-engaged pilasters rest on a pseudo-rusticated base following Cinquecento *palazzo* models. These elements support a decorated entablature. The central truncated pediment-like part includes an inscription with the names of the patron and designer. The palace wing organizes a square that has an open courtyard in the middle, the western portion of which is formed by the sixteenth-century fortress. An *enfilade* of luxurious rooms decorated in an eclectic manner, is found behind the elegant Mirasol wing. Of special interest are the *Salón del Trono* (The Throne Room), *Salón de los Espejos* (Room of Mirrors) and *Salón Azul* (Blue Room). The main staircase leading to this *enfilade* is a unique example of the Arab Revival in Old San Juan. It has served as the official residence of the governors or *capitanes-generales* since the sixteenth century, and thus, is considered the oldest executive mansion in the Western hemisphere. The complex was inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1984.

Arsenal de la Marina de la Puntilla (Parcela 1, Block 85), Outside the southern defensive walls; nineteenth century, on the site of an earlier wooden building dated to 1791; 1847-1848 (Entrance portal), 1853 (Chapel started); Manuel de Zayas (Chapel); Renaissance Revival, Classical Revival, Baroque Revival, Arab Revival, and Second Empire.

Located in the area of La Puntilla de San Lázaro, the complex served as part of the active defenses of the city and was situated next to where the *muelle de las goletas* (schooners' wharf) and *muelle de los barcos* (dock) were situated during the nineteenth century. Presently, it adjoins the Aduana Federal[53] on its north side. A portal, influenced by the German Classical Revival, provides entry in the form of a triumphal arch. This element is decorated with the signs of the zodiac and is crowned by a stepped attic that resembles a triangular pediment and a sculpture that serves as a base for the flagpole. The inscription evokes the patrons and designer of the ceremonial gateway. A maze of patios and varied buildings constructed in brick and *mampostería ordinaria*, border the bay loosely anchored by a tetrastyle temple front centralized church with Tuscan orders, crowned by a dome. The US Navy used the complex until the second half of the twentieth century when it was rehabilitated and became the museum of the Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueño.

Teatro Alejandro Tapia y Rivera (Parcela 1, Block 58), Calle del General Pershing corner Calle de la Fortaleza corner Calle de Tetuán corner Calle de O'Donnell; 1824 and 1830, 1850s-1868; José I Hernández, Engineer Antonio María Guitán, Engineer José Navarro y Herrera, Different styles.

[53] The Aduana Federal was erected during the twentieth century to serve as the US Customs. It was included in the revised Old San Juan Historic District nomination to the National Register of Historic Places as a contributing property.

The several-stories tall brick and *mampostería ordinaria* Teatro Alejandro Tapia y Rivera is located in the area where part of the southeastern fortification wall of the city once stood, in a block of its own formed by the Calle de la Fortaleza, Calle de Tetuán, Calle del General Pershing and Calle de O'Donnell. The main entrance was originally located facing the Calle de la Fortaleza and the Plaza de Colón. For security and comfort reasons it was changed during the early decades of the twentieth century and is now located in a small portico facing the Calle del General Pershing. In the façade facing the Plaza de Colón, a pseudo-rusticated base supports colossal Tuscan-engaged pilasters allowing for an arcade to be located at the podium. This ensemble supports a triangular pediment presently depicting the seal of the Municipality of San Juan in its tympanum. Originally, the building seated 1,142 persons. While it possesses integrity of location, feeling, association, general workmanship, basic design, and most materials, during the 1970s and 1980s and given the fact that the theater is actively used, several changes were implemented, including a metal mansard roof to hide the air conditioning system. Since it is still used as a theater, interventions have been necessary in order to enable it to safely serve the public.

Cuartel de Infantería de Ballajá (Parcela 1, Block 1), Calle del Morro; 1840s-1860s; Juan Manuel Lombera, Antonio María Guitián, Timoteo Lubelza Martínez de San Martín, Mariano Bosch y Arroyo and José López Bago; Different styles.

The massive three-story tall brick and *mampostería ordinaria* building has several entrances, although the principal one faces the Asilo de Beneficencia and the Calle del Morro located along its west part. The Cuartel stands on a block of its own formed by the Calle del Morro, Calle de Norzagaray, Calle de Moroví and Calle de la Beneficencia. A pseudo-rusticated base organizes the exterior and visually supports the two other floors which, in the main façade, are united by pairs of colossal Tuscan-engaged pilasters that frame the main entrance, in a Cinquecento manner. The treatment of the central portal as an *avant-corps* of sorts reflects the influence of the Second Empire. The interior is organized around a spectacular courtyard 2,422 square meters in area, surrounded by elegant arcades with ample loggias on all four sides and all floors. The arcades depict Renaissance Revival influences. The main entrance to the courtyard is through the *zaguán* paved with original rustic *losa canaria* (Canary tiles). The building was originally conceived as an army barrack that also included administrative offices for the Spanish general's military staff. It continued to shelter this use from 1898 until 1939 when it served as US Infantry Barracks. At that time, it became the Rodriguez Army Hospital until the second half of the twentieth century. While serving as a hospital it was connected by an elevated covered-bridge to the Hospital de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción el Grande. It was completely rehabilitated during the 1990s when the remaining *azotea de Cádiz* roof was removed. The building belongs to the Government of Puerto Rico and is managed by the Puerto Rico State Historic Preservation Office.

Palacio de la Intendencia (Parcela 5, Block 43), Calle de la Cruz corner Calle de San Francisco; 1850-1852; Engineer Juan Manuel Lombera; Renaissance Revival.

The brick and *mampostería ordinaria* building occupies one quarter of Block 43 and sits at the corner of Calle de San José and Calle de San Francisco, facing the Plaza de Armas. The Palacio de la Intendencia was built to house the Royal Treasury on a site that sheltered various uses before this building was erected. During the eighteenth century, the Spanish Cuartel de Artillería de San Carlos (St. Charles' Artillery Barracks) and a jail for 800 prisoners, was located on this site. The present building is influenced by Cinquecento ideas. The exterior is organized by means of a pseudo-rusticated podium that supports colossal Composite-engaged pilasters. The beautiful capitals in the Composite Order were made of brick and gesso. The main façade facing the Plaza de Armas also includes a centrally located tribune-balcony with a metal balustrade in addition to various balconettes with wooden balustrades. The building is organized around an interior courtyard

surrounded on all four sides by semicircular arcades. It shelters the Puerto Rico Department of State. During the 1970s, rehabilitation activities were undertaken. At that time, sections of the arcades of the cortile were completed and capitals of the engaged colossal Corinthian pilasters were restored and replaced. No other building or structure with the same associated significance has survived.

Parque de Artillería del Ejército (Parcela 1, Block 6), Boulevar del Valle corner Calle de la Cruz.

The Parque de Artillería del Ejército (Spanish Army Artillery Park) was the place where machinery and ammunitions for the artillery corps were stored. The relatively humble looking three-story brick and *mampostería ordinaria* building is located between the two main fortresses on the corner of Calle del la Cruz and Calle de Norzagaray. Constructed in front of the Batería de Santa Bárbara (Saint Barbara's Battery), one of the oldest defenses in the city, the building is situated at a high vantage point with an open area in front of it. Since Calle de Norzagaray did not exist at this time, the main entrance faced Calle de la Cruz and was organized between two short wings of differing lengths. The direct approach in the execution of the façades, as well as the lack of decorative components, reveals that the building was primarily intended for functional use. The floor plan is an irregular parallelogram that embraces a small patio. In 1826, the shrine known as the Ermita de Santa Bárbara (erected in 1529) still existed next to the building. The area was also known for the metal cross one Perico placed at the entrance of the shrine. Calle de la Cruz (Cross Street) still bears the name honoring this act. Historic documents mention that in 1846 an Almacén de Pertrechos de Santa Bárbara (Santa Bárbara's Provisions Storage) located in this sector was used to shelter troops. It is possible this Almacén de Pertrechos de Santa Bárbara and the Parque de Artillería are the same building. After 1898, the building housed the US Army Quartermaster. It presently shelters the Asilo de la Providencia.

Casa de la Caridad y Oficios de San Ildefonso (Parcela 1, Block 20), Calle de San Justo corner Calle de San Sebastián; Inaugurated in 1858.

This *mampostería ordinaria* building originally housed the Casa de la Caridad y Oficios de San Ildefonso (St. Ildephonse's Charity and Trades Asylum), also known as the Colegio de San Ildefonso (St. Ildephonse School). A plaque on the façade describes this historic use. The work of the Venerable Jerónimo Mariano Usera y Alarcón, the institution was considered both a charity house for poor children and a place where they could learn trades to earn a living. The two-story building, sitting at the corner of the Calle de San Justo and Calle de San Sebastián, is disguised as a corner city *palacete*, except in the treatment of openings as windows and in the lack of doors or balconettes. The openings are framed by segmental arches and the main entrance facing the Calle de San Justo is distinguished by means of a wide encadrement. A wide cornice makes a 90 degree angle in order to encompass both façades; a corner pilaster-like element seems to visually support this element. A historic metal cannon protects the building's corner from carriages.

Asilo de Párvulos (Parcela 8, Block 7), Calle de San Sebastián; 1861-1865; Rafael Clavijo (signed on set of plans); Classical Revival and Second Empire.

The lot of the Asilo de Párvulos faces both the Calle de Norzagaray and Calle de San Sebastián, although the main façade originally faced the latter street since the former was still used as a pomoerium when the building was built. The educational center was started under Bishop Pablo Benigno Carrión who bought two houses to shelter the school for poor children. Completed in 1865, the *mampostería ordinaria* building was placed under the governance of the *Hermanas de la Caridad* (The Sisters of Charity). The tympanum of the pediment over the main entrance exhibits a highly decorated heart, symbolic of the Virgin Mary, the order's patron. The original one-story façade included four openings crowned by "floating lintels" anchored by a slightly higher

central entrance topped by the above-mentioned triangular pediment. The façade composition ended with a balustrade that read as a wide cornice.

During the late nineteenth century, the center was expanded and a wing with two floors was added to the west side. At this time, all openings were converted to tall arcuated windows framed by quoins. As a result of this arrangement, the central opening became the lowest one, although since it is crowned by the pediment, it clearly stands out among the rest. All segmental arcuated windows have quoins decorating their frames. The façade facing Calle de Norzagaray is centered by an arched door with windows on both sides. The central portion of this façade has one floor framed by two wings of two floors. The arched-door in the back façade connects to the main facade in the Calle de San Sebastián by means of a wide *zaguán*. The building was a school for low income children until 2010-2011, when it closed. The Colegio de Párvulos belongs to the Catholic Church.

Manicomio (Casa de Locos) (Parcela 2B, Block 15), Castillo de San Felipe del Morro Esplanade; 1860-1863; Antonio María Guitián, José I. Hernández; Classical Revival and Second Empire.

Originally, the Asilo de Beneficencia served as an insane asylum for the city (and the island). During the second half of the nineteenth century, it became necessary to build an independent building to house this facility. An E-shaped, two-story *mampostería ordinaria* building segregated the sexes around two courts which are opened on their west sides aligned with the principal façade. The two courts are enclosed by metal grilles and visible to passerby. These spaces are surrounded by semicircular arcades with loggias on its three sides. The central wing sheltered workshops for the inmates and a centralized chapel crowned with an elegant semispherical dome that balances its sophisticated tetrastyle Ionic temple front façade. The building was shelled in 1898. In 1940, a complete rehabilitation took place so that it could shelter the US War Department. At this time, all the *azoteas de Cádiz* were replaced with reinforced concrete slabs. During the 1960s, after a complete rehabilitation, the Escuela de Artes Plásticas de Puerto Rico (School of Fine Arts of Puerto Rico), a public art institution, relocated to this space.

Diputación Provincial de Puerto Rico (Parcela 3, Block 33), Calle de San Francisco; Ended in 1875; Enrique Berrocal and Pedro A. Bisbal; Classical Revival and Second Empire influences.

This building occupies a third of its block (Block 33) and is surrounded by Calle de San Francisco (south), Calle de San José (east), and Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud (west). On its north side it abuts to the cathedral. The principal entrance of this two-story E-shaped building is located along Calle de San Francisco. The site, sitting on the northwestern corner of the Plaza de Armas, sheltered a cemetery (from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries), a *plaza del mercado* (indoor market) built in 1849, a *ciudadela* (*casa de viviendas* or *casa de vecindad*; tenement housing), an *asilo de beneficencia* (asylum) and an *instituto civil* (a kind of high school). At this time, the Lottery was located on the eastern half of the first floor. Windows are interspersed with engaged Tuscan pilasters on the first level and Ionic on the second. All windows are protected by exquisite metal *rejas* (iron grilles) that include the letters "DP" (Diputación Provincial). The most relevant use of the building was to house the Diputación Provincial de Puerto Rico, the representative body before the Spanish Cortes in Madrid. An elegant horizontal band divides the two floors; a wider band in the manner of a podium sits atop this horizontal band. All second-floor openings are crowned with rectangles that have gesso floral motifs on their interior. This decorative motif can be considered a Second Empire influence. A monumental entrance *zaguán* leads from the main façade to the central elegant staircase that provides access to the second floor and to the two courtyards flanked by semicircular arcades on three of their sides. After 1898, the US Post Office Department, the Biblioteca Insular (Insular Library), Telégrafo y Teléfonos (Telegraph and Telephone) and Colecturía de Rentas Internas (Island Revenue Agency) were located here. Since the 1940s, the building has served as offices for Puerto Rico's Department of State.

Real Audiencia (Parcela 2, Block 41), Calle de la Fortaleza.

Located in the Calle de la Fortaleza and presently named Edificio Fernando Chardon, the building was originally a house (probably dating to the eighteenth century) outfitted during the nineteenth century to serve as the Real Audiencia, or royal court. Rehabilitation work dating to the nineteenth century included wall frescoes, decoration of the majestic stairway, and Neo-Gothic wooden decorative motifs in some of the rooms. In the patio, an observation tower with a unique spiral wooden staircase was erected. The tower, used to carry out meteorological observations by the Spanish military, adds another layer of significance to the building. The façade sports an elegant five-bay treatment with no encadrement borders around the first floor openings, although the main entrance door is framed by a border that includes moldings. The long open wooden balcony unites all five openings on the second level. It is a partially-reconstructed rammed-earth wall and *mampostería regular* building that is accurately executed in its original placement and environment, and sensitively restored as part of a restoration master plan. There is no other building or structure with the same associative value since it was the first building in Old San Juan to be used as a tribunal. As such, it is iconic of the momentous transformation that took place when, after more than three centuries, Puerto Rico was given its own local judiciary system.

Presidio de la Princesa (Cárcel de la Princesa) (Parcela 12A, Block 41), Paseo de la Princesa. 1837-1865; Royal Engineer Enrique Gadea was in charge of the second phase. Classical Revival and Second Empire.

In 1837, the prison was moved to this location from the Plaza de Armas and a small building sporting three openings on each side of a central portal was erected. In 1865, the present design was finished, facing the Paseo de la Princesa. The inscription states that the central tower and clock were erected in 1854. There is an intimate relationship on the façade between the building's architectural form and the building's intended function. The long building was organized with cells that frame the central portal and create a Panopticon effect with a central area that has direct visual contact with the long-cell organization of the *galeras* (galleys). The central portal's relevance is emphasized by the belfry-like element and the incorporation of a central pavilion. The long, elegant building was constructed very close to the defensive wall for protection of its northern side by the tall and massive fifty-plus-feet stone curtain. Located below the fifty-foot-plus high defensive wall of Bastión de la Palma, the inmates exercise area was thus protected. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the patio of the Cárcel de la Princesa sheltered a structure created for the district's lepers. Some of the cells opened to the Paseo de la Princesa where folks would take leisurely walks along the promenade.

The Modern and Enlightenment Period Domestic Buildings (1812-1898)

San Francisco 360 (Parcela 6, Block 49)

This two-story *mampostería ordinaria* house is dated to the first half of the nineteenth century.[54] The bipartite façade composition with its squat proportions, stylistic archaisms, and use of a delicately elegant metal balustrade in the second level, indicates that it is a transitional example from the Baroque to the Enlightenment and Modern period. The balcony is supported by means of cantilevered beams embedded into the wall.

Calle de Tetuán (Parcela 14, Block 64); Renaissance Revival.

[54] *Estudio de revitalización integral del centro histórico de San Juan* (MS: San Juan de Puerto Rico, 1990), Inventory Sheet: Block 49, Parcela 6.

The two-story *mampostería ordinaria* house of the Marqués de la Esperanza qualifies as a *palacete.* The five openings on the façade includes an entrance for carriages. This is one of a handful of examples throughout the historic district where this kind of arrangement can be seen. The first level is treated by means of pseudo-rustication and arcuated entrances depicting the nineteenth-century interest in underscoring the relevance of the second floor vis-à-vis the first floor by reverting to Cinquecento models. As mentioned, in this scheme the first floor is interpreted as a *pedestal del piso principal de la vivienda*,[55] a podium or base. The second level is subdivided into three units by means of pseudo-quoins. Two side windows are treated with balconettes while the three central windows are visually united by a wooden balcony that includes a roof. The balcony is supported by elegant consoles embedded into the wall. The house has a central courtyard surrounded by arcaded loggia of semicircular arches.[56] In addition to this rare courtyard treatment, the interior also includes a helicoidally-organized oval marble staircase that stands in its own huge niche and is crowned by a superb semispherical dome ornamented with stucco decorations and gesso symbols, metal artistic grilles and a unique metal door decorated with garlands of flowers created in the same material. The marquis was owner of the Fundación Abarca, the first metal ironwork on the island. He must have been proud of the work produced and cognizant of the potential of the new material. The elegant entrance double doors, on the second floor, can be considered museum pieces. The work is so delicate that it is difficult to ascertain, with the naked eye, whether they are made of metal or wood.

Calle de San Francisco 65 (Parcela 16, Block 40)

This one-story, five entrance *mampostería ordinaria* house dating to the second half of the nineteenth century, depicts the influence of the Second Empire. The five openings – a rare arrangement in the historic district – belie the relative humbleness of the floor plan. One trend at the time favored arches in the façade (*Rundbogenstil*) and another one added decoration (Second Empire). Each one of the five semicircular arches is crowned with decorative triangular floral motifs. This treatment provides the organization with an ornamental flair in a historic district principally known by its sober, masculine compositions, particularly when dealing with a one floor house. A frieze-like element framing a procession of stars seems to support the cornice and the parapet-balustrade that finish the composition. The end result is one of elegance and a jewel-like appearance. From historic plans it can be deduced that the original house was composed of just one space as wide as the lot that opened onto a patio in the back of the same width. During the early part of the twentieth century,[57] a second floor was added aligned with the back of the property and does not affect the building's historic façade.

Calle del Sol 285 (Parcela 16, Block 20); Arab Revival.

This two-story high *mampostería ordinaria* house is an example of the end-of-the-century interest in Arab aesthetic influences. The arcuated bipartite composition makes use of pseudo-rustication to create a rustic Picturesque effect by framing the arches in an irregular manner. This treatment is quite different than traditional pseudo-rustication, which is characterized by a more regular organization (usually, depicting ashlar-like compositions). The horseshoe arches complete the exotic air of the façade. A parapet with castellated

[55] Joaquín E Weiss, *La arquitectura colonial cubana Siglos XVI al XIX*, p 348. Translation into English: "[A]s a podium of the principal floor of the house [the *piano nobile*]."

[56] While the Christian type of house in the peninsula preferred the cloister or central patio, the discovery of the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum during the eighteenth century empowered fervor for all things Roman. Aesthetic precedents of this particular current were the architectural examples created in the peninsula by distinguished architects profoundly influenced by Roman Classical architecture, such as Francesco Sabatini, Ventura Rodríguez and Juan de Villanueva. As a result, the cloister patio (centrally-located patio surrounded by loggias) became fashionable during the nineteenth century for public buildings.

[57] *Estudio de revitalización integral del centro histórico de San Juan*, Inventory Sheet: Block 40, Parcela 17. The correct number of the *parcela* is Parcela 16. This property is listed as Parcela 17 instead of Parcela 16.

openings crowns the cornice providing the composition with a transparency not associated with traditional treatments in the historic district.

Calle del Sol 152 (Parcela 3, Block 25); Pedro Corbero.

Preserved architectural drawings reveal that this two-story *mampostería ordinaria* residence dates to the last third of the nineteenth century. The building is one of a handful of very narrow houses in the district with only one bay. It is possible these houses were built in "empty" spaces that were urbanized as the city grew and more living space was needed. The historic plans describe the building as the *casa no 49 calle del Sol de Hilario Cuevilla* ("house number 49 Calle del Sol belonging to Hilario Cuevilla"). The document dates to 1895. The façade has only one opening on each floor. The first level opening is treated as a door while the second has a balcony that includes a metal balustrade. Three metal stars crown the second level in the manner of a frieze. They are the ends of tensile cables used to reinforce old and new structures during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They were used to structurally stabilize façades. The metal star-shaped plaques anchor the cables to the supporting wall.

Calle del Sol 102 (Parcela 2, Block 24), Second Empire.

This three-story brick and reinforced concrete building has an exuberant façade in keeping with Second Empire ideals. It is dated to the turn of the century. Six small projecting balconies, each one decorated with curved metal balustrades, face the street supported by two consoles. The first floor is organized with decorated semicircular arches that create an elegant arcade. The arches and their delicate fanlights are framed by decorative curved triangular panels located between them. The visual effect of these motifs is to unite each individual arch into a rhythmic composition. The trabeated system is used on the second floor where swag-like plaster elements are draped over the lintels. The third floor lintels have even more impressive decoration. They are so rich in terms of their ornamentation that they resemble pediments crowning the openings. The richly-detailed consoles under them foster this interpretation.

Calle del Sol 154 (Parcela 4, Block 25), Second Empire.

This three-story brick and reinforced concrete house has six openings on the façade, an unusual number in the historic district. Probably what were once two houses was subsequently connected to create one single and larger residence. The sumptuous and exuberant Second Empire façade dates to the second half of the nineteenth century or the early years of the twentieth century.[58] Delicate, narrow wooden individual and long balconies are used to unite the different openings. Applied gesso decoration frames these openings and the façade ends in a curved arrangement, a most unusual composition for the historic district.

Calle del Sol Street 206 (Parcela 5, Block 26), Second Empire.

Although this house is dated to the first half of the nineteenth century,[59] the façade was obviously changed during the latter years of the nineteenth or early years of the twentieth centuries. The tripartite composition is

[58] *Estudio de Revitalización Integral Centro Histórico de San Juan Puerto Rico*, Inventory Sheet: Parcela 4, Block 25.

[59] *Estudio de Revitalización Integral Centro Histórico de San Juan Puerto Rico*, Inventory Sheet: Parcela 4, Block 26. Present day Parcela 5 was named Parcela 4 in the 1990s inventory. According to this study, it is a: *Fachada neoclásica siglo xix. El bloque de esta estructura estuvo construido para la primera ½ del siglo 18. Esta estructura podría ser tardía a la ya mencionada fecha porque los mapas de la época demuestran dos edificios aparte y no integrados al bloque. El bloque estaba completado para 1792.* Translation into English: "Neoclassical nineteenth century façade. The block where the building is situated was finished by the first half of the eighteenth century. It could be this building was built at a later time since historic plans depict two individual buildings not integrated to the block. The block was completed by 1792."

organized in an asymmetrical arangement with emphasis placed on the left bay, which includes the entrance into the building. This portal-like element is treated as a pavilion and distinguished from the rest of the façade by the use of pseudo-rustication and vertical encadrements which frame it on both sides on the façade's second level. Openings on the first level do not have encadrements but rather gesso decoration - thin lines and floral bouquets. The same treatment is provided on the second floor openings over the main entrance. The other two second floor openings receive a more traditional decorative treatment and are united by an open metal balcony supported by consoles.

MILITARY ARCHITECTURE

Introduction

The high cliffs of the islet facing the Atlantic Ocean and the constricted entrance into the *puerto Rico*, the commodious bay, may have led some early settlers to believe the islet had natural defenses and, therefore, no need for man-made defenses. The 1528 French attack, the first of many, proved this belief to be wrong. To counter external aggression, Old San Juan changed from a placid settlement dedicated to supporting gold mining and agricultural activities into a powerful military machine capable of defending the city and island, as well as the Spanish Empire in America by serving as a first line of defense. During the early stages, lack of sophisticated knowledge led to early defenses that were unsuitable (like the Fortaleza de Santa Catalina). Other more successful initial efforts included the isolated bastion-like structures erected along the northern cliffs and the Calle de Norzagaray (Batería de Santa Bárbara and Fuerte del Espigón with its Garita del Diablo) and a small fort on top of the *morro* (rocky outcrop) at the mouth of the bay.

Continued attacks from enemies proved these defenses were insufficient. As a result, by the eighteenth century a complex and mammoth system had been erected. The whole city was surrounded by fortified walls and two massive castles were outfitted to defend by land and sea. Several urban doors or portals connected the interior of the urban core to the exterior. Defense considerations continued during the nineteenth century when components such as the Fortín del Abanico (Fan Fort), located in the Castillo de San Cristóbal Outworks, was erected. This resulting inventory, the product of four centuries of defensive resources, is a composite of varied layers of defensive ideas and master plans. Its international significance was recognized in 1984 when the walls, castles, and Palacio de Santa Catalina, were inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

The proposed national historic landmark district is roughly defined by this defensive perimeter and includes two service areas located outside of the wall but nonetheless integral to the interior urban core. The district starts on the north side of the Capitol of Puerto Rico in the area commonly known as the Colina de los Tres Reyes Magos (The Hill of the Three Magi). A parade of defenses known as the Outworks is organized from that point until the area where the Puerta de Santiago/Puerta de Tierra was situated. The Outworks artifacts are, from east to west and north to south, the Fuerte de la Princesa (Princess Fort); Fuerte del Abanico (Fan Fort); Contraguardia de la Trinidad (Trinity Counterguard); Revellín de San Carlos (St. Charles' Revalin); and Batería de Santa Teresa (St. Theresa's Battery). All these resources defended the scarp wall of the city's original moat, located on the eastern frontier of the urban precinct.

The scarp wall still serves as the main entrance into the urban core and is all that remains of the Puerta de Santiago/Puerta de Tierra, a fierce defensive structure that served as an urban portal and included, in turn, several military components that were also destroyed during the early 1890s. The only door into the city until the 1890s, it was dedicated to Santiago, the patron saint of Spain.[60] Its formidable size and accompanying

[60] Spain's battle cry since the Middle Ages, *¡Santiago!* has been invoked when fighting the Moors, Aztecs, Incas, as well as assorted American natives, British, French, Dutch, Americans, among others.

structures included a sally port of sorts, two doors, and several defensive elements. Its destruction in 1893 was justified on the grounds that it opened the cramped city to create a healthier environment. According to Tapia y Rivera, demolishing the massive structure was a most difficult undertaking. It was not easy to demolish a structure that, in front of the Plaza Colón was more than twenty *varas* in width, to fill the moats and counter moats and to eliminate the enormous mass of the Santiago Revalin, the bastions and wall curtains already mentioned.[61] If Tapia y Rivera was right, the wall where the Puerta de Santiago was located (in front of the Plaza de Colón) measured approximately 54 feet and 10 inches in width. Given the fact that all the other defensive resources and structures from the northeast corner of Old San Juan (Castillo de San Felipe del Morro to the place where the Puerta de Santiago/Puerta de Tierra was located, are still in place, the sense of place as one "enters" the walled city created by this majestic inventory is quite impressive.

The Puerta de Tierra/Puerta de Santiago connected with the Castillo de San Cristóbal which was erected on a northern promontory which hovered over the main entrance. Finished during the eighteenth century, the fortress started life as a relatively humble structure with a rectangular floor plan. Presently, entrance to this fortress is via the upper portion of the Calle de Norzagaray. A wide ramp leads to the castle's plaza level some 40 feet above the street. This plaza is entered via an elegant portal with wooden doors that was used for military maneuvers and also serves as a connector between all parts of the castle. Since the terrain at that point is almost 40 feet above sea level, the plaza has a commanding position with exquisite views of the city and the bay. An open chapel dedicated to Santa Bárbara (St. Barbara), patron saint of defenses, is found at this level. A nineteenth-century engraving reveals that the area was used as a promenade of sorts by both the military and elegant couples wishing to enjoy the sea breezes and magnificent views. The castle has a multitude of levels that are packed with *casamatas* (casemates) from which to shoot cannon balls at enemy ships, *troneras* (machicolations), dungeons, barracks, service tunnels, and assorted defensive resources. The highest point of this spectacular fortress is the Plataforma del Caballero (Gentleman's Platform) which rises 100 feet above sea level. The Outworks, Puerta de Santiago/Puerta de Tierra and Castillo de San Cristóbal were considered part of the third line of defense of the islet and the city by land.

The northern defensive wall runs along the Calle de Norzagaray and northern cliffs of the islet. The masonry snake is formed by six *baluartes* or *bastiones* (bastions) that unite the Castillo de San Cristóbal to the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro. Each bastion has a *garita* (garite) and crenellations, as well as other defensive components. The bastions reinforced the wall and also served as mammoth links in the defensive chain uniting the straight sections of the defensive wall. From east to west, the following bastions are found: Bastión de San Sebastián (St. Sebastian's Bastion); Bastión de Santo Tomás (St. Thomas' Bastion); Bastión de las Ánimas (Bastion of the Souls); Bastión de Santo Domingo (St. Dominic's Bastion); Bastión de Santa Rosa (St. Rose's Bastion); and Bastión de San Antonio (St. Anthony's Bastion). This last one connects the northern defensive wall to the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro. Bastions vary in height above sea level from approximately 21 to 107 feet since they were built atop the high cliffs. On the interior of the defensive wall bastions are at the most eight feet in height to allow for observation of the enemy. At the angled meeting point of two straight sections of the wall, a watchtower is found. Sentinels used this protective element while on duty for protection against the weather. During assaults, the structure would keep them safe while allowing them to see through a small thin opening.

Just as the Castillo de San Cristóbal was to be the definitive defense against land assaults, the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro was the first line of defense of the bay against attacks by sea. It was the first castle to be

[61] Alejandro Tapia y Rivera, *Mis memorias o Puerto Rico como lo encontré y como lo dejo*, pp 90-91. In Spanish: *No fue tarea fácil demoler una estructura que frente a la plaza de Colón tenía más de veinte varas de ancho, rellenar los fosos y contrafosos y hacer desaparecer la enorme masa del revellín de Santiago, de los baluartes y cortinas ya mencionados.* A *vara* (pole or rod) measures 83.52 centimeters.

constructed; as early as the sixteenth century there was a small round tower on top of the rocky *morro*. In a way, the castle served as the bay's portal or entrance. With time, both castles grew, transforming from small fort-like structures into mammoth structures that prevented any enemy from conquering the city once they were fully deployed. The Castillo de San Felipe del Morro has an impressive array of components, including an area known as the Esplanade, a moat, a sally port, an impressive Tuscan entrance portal, a chapel, an interior plaza, a *batería flotante* (floating battery) sixteen feet above sea level, barracks, dungeons, and dozens of other spaces and areas. Probably the most impressive of all the areas is the staircase/ramp that unites the entry level with the floating battery, several dozen feet below. Before arriving at the wood bridge that spans the dry moat and allows entrance into the interior of the fortress, the Esplanade (also known as Campo del Morro) must be traversed. This huge open field has impressive views of the Atlantic Ocean, the north coast, the entrance into the bay, the Isla de Cabras (Goats Island) and the main island of Puerto Rico. Historically, it was supposed to be mined and was literally the last chance of any successful defense since the Castillo de San Felipe was the city's last line of defense. The Esplanade also served as a field for maneuvers. Isla de Cabras, on the other side of the bay, can be considered part of the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro because the castle worked in tandem with the Fuerte de San Juan de la Cruz (Fort of St. John of the Cross), a small fort located in that small isle also known as the Fortín del Cañuelo.[62] While San Felipe was used for high shots, the Fortín (small fort) was used for the lower ones. This crisscross fire at the mouth of the bay created an impregnable "wall" that protected the entrance, just as dramatically as a chain did across Havana's bay. On the uppermost platform of the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro located approximately 100 feet above sea level, a brick lighthouse was constructed during the early years of the twentieth century to replace the older and smaller lighthouse dating to the nineteenth century. San Felipe was the first operational lighthouse following the establishment of the Spanish lighthouse system.[63]

Toward the south of the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro, the following defensive resources are aligned until they reach La Puntilla and realign toward the east: Batería de San Fernando (St. Ferdinand's Battery); Bastión de Santa Elena (St. Helen's Bastion); Bastión de San Agustín (St. Agustine's Bastion); Puerta de San Juan (San Juan Door); Bastión de Santa Catalina (St. Catherine's Bastion); Bastión de la Concepción (Bastion of the Immaculate Conception); Bastión de la Palma (Bastion of the Palm); and Bastión de San Justo (St. Justus' Bastion). A modern promenade is aligned from the northwestern tip of the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro to the remains of the Bastión de San Justo allowing for the contemplation of the exterior of the wall from sea level. This lane connects with the Paseo de la Princesa and its Extension.

Bastión de la Palma is part of the southern defensive wall. The Paseo de la Princesa is a promenade that allows contemplation of the defensive wall from sea level. The Paseo ends where the Bastión de San Justo and Puerta de San Justo were once located. This urban portal was divided into two semi-bastions (also known as bastions): the Bastión de San Justo and Bastión de Pastor (St. Pastor's Bastion)[64]. They framed the Puerta de San Justo, for centuries the only door opening to the port area located on the south of the urban center. After the Puerta de San Justo, the following were aligned along the south towards the east: the Bastión de San Pedro (St. Peter's Bastion) and Bastión de Santiago (St. James' Bastion). This last structure was connected to the Puerta de Santiago that also included the Revellín de Santiago (St. James's Revalin). As mentioned, during the early part of the twentieth century, sections of the southern defensive wall were destroyed. With the exception of the two service areas, including a small portion on the eastern side where the original defensive walls are no longer

[62] The Fortín del Cañuelo is part of the San Juan National Historic Site even though it is represented as a district in its own right in plans, given the fact that it is located on the other side of the bay.

[63] It is individually listed in the National Register of Historic Places as part of the Puerto Rican Lighthouses nomination on 22 October 1981.

[64] Justo and Pastor, known as the *Santos Niños* (Children Saints), were born in Madrid during the 4th century. They were martyred when they were 7 and 9 years of age because they refused to renounce their religion. This bastion with its double defenses in the manner of semi-bastions made the spiritual connection particularly and emotively appropriate.

extant, the proposed boundaries for the national landmark historic district are approximately determined by the original perimeter of the defensive wall.

The north wall is approximately 3,700 yards long while the south wall is 850 yards in length. The first one varies in height from 24 to 50 feet, while the south wall measures from 20 to 60 feet high. The curtain wall widths vary from 24 to 50 feet. All the walls and the fortresses are constructed of "sandstone, with vaulting and piers in brick, and sand and earth-fill between all shelves."[65] The arcuated structural system was preferred in all its versions: semicircular and segmental arches, barrel vaults, and groin vaults were widely used. Some elements, like the entrance portals of both fortresses, make use of the trabeated structural system and include examples of the Tuscan architectural order. Late nineteenth-century additions, as well as World War I and World War II insertions, on the other hand, are constructed of reinforced concrete.

Although controversial, the defensive girdle was probably stuccoed regularly or as frequently as funds allowed. During the nineteenth century some sections cracked and even fell due to poor maintenance. Poet José Gautier Benítez (1848-1880) mentioned white defensive walls when describing the color palette of the city. He did so in two of his poems dedicated to Puerto Rico/San Juan:

A Puerto Rico (Ausencia)

Puerto Rico, patria mía,
la de ***blancos almenares***
la de los verdes palmares,
la de la extensa bahía;
¡Qué hermosa estás en las brumas
del mar que tu playa azota,
como una ***blanca*** *gaviota*
dormida entre las espumas!

In this verse, written while the author was studying in Spain, the poet equates Puerto Rico with Old San Juan, lovingly describing the white battlements or crenellations and the contrast they create with the green palm trees and expansive blue bay. Because of these colors, the city is compared to a sleeping white seagull. Upon his return, as the ship approached the bay, he described the city for a second time:

Puerto Rico (Regreso)

Por fin, corazón, por fin
alienta con la esperanza,
que entre nubes de carmín,
del horizonte al confín,
ya la tierra a ver se alcanza.
…
Ya se va diafanizando
de la mar la espesa bruma;
el buque sigue avanzando,
y va la tierra brotando
como Venus de la espuma.
Y allá sobre el fondo oscuro
que sus montañas le dan,

[65] US Department of the Interior, "National Register of Historic Places Inventory San Juan National Historic Site" (Washington DC: 1961).

bajo un cielo hermoso y puro,
cerrada en su blanco muro
mi bellísima San Juan.
...

Against the greenery of the mountains and the blue sky and greenish sea, the city was now portrayed as a lady protected by a white wall. He probably took poetic license with his emotional descriptions for the existence of an impeccable white stucco finish on all surfaces of the defensive ring is quite improbable. All of the defensive resources which include Castillo San Cristóbal, Castillo San Felipe del Morro, and Fortin San Juan de la Cruz (known locally as El Cañuelo), bastions, powder houses, and three fourths of the city walls, collectively became a unit of the National Park Service in 1983 known as the San Juan National Historic Site.[66] Also in 1983, they were inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

A. Historic Development

The Conquest Period

As mentioned, the first defenses to be erected during the sixteenth century were the Castillo de Santa Catalina (a section) and Ponce de León's *casa-torre* (aka Casa Blanca). The *torre* is an introverted architectural typology that borrows elements, such as the crenellations and door barrier, from medieval fortifications. The main objective of the Fortaleza de Santa Catalina was to protect the bay entrance. One of its two towers was known as the Torre del Homenaje (Tower of Homage) and from its top the *castellano* (governor of the defense) could swear allegiance, hence its name. La Fortaleza followed medieval defense strategies with two towers to defend the *lienzo de la pared* (section of the wall or curtain wall). This is a very early defense system substituted at a later date by the bastion that provided a more effective defense of the walls proper, the weakest point. The structure was rejected as useless a few years later by expert Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, who famously stated: [A]*unque la edificaram* [sic] *ciegos no la pudieron poner en parte tan sin provecho*.[67] The location was, at best, misguided for it could only be of use once the enemy had entered the bay, a dire situation at best. A few years later in 1537, Blasco Nuñez Vela more or less agreed with this assessment. He thought the greenery was dense enough to protect the city from the natives, although – after supervising the defenses of the city – he suggested the construction of small, simple *baluartes* (bastions) with cannons on wheels close to the water entrances. The bastions were located in high places to better control enemy movements. As early as 1585, Francés de Alava proposed that some artillery also be placed in the port area with cannons in the areas of Casa Blanca and La Puntilla de San Lázaro. The Batería de Santa Bárbara, originally erected along present-day Calle de Norzagaray, is one of these components.

By 1540, the main defensive resource was moved to the top of the *morro* (rocky outcrop) located on the eastern side of the bay entrance. The work of Italian and Spanish military designers, it is built more than 80 feet above sea level. As mentioned, the first structure erected in this place was a round tower embraced by later additions. This typology reflects medieval precedents as a source of inspiration for defense resources in Old San Juan during the Conquest Period. In addition to defending the bay entrance, the fortification was also to defend the Cerro de Santo Domingo and the Caleta de los Frailes, and to serve as a *ciudadela* (citadel) for the town, which at this stage had approximately 3,000 inhabitants. The defense strategy at this time was complete with the Fuerte Rojo (Red Fort) designed to defend the eastern sector of the islet, and the Fortín El Cañuelo situated on the other side of the bay.

[66] http://www.nps.gov/state/pr/index.htm?program=parks accessed 8/14/2012; last updated 8/14/12.
[67] Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo. Quoted in Adolfo de Hostos, *Historia de San Juan Ciudad murada*, p 180. Translation into English: "Even blind men would not have chosen as bad a location that has absolutely no positive advantage."

Continuous European attacks forced the strengthening of the defense system, particularly from land. Field Marshall Juan de Tejeda and Juan Bautista Antonelli[68] were contracted during the 1580s to create a defensive master plan for the whole islet. Antonelli, of Italian origin, joined Philip II's service and authored a score of Caribbean defenses. His creative genius is responsible for the Panama, Veracruz, Havana, Cartagena and Old San Juan fortifications. Antonelli and de Tejeda were instructed by the Crown to initiate a proposal that included fortified towers, garites, water batteries, and trenches. Their master plan is based on three components: a strong fort located at the *morro*; defensive walls around the city; and formal defense of the Boquerón area.[69]

The Castillo de San Felipe del Morro, which started life as a *hornabeque* (hornwork) formed by two half bastions and a wall, was by 1598 a formidable fortress. By 1625 it had four bastions: Bastión de Austria; Bastión de Tejeda; Bastión del Mercado; and Bastión de Mosquera, although it had no walls facing the ocean and bay sides until 1639. In 1587, the Baluarte de Santa Elena, sited between the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro and the Castillo de Santa Catalina, was constructed. Other bastions reinforced the defense, such as the Bastión de Austria[70] which looked towards the bay, and the aptly-named Tejeda which faced the ocean. A wall connected these two elements and other components such as a moat, bridge and *revellín* (revalin). The Esplanade was part of the defense system of the fortress; the military *campo* (field) was to be used as a mine field but provide unobstructed views if the enemy attempted to penetrate the city.

In 1765, Field Marshal Alejandro O'Reilly and Chief of the Royal Engineers Tomás O'Daly inspected the Old San Juan system with the objective of updating the defensive plan, restructuring existing resources as needed, and improving the defense methodology as per the city's new status as a *Defensa de Primer Orden* (Defense of the First Order) granted by Emperor Carlos III. Renovations were needed for the plan to work; the following year they were initiated at the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro. It was during this period that the present configuration of this fortress was achieved. Cannons were tripled, the second level tower battery was expanded, and the Batería del Carmen was erected to protect the Batería de Santa Bárbara. A great wall was also constructed behind this last structure. O'Daly believed that the land side of the city needed to be defended in a more forceful manner. This was the principal function for the Castillo de San Cristóbal and its outworks. By the eighteenth century, the sister fortress of the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro was ready to defend this city from invasions by land.

All structures deemed necessary during the Baroque Period were finished by the last decade of the eighteenth century. The new master plan was tested with the British attack of 1797 and repelled with relative ease by the defensive system that proved its worth as an impregnable fortification.

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[68] Antonelli and de Tejada are considered internationally significant figures. The first man's creative genius is responsible for the Panama, Veracruz, Havana, Cartagena, and St Augustine, Florida fortifications. Interpreting the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro within this context, it acquires an additional layer of significance as one "piece" of the Caribbean defenses created by the Spanish as they struggled for control of the continent.

[69] This first comprehensive plan was impacted by Renaissance defensive theories that superseded Medieval ones. The development of the *baluarte* or *bastión* (bastion) made possible the *fortificación abaluartada* (bastioned fort). Traditional straight walls, independently of their thickness or height, presented problems in terms of defense for there was no effective way to defend their lower sections. These "blind spots" made possible for the enemy to place gunpowder at the base of the wall. Bastions solved the problem because they sported angled walls that permitted for the whole perimeter to be seen and protected. "[T]he supreme stroke of Italian genius was the revolutionary design innovation known as the bastioned trace, which dictated a star-shaped or polygonal form for the fortress, and outworks projecting from the shielding wall that would provide artillery positions capable of flanking fire without 'dead spots'." Anne W Tennant, "Architect of a king's defense: dedicated to the service of the Spanish sovereign, Juan Bautista Antonelli designed innovative fortifications that still tower over the Caribbean today," 2003. Digital source: http://findarticles.com.

[70] The name also honors Emperor Felipe II who belonged to the House of Austria.

A. Present Day Configuration

Castillo de San Felipe del Morro

The Castillo de San Felipe del Morro is built in eight levels covering an area of approximately seven acres. Seated upon a rocky outcrop (the *morro*) facing the Atlantic Ocean and the entrance to San Juan Bay, its first level, the Batería Flotante (Floating Battery), is sixteen feet above water, while the highest point of the imposing edifice is approximately 140 feet above sea level. The fortress is protected by a dry moat and a sally port that provide entry into the complex and the first interior space, an area known as the Plaza de Armas. The masonry bridge that crosses the dry moat is supported by arches. The principal entrance was designed with a Tuscan portal signifying its relevance as the main door to the last and final defense line of the city. The Tuscan architectural order was appropriate since for centuries it represented the male gender. The north side of the Plaza de Armas connects with the Bastión del Carmen by means of an arched tunnel-like area and an impressive ramp/staircase leading to the Bastión de Santa Barbara and lower levels. This dramatic entryway provides a powerful contrast between the huge structure and the sea. The view is considered iconic and appears in an infinite number of photographs and post cards. Above the Plaza de Armas two large bastions are found: the Bastión de Austria and the Bastión de Ochoa, accessed from the Bastión del Carmen by means of ramps. The Bastión de Santa Bárbara faces both the bay and the Atlantic Ocean and is suspended 48 feet above sea level. The Castillo de San Felipe del Morro also sheltered several other functions, including barracks and a jail.

Administrative offices and a small chapel were also part of the complex. During the 1840s, the first lighthouse in the island's system was also installed here. The present brick structure dates to the early twentieth century, although the historic remains of the older light were incorporated into this later building. The Esplanade or Campo del Morro was an intrinsic part of this last line of defense. The unobstructed area allowed those defending to see any possible movements from would-be invasions. This glacis was mined and crisscrossed with tunnels that would have allowed for defense in extreme cases, although by 1833 it was still unfinished. It would have allowed defenders a clear view of any enemy as it approached the last line of defense. All of the defenses are made of masonry using Old San Juan sandstone; vaulting and reinforcement piers use brick; and sand and earth-fill were utilized to create the walls. Late nineteenth-century and World War I and II interventions were constructed in reinforced concrete. All exposed surfaces were plastered.[71] The vast repertoire of construction techniques, military solutions, and aesthetic insertions provides the compound with an additional layer of significance. Both arcuated and trabeated structural systems are used throughout the complex.

North Defensive Wall

The north defensive wall uniting the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro and the Castillo de San Cristóbal is more than 3,700 yards long and has a height that varies from 24 to 50 feet with a width that measures from 15 to 30 feet. Six bastions are aligned along this curtain wall located on top of the cliff area of the islet facing the Atlantic Ocean. From west to east, they are: Bastión de San Antonio (St. Anthony's Bastion); Bastión de Santa Rosa (St. Rose's Bastion); Bastión de Santo Domingo (St. Dominic's Bastion); Bastión de Las Ánimas (Bastion of the Souls); Bastión de Santo Tomás (St. Thomas's Bastion); and Bastión de San Sebastián (St. Sebastian's Bastion). Each one of these structures contains embrasures, firing steps and a watchtower. Some of the names make references to urban accidents revealing the intimate relationship between the defensive and urban components. The Bastión de San Sebastian is located close to where the Ermita de San Sebastián was sited before it was substituted by the Polvorín of the same name. The Bastión de las Ánimas, in turn, refers to the

[71] F. C. Gjessins and Loretta Schmidt, US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form for Federal Properties," 1973, p 5.

adjacent nineteenth-century cemetery located between the wall and the sea. Originally, only one door offered connection through this wall to the exterior. This portal was located at the Bastión de Santo Tomás and is known as the Puerta de Santa Rosa. It was created for access to the exterior of the wall and earlier fortifications, such as the Fuerte del Espigón with its Garita del Diablo. During the nineteenth century, the Puerta de San José, located between the Bastión de Santa Rosa and the Bastión de Santo Domingo, was opened. As mentioned, its sole objective was to provide direct entrance to the Cementerio de Santa María Magdalena de Pazzis.

Castillo de San Cristóbal

The Castillo de San Cristóbal was constructed around an earlier small square fort meant to defend the city from land, although the casemates on its north side contained gun positions that also protected against assaults from the Atlantic Ocean. By the eighteenth century, it was a huge fortification connected to the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro by means of bastioned city walls. In addition to the splendid ramp which serves as the main entrance and allows access to the upper levels, the fortress has a central courtyard or plaza surrounded by barracks, casemates, officers' quarters, and a chapel. In its final configuration, the structure rises from 30 to 60 feet above sea level. World War II insertions at the El Plano and El Caballero were devised to aid in the sighting of German U-boats. This last position is 100 feet above sea level. This land complex included the mammoth Puerta de Santiago/Puerta de Tierra. This massive portal was subdivided into two doors. A dry moat separated the portal and city from the islet by means of a scarp wall and secondary defenses. As mentioned, the complex was destroyed during the last decade of the nineteenth century as a response to the modern trend of ridding cities of old defensive structures considered obsolete. The Castillo de San Cristóbal Outworks were located outside the moat area and included a redoubt at the northwest corner, the Bastión de Santa Teresa (St. Theresa's Bastion), and Bastión de La Princesa (Princess Bastion), all built during the last decades of the eighteenth century as part of the Baroque defense master plan. These structures also included the Revellín de San Carlos (St. Charles' Revalin), the Bastión de La Trinidad (Trinity Bastion), as well as the Fortín del Abanico (Fan Fort). The Revellín de San Carlos is a triangular (demi-lune) defense aligned towards the south, connected to the Castillo de San Cristobal by means of a covered passageway across the moat and a tunnel. It has two levels peppered with casemates on the lower level which support the guns on the upper decks. The Bastión de La Trinidad is a five-sided structure with three levels with gun decks and casemates. The Fortín del Abanico was erected in 1800 and is one of the last structures created by the Spanish military in Old San Juan. A glacis was part of the area as well as breastwalls, covered walkways, mining tunnels, among other features.

South Defensive Wall

The southern defensive wall originally connected the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro and Palacio de Santa Catalina with the Puerta de Santiago/Puerta de Tierra and Castillo de San Cristóbal. In the same manner as the North Wall, a series of bastions united the southern curtain. Their sequence from west to east was: the Bastión de San Fernando (St. Ferdinand's Bastion); Plataforma de Santa Elena (St. Helen's Platform); Semibastión de San Agustín (St. Augustine's Semi-Bastion); Semibastión de Santa Catalina (St. Catherine's Semi-Bastion); Bastión de la Palma (Palm Bastion); Bastión de San Justo (St. Just's Bastion); Bastión de San Pedro (St. Peter's Bastion); and Bastión de Santiago (St. James's Bastion). As mentioned, the Bastión de San Justo was divided into two sections known as *semibastiones* (semi-bastions), San Justo and Pastor, to better defend the door framed by these elements. Inside the city there was an open space in front of the door, part of which is presently occupied by Block 63. During the 1880s, a garden-like space was created on the outside of the gate that served as one of the two *termini* of the nineteenth-century Paseo de la Princesa. The Puerta de San Justo was the only door connecting the South Wall with the exterior of the defensive circuit until 1874 when the Puerta de España was inaugurated. This last portal was located at the place where the Calle de la Tanca

intersected the South Wall. The place where this street initiated on its northern side was organized by means of the curved steps of La Barandilla that united two different levels of Calle de la Luna and Calle de San Francisco. These two southern doors and the curtain wall between them, no longer exist since they were destroyed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as the city expanded beyond its defensive belt.

CONTRIBUTING SITES

The Old San Juan Historic District has 16 contributing and 6 noncontributing sites. The Cementerio de Santa María Magdalena de Pazzis (Parcela 2, Block 11) is considered a contributing site. (Table 4 lists all contributing and noncontributing sites and Table 7 lists all contributing and noncontributing plazas, gardens, promenades and parks.)

Cementerio Santa María Magdalena de Pazzis (Parcela 2, Block 11), outside the northern defensive walls; Blessed in 1814; Erected 1841 (Charnel house); 1862 (Comprehensive plan and Chapel by Municipal Architect Manuel Sicardó; Chapel finished by José I Hernández Costa); Renaissance Revival (Chapel), Neo-Gothic, Picturesque, Victorian, Art Deco, among others.

Nineteenth-century concerns with hygiene prohibited burials in the interior area of the city. As a result, the cemetery was moved outside the northern defensive city walls. In order to connect the urban core with the burial ground, a new urban door was opened in the defensive curtain wall. Named after Saint Joseph, the portal was located between the Bastión de Santa Rosa and Bastión de Santo Domingo. The principal portal to the burial ground is similar to a triumphal arch paralleling the Arsenal de la Marina de la Puntilla design. Since the burial ground was expanded during the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, the entrance portal is presently inside the graveyard. Two main lanes meet at the center and are anchored by a Renaissance Revival centralized chapel with a podium for burials and a circular arcade. The chapel's central interior space is covered with a dome. The charnel house is aligned with a section of the northern defensive walls. Dozens of unique examples of funerary architecture and art are found within the cemetery. Although the property is still used as a cemetery, it derives its primary national significance from its distinctive design, artistic and architectural merits, unique landscape setting, as well as from the dozens of graves of important historical figures.

Plaza de la Catedral

The Plaza de la Catedral is the oldest square in Old San Juan, described during the sixteenth century as a *plaza pública* (public plaza). Organized before the *Laws of Indies* were enacted, the plaza has a slightly trapezoidal shape at odds with the regular geometric shape such spaces embodied at a later time. Located in front of the main temple, it also served as an atrium, albeit uncomfortably due to the topographical characteristics of the area (the cathedral is at a higher level than the plaza). The square is separated from the church by the Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud. Two of the principal roads that connected the original port to the Plaza de la Catedral during the sixteenth century border the plaza. The Caleta de las Monjas also united the sector to the Ponce de León family estate and the Caleta de San Juan unites the Plaza de la Catedral to the Puerta de San Juan, the urban door which opens unto the sea. Thousands walked the lane throughout the centuries as they arrived in or departed the town. It is possible no clear demarcation existed between the plaza and the *caletas* during the early years. During the eighteenth century, the Convento and the Iglesia de las Madres Carmelitas Calzadas (Convent and Church of the Shoed Carmelite Sisters) were erected on its north side. The present temple, which dates to the middle of the nineteenth century and was erected after the previous one burned down, has a façade that is a creative interpretation of the centuries-old westwork. Before this transformation, the complex was used for varied non-religious uses during the early decades of the twentieth century, including a garage and a house of ill repute. The Hotel El Convento is framed on its west side by the Escalinata de las Monjas (Staircase of the

Nuns). In front of the convent across the plaza is the Casa del Cabildo, which originally faced the Plaza de la Catedral. The ensemble around the Plaza de la Catedral possesses a high degree of integrity conveying a sense of place to the original urban core.

Plaza de Armas

When the first area selected for the settlement in front of the cathedral and close to the *fondeadero* proved to be inadequate during the sixteenth century, the center was moved to around the present-day area of the Plaza de Armas, the square that is considered the heart of Old San Juan to this day. The space continues to anchor the seats of both the island-wide and municipal governments, as it has done since the seventeenth century. Although the Spanish monarchy was not organized into independent branches (i.e. executive, legislative, and judicial), all the buildings relevant to the administration of the city and the island – Casa Alcaldía, Real Intendencia and Diputación Provincial – were located around this square during the nineteenth century.

Between the earliest days of the city and the nineteenth century, the northwest corner was occupied by a cemetery. Characteristically and following European patterns, the streets surrounding the space – the Calle de San Francisco; Calle de Rafael Cordero; Calle de la Cruz; and Calle de San José – were probably interpreted as part of the urban space for many centuries; it is expected that the plaza was not surrounded by streets until much later. The space has been known by different names throughout its history.[72] Against the recommendations of the *Laws of Indies*, the Plaza de Armas is free of religious association. The sculptures of the four seasons presently incorporated into the fountain are nineteenth-century artistic examples that originally adorned the Paseo de la Princesa. They were removed from this location in 1872 and taken to the Plaza de Armas. Until the last decades of the twentieth century, huge trees provided a park-like atmosphere in the square, in keeping with Picturesque and City Beautiful Movement landscape ideals. This was a departure from the norm since originally all squares in Old San Juan followed European traditions and had no greenery.

To the north of the Plaza de Armas is the Casa Alcaldía de San Juan, the seat of municipal government. Its loggia creates an intimate and fluid relationship between the interior of the building and the square. This arcaded portico provides a highly symbolic urban and architectural transparency that is very appropriate given the building's use as the "house of the city." At one point during the nineteenth century, plans were made to surround the space with an arcade. Two unfinished arches springing next to the Casa Alcaldía arcade, on both sides of the main façade, still reveal this historic intention.[73] The Palacio de la Intendencia (also known as Real Intendencia and Real Hacienda) is located on the west of the Plaza de Armas on the site of a former military jail and barracks (Cuartel de Artillería de San Carlos; St. Charles' Artillery Barracks). The third government building looking over the Plaza de Armas is the Diputación Provincial, erected during the nineteenth century on the site of the city's first cemetery. After this locale was closed, a building was erected to shelter an asylum and also a market with a main façade facing the Calle de San José. In 1836, the present building was constructed and the main entrance was moved to the Calle de San Francisco. Until the first half of the twentieth century, families and civic organizations – such as the Casino Español and Ateneo Puertorriqueño – grouped around the

[72] The Plaza de Armas name, in use during the nineteenth century, made no sense to Tapia y Rivera. *Ibid*., p 8. [L]*a plaza principal o de Armas como ha dado en llamarse, no sé por qué, puesto que sí la de La Habana se denomina así, es porque correspondió en otro tiempo a la primera fortaleza que allí se hizo*. Translation into English: "[T]he principal plaza or de Armas as it is presently called, illogically due to the fact that Havana's can be termed that way because it did serve in this manner the first fortification constructed in that city."

[73] A transformation that was carried out was the project nicknamed *el Panteón de Pezuela* (Pezuela's Pantheon). In 1851, Governor Juan de Pezuela y Cevallos, Marquis de la Pezuela, transformed the open space with the insertion of a raised platform in keeping with European ideas. It is probable the design was meant to provide more definition to the public space by clearly establishing a difference between the square proper and the vehicular areas surrounding it. The hated project was completely deconstructed some time later. The Marquis was governor from 1848 to 1851.

Plaza de Armas. As the flight to the suburbs increased, these uses were abandoned and three high-rise buildings were erected.

Plaza de San José

The Plaza de San José, originally also known as Plazuela de Santo Domingo, is one of the oldest in the city and is located on part of the original estate of the Ponce de León family. Historic documentation reveals that the family donated this portion of the land so that the Iglesia de San José, then known as the Iglesia de Santo Domingo, and the Convento de los Dominicos (also known as Convento de Santo Tomás de Aquino) could be constructed. While this complex sits on the north side of the square, the three other sides were framed by houses until the first half of the twentieth century. Presently, two streets border the space: the Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud to the west and the Calle de San Sebastián to the south.[74] The bronze sculpture of Juan Ponce de León that adorns the space was originally located at the Plaza de Colón and is made from abandoned eighteenth-century British cannons that were melted for this purpose. The oldest structures surrounding this square are the convent and the church. During the early stages of the Conquest, the Dominicans were entrusted with the colonization and conversion efforts of the continent. This complex served as the seat of the order in the Viejo San Juan and the island. Since the church had no formal atrium, the square on its side served this purpose. Therefore, it is possible the plaza was used as a burial ground during the early days of the settlement. As is the case with urban resources that have been in use for almost five centuries, the Plaza de San José has been transformed a number of times since its creation during the sixteenth century, when it was probably unpaved. Historic photographs do not reveal any greenery in the small space during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The last rehabilitation undertaken during the second half of the twentieth century introduced some greenery to the space by means of several *guayacán* (soap bush)[75] trees that add a native touch while providing shade. The precious trees have blue and white flowers that add color to the sober space.

The building framing the plaza to the east, the so-called Casa de los Contrafuertes (House of the Buttresses), is the oldest house in the core which also makes it the oldest European-constructed house in the island and the United States. The façade of the house to the north of the Casa de los Contrafuertes was recreated during the second half of the twentieth century when the dilapidated non-original Art Deco facade was substituted. Originally, the plaza was framed by residences on its west side. This tightly-developed urban nucleus was destroyed during the twentieth century when the US Army created a kind of empty "moat" between the US Army Fort Brooke Military Base and the urban core. Four historic city blocks and approximately 46 buildings were destroyed at this time.[76]

During the festivities to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the "discovery" of America and Puerto Rico, the urban "moat" was developed and a new square, the Plaza del Quinto Centenario (Plaza of the Fifth Centenary) and would-be-square, the Plaza del Soportal, as well as an underground parking garage, were constructed in this sector. This accounts for the unusual situation, in terms of Spanish urban patterns, of having three squares (Plaza de San José, Plaza del Soportal and Plaza del Quinto Centenario) opening one unto the other. The elimination of this part of the urban fabric has made it possible for the plaza to visually connect with several monumental structures in the area, particularly the nineteenth-century Cuartel de Ballajá and the eighteenth-century Hospital de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción el Grande.

[74] The small street to the east that appears in twentieth century photographs has been incorporated to the plaza as a narrow walk.

[75] The *guayacán* or soap bush tree is a native species of America and is almost extinct in the island. The word supposedly comes from the Taíno word *waiacan*. Diccionario de la Real Academia de la Lengua Española, word: *guayacán*.

[76] The destroyed historic blocks, *parcelas* and buildings are depicted in the "Number 1 General Plan of San Juan," The Porto Rico Board of Fire Underwriters, 30 September 1921.

Plaza de San Francisco and La Barandilla

The Plaza de San Francisco (also known as Plaza de Salvador Brau) and its neighbor to the west, the public area known as La Barandilla, are both anchored by the Baroque Iglesia de San Francisco and, originally, by its annexed convent, the Convento de San Francisco. In fact, since burials inside the city were not prohibited until the first half of the nineteenth century, it is possible the plaza served as both atrium and cemetery. During that century, the convent was expropriated by the government and converted into the Cuartel Militar de San Francisco.

Destroyed during the early years of the twentieth century, the lot is now occupied by the Escuela Graduada y Técnica Ramón Baldorioty de Castro, one of the first American-funded public schools erected in the district and one of the finest examples of the Palladian Revival style erected in the island. The building houses a university, one of two such centers in the precinct. Another transformation to the area occurred after the 1980s when the temple façade was liberated from the reinforced concrete building erected to shelter a parochial school and church services during the early twentieth century. The church-plaza relationship was recuperated, albeit in a limited manner, considering that the church's original Baroque façade was destroyed when the twentieth-century building was erected. Old photographs of this façade depict a unique belfry with elegant curved elements. During the 1950s television sets were placed here and the plaza became a communal living room for the city.

The Plaza de San Francisco opens to the so-called La Barandilla, a plaza-like area which during the nineteenth century had a metal *barandilla* (handrail or railing) and curved steps that bridged the height difference between the Plaza de San Francisco and Calle de la Luna. The transformation during that time period of a section of the plaza into a promenade with the inclusion of decorative details in the manner of a metal railing and graceful curved steps was innovative. At some point during the twentieth century, the Calle de la Tanca was extended north and the steps were covered with a paved road. Even with its famed handrail lost, the place never lost its name and continued to be known as La Barandilla revealing a strong permanency in the city's collective memory. La Barandilla was to be lined with trees forming a short *allée* on axis with the Calle de la Tanca and the Puerta de España, located at the southern end of this street. The visual connection between the La Barandilla staircase and promenade and the Puerta de España created an axis that countered the fragmentation present in the orthogonal grid. In this manner, one street of the urban configuration was transformed by Second Empire aesthetic ideas into a major urban axis. La Barandilla is an example of the adaptation of Old San Juan to nineteenth-century urban concepts. The promenade-like area, albeit small in size, planted with trees framing a curved public staircase in the baroque style, reveals European Second Empire aesthetic influences. A few years ago, the original nineteenth-century steps were uncovered, the street closed, and La Barandilla replicated.

Plaza de Colón

The Plaza de Colón was originally known as the Plaza de Santiago (St. James' Plaza) and previously as the Campo de Santiago (St. James' Camp) since military maneuvers used to take place in the space described by Tapia y Rivera *as a descampado* (empty area) as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. The name of the square was changed when the white marble statue of Christopher Columbus was erected in its center during the 1890s. The area was intimately related to the Puerta de Santiago/Puerta de Tierra military defenses, the main entrance from the land-side into the city. It coalesced with the interior security perimeter and also with the entrance defense organization. This important urban space has served as the historic and contemporary urban vestibule into the city since the wall circuit was erected.[77]

[77] Tapia y Rivera mentioned the plaza was nicknamed both "El Prado" (in honor of the famed Madrid promenade) and "Plaza de Penélope" (of Homer's *Odyssey* fame) due to its many transformations: *La plaza de Santiago . . . era un descampado que la presencia*

The Plaza de Colón was always framed by residences along its north and west sides. To the east and south, the space was informally contained by the Puerta de Santiago/Puerta de Tierra and the fortification curtain wall. Presently, the square is flanked by the Calle de San Francisco on the north and the Calle de la Fortaleza and Teatro Tapia on the south. Its eastern boundary is formed by the Paseo de Colón and the former Casino de Puerto Rico, and to the west by the Calle de O'Donnell. As is the case with most of the district's plazas, this containment of the square by roads encircling it was not the original configuration but the result of centuries-old adaptations to make these spaces viable by providing pedestrians some protection from the traffic (whether horse, carriages or vehicular).[78]

Puerta de San Juan and Plaza de la Puerta de San Juan

None of the above-mentioned spaces were formally considered public gardens throughout the history of the city even though they may have acted as such during some periods because of their open configurations. During certain periods space was at a premium within the constricted interior of the walled-precinct. The area close to the Plaza de la Puerta de San Juan was one of the few sectors where citizens could plant, once the city occupied the area defined by the fortification wall perimeter. The present small square preserves the memory of this unique spot. The defensive belt of a fortified town was only pierced by monumental urban doors which established the boundary between the interior of the precinctand the the outside world. The Puerta de San Juan was the district's most important portal into the outside world. Its significance is underscored by its name which honors the patron saint of both the city and the island. According to some historic sources, a small chapel was located in the vicinity in order to emphasize that visitors were either departing into the unknown or arriving after months of perilous journey. The preserved closed-arched opening on the east side was probably a niche for a sculpture. It is relevant to note that there is a spring in the area (to the southwest of the present puerta) marked with a historic terracotta plaque dated to the reign of Felipe III. During the tenure of Capitán General Sancho Ochoa de Castro as governor of the island, from 1602 to 1608, the water source underwent rehabilitation work and the marker was put in place.

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de aquel edificio [the Teatro Tapia] *obligó a mejorar. Cercóse con asiento de granito cubierto de hermosos almendros y pavimentado su centro de hormigón. Así la conocí yo y presencié, niño aún, la gran concurrencia de máscaras de todas las clases sociales iban en busca de solaz, al son de la banda militar situada en el centro, todos los domingos por la tarde desde San Juan hasta Santa Rosa. Entonces, y por esta reunión carnalavesca, apellidábase aquel sitio* El Prado*, como remedo, aunque distante, del famoso de Madrid*." "*Aquella plaza ha sido llamada de Penélope, por las muchas variaciones que ha sufrido.*" "*Los árboles fueron vandálicamente cortados, so pretexto de las hormigas, y desaparecieron los asientos, sustituyéndose todo con una especie de panteón, volviendo a ser la plaza pasto de cabras, hasta que al fin, tras de nuevos cambios, ha venido a ser lo que es hoy; un lugar alumbrado y con asientos, bien pavimentado y en vía de volver a tener aquel arbolado que aún no ha logrado reponerse.*" Alejandro Tapia y Rivera, *Mis memorias o Puerto Rico como lo encontré y como lo dejo*, pp 90-91. Translation into English: "The Plaza de Santiago was an empty space that the construction of the Teatro Tapia forced [the authorities] to renovate. It was fenced with granite and covered with beautiful almond trees and concrete pavement. This is how I knew the space when I watched as a child the presence of all social classes which visited the square for their enjoyment accompanied by the military band [which played] from its center all Sunday afternoons from [the feast of] St John until St Rose. Because of its carnival-like ambiance it was also known as El Prado, as a reminder – albeit quite different – of the famous promenade in Madrid." "It was also called Penelope's Plaza due to the many reforms it has undergone." "[At a later date], the trees were cut, using as a pretext the ants, the seats disappeared, and everything was substituted with a pantheon-like [structure]. One more time, the plaza became pasture for goats until finally, after some more changes, it is what it is now: an illuminated space with seats, well paved and on its way to recuperate some of its greenery."

[78] This reality is underscored in historic documents where structures are described as being ***en*** *la plaza* (in the plaza) as opposed to ***frente*** *a la plaza* (in front of the plaza). Arleen Pabón de Rocafort, *Dorado: Un estudio en contrastes* (Municipio de Dorado: Dorado, Puerto Rico, 1996).

Plaza de la Dársena

This small plaza facing the bay is located where the historic *dársena* or port was once located. It is bordered by the Calle del Comercio (north), the bay (south), the Pabellón de Turismo (east) and the Aduana Building (west).

Plaza del Bastión la Palma de San José

This plaza was created from the area that served the Bastión de la Palma. It has been transformed into a park that enjoys dizzying views of the bay, La Puntilla, and the island of Puerto Rico. There is a commemorative sculpted bust of Francisco Miranda (1750-1814), described as: *Precursor de la independencia hispanoamericana, general en jefe del ejército del norte de la revolución francesa. Lucho por la independencia de los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica. Estuvo preso en esta ciudad por sus ideas liberales.*

Plaza de Hostos

The petite plaza-like area, bordered by the Calle de San Justo (east); Paseo de la Princesa (west); Calle del Recinto Sur (north); and Calle del Comercio (east), is located on the site of the historic Puerta de San Justo.

Plaza Carrión

This small plaza is situated in front of the Banco Popular framed by the Calle del Recinto Sur (south), Calle de San Justo (east) and Calle de Tizol (west). It is located in the interior area in front of the Puerta de San Justo.

GARDENS, PROMENADES AND PARKS

Although densely inhabited, the historic district has a handful of contributing spaces in the shape of gardens, promenades and parks. (Table 8 lists all contributing and noncontributing gardens, promenades, and parks.)

Jardín de Casa Blanca

Two blocks west of the Plaza de San José and one block west from the Hospital de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción el Grande, stands the Casa-Torre de Ponce de León, the *Adelantado*'s family tower-house surrounded by the Jardín de Casa Blanca (White House Garden). The landscaped area was originally part of the limestone quarry that anchored a small residential area south of Casa Blanca known as *La Cantera* (The Quarry). A long Arab-inspired shallow pool of water is surrounded by tropical greenery.

Jardín de La Fortaleza

In addition to the Jardín de Casa Blanca, the sunken garden at the Palacio de Santa Catalina is another historic landscape that has been preserved. Its medieval inspiration is revealed by the hollowed-garden area protected from the sea breezes characteristic of higher elevations. The unique garden is part of the larger landscape area that surrounds the executive mansion. It is quite probable that the original design idea with its oval arrangement derives from eighteenth-century landscape theories.

Paseo de la Puerta de San Juan and Paseo del Morro

Both the modern Plaza de la Puerta de San Juan and Plaza de la Rogativa, as well as the Paseo de la Puerta de San Juan and the Paseo del Morro, allow pedestrians to enjoy the beautiful seascape formed by San Juan Bay and the Atlantic Ocean.

Parque de las Palomas

The Parque de las Palomas (Pigeons' Park) preserves part of the *camino de ronda* (pomoerium) inside the walled perimeter. It is framed by the Palacio de Santa Catalina (west) and the Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud (east). Bounded by the fifty-feet-plus high defensive southern wall it is framed by the Capilla del Santo Cristo de la Salud on the east. The altitude allows for exceptional views of the defensive wall, La Puntilla, the bay and the island of Puerto Rico.

Parque del Morro

Historically known as the Campo del Morro and also as the Esplanade, the Parque del Morro stands where the Spanish military practice ground was located. At that time, the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro was known as US Army Fort Brooke Military Base. A golf course was installed on this hilly site which enjoys glorious views of the Atlantic Ocean, the entrance to San Juan Bay, and the diminutive Isla de Cabras located on the other side of the second body of water. At the present time, the National Park Service interprets the esplanade empty of vegetation, as per its original historic military use, although until the 1990s pine tree coves covered the area.

Paseo de la Princesa and Extensión del Paseo de la Princesa

The Paseo de la Princesa (Princess' Promenade), described in historic documents as an *alameda* (a promenade lined with *álamos*[79] or poplars), was created in 1853. One of its landscape features (per historic plans) was a terraced parterre with the name "Ysabel II" formed with greenery. The promenade was dedicated to the young Isabel II, queen of Spain during this time. The precinct's second *paseo* (promenade) was located outside yet close to the walled-precinct while the first one, known as the Paseo de Puerta de Tierra, was situated within the sector of the San Juan Islet that bears that name. For the *sanjuaneros* who lived inside a tight perimeter of high walls, tree-lined avenues were a novelty. While the Paseo de Puerta de Tierra no longer exists the layout of the Paseo de la Princesa has been replicated connecting La Puntilla to the Puerta de San Juan and the Paseo del Morro and allowing visitors to walk outside the perimeter of defensive walls for almost a mile. A huge fountain marks the intersection of the Paseo with the first of these two promenades.

OBJECTS

Some of the objects considered contributing, like the Juan Ponce de León and Christopher Columbus sculptures, can be considered artistic pieces of museum quality. The Isabel II and Francisco de Miranda busts also qualify under this category. Recent past installations, principally by acclaimed sculptors Jaime Suárez and Víctor Ochoa, must be interpreted as works of art, highly acclaimed by experts at the time of their creation. Most of the objects listed contribute to the interpretation of the historic district. Other objects, like the marble sculptures depicting the four seasons, date to the nineteenth century. Notice needs to be taken that the nineteenth-century Cementerio de Santa María de Pazzis includes dozens of magnificent examples of funerary art.

[79] In Spain, poplars are associated with memory and to life's progression, as well as to roads in the manner described by the famous song *Cómo el álamo al camino*.

Sculpture of Juan Ponce de León, Plaza de San José (Bronze, nineteenth century)

Made with abandoned British cannons, the sculpture once anchored the Plaza de Colón known at the time as Plaza de Santiago. During the 1890s when the new Christopher Columbus marble sculpture was placed in the Plaza de Colón, the Ponce de León sculpture was moved here. It depicts the *Adelantado* in full conquistador wear signaling towards the city he founded.

Sculpture of Christopher Columbus, Plaza de Colón (Marble, nineteenth century)

To celebrate the four-hundred year anniversary of the "discovery" of America and Puerto Rico, a marble monument to Columbus was erected in the Plaza de Santiago, located at the entrance of the city. The 42-foot tall sculptural group motivated a change in name for the space: from a plaza honoring St. James to now honoring Columbus. The sculpture was the work of Genoese Achille Canessa and is similar to others created by this sculptor in the United States. It belongs to the progeny of the Christopher Columbus Las Ramblas (Barcelona) model, also standing on top of a column, in a manner resembling the Nelson Memorial in London.

Sculptures of the Four Seasons, Plaza de Armas (Marble, nineteenth century)

The four sculptures of the seasons presently part of the Plaza de Armas fountain, originally adorned the Paseo de la Princesa. They were removed in 1872 and taken to the Plaza de Armas where they have resided since. A young woman represents spring while an old shivering man represents winter.

Conclusion

Almost a century after Gautier Benítez penned his heartfelt descriptions of the historic district, Noel Estrada wrote the nostalgic *En mi Viejo San Juan*, composed while serving during World War II.

En mi viejo San Juan

"In my Old San Juan / how many dreams I forged / during my infancy. / One afternoon I departed to a foreign nation / because destiny wanted it so / but my heart remained by the sea / in front of my Old San Juan./ My hair whitened / my life is drifting away / death beckons me / and I do not want to die / away from you / Puerto Rico of my soul!"[80]

Like poet Gautier Benítez, the author equates the motherland with Old San Juan underscoring the idea that Puerto Rico is equated with Old San Juan cultural definition. From romantic symphonies to staccato rap diatribes,[81] the historic district continues to exert its impact upon the imagination of generations. Folklore,

[80] Estrada's song is the Municipality of San Juan's official hymn and probably the most poignant paean to the city's ability to live forever in the memory of all. In Spanish: *En mi viejo San Juan/cuantos sueños forjé/en mis noches de infancia/…/Una tarde me fui hacia extraña nación/pues lo quiso el destino./pero mi corazón se quedó junto al mar/en mi viejo San Juan./…/Mi cabello blanqueó/y mi vida se va/ya la muerte me llama./Y no quiero morir/alejado de ti/Puerto Rico del alma."*

[81] One of the last tributes is the rap song *Viernes Trece* by Mr Vico C. The historic character of the core and the picturesque and, at times, forbidding milieu were used to emphasize tension in the manner of a Hollywood Halloween tragedy. The song relates what happens to a group of persons enjoying the traditional *viernes social* ("social Friday" is a local expression closely related to TGIF) in the district, as hundreds do every week. Mr Vico describes in harrowing detail his encounter with Jason, of Friday the 13th fame. It is relevant to notice that the historic *castillos* (San Felipe del Morro and San Cristóbal) play a significant role in the composition collaborating in the creation of a sense of mystery. Text of *Viernes Trece*: *Era una tarde nublada,/los adornos de Halloween/donde quiera estaban/yo esperando ese día por meses/el famoso día de viernes trece./Rápidamente busque a mi corillo/para hacer solo un viaje sencillo/viajando a sitios bien lejos yo me enzorro/así que fuimos al Castillo del Morro/era un grupo de setenta, solo veinte hombres/y mujeres cincuenta /inmediatamente logramos llegar sin espera/comenzamos a explorar, pero/había algo bien raro en San Juan/yo me pregunté y las personas donde están/San Juan estaba demasiado vacío/y además me sentía bien frio/se veía como si de algo escapaban/mi grupo poco a poco, se evaporaba /mi chica me preguntó qué es lo que pasa/olvídate mamita que nos vamos a casa. / Oh my God! Así pensé / Jason llegó y mi vida se fue/los otros desaparecidos están /primero fue Manhattan y ahora San*

traditions, customs, and beliefs have created a cultural quilt that continually highlights the urban core's uniqueness.

The urban patterns used in the creation of the Old San Juan Historic District and the different aesthetic expressions used to compose its buildings and sites has had (still has) the ability to shape the behavior of visitors and residents alike. Public, domestic and military buildings, plazas, promenades, and public thoroughfares are part of the repertoire used by Spain to civilize and organize its American urban settlements.

The historic district's unique personality is the result of cultural, urban, and architectural patterns developed throughout almost five centuries. Some of these were the product of European traditions while others were utilized in the islet for the first time. The goal at all times was to create a state of the art, modern, civilized center which could protect, first Spanish, then the local Puerto Ricans against social, religious and ethnic deconstruction.

During the 1960s, the Planning Board of the Government of Puerto Rico declared the interior area of the defensive circuit a historic zone, the first of its kind in the island. This was the first formal recognition of the cultural significance of the district. At that time, the precinct was described in the following manner:

> An old and historic zone is an area which possesses buildings, structures and other artifacts and places which are of basic and vital importance to the development of culture and tourism, due to their historic association; their peculiar Spanish Colonial [*sic*] style, including color, proportions, form and architectural details; because they are part of a plaza, park or area that because of their design or general disposition merits to be preserved and/or developed according to a determined plan based on cultural, historic or architectural objectives.[82]

The National Register of Historic Places listed the Zona Histórica de San Juan (San Juan Historic Zone) in 1972, recognizing its significance on a national level. The next acknowledgement came from UNESCO in 1983 when the defensive circuit, its castles, and Palacio de Santa Catalina were inscribed on the World Heritage Sites List as La Fortaleza and San Juan National Historic Site.

Juan./El hombre nos persiguió hasta el Castillo/y yo le dije: corre suave canto de pillo/mi novia cansada se fatigó/y ahí fue que Jason nos abacoró/yo bien valiente le saqué una navaja/y él me sacó una colección de espadas.

[82] The San Juan Historic Zone was the first designated historic district in the island. Office of the Governor of Puerto Rico, Planning Board of Puerto Rico, "*Resolución Núm.Z-7 Para establecer la zona antigua e histórica en el casco de San Juan*." In Spanish: *Es una Zona Antigua e Histórica, un área dentro de la cual los edificios, estructuras, pertenencias y lugares son de básica y vital importancia para el desarrollo cultural y del turismo, por la asociación de los mismos con la historia; por su peculiar estilo colonial español, incluyendo color, proporciones, forma y detalles arquitectónicos; por ser parte o relacionarse con una plaza, parque u área cuyo diseño o disposición general debe conservarse y/o desarrollarse acorde a determinado plan basado en motivos o finalidades culturales, históricas o arquitectónicas en general*.

TABLE 1
CONTRIBUTING *PARCELAS* AND ADDRESSES

BLOCK/ *PARCELA*	**ADDRESS** (N/A = Not available/Not applicable)
Block 1	
1/1	de Norzagaray corner de Morovis corner de del Morro corner de Beneficencia N/A
Block 2	
2/1B	Esplanade/Campo del Morro
Block 3	
3/1	del Santo Cristo de la Salud corner de Norzagaray N/A (Convento de los Dominicos)
3/2	de McArthur corner de Norzagaray 2
3/3	de McArthur 4
3/4	de Mc Arthur 6
3/5	de McArthur 8
3/6	de la Virtud 10
3/8	de San Sebastián corner del Mercado 111
3/9	de San Sebastián 109
3/10	de San Sebastián 107
3/11	de San Sebastián 105
3/12	de San Sebastián 103
3/13 (2 bldgs share this *parcela*)	de San Sebastián 101
3/14* (Site)	de San Sebastián corner del Santo Cristo de la Salud N/A (Plaza de San José)
3/15	del Santo Cristo de la Salud N/A (Iglesia de San José)
Block 4	
4/1	de Norzagaray corner Imperial corner de la Virtud corner Mc Arthur N/A (Plaza del Mercado)
Block 5	
5/2	de la Cruz 4
5/3	de la Cruz corner de la Tranquilidad 6
5/4	de la Tranquilidad corner Imperial 3
Block 6	
6/1 (1 bldg shares *Parcela* 1 and 2)	de Norzagaray N/A
6/2 (1 bldg shares *Parcela* 1 and 2)	de Norzagaray 204
6/3	de Norzagaray 206
6/4	de San Justo 2
6/5	de San Sebastián 217

6/6	de San Sebastián	215
6/7	de San Sebastián	213
6/8	de San Sebastián	211-209
6/9	de San Sebastián	207
6/10	de San Sebastián	205-203
6/11	de San Sebastián corner de la Cruz	201
6/12	de la Cruz	3
6/13	de la Cruz	1
6/14	de San Sebastián	219
6/15	de San Justo	4
6/16	de San Justo	6
6/17	de San Justo	8
6/18	de San Justo	10
6/19	de San Justo	12
Block 7		
7/1	de San Sebastián	251
7/2	de Norzagaray	N/A
7/3	de Norzagaray	254
7/4	de Norzagaray	256
7/5	de Norzagaray 258 / de San Sebastián	253
7/6	de Norzagaray	260
7/7	de Norzagaray	262
7/8	de San Sebastián	263
7/9	de Norzagaray 264 / de San Sebastián 265	
7/10	de Norzagaray	266
7/11	de Norzagaray	268
7/12	de San Sebastián	271
7/13	de Norzagaray	272
7/14	de Norzagaray	274
7/17	de Norzagaray	N/A
7/18	de San Sebastián corner Callejón de la Tanca	N/A
7/20	de San Sebastián	273
7/21	de San Sebastián	269
7/22	de San Sebastián	261
7/23	de San Sebastián	257
7/24	de San Sebastián	255
7/25	de San Sebastián	267
7/26	de San Sebastián	275
7/28	de San Sebastián	253
Block 8		
8/5	de San Sebastián	309
8/6	de San Sebastián	307
8/11	Callejón de la Tanca	N/A
Block 10		
10/3	de Norzagaray 406 / del Sol 407	
10/4	del Sol	409
10/5	de Norzagaray	410
10/6	de Norzagaray 412 / del Sol 413	
10/7	de Norzagaray	415

10/11	de Norzagaray 422 / del Sol 423	
10/19	del Sol 401/ de Norzagaray 400	N/A
10/20	del Sol	411
10/21	de Norzagaray	404
10/22	del Sol	405
10/23	de Norzagaray	402
10/24	del Sol	403
Block 11		
11/2* (Site)	Cementerio Santa María Magdalena de Pazzis	N/A
Block 13		
13-1	de San Sebastián (Hospital de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción el Grande)	N/A
Block 14		
14/1	de la Tranquilidad corner Imperial	5
14/2	de la Tranquilidad corner de la Cruz	8
14/3	de la Cruz	10
14/4	de San Sebastián	159
14/5	de la Virtud	155
14/6	de San Sebastián	157
14/9	del Mercado	9
14/11	de San Sebastián corner del Mercado	11
Block 15		
15/1A* (Site)	de San Sebastián (Casa Blanca Garden)	N/A
15/1B	de San Sebastián	4-2
15/1C* (Site)	de San Sebastián N/A (Casa Blanca Garden)	
15/2A	del Morro (Casa de Beneficencia)	N/A
15/2B	N/A (Asilo de Locos)	N/A
15/2C	de San Sebastián	6
15/3	de San Sebastián	8
15/3B	Esplanade/Campo del Morro	N/A
15/4	de San Sebastián	10
15/5	de San Sebastián	12
15/7	de San Sebastián	16[a]
15/8	Callejón de Hospital	52
15/9	Callejón de Hospital	54
15/10	Callejón de Hospital	56
15/11	Callejón de Hospital	58
15/12A	Callejón de Hospital	60
15/12B	del Sol	11
15/13	del Sol	15
15/14	del Sol	13
15/15	del Sol	9
15/16	del Sol	7
15/17	del Sol	5

15/18	del Sol	3
15/19A	del Sol	1
15/19B* (Site)	del Sol (Entrance to Casa Blanca; Part of Casa Blanca Gardens)	N/A
15/20	de San Sebastián (Casa Blanca)	N/A
Block 16		
16/1	de San Sebastián corner Escalinatas del Hospital	N/A
16/2	de San Sebastián	N/A
16/4 (2 bldgs share this *parcela*)	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	N/A
Block 17		
17/1	de San Sebastián	100
17/2	de San Sebastián	102
17/3A	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	51
17/3B	de San Sebastián	104
17/4	de San Sebastián	106
17/5	de San Sebastián	108
17/6	de San Sebastián	110
17/7	de San Sebastián	112
17/8	de San Sebastián	114
17/9	de San Sebastián	116
17/10	de San José	52
17/11	de San José	54
17/12	de San José	56
17/13	de San José	58
17/14	del Sol	107
17/15	del Sol	105
17/18	del Sol	101
17/19	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	59
17/20	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	57
17/21	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	55
17/22	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	53
Block 18		
18/1	de San José corner de San Sebastián	49
18/2A	de San Sebastián	150
18/2B	de San Sebastián	152
18/4	de San Sebastián	154
18/5	de la Cruz	50
18/6	de la Cruz	52
18/7	de la Cruz	54
18/8	de la Cruz	56
18/9	de la Cruz	58
18/10	de la Cruz	60
18/11	de la Cruz corner del Sol (Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal)	62
18/12	del Sol	155
18/13	del Sol	153

18/14	del Sol	151
18/15	de San José	57
18/16	de San José	55
18/17	de San José	53
18/18	de San José	51
Block 19		
19/1	de San Sebastián corner de la Cruz	N/A
19/2	de San Sebastián	202
19/3	de San Sebastián	204
19/4	de San Sebastián	206
19/5	de San Sebastián	208
19/6	de San Sebastián	N/A
19/7	de San Sebastián corner de San Justo	N/A
19/8	de San Justo	52
19/9	de San Justo	54
19/11	de San Justo	58
19/12	del Sol	213
19/13	del Sol	211
19/14	del Sol	209
19/15	del Sol	207
19/17	del Sol	203
19/18	del Sol corner de la Cruz	N/A
19/19	de la Cruz	57
19/20	de la Cruz	55
19/21	de la Cruz	53
19/22	de la Cruz	51
Block 20		
20/1	de San Sebastián corner de San Justo	N/A
20/2	de San Sebastián	252
20/3	de San Sebastián	254
20/4	de San Sebastián	256
20/5	de San Sebastián	258
20/6	de San Sebastián	260
20/7	de San Sebastián	262
20/8	de San Sebastián	264
20/9	de San Sebastián	266
20/10	de San Sebastián	268
20/11	de San Sebastián	270
20/12	de San Sebastián	272
20/13	de San Sebastián	274
20/14	de San Sebastián	276
20/15	del Sol	284
20/16	del Sol	285
20/18	del Sol	281
20/19	del Sol	279
20/20	del Sol	277
20/21	del Sol	275
20/22	del Sol	273
20/23	del Sol	271

20/24	del Sol	269
20/25	del Sol	267
20/28	del Sol	263
20/29	del Sol	261
20/30	del Sol	259
20/31	del Sol	257
20/32	del Sol	255
20/34	del Sol corner of de San Justo	N/A
20/35	de San Justo	57
20/36	de San Justo	55
20/37	de San Justo	N/A
Block 21		
21/4	de Barbosa corner del Sol	N/A
Block 22		
22/1	del Sol	2
22/3	del Sol	6
22/5	del Sol	10
22/6	del Sol	12
22/7	del Sol	14
22/8	del Sol	16
22/9	del Sol	18
22/10	del Sol	20
22/11	del Sol	22
22/13	del Sol	30
22/14	del Sol	32
22/15	del Sol	34
22/16	del Sol	36
22/17	del Sol	38
22/18	Escalinata de las Monjas	102
22/19	Escalinata de las Monjas	104
22/21	Caleta de las Monjas	23
22/22	Caleta de las Monjas	21
22/23	Caleta de las Monjas	19
22/26	Caleta de las Monjas	13
22/27	Caleta de las Monjas	11
22/28	Caleta de las Monjas	9
22/29	Caleta de las Monjas	7
22/30	Caleta de las Monjas	5
22/31	Caleta de las Monjas	3
22/32	Caleta de las Monjas	N/A
22/34	del Sol	N/A
22/35	del Sol	N/A
22/36	del Sol	N/A
Block 24		
24/1	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	99
24/2	del Sol	102
24/3	del Sol	104
24/5	del Sol	108
24/6	del Sol	110

24/7	del Sol	112
24/10	de San José	104
24/11	de la Luna	106
24/12	de la Luna	109
24/13	de la Luna	107
24/16	de la Luna	101
24/17	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	105
24/18	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	103
24/19	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	101
24/20	del Sol	114
24/21	de San José	102
Block 25		
25/1	de San José	101
25/2	del Sol	150
25/3	del Sol	152
25/4	del Sol	154
25/5	del Sol	156
25/6	de la Cruz	100
25/7	de la Cruz	102
25/10	de la Cruz	108
25/12	de la Luna	155
25/13	de la Luna	153
25/14	de la Luna	151
25/15	de San José	109
25/17	de San José	105
25/18	de San José	103
Block 26		
26/2	del Sol	200
26/3	del Sol	202
26/4	del Sol	204
26/5	del Sol	206
26/6	del Sol corner de San Justo	210
26/7A	del Sol	208
26/7B	de San Justo	100
26/8	de San Justo	102
26/9	de San Justo	104
26/10	de San Justo	106
26/11	de la Luna	108
26/12	de la Luna	205
26/13	de la Luna	203
26/14	de la Luna	201
26/15	de la Cruz	109
26/16	de la Cruz	107
26/17	de la Cruz	105
26/18	de la Cruz	103
26/19	de la Cruz	101
Block 27		
27/2	del Sol	252
27/3	del Sol	254

27/4	del Sol	256
27/5	del Sol	258
27/6	del Sol	260
27/7	del Sol	262
27/8	del Sol	264
27/9	del Sol	266
27/10	del Sol	268
27/12	del Sol	272
27/13	del Sol	274
27/14	del Sol	276
27/16	del Sol	280
27/17	del Sol	282
27/19	de la Tanca	279
27/20	de la Luna	277
27/21	de la Luna	275
27/22	de la Luna	273
27/23	de la Luna	271
27/24	de la Tanca	271
27/25	de la Luna	267
27/26	de la Luna	265
27/27	de la Luna	263
27/28	de la Luna	261
27/29	de la Luna	259
27/30	de la Luna	257
27/31	de la Luna	255
27/36	de San Justo	101
Block 28		
28/2	del Sol	302
28/4	del Sol	306
28/5	del Sol	308
28/6	del Sol	310
28/7	del Sol	312
28/8	del Sol	314
28/9	del Sol	316
28/12	de la Luna	317
28/13	de la Luna	315
28/14	de la Luna	313
28/16	de la Luna	309
28/17	de la Luna	307
28/18	de la Luna	305
28/19	de la Luna	303
28/20	de la Luna	301
28/22	de la Tanca	105
28/25	del Sol	300
28/26	del Sol	318
Block 29		
29/1	del Sol	350
29/2	del Sol	352
29/3	del Sol	354

29/8	del Sol	364
29/9	del Sol	366
29/13	de la Luna	365
29/19	de la Luna	351
29/22	de O'Donnell 102 / de la Luna 362	
Block 30		
30/5	de la Luna	411
30/7	de la Luna	407
30/9	de la Luna	403
30/10	de la Luna	401
Block 31		
31/2	Caleta de las Monjas	50
31/3	Caleta de las Monjas	52
31/4	Caleta de las Monjas	54
31/8	Caleta de San Juan	63
31/9	Caleta de San Juan	61
31/11	Caleta de las Monjas	56
31/12	Caleta de San Juan	55
31/13	Caleta de San Juan	53
31/14	Caleta de San Juan	51
31/15	Caleta de San Juan	59
Block 32		
32/1* (Site)	del Santo Cristo de la Salud (Plaza de la Catedral)	N/A
Block 33		
33/1	del Santo Cristo de la Salud (Catedral de San Juan Bautista)	N/A
33/3	de San Francisco (Diputación Provincial)	N/A
Block 34		
34/1	de San José corner de la Luna	N/A
34/2	de San Francisco	N/A
34/5	de la Cruz	150
34/6	de la Cruz	152
34/7	de la Cruz	154
34/8	de San Francisco	157
34/9	de San Francisco	155
34/10	de San Francisco	153
34/12	de San Francisco	159
34/13	de San José	161
34/14	de San José	159
34/15	de San José	157
34/16	de San José	155
34/17	de San José	153
Block 35		
35/2	de la Luna	200
35/3	de la Luna	202
35/5	de San Justo	148
35/6	de San Justo	150

35/7	de San Justo	152
35/9	de San Justo corner de San Francisco	209
35/10	de San Francisco	207
35/16	de San Francisco	203
Block 36		
36/2	de la Luna	254-252
36/3	de la Luna	252-254
36/4	de la Luna	256
36/5	de la Luna	258
36/10	de la Luna	268
36/11	de la Luna	270
36/13	de San Francisco	269
36/14	de San Francisco	267
36/15	de San Francisco	265
36/17	de San Francisco	261
36/19	de San Francisco	257
36/20	de San Francisco	255
36/21	de San Francisco	253
36/22	de San Francisco	251
36/23	de San Justo	157
36/24	de San Justo	155
36/25	de San Justo	153
Block 37		
37/1B* (Site)	de la Tanca corner de San Francisco Plaza de San Francisco	N/A
2	de San Francisco corner Callejón del Tamarindo	N/A
Block 38		
38/1	de la Luna	350
38/2	de la Luna	352
38/3	de la Luna	354
38/4	de la Luna	356
38/5	de la Luna	358
38/7	de la Luna	362
38/8	de O'Donnell	N/A
38/9	de O'Donnell	152
38/10	de O'Donnell	N/A
38/13	de San Francisco	359
38/14	de San Francisco	357
38/15	de San Francisco	355
38/18	de San Francisco	351
38/19	de San Francisco	353
Block 39		
39/1	de la Luna	408
39/2	de la Luna	402
39/3	de la Luna	404
39/4	de la Luna	406
39/6	de la Luna	410
39/7	de la Luna	412
39/8	de la Luna	414

39/9	de la Luna	416
39/10	de la Luna	500
39/15	de San Francisco	411
39/16	de San Francisco	409
39/17	de San Francisco	407
39/20	de San Francisco	401
39/21	O'Donnell	159
39/23	O'Donnell	155
39/24	O'Donnell	153
39/25	O'Donnell	151
39/26	de San Francisco	413
Block 40		
40/2	Caleta de San Juan	56
40/3	Caleta de San Juan	58
40/4	Caleta de San Juan	60
40/5	Caleta de San Juan	62
40/6	Caleta de San Juan	64
40/7	Caleta de San Juan	66
40/8	Caleta de San Juan	68
40/9	Caleta de San Juan	70
40/10	Caleta de San Juan	72
40/11	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	152
40/12	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	154
40/13	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	156
40/14	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	158
40/16	de San Francisco	67
40/17	de San Francisco	65
40/18	de San Francisco	63
40/19	de San Francisco	61
40/20	de San Francisco	59
40/21	de San Francisco	57
40/22	de San Francisco	55
40/24	de San Francisco corner Recinto del Oeste	49
40/25	Caleta de San Juan	3
40/26	Caleta de San Juan	54
40/27	de San Francisco	53
40/28	de San Francisco	51
Block 41		
41/1	de la Fortaleza (Palacio Rojo)	N/A
41/2	de la Fortaleza (Real Audiencia)	N/A
41/3	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	248
41/4	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	250
41/5	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	252
41/8	de la Fortaleza (Pabellones)	N/A
41/9	de la Fortaleza (Palacio de Santa Catalina)	N/A

41/10	Recinto del Oeste (Jardín de Palacio de Santa Catalina)	N/A
41/11	del Recinto Oeste	
41/12* (2 Sites)	Recinto del Oeste (Puerta de San Juan, Plaza de la Puerta de San Juan, Plaza de la Rogativa) Two sites and the listed Puerta de San Juan share one *parcela*.)	N/A
41/12A	Paseo de la Princesa (Presidio de la Princesa)	N/A
41/12B* (Site)	Paseo de la Princesa (Paseo de la Princesa)	N/A
41/12C* (1 Site) (1 Structure)	Recinto Sur (Bastión de San Justo y Plaza del Bastión de San Justo) (A structure and a site share one parcela.)	N/A
41/13* (Site)	Recinto del Oeste (Paseo de Ronda)	N/A
41/16* (Site)	del Santo Cristo de la Salud (Parque de las Palomas)	N/A
Block 42		
42/2	de San Francisco	52
42/3	de San Francisco	(same number as above)
42/5	de San Francisco	56
42/6	de San Francisco	60
42/7	de San Francisco	62
42/8	de San Francisco	64
42/9	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	200
42/10	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	202
42/13	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	208
42/14	del Santo Cristo de la Salud 210 / de la Fortaleza 65	
42/15	de la Fortaleza	63
42/17	de la Fortaleza	59
42/18	de la Fortaleza	57
42/19	de la Fortaleza	55
42/20	de la Fortaleza (Offices Palacio de Santa Catalina)	53
42/21	del Recinto Oeste (Offices Palacio de Santa Catalina)	N/A
Block 43		
43/1	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	201
43/2	de San Francisco	100
43/5	de la Cruz corner de San Francisco (Real Intendencia)	N/A
43/6	de San José	202
43/8	de la Fortaleza	111
43/9	de la Fortaleza	109
43/10	de la Fortaleza	107
43/11	de la Fortaleza	105
43/12	de la Fortaleza	101
43/13	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	213
43/14	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	211

43/15	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	209
43/16	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	207
43/17	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	205
43/18	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	203
43/19	de San Francisco	102-104
Block 44		
44/1* (Site)	de San Francisco corner de la Cruz corner de San José corner de Rafael Cordero (Plaza de Armas)	
Block 46		
46/1	de San Francisco	200
46/2	de San Francisco	202
46/4	de San Francisco	206
46/5	de San Francisco	208
46/6	de San Francisco	210
46/8	de San Justo	204
46/13	de la Cruz corner de la Fortaleza	205
46/14	de la Cruz	203
46/15	de la Cruz	204
Block 47		
47/3	de San Francisco	252
47/5	de San Francisco	258
47/6	de San Francisco	260
47/7	de San Francisco	262
47/8	de San Francisco	264
47/10	de San Francisco	268
47/11	de la Tanca	202
47/12	de la Tanca	204
47/13	de la Fortaleza	263
47/14	de la Fortaleza	261
47/16	de la Fortaleza	257
47/17	de la Fortaleza	255
47/19	de la Fortaleza	251
47/20	de la Fortaleza corner de San Justo	209
47/21	de San Justo	207
47/23	de San Justo	203
Block 48		
48/1	de San Francisco	298
48/2	de San Francisco	300
48/3	de San Francisco	302
48/4	de San Francisco	304
48/5	de San Francisco	306
48/8	de San Francisco	312
48/9	de la Fortaleza	317
48/11	de la Fortaleza	313
48/12	de la Fortaleza	311
48/13	de la Fortaleza	309
48/16	de la Fortaleza	303
48/17	de la Fortaleza	301
48/18	de la Tanca corner de la Fortaleza	207

48/19	de la Tanca	205
Block 49		
49/1	de San Francisco	350
49/2	de San Francisco	352
49/3	de San Francisco	354
49/4	de San Francisco	356
49/6	de San Francisco	360
49/7	de San Francisco	362
49/8	de San Francisco	364
49/9	de San Francisco	366
49/10	de O'Donnell	200
49/11	de O'Donnell	202
49/12	de O'Donnell	204
49/13	de O'Donnell	206
49/16	de la Fortaleza	363
49/18	de la Fortaleza	359
49/19	de la Fortaleza	357
49/21	de la Fortaleza	353
49/23	de la Fortaleza	319
49/24	de O'Donnell	268
49/25	de O'Donnell	208-210
49/26	de la Fortaleza	367
Block 50		
50/1* (Site)	de la Fortaleza corner Ponce de León corner de San Francisco corner de O'Donnell (Plaza de Colón)	
Block 52		
52/2	de la Fortaleza	100
52/3	de la Fortaleza	102
52/4	de la Fortaleza	104
52/5	de la Fortaleza	106
52/6	de San José	250
52/8	de Tetuán	103
52/9	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	259
52/10	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	257
52/11	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	255
52/12	del Santo Cristo de la Salud	253
52/14	de la Fortaleza corner del Santo Cristo de la Salud	251
Block 53		
53/2	de la Fortaleza	152
53/4	de la Fortaleza	156
53/5	de la Cruz	250
53/6	de la Cruz	252
53/8	de Tetuán	153
53/9	de Tetuán	151
53/10	de San José corner de Tetuán	151
53/11	de San José	255
53/12	de San José	253
53/13	de San José	257
53/15	de Tetuán	155

Block 54		
54/2	de Tetuán	207
54/3	de Fortaleza	202
54/4	de Fortaleza	204
54/5	de Fortaleza	206
54/9	de San Justo	254
54/10	de San Justo	256
54/14	de Tetuán	203
54/15	de Tetuán	201 B
54/17	de la Cruz	257
54/19	de la Cruz	253
54/21	de Fortaleza corner de la Cruz	200
Block 55		
55/2	de la Fortaleza	252
55/3	de la Fortaleza	254
55/4	de la Fortaleza	256
55/6	de la Fortaleza	260
55/7	de la Fortaleza	262
55/9	de la Tanca	N/A
55/11	de Tetuán	259
55/12	de Tetuán	257
55/13	de Tetuán	255
55/15	de San Justo	257
55/16	de San Justo	255
55/17	de San Justo	253
55/18	de San Justo	251
55/19	de Tetuán	263
55/21	de Tetuán	253
Block 56		
56/1	de la Tanca	251
56/4	de la Fortaleza	304
56/5	de la Fortaleza	306
56/6	de la Fortaleza	308
56/7	de la Fortaleza	310
56/8	de la Fortaleza	312
56/9	de la Fortaleza	314
56/11	de la Fortaleza	318
56/12	de la Fortaleza	320
56/15	de Tetuán	311
56/18	de Tetuán	305
56/19	de Tetuán	303
56/22	de Tanca	259
56/23	de Tanca	257
56/24	de Tanca	255
56/25	de Tanca	253
56/26	de Tetuán	311
Block 57		
57/2	de la Fortaleza	352
57/3	de la Fortaleza	354

57/4	de la Fortaleza	356
57/5	de la Fortaleza	358
57/8	de Tetuán	367
57/9	de Tetuán	365
57/11	de Tetuán	361
57/12	de Tetuán	359
57/13	de Tetuán	357
57/15	de Tetuán	353
57/17	de Tetuán corner Callejón del Gámbaro	351
57/18	Callejón del Gámbaro	251
Block 58		
58/1	de la Fortaleza corner de Tetuán corner O'Donnell corner General Pershing N/A (Teatro Tapia)	
Block 60		
60/1* (Site)	de Tetuán (Plaza Bastión de la Palma) Plaza Bastión de la Palma shares two *parcelas*.)	N/A
60/2* (Site)	de Tetuán (Plaza Bastión de la Palma) Plaza Bastión de la Palma shares two *parcelas*.)	N/A
Block 61		
61/1	de Tetuán	150
61/2	de la Cruz corner del Recinto Sur corner de Tetuán	N/A
Block 62		
62/1	de Tetuán 200 – de Recinto Sur 201	
Block 64		
64/1	de Tetuán	250
64/5	de Tetuán	258
64/13	de San Justo	301
64/14	de Tetuán	252
64/15	de Tetuán	254
64/16	de Tetuán	256
64/17	de Tetuán	260
Block 65		
65/2	de Recinto Sur	303
65/3	de Recinto Sur	305
65/5	de Recinto Sur	309
65/7	de Recinto Sur	313
65/8	de Recinto Sur	315
65/9	de Recinto Sur	317
65/16	de Recinto Sur	331
65/18	de Tetuán	N/A
Block 66		
66/1* (Site)	de Tetuán corner de Recinto Sur (Plaza Somohano)	N/A
Block 68		
68/2* (Site)	de Recinto Sur corner de Comercio (Garden)	N/A
Block 85		
85/1	La Puntilla	N/A

	(Arsenal de la Marina de la Puntilla)	
Block 94		
94/2* (Site)	de Comercio (Plaza de la Dársena) The Plaza de la Dársena shares two parcelas.	N/A
94/84* (Site)	de Comercio (Plaza de la Dársena) The Plaza de la Dársena shares two parcelas.	N/A
Block 172		
172/2A	de Norzagaray (House, National Park Service)	N/A
172/2B	de Norzagaray (House, National Park Service)	N/A
172/2C	de Norzagaray (House, National Park Service)	N/A
172/3	de Norzagaray (Bastión de Santo Tomás) (no building)	N/A
No Block		
No Parcela	del Santo Cristo de la Salud (Capilla del Santo Cristo de la Salud)	N/A
No Parcela (Site)	Plaza de de Hostos	N/A
No Parcela* (Site)	Las Terrazas del Recinto Sur	N/A
No Parcela* (Site)	Plaza de Carrión	N/A

The total number of contributing *parcelas* in the historic district is 674 out of a total of 859. The percent of contributing *parcelas* is 78%.

TABLE 2
NONCONTRIBUTING *PARCELAS* AND ADDRESSES

PARCELA/ BLOCK	ADDRESS (N/A = Not available/Not applicable)
Block 2	
2/4	Calle de Morovis corner Calle de Calle de Norzagaray corner Calle del Santo Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud corner Calle de Beneficencia
Block 5	
5/1	Calle Imperial corner Calle de Calle de Norzagaray corner Calle de la Calle de la Cruz
Block 7	
7/15	Calle de Norzagaray 276
7/16	Calle de Norzagaray 278
7/19	Calle de San Sebastián 277
7/27	Calle de Norzagaray 270
Block 8	
8/3	Calle de Norzagaray N/D
8/4	Calle de Norzagaray 306
8/7	Calle de San Sebastián 305
8/8	Calle de San Sebastián 301
8/9	Calle de San Sebastián N/A
8/10	Calle de San Sebastián N/A
8/12* (Empty lot)	Calle de Norzagaray N/A
Block 9	
9/1	Calle de Barbosa corner de Acosta corner de Norzagaray corner del Sol N/A (Escuela Abraham Lincoln)
Block 10	
10/8	Calle de Norzagaray 416/Calle del Sol 417
10/9	Calle de Norzagaray 418/Calle del Sol 419
10/10	Calle de Norzagaray 420/Calle del Sol 421
10/12	Calle del Sol 425 corner Calle de Norzagaray
10/13	Calle de Norzagaray 408
Block 12	
12/1* (Site)	Plaza de la Beneficencia Calles Calle de San Sebastián y Calle de Beneficencia
Block 13	
13/0* (Site)	Plaza del Soportal Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud N/A
Block 14	
14/10	Calle de la Virtud N/D corner Calle del Mercado 7
Block 15	
15/6	Calle de San Sebastián 14
Block 16	
16/3	Calle de San Sebastián N/A
Block 17	
17/24	Calle del Sol 103

	(Iglesia de la Santísima Trinidad)
Block 19	
19/10	Calle de San Justo 56
19/16	Calle del Sol 205
Block 20	
20/17	Calle del Sol N/A
20/26	Calle del Sol 265
Block 21	
21/6	Calle de la Tanca corner Calle de Barbosa corner Calle de San Sebastián
Block 22	
22/2	Calle del Sol 4
22/4	Calle del Sol 8
22/20	Caleta de las Monjas 25 corner Escalinata de las Monjas
22/24	Caleta de las Monjas 17
22/25	Caleta de las Monjas 15
Block 24	
24/4	Calle del Sol 106
24/14	Calle de la Luna 105
24/15	Calle de la Luna 103
Block 25	
25/8	Calle de la Cruz 104
25/9	Calle de la Cruz 106
25/11	Calle de la Luna 157
25/16	Calle de San José 107
Block 27	
27/1	Calle del Sol 250
27/11	Calle del Sol 270
27/15	Calle del Sol 278
27/18	Calle de la Tanca N/A
27/32	Calle de la Luna 253
27/33	Calle de la Luna 250
Block 28	
28/3	Calle del Sol 304
28/11	Calle del Sol 322 corner Callejón del Toro
28/15	Calle de la Luna 311
28/21	Calle de la Tanca 107
28/23	Calle de la Tanca 103
Block 29	
29/4	Calle del Sol 356
29/10	Calle del Sol 368 corner Calle de O'Donnell
29/14	Calle de la Luna 363
29/17	Calle de la Luna 355
29/18	Calle de la Luna 353
29/20	Calle de la Luna 349 corner Callejón del Toro
29/21	Callejón del Toro 349
29/23	Calle del Sol 358
Block 30	
30/1	Calle del Sol 398 corner Calle de O'Donnell
30/2	Calle del Sol 402

30/3	Calle del Sol 404
30/4	Calle de Norzagaray 406
30/6	Calle de la Luna 409
30/8	Calle de la Luna 405
30/11	Calle del Sol 400A
Block 31	
31/1	Calle del Recinto Sur 151
31/7	Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud 150
Block 33	
33/2	Calle de San José 152
33/4	del Santo Cristo de la Salud N/A
Block 34	
34/18	Calle de la Cruz 148 corner Calle de la Luna
34/19	Calle de la Luna 150
Block 35	
35/1	Calle de la Luna corner de la Cruz 151
35/4	Calle de la Luna 204
35/8	Calle de San Justo 154
35/11	Calle de Calle de San Francisco 205
35/14	Calle de la Cruz 155
35/15	Calle de la Cruz 153
Block 36	
36/1	Calle de San Justo corner de la Luna N/A
36/6	Calle de la Luna 260
36/7	Calle de la Luna 262
36/8	Calle de la Luna 264
36/9	Calle de la Luna 266
36/12	Calle de la Luna 272
36/16	Calle de San Francisco 263
36/18	Calle de San Francisco 259
36/26	Calle de San Justo 151
Block 37	
37/1A	Calle de la Tanca N/A Escuela Ramón Baldorioty de Castro
Block 38	
38/6	Calle de la Luna 360
38/11	Calle de San Francisco 363
38/12	Calle de San Francisco 361
Block 39	
39/5	Calle de la Luna 408
39/11	Calle de Norzagaray N/A
39/12	Calle de Norzagaray N/A
39/18	Calle de San Francisco 405
39/19	Calle de San Francisco 403
39/22	Calle de O'Donnell 157
Block 40	
40/15	Calle de San Francisco 67
Block 41	
41/7	Calle de la Fortaleza N/A

	(Asilo de Hermanas de la Providencia)
Block 42	
42/1	Calle de San Francisco N/A corner Calle del Recinto Oeste (aka Calle de Clara Lair)
42/4	Calle de San Francisco 54
42/11	Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud 204
42/12	Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud 206
42/16	Calle de la Fortaleza 61 Iglesia Presbitariana
42/22 (Empty lot)	Calle de San Francisco N/A
Block 43	
43/7	Calle de San José 204
Block 45	
45/1	Calle de Rafael Cordero 150
45/2	Calle de Rafael Cordero 152
45/3	Calle de Rafael Cordero 154
Block 46	
46/7	Calle de San Francisco 212 corner Calle de San Justo
46/9	Calle de San Justo corner Calle de la Fortaleza 206
46/10	Calle de la Fortaleza 205
46/11	Calle de la Fortaleza 203
46/16	Calle de San Francisco 204
Block 47	
47/1	Calle de San Francisco 250
47/2	Calle de San Francisco 250
47/4	Calle de San Francisco 254-256
47/9	Calle de San Francisco 266
47/15	Calle de la Fortaleza 259
47/18	Calle de la Fortaleza 253
47/22	Calle de San Justo 205
47/24	Calle de San Justo 201
Block 48	
48/6	Calle de San Francisco 308
48/7	Calle de San Francisco 310
48/10	Calle de la Fortaleza 315
48/14	Calle de la Fortaleza 307
48/15	Calle de la Fortaleza 305
48/20	Calle de la Tanca 203
Block 49	
49/5	Calle de San Francisco 358
49/15	Calle de la Fortaleza 365
49/17	Calle de la Fortaleza 361
49/20	Calle de la Fortaleza 355
49/22	Calle de la Fortaleza 351
Block 52	
52/15	Calle de San José 252
52/16	Calle de San José 254
Block 53	
53/1	Calle de la Fortaleza 150

53/3	Calle de la Fortaleza 154
53/14	Calle de la Cruz 157 corner de Tetuán
Block 54	
54/1	Calle de Tetuán 201[a]
54/6	Calle de la Calle de la Fortaleza 208
54/7	Calle de la Fortaleza 250 corner Calle de San Justo
54/8	Calle de San Justo 252
54/11	Clle de San Justo 258 corner de Tetuán
54/13	Calle de Tetuán 205
54/18	Calle de la Cruz 255
Block 55	
55/1	Calle de la Fortaleza 250
55/5	Calle de la Fortaleza 258
55/8	Calle de la Fortaleza 264 corner Calle de la Tanca
55/20	Calle de Tetuán 261
55/22	Calle de Tetuán corner de San Justo N/A
Block 56	
56/2	Calle de la Fortaleza 300
56/3	Calle de la Fortaleza 302
56/10	Calle de la Fortaleza 316
56/13	Calle de Tetuán 315 corner Callejón del Gámbaro
56/14	Calle de Tetuán 313
56/20	Calle de Tetuán 301
55/21	Calle de Tetuán 253
Block 57	
57/1	Calle de la Calle de la Fortaleza 350 corner Callejón del Gámbaro
57/6	Calle de la Fortaleza 360
57/7	Calle de la Fortaleza corner Tetuán 362
57/10	Calle de Tetuán 363
57/14	Calle de Tetuán 355
Block 60	
60/3	Calle de Tetuán 0 – 3
Block 62	
62/2	Calle de Tetuán corner de Tizol corner de Recinto Sur N/A
62/3	Calle de Tetuán 204 corner Calle de Tizol
Block 63	
63/1	Calle de San Justo corner de Tetuán corner de Recinto Sur N/A
Block 64	
64/7	Calle de Tetuán 260 – de Recinto Sur 259
64/12	Calle de Recinto Sur 251
Block 65	
65/1	Calle de Recinto Sur 301
65/4	Calle de Recinto Sur 307
65/6	Calle del Recinto Sur 311
65/10	Calle de Recinto Sur 319
65/11	Calle de Recinto Sur 321
65/12	Calle del Recinto Sur 323 – Calle de Tetuán
65/13	Calle de Recinto Sur 325
65/14	Calle de Recinto Sur 327

65/15	Calle del Recinto Sur #329
Block 68	
68/1	de Tetuán N/A (Baños Públicos)
Block 71	
71/1* La Puntilla Noncontributing District	Municipal Parking Calle del Paseo de la Princesa - Calle de La Puntilla – Calle del Presidio
Block 76	
76/1	La Puntilla corner de Comercio N/A (Aduana Federal)
Block 88	
88/1	de Tetuán corner de Recinto Sur corner de la Tanca corner de San Justo N/A (Correo y Tribunal Federal)
Block 94	
94/3	de Comercio N/A (Pabellón de Turismo)
Block 173	
173/23	Calle de Norzagaray N/A

TABLE 3
PRESENT AND HISTORIC NAMES OF THOROUGHFARES
(LISTED AS STRUCTURES)

Present day name	**Historic name(s)**
Calle de Norzagaray	Calle del Recinto Norte ; Bulevar del Valle ; Boulevard del Valle
Calle de Francisco Goenaga	Calle de la Beneficencia
Calle de la Tranquilidad	
Calle de la Virtud	
Calle de San Sebastián	Calle de los Bobos; Calle del Mondongo
Calle del Sol	Calle del General Contreras
Calle de la Luna	Calle de Rafael Cordero; Calle del Padre Báez
Caleta de las Monjas	
Caleta de San Juan	
Calle de San Francisco	Caleta de San Francisco; Calle de Salvador Brau
Calle de la Fortaleza	Calle Allen; Calle de Santa Catalina
Calle de Tetuán	Calle de los Cuarteles; Calle de la Bella Unión
Calle del Recinto Sur	(Northern end transformed into Las Terrazas el Recinto Sur)
Calle del Comercio	
Calle de O'Donnell	Calle de la Estrella
Calle de Acosta	Calle Martinillo
Callejón del Tamarindo	
Callejón del Toro	
Callejón del Gámbaro	

Callejón de la Capilla	
Calle de Barbosa	Calle Oeste
Calle de la Tanca	Calle del Caño de la Tanca; Calle Degetau
Calle de Tizol	
Calle de San Justo	
Calle de la Cruz	
Calle Imperial	
Calle del Mercado	
Calle de Mc Arthur	
Escalinata de las Monjas	
Escalinata del Hospital	
Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud	Calle Real de San Juan; Calle del Cristo
Calle de Moroví	
Calle del Hospital	
Calle del Morro	
Calle del Recinto Oeste	Calle de Clara Lair
Calle del Arsenal	
Calle Paseo de la Princesa	
Carretera Muñoz Rivera	

TABLE 4
CONTRIBUTING AND NONCONTRIBUTING SITES

Common Name	**Contributing**	**Historic Name(s)**
Plaza de la Catedral	X	Plaza de la Catedral, Plaza Pública; Plazoleta de la Catedral, Plaza Dabán; Plaza Felisa Rincón de Gautier
Plaza de Armas	X	Plaza Mayor; Plaza Principal; Plaza Pública; Plaza de la Constitución; Plaza de Alfonso XII; Plaza de Baldorioty de Castro Nicknames: Panteón de Pezuela and Plaza de las Verduras
Plaza de San José	X	Plaza de Santo Domingo; Plazuela de Santo Domingo
Plaza de San Francisco	X	Plaza de Salvador Brau, La Barandilla
Plaza de Colón	X	Campo de Santiago; Plaza de Santiago Nickname: Plaza de Penélope; El Prado
Parque de las Palomas	X	
Plaza de la Dársena	X	
Plaza del Bastión de las Palmas	X	
Plaza de la Rogativa		
Plaza de la Puerta de San Juan	X	
Plaza de Arturo Somohano	X	
Plaza de de [*sic*] Hostos	X	No Block, Parcela 82
Plaza Carrión	X	Plazoleta de los Bancos
Cementerio de Santa María Magdalena de Pazzis	X	Cementerio Municipal
Plaza del Bastión de los	X	

Santos Justo y Pastor		
Paseo de la Princesa	X	
Paseo de Ronda	X	
Las Terrazas del Recinto Sur	X	
Plaza del Quinto Centenario		
Plaza de la Beneficencia		
Plaza del Soportal		
Estacionamiento Municipal (Municipal Parking)		

TABLE 5
CONTRIBUTING AND NONCONTRIBUTING OBJECTS

Name	Contributing
Sculpture of Juan Ponce de León, Plaza de San José	X
Sculpture of Christopher Columbus, Plaza de Colón	X
Sculptures of Four Seasons, Plaza de Armas	X
Sculpture of Abraham Lincoln, Escuela Abraham Lincoln	
Bust of Francisco de Miranda, Plaza Bastión de la Palma	
Sculpture of Salvador Brau, Plaza de San Francisco	
Sculpture of Patricio Rijos (Toribio), Plaza de San Francisco	
Bust of Isabel de Trastámara (Isabel La Católica), Extensión Paseo de la Princesa	
Sculpture of La Rogativa, Plaza de la Rogativa	
Sculpture Colón, Plaza Bastión de Santos Justo y Pastor	X
Totem Telúrico, Plaza del Quinto Centenario	
Sculptures of the Lambs, Plaza del Quinto Centenario	
Sculpture of Eugenio María de Hostos, Plaza de de [*sic*] Hostos	X
Sculpture of the Rescate del Barrio Ballajá (Rescue of Ballajá Barrio), Cuartel de Ballajá	
Sculpture of Felisa Rincón de Gautier, Paseo de la Princesa	
Bust of Infante Dom Henrique, Plaza de Dársena	X
Columna Triunfal Victoria Españoles contra Holandeses (Triumphal Column Victory over the Dutch, Esplanade, Castillo de San Felipe del Morro)	X
Bust of Manuel Gregorio Tavares, Calle Tanca	
Sculpture of Arturo Somohano Portela, Plaza Arturo Somohano	
Sculpture Al Inmigrante, Plaza de Dársena	
Sculpture Eugenio María de Hostos, Plaza de la Beneficencia	
Fuente de la Herencia, Paseo de la Princesa	
Sculptural Group Raíces, Paseo de la Princesa	
Sculptural Group Crecimiento, Extensión Paseo de la Princesa	
Sculpture of Catalino (Tite) Curet Alonso, Plaza de Armas	
Sculpture of Ricardo Alegría, Paseo de Covadonga	

The Ponce de León (Plaza de San José) and Christopher Columbus (Plaza de Colón) sculptures are historic. Their age and aesthetics qualify them as museum pieces. Most of the objects listed contribute to the interpretation of the historic district. Some, like the ones depicting the four seasons, date to the nineteenth century.

The nineteenth-century Cementerio de Santa María de Pazzis has dozens of magnificent examples of funerary art that include pantheons, tombs and sculptures.

TABLE 6
PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND ARCHITECTURAL PERIODS

Historic Name	Location	Contributing
Conquest Period (1519-1625)		
medieval Semantics		
Iglesia de San José	Parcela 15, Block 3	X
Catedral de San Juan Bautista	Parcela 4, Block 33	X
Casa-Torre de Ponce de León (Casa Blanca)	Parcela 20, Block 1	X
Renaissance Semantics		
Convento de Santo Domingo	Parcela 1, Block 3	X
Baroque Period (1625-1812)		
Hospital de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción el Grande	Parcela 1, Block 13	X
Palacio Episcopal	Parcela 4, Block 16	X
Iglesia and Convento de San Francisco	Parcela 4-5, Block 37	X
Convento de las Carmelitas Descalzas	Parcela 1, Block 23	X
Capilla del Santo Cristo de la Salud	X[83]	X
Cuerpo de Guardia del Almacén de Pólvora de San Sebastián	Parcela 4, Block 21	
Historicist/Enlightenment Period (1812-1898)		
Seminario Conciliar de San Ildefonso	Parcela 4, Block 16[84]	X
Plaza del Mercado	Parcela 1, Block 4	X
Asilo de Beneficencia	Parcela 2A, Block 15	X
Casa Alcaldía de San Juan	Parcela 2, Block 34	X
Iglesia de Santa Ana	Parcela 14, Block 54	X
Palacio de Santa Catalina (also known as La Fortaleza)	Parcela 9, Block 41	X
Arsenal de la Marina de la Puntilla	Parcela 1, Block 85	X
Teatro Alejando Tapia y Rivera	Parcela 1, Block 58	X
Cuartel de Infantería de Ballajá	Parcela 1, Block 1	X
Parque de Artillería	Parcela 1, Block 6	X
Casa de la Caridad y Oficios de San Ildefonso	Parcela 1, Block 20	X
Colegio de Párvulos	Parcela 8, Block 7	X
Manicomio	Parcela 2B, Block 15	X
Diputación Provincial	Parcela 3, Block 33	X
Real Audiencia	Parcela 2, Block 41	X
Presidio de la Princesa	Parcela 12A, Block 41	X
Casa de Salud San Luis (Edificio Acosta)	Parcela 16, Block 65	X
Antiguo Asilo (Edificio de Servicios Municipales)	Parcela 8, Block 3	X

[83] The CRIM has not assigned a *parcela* or block to the Capilla del Santo Cristo de la Salud. Arleen Pabón Charneco, "Final Report: 2010 Inventory of the San Juan Historic Zone."

[84] According to the CRIM, both the Palacio Episcopal and the Seminario de San Ildefonso share one *parcela*.

TABLE 7
CONTRIBUTING AND NONCONTRIBUTING PLAZAS, GARDENS, PROMENADES AND PARKS

Present day name	Historic name(s)	Contributing
Plaza de la Catedral	Plaza de la Catedral, Plaza Pública; Plazoleta de la Catedral, Plaza Dabán; Plaza Felisa Rincón de Gautier	X
Plaza de Armas	Plaza Mayor, Plaza Principal, Plaza Pública, Plaza de la Constitución, Plaza de Alfonso XII, Plaza de Baldorioty de Castro, Panteón de Pezuela, Plaza de las Verduras	X
Plaza de San José	Plaza de Santo Domingo; Plazuela de Santo Domingo	X
Plaza de San Francisco	Plaza de Salvador Brau	X
Plaza de la Barandilla	La Barandilla	X
Plaza de Colón	Campo de Santiago, Plaza de Santiago, Plaza de Penélope; El Prado	X
Plaza de la Rogativa		
Plaza de la Puerta de San Juan		X
Plaza de la Dársena		X
Plaza de Arturo Somohano		
Plaza Carrión	Plazoleta de los Bancos	X
Jardín de Casa Blanca		X
Jardín de la Fortaleza		X
Plaza de la Puerta de San Juan		X
Parque de las Palomas		X
Parque del Morro	Esplanade; Campo del Morro	X
Plaza de Beneficencia		X
Paseo de la Princesa		X
Extensión del Paseo de la Princesa		X
Paseo del Morro		X
Plaza del Quinto Centenario		
Plaza del Soportal		
Plaza de la Beneficencia		

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

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

Applicable National Register Criteria:	A X B __ C X D __
Criteria Considerations (Exceptions):	A X B __ C X D X E X F __ G
NHL Criteria:	1 and 4
NHL Criteria Exceptions:	1
NHL Theme(s):	Architecture Community Planning and Development Ethnic Heritage: Hispanic
Areas of Significance:	I. Peopling Places 6. Encounters, Conflicts, and Colonization III. Expressing Cultural Values 5. Architecture, Landscape Architecture, and Urban Design
Period(s) of Significance:	1519-1898
Significant Dates:	1625-1700; 1812
Significant Person(s):	N/A
Cultural Affiliation:	N/A
Architect/Builder:	Francisco Mestre: Manuel de Zayas; Pedro García; Santiago Cortijo; Enrique Gadea; Juan Bautista Antonelli; Tomás O'Daly Pedro de Castro; Antonín Nechodoma; Rafael Carmoega; Clarke, Alfred B. Nichols; Humberto Landó
Historic Contexts:	*American Latino Heritage Initiative*

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

INTRODUCTION

The Old San Juan Historic District (Distrito Histórico del Viejo San Juan) in Puerto Rico is nationally significant under NHL Criterion 1 and Criterion 4 as one of the premier colonial cities in the United States and the nation's most important and complete Spanish urban center. It is significant because of its architectural history and as a reflection of Spanish culture and colonial history. Much of the southern and western portions of what is now the continental United States were once controlled by Spain; however, Puerto Rico was located on the northern fringe of Spain's massive American empire and documented historic sites predominantly offer insight about religious and military activities and settlement on their frontier, and the relationships and conflicts between the Native Americans and the Spanish. Nowhere else can such a full collection of buildings representing four centuries of Spanish culture, religion, politics, and architecture, be found. The district includes the oldest house, Christian church, executive mansion, convent, military defenses in the United States, and possibly the oldest continuously-used non-indigenous government building in the Americas, while its Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque buildings represent the sole stylistic examples of these architectural styles found anywhere in the nation.

Juan Ponce de León established the first Spanish settlement in Puerto Rico at Caparra in 1508. Eleven years later, in 1519, this urban settlement was moved to a new location, a nearby islet that became known as "San Juan." The Spanish valued the city for its "pivotal strategic role as a gateway to the Caribbean."[85] The unwavering continuity of Spanish rule in San Juan for nearly 400 years and its sustained importance as a key military outpost and port created a place that, more than any other in the United States, represents the urban colonial impulses driving the Spanish as they created an American empire. As one of the principal Spanish cities in the Caribbean, the period of significance for the Old San Juan Historic District is defined by the centuries of Spanish rule from its founding in 1519 until its annexation as a territory of the United States in 1898 under the Treaty of Paris.

Old San Juan remained under Spanish rule for almost all of the nineteenth century, a period during which cities throughout the world experienced unprecedented physical change. They increased in scale, in both population and density, in geographic extent, and in social, architectural, and technological complexity. Old San Juan was part of this urban revolution, and some of the development activities transformed the architectural character of the sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century fabric. Yet, because Puerto Rico remained under Spain until 1898, although in an evolving relationship and one in which Spain's influence was ever-diminishing, nineteenth-century changes to Old San Juan must be considered as a part of the Spanish-colonial continuum.

THE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF OLD SAN JUAN

The Old San Juan Historic District is nationally significant under NHL Criterion 1 as the only extant representation of an almost four hundred year old Spanish colonial city in the United States. It is the oldest city in the United States and the second oldest continuously-inhabited European settlement in the Western Hemisphere. Old San Juan's location in the heart of the Caribbean (the first area in America to be colonized and settled by Spain) provided the Spanish with a key port from which to establish their cultural, military, and political agendas throughout Spanish America.

While at a later date it was considered *la llave* (the key) to the American continent, the settlement was originally organized around economic activities, and gold mining in particular. With time, the center flourished from a

[85] Lisa Pierce Flores, *The History of Puerto Rico* (San Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2010), 39.

small settlement into the *punta de lanza*[86] (point of the spear) of the Spanish Empire in America due to its exceptional geographic location and state-of-the-art defenses. Puerto Rico and Cuba were so important to Spain that, as late as the nineteenth century, they were considered "the limbs of Spain."[87] In fact, during that century, the peninsula rejected an offer from Great Britain to return Gibraltar in exchange for the Caribbean islands. Throughout the centuries, France, Great Britain, Holland and, ultimately, the United States fought to wrestle the colony away from Spain to incorporate it into their respective empires. In 1898, the United States succeeded in doing what all the others had not; the political ties that had existed between Puerto Rico and Spain for almost four hundred years, were dissolved.

Old San Juan's intimate ties with the Spanish Crown started on November 19, 1493, when Christopher Columbus named the island of Puerto Rico after the Infante Don Juan, Prince of Asturias, the son and heir of Isabel and Fernando.[88] With time, the city itself inherited the island's name[89] and its cultural link with Spain continued unabated.[90] The city's founder, Juan Ponce de León, was an *Adelantado*, a representative of the Crown during the reign of Queen Juana, daughter of Queen Isabel and King Fernando.[91] At the time of her reign, Spain as we know it today did not exist. In fact, historians consider that the concept of Spain as one country emerged around this time with the union of Castile and Aragon; after the defeat of the Moors, the southern part of the Iberian Peninsula was added. As expected, the newly-acquired territories on the American continent became instrumental in the organization of a mighty overseas empire. San Juan, Puerto Rico, and Spain developed simultaneously within the prescribed roles of a colony and its ruler.

Until 1898, Old San Juan served as a Hispanic-American hub, a place where the production and exchange of services[92] could take place in a European-style economy. In the early decades of the sixteenth century when the Spanish Crown contested the conquistadors it had once favored and won feudal rights over the American colonies, Spain envisioned its urban centers as safe havens that would entice varied professionals and missionaries for the Catholic Church. Ideally, Old San Juan would serve as a stage for intellectual, military, religious, and political activities that would perpetuate Spanish civilization.

As early as the second decade of the sixteenth century, Old San Juan was conceived as a center where social order would prevail. To this end, the Iberian peninsula legitimized its rule over the islet and island while organizing the *vida y hacienda* (life and property) of its people. Spain dreams a special kind of order and that dream is an urban one; the hope was to establish order in America where social hierarchy was equivalent to urban hierarchy.[93] Order could only be maintained if daily life was systematized and carefully organized and

[86] There are several historic references that use this figure of speech when referring to Puerto Rico and the Caribbean islands. As was the case with the eponymous description of Puerto Rico as the *llave de las Indias* (key to the Indies), the phrase belies the relevance the island had for Spain.

[87] Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro The History of the Caribbean*, 91.

[88] The *infante* Juan was born in 1478 and died in 1497 and was never crowned king.

[89] The full name of the island given by Columbus was San Juan Bautista (St. John the Baptist), after whom the *infante* don Juan was also been named. Both Caparra and the Old San Juan Historic District were named the *ciudad del puerto Rico*. The name was particularly appropriate since the incomparable bay and the urban core are wed in a most intimate of embraces.

[90] The Castillo de San Felipe del Morro, for example, was named after the King-Emperor Felipe (I of Spain and V of Germany). When the city was formally named San Juan, Queen Juana, nicknamed *la Loca* ("Crazy One"), expressly noted how satisfied she was the city was named in her honor.

[91] Queen Juana inherited the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon from her parents Isabel and Ferdinand. She was declared incompetent to rule and her father was legally appointed until her son, Carlos I of Spain (also known as Holy Roman Emperor Carlos V), came of age.

[92] Françoise Choay, *Modern City: Planning in the nineteenth century* (New York: Braziller, 1969). Ms Choay defines the city as a place where exchange of services takes place.

[93] Carlos Alberto Torres Tovar, Fernando Viviescas Monsalve, Edmundo Pérez Hernández, Editors. Fabio Zambrano P, "La ciudad en la historia," *La ciudad: hábitat de diversidad y complejidad* (Universidad Nacional de Colombia: Santa Fe de Bogotá, Colombia, 2000), pp122-148. In Spanish: *España sueña un orden y ese orden soñado es urbano; se espera que se establezca en*

controlled. Urban hierarchy was needed in order to carefully monitor all. The inflexible orthogonal grid used to form the settlement clearly dictated who was who in the core. The orthogonal grid of blocks was (still is) peppered with introverted houses, monumental churches, quiet convents, and elegant public buildings preserved through the centuries through its historic defenses, its forts and defensive curtain walls. Peninsular elements, from open plazas to interior domestic patios, replicated the Spanish ancestral world in the new tropical environment. The city represented the Spanish peninsula by replicating, in idealized fashion, Spanish cities so that it could act as the stage where aspirations for a global empire, blind adhesion to the Catholic faith, separation of the genders, and acceptance of slavery, among other historic traits characteristic of Spanish society, could be showcased.

Settlers brought with them ingrained millennia-old traditions that many were not prepared to discard, particularly as they faced a new and unfamiliar world characterized by constant surprises. Military fortifications were required to arrest attacks against the Spanish empire, particularly after the Spanish colonies in Santo Domingo and Cartagena were attacked and captured by the infamous Sir Francis Drake, precipitating the construction of El Morro in 1586. However, these assaults started as early as the Caparra settlement. If it is true that, traditionally, the systematization of war has been an indispensable condition for the consolidation of any urban core,[94] it is no exaggeration to claim that war granted Old San Juan its formidable persona. The city's urban and architectural personality as a *plaza militar* (military settlement) was defined by its geographic location as the gateway to the Caribbean, and as such, its waters became one of the most dangerous routes in the world during the golden age of piracy. The San Juan Historic District is the only property in the United States associated with the iconic era of Caribbean piracy.

Siting the Colony: From Caparra to San Juan

Old San Juan replaced the embryonic settlement of Caparra, the first formal European settlement in Puerto Rico. Established in 1508 in the modern municipality of Guaynabo, close to gold mines that made the island such an attractive place during the early decades of the Conquest, this small yet promising urban core was founded by Juan Ponce de León.[95] These obstacles – which included mosquito-infested swamps a great distance from the port area, a lack of natural defenses against the assaults of the native indigenous tribes (the Tainos), and, possibly, limitations in terms of potable water – forced the settlers to leave the original settlement of Caparra (designated an NHL on April 19, 1994, as the Caparra Archeological Site) when it was merely

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América un orden donde la jerarquización social está consignada a la jerarquización urbana.

[94] Carlos Alberto Torres Tovar, Fernando Viviescas Monsalve, Edmundo Pérez Hernández, Editors. Fabio Zambrano P, "La ciudad en la historia," *La ciudad: hábitat de diversidad y complejidad*, p 126; Jan Rogoziński, *A Brief History of the Caribbean: From the Arawak and Carib to the Present* (New York: Facts on File, Inc.), 42.

[95] Although he only visited the new settlement in the islet whenever he had to carry out his official duties, he did acquire a vast estate here. Some confusion exists regarding how Ponce de León came into possession of his real estate in the islet. According to at least one writer: *La familia* [de Ponce de León] *obtuvo prioridad frente a la población de las tierras descubiertas*. Translation into English: "The Ponce de León family had priority over the rest of the settlers when selecting their land." Álvaro Huerga, *La Familia Ponce de León Historia Documental de Puerto Rico Tomo XVIII* (Madrid: Taravilla, 2009), p 57. The same author, however, also states: . . . *le asignaron unos solares en la isleta para que edificase, si quería, una nueva casa familiar*., p 37. Translation into English: "[H]e was assigned some land in case he wanted to build a new family house." Given the fact that by this time Ponce de León was: (i) the most relevant of all the settlers; (ii) the Crown's *Adelantado*; (iii) in charge of settlement activities in Puerto Rico; (iv) present in the island at the time of the move to the islet; and (v) became the owner of the best land in the islet, it can be inferred that he had a chance to make a choice before the rest of the settlers.

eleven years old and move to the islet that would become San Juan, formally founded on September 12, 1519.[96] The *ejido* of the new capital city included the complete islet.[97]

Caparra was situated in an unsuitable place for an urban center. It lacked most of the things the verdant islet on the other side of the bay provided, most notably easy defense from the Tainos and native insects. The great vistas and healthy sea breezes were added bonuses. The move transformed the settlement from a sixteenth-century "workers' town" dependent on gold mines and limited agricultural activities primarily beneficial to Juan Ponce de León and the Crown, into an urban core capable of providing many other services that characterize a full-fledged urban center. The early years of settlement on the island were characterized by political in-fighting among the envoys of the crown, particularly the de León and Columbus families; this clarified for the Crown that the American colonies were far too important to hand over to individuals. As a result of these various political intrigues, the Crown sent Ponce de León north to St. Augustine establishing Spain's presence on the North American continent in 1521. Issues such as the ones presented by Caparra strengthened the Crown's role as arbiter and quickly led them to claim the new territories as personal property of the monarch.[98]

THE CONQUEST PERIOD (1525-1625)

The Early Years

Until this time the founding of settlements had followed the so-called Columbian organization, guided by the *Capitulaciones de Santa Fe* of 1492, the contract between Queen Isabel and King Fernando and Christopher Columbus. All settlements established under this aegis were considered *factorías* (factories), centers for the extraction of minerals.[99] When the settlement moved to the islet it transformed radically from a kind of "workers' town," becoming a full-fledged, albeit small in the beginning, urban center embracing varied activities, not just mining.

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[96] The analysis of the suitability of the islet started in 1517, if not earlier. De Rodrigo's map stating: *Aquí ha de estar la cibdad.*, is dated to the year 1519. It is very possible some took the matter into their own hands and moved before the royal authorization was received. In any case, recommendation by the royal representative (de Figueroa) can be considered tantamount to urban birth, particularly since the Jerónimos had also granted approval.

[97] Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Patronato, Legajo 176, Ramo 3 "Carta del licenciado de Figueroa al rey describiendo la isla de Puerto Rico, cuyo plan hecho acompaña" (CRA), Folio 1/3. Published in: Ricardo E Alegría, *Documentos Históricos de Puerto Rico Volumen II 1517-1527*, pp 83-91. *La extinción de la vieja capital de San Juan quedó decretada, "señalándose como ejidos de la nueva ciudad, toda la isleta de la banda norte de la bahía, desde la punta llamada El Morro hasta la primera calzada construida sobre el caño ó boquerón que mantenía en corriente constante las aguas del puerto." Esta isleta cuya extensión, de este á oeste, se calculaba en una legua, en opinión del licenciado Figueroa "tenía el mejor asiento que en el mundo se puede buscar para una ciudad"; pero aun debió retardarse dos años la instalación definitiva de ésta, por la necesidad de construir los edificios urbanos, tarea entorpecida por el decaimiento económico de los vecinos y por la epidemia de viruelas, comunicada desde la Española y que causó gran estrago, especialmente en los indios.* Salvador Brau, *La colonización de Puerto Rico desde el descubrimiento de la isla hasta la reversión a la corona española de los privilegios de Colón*, pp 231-235. Translation into English: "The abandonment of the old capital of San Juan was thus decreed 'establishing as *ejido* of the new city the whole islet to the north of the bay, from the point known as El Morro to the first *calzada* (road-cum-bridge) constructed over the *caño* or *Boquerón* that circulated the water of the port.' This islet, with an extension of one *legua* from east to west, in the opinion of *licenciado* Figueroa, was 'the best place that could be found for a city in the whole world'; but it took two more years for the neighbors to be established in a definitive manner because there was a need to construct urban buildings, an activity that was negatively impacted by the limited funding of the neighbors and by the smallpox epidemic that originated in Hispaniola and that caused many deaths, especially among the Indians [*sic*]."

[98] Carlos Malamud, "De Cádiz a América, libertad contagiosa," *El Mundo*, Madrid, March, 16, 2012; Ragozinski, *Brief History of the Caribbean*, 29.

[99] Caparra was conceived as one such center since most activities revolved around gold mining. In fact, the location of the mines was instrumental in the choice of its site. Francisco Muñoz Espejo, "Estudio sobre el urbanismo colonial y las fortificaciones hispanoamericanas con relación de los principales itinerarios culturales de comunicación (caminerías reales y rutas comerciales interoceánicas)" *Comité Español del Consejo Internacional de Monumentos y Sitios* (Toledo, Spain: Seminario Internacional de Ciudades Históricas Iberoamericanas, 2001), 4. Digital source: www: esicomos.org.

The initial impetus for founding colonies in the New World and in Puerto Rico was economic, the extraction of gold from its mines. A continuous stream of gold flowed from mines located in close proximity to San Juan (San Germán and Caparra) to the coffers in Spain. However, the supply was quickly exhausted and Mexico and Peru supplanted Puerto Rico as the main sources of mineral wealth for the Spanish Crown. Eventually, San Juan was recognized for its strategically important port as a gateway to the Caribbean, and less for its extractable resources. As a result, the enslaved indigenous and African labor was refocused toward farming, cattle ranches, sugar, coffee, and tobacco plantations.[100]

From the beginning San Juan was assigned a variety of crucial roles. In addition to providing shelter to Spanish settlers, the urban center was organized to provide physical reminders of Spanish civilization. This goal is clearly evident as early as the first settlement on the islet, which settled close to the *fondeadero* (port or anchorage area) around 1519 and 1521 following the abandonment of Caparra. The small city quickly became crucial for Spain, and its *fondeadero* (port), central to the Empire. By 1510, San Juan had become a required stop for all ships sailing between Spain and Hispaniola, and the first port of call for most Spanish ships during the first half of the sixteenth century.[101] "Statistics from the West Indies indicate that, during the years 1548-1555, a total of twenty-four ships sailed for Hispaniola, twelve to Puerto Rico. . . . Hispaniola thus enjoyed pre-eminence in the Spanish Caribbean Empire, and Puerto Rico ranked above Cuba and Jamaica."[102]

Once settled on the islet, Diego Colón sought to exercise his right to appoint *alcaldes* (mayors) and *alguaciles* (high constables).[103] Other factions, including the Crown, believed this right was theirs. The kings of Spain finally obtained this, as well as other rights; as a result until the nineteenth century the American colonies were considered part of the personal property of the monarch. By rejecting the agreements it had entered into with the conquistadors, the Crown became the sole owner of almost an entire hemisphere. Legal misunderstandings mushroomed when a 1541 law made pastures, woodland and water in Puerto Rico public domain, a first step in the Crown's assertion that America was the personal property of the reigning Spanish king or queen. Squabbles between those who thought they were owners and the representatives of the Crown made life very difficult for most European settlers in the young colony.

During the early decades, the small settlement also suffered from constant assaults by the Arawaks and Caribs inhabiting the neighboring islands; many believed the Spaniards would only have to contend with the natives. Friar de las Casas stated that the most relevant function of the Caparra house was to serve as defense or fortress. "He [Ponce de León] made for himself a house of rammed earth walls that was useful as fortress since the Indians do not have metal arms and armaments and the greatest force they can try is to attack the house using their heads."[104] Attacks started very early during the sixteenth century. In fact, a violent one took place in Old San Juan in 1529. At this time, the core was a thriving center with 120 houses, a cathedral of sorts, a convent

[100] Flores, *History of Puerto Rico*, 18-19, 32.
[101] Ibid., 40.
[102] Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro The History of the Caribbean*, 50.
[103] Diego was the son and heir of Christopher Columbus. His claim stemmed from the interpretation of the rights he imagined to have inherited from his father as per the *Capitulaciones de Santa Fe*, the contract the Discoverer entered with the Catholic monarchs who financed his enterprise. "Columbus had stipulated before his departure, and the Sovereign had agreed, that he would be appointed Admiral and Viceroy over all the lands he might discover, the former honour being transmittable to his heirs and successors in perpetuity; that he should recommend the names of three persons for each office in the new territories, from which the Sovereigns were to choose one; and that he should receive ten percent of the profits and have the privilege of supplying one-eighth of the cargo, in return for which he was to receive a further one-eighth of the profits." Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro The History of the Caribbean*, 20. Unfortunately for Diego, the Crown changed its mind.
[104] Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias* (1857) Tome 3, 280. Quoted in: Adolfo de Hostos, "Las excavaciones de Caparra," 63. In Spanish: [É]*l* [Ponce de León] *para sí hizo una* [casa] *de tapias, que bastó para fortaleza, como quiera que los indios no tengan baluartes de hierro ni culebrinas, y la mayor fuerza que pueden poner para derrocar la casa hecha de tapias es cabezadas.*

(Convento de los Dominicos) and a second church (Iglesia de San José) under construction. The fact that the natives attacked such a substantial settlement indicates their growing concerns regarding European occupation. It was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century when the grave danger posed by the natives, whether local or visiting from neighboring islands, was eliminated from the settlers' long list of hazards. Slaves also revolted. In fact, two years before the natives' attack of 1527 there was one such uprising.[105]

To add to the instability, European pirates also launched repeated assaults even before the threat posed by the natives completely disappeared. France started as early as 1528 and kept organized assaults until 1554. The English and Dutch followed suit. During this stage, Old San Juan was the only town of substance on the island. Therefore, an attack to the island meant a siege to its main city. These European pirates, euphemistically described at times as privateers and buccaneers, were the bane of the *sanjuaneros* and *sanjuaneras* until the eighteenth century. Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake set envious eyes on the small Spanish colony that, in spite of its economic limitations, had such an important geographic location. The British returned in 1598 under George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, who forced the capital's surrender only to abandon it five months later due to a plague.

A Struggling Colony

San Juan's economic importance to the Spanish waned once its gold reserves were depleted. As a result, it took centuries for Old San Juan to achieve a healthy status as a city or colony. The sluggish early development, described by historians as a *period estático* (static period),[106] had various causes, with poverty as a primary cause. On February 24, 1534, Francisco Manuel de Lando described the urban core in the following fashion: *Esta ciudad es pauperísima y nada tiene para las obras públicas*.[107] Scarcity was so predominant that scores of settlers wanted to leave. A letter sent to Emperor Carlos V (Charles V) – dated February 23, 1534, and signed by Manuel de Lando, Francisco Mexia, Bachiller de Castro, Juan García y Troche, Pedro de Espinosa, and Alonso de la Fuente – summarizes the state of mind of many living in the city:

> The news from Peru and other territories are so fantastic that even the old want to go there, never mind the young people. Everyone here is in debt and all they think about is leaving the island. A remedy must come as soon as possible." "We have been writing for the last four years for people are leaving the island: the gold diminishes, the natives are gone. In 1532, new gold mines discovered produced 20, 000 gold *pesos*. We thought that would help to better conditions but the opposite has happened. The neighbors, apprehensive due to the 1530 storms, think to better their conditions and buy expensive Blacks. Instead, gold had diminished. They have not been able to pay and they have been destroyed by their creditors. Some have ran away; others are in prison, some are hidden in the mountains; others have stolen ships and have left with their Blacks to go God knows where. After all this and the news of Peru, not one neighbor would remain if they are not stopped." "It would be convenient if these people, instead of renting slaves from merchants, would become neighbors. There is also a need to help people with farms and grant loans to those that establish sugar *ingenios*, like was done in Hispaniola because each one of these establishments maintains 12 to 15 neighbors and in this manner more people would come to the island and help protect it from the Caribs. If not, the island will be lost because there is not enough gold.[108]

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[105] Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro The History of the Caribbean*, 66.

[106] Adolfo de Hostos, *Historia de San Juan ciudad murada*, 55.

[107] Juan Bautista Muñoz, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (1793), "Estracto [*sic*] de varias cartas dirigidas al soberano de 1515 a 1555." Quoted in Alejandro Tapia y Rivera, *Biblioteca Histórica de Puerto Rico que contiene varios documentos de los siglos XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII* (San Juan de Puerto Rico: Imprenta de Márquez, 1854), 302. Translation into English: "This city is extremely poor and has no funds for public works."

[108] Ibid., 300-301. In Spanish: *Las nuevas que del Perú é de otras tierras nuevas vienen, son tan estremadas* [sic]*, que á los viejos hacen mover, cuanto más álos mancebos. Todos aquí están oprimidos de deudas y piensan marcharse. Es necesario venga muy presto el remedio. De cuatro años acá siempre escribimos que la isla va despoblándose: el oro*

¡Dios me lleve al Perú! (May God take me to Peru!) was the period's rallying cry for many who wanted to leave Old San Juan in search of better opportunities elsewhere. Many of the colonists were tempted by rich, more exotic locales elsewhere in the Spanish empire. The allure of foreign destinies and Old San Juan's many limitations were so great that the urban core was on the verge of becoming an abandoned town several times during the Conquest Period. Once the gold mines, the original main attraction of the island, were exhausted by the second half of the sixteenth century, agriculture became the most important economic activity. This made the fledging city an unpopular location for those wishing to make money out of the exploitation of gold. The objective of the first settlements – or at least the theory behind their founding – was principally utilitarian since they were to serve as a sixteen-century "workers' towns."

In fact, so many wanted to depart to try their luck in other prosperous colonial outposts that, in 1534, Governor Francisco Manuel de Lando decreed that anyone caught leaving would be killed. Other governors followed suit at different times. Although draconian in manner, these provisions were necessary to protect the Crown's investments. Finding settlers was not an easy task. People had to be married, *limpios de sangre* (not have any Jewish ancestors) and, if possible, be *hijos de algo* or *hidalgos* (of noble birth). Probably de Lando and other government officials understood the difficulties of maintaining a thriving urban center.

Although of noble birth, most *hidalgos* were extremely poor and saw America as a chance to make their fortunes. During the Conquest period the island did not have the resources afforded other Spanish colonies and most settlers were relatively poor, it is therefore not surprising that extreme poverty characterized the first centuries of growth. Governor Francisco Bahamonde y Lugo's description, to be repeated time and time again throughout the centuries, is instructive: "This republic is poor and has no funds of its own."[109] Periods of great scarcity and poverty were common until 1898. In fact, when the Diputación Provincial met for the first time during the nineteenth century, in spite of the elegant building it was able to use, there were no chairs for the *diputados* (representatives to the Spanish Cortes) to sit during the inaugural convocation. In 1703, even official paper was in short supply. At that time, authorization was sought and granted to use ordinary paper for all official correspondence. An anonymous poem from the seventeenth century best describes the chronic scarcity.

Lady, this is a very small island
that has no provisions or money
the Negroes [*sic*] are like the ones in Santo Domingo [known for their poverty]
and there are more people in jail than in Seville.

There is water in the wells if it rains
a cathedral for church but scarce clergy
beautiful ladies lacking grace
ambition and envy have grown
lots of heat and shadows from coconuts palm trees

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afloja, los indios se han acabado. En 1532 se descubrieron nacimientos de que se cojieron [sic] *hasta 20,000 pesos de oro. Pensamos sería esto parte para que resucitase, y ha sucedido al contrario. Los vecinos fatigados de las tormentas del año de 1530, pensando cada uno hallar otro nacimiento se adeudaron comprando negros muy caros para los buscar. Lejos de hallar ninguno, ha venido á menos el oro. No han podido pagar aun habiéndoles desetruido* [sic] *los acreedores* [sic]. *Unos han huido, otros están presos, quienes en los montes, quienes hurtando barcos del servicio de la isla han marchado con sus negros sin saber á do van. Con esto y las nuevas del Perú no quedaría un vecino, sino se les atajara. . . .Convendrá que como se hacen estas mercedes de contratar negros á mercaderes por ciertos servicios, se hagan á vecinos. Debe proveerse como se hagan grangerías* [sic] *en la tierra premiando á quien las hiciere: y ayudar con préstamos á los que hicieren ingenios de azúcar, como se hizo en la Española pues cada ingenio mantiene 12 ó 15 vecinos, y como han de ser en varios términos poblaríase mas la isla, con que estaría más segura de caribes. De otra suerte se perderá, pues no se cría tanto oro como se coje.*

[109] Adolfo de Hostos, *Historia de San Juan ciudad murada*, 59. In Spanish: *Esta república es pobre y no tiene Propios.*

the best of all is the breeze.[110]

No poem better describes the paralyzing shackles the Crown imposed on the island, even its bureaucracy asphyxiated any creative enterprise intended to change the status quo.

Natural disasters also plagued the island during this period. Devastating hurricanes constantly visited the island during the city's early years. Mammoth hurricanes hit the island in 1515 and 1526, and another three came in 1530 within a two-month span alone. Major hurricanes also affected the city in 1537, 1568, and 1575. As expected, these phenomena brought ruin, desolation and devastation to the struggling unprotected colony.[111]

Urban growth lagged in Old San Juan when compared to other Spanish cities in the American continent. After the move to the islet, between 1519 and 1521, the settlement probably consisted of about 80 buildings, most of which were constructed of wood and roofed with straw and *yagüa* (palm leaves) in imitation of native constructions. By the end of the sixteenth century the population had almost doubled in size and 170 families and 14 priests inhabited the urban core. By 1604, there were 300 houses made of rammed-earth walls and masonry covered with *tejados* (wooden truss roofs) or *azoteas de Cádiz* (flat brick and wooden beams), as well as 120 *bohíos*.[112] This initial architectural modesty disappeared by the time the city became a first-class military outpost charged with the goals of serving as a functional city and a military outpost. These objectives remained constant until 1898.[113]

THE COLONY EVOLVES: FROM FRONTIER POST TO FORTIFIED CITY (1625-1812)

The period from 1625 to1812 was characterized by great changes, including the end of the Hapsburg rule and the rise of the Bourbon dynasty. Probably the most significant of all the transformations enacted by the new dynasty was Carlos III declaring Old San Juan as a *Fortaleza de Primer Orden* (First Class Fortress).[114] Although the formal program for the military defense of the city started in 1599, there was no holistic master plan until this time.[115] La Fortaleza de Santa Catalina, deemed worthless for defense, was started during the 1530s and some isolated structures, like the Batería de Santa Bárbara, were organized around 1609. Others, like the Fuerte del Espigón with its Garita del Diablo, date to the year 1644. By the 1630s, the decision to encircle the city with defensive walls was made. The formal defensive architectural program was finished in 1771 with the inauguration of the Castillo de San Cristóbal. While the city did become an impregnable *plaza militar* (military plaza) unique in the entire Western Hemisphere, the millions spent in military architecture and accoutrements were sorely lacking in all other civic areas. Economic limitations characteristically plagued the city, as well as the island.

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[110] Anonymous, seventeenth century (?) Quoted in Adolfo de Hostos, *Historia de San Juan ciudad murada*, 57. In Spanish: *Esta es Señora, una pequeña islilla/falta de bastimientos* [sic] *y dineros/andan los negros como en esa* [Santo Domingo]/*y hay más gente en la cárcel e Sevilla./…/ay agua en los algibes* [sic] *si ha llovido,/Iglesia catedral, clérigos pocos/hermosas damas faltas de donaire,/la ambición y la envidia han nacido/mucho calor y sombra de los cocos/y es lo mejor de todo un poco de ayre* [sic].

[111] Such occurrences had the power to impede further urban development. Florida's first Spanish settlement, the original Pensacola, was destroyed by one such storm. It took centuries for the place to recover from its fate and start anew.

[112] Adolfo de Hostos, *Historia de San Juan ciudad murada*, 26-27.

[113] Although by the end of the nineteenth century the fortification walls were basically useless, Old San Juan still served as an important Spanish commercial hub. This is the reason both the city and island were included in the lighthouse system that was to united the Pacific Ocean Spanish colonies to the Atlantic Ocean ones and the peninsula.

[114] Carlos III (1759-1788) was the fourth Borbón king of Spain. The first monarch of the dynasty was Felipe V (1700-1724; 1724-1746). He was followed by: Luis I (1724) and Fernando VI (1746-1759).

[115] Although attacks posed a continuous threat to the stability of the colony, during the first centuries of its existence, Old San Juan was badly defended. In 1582, for example, there were only eighteen cannons to protect the whole urban core.

Golden Age of Piracy

One of the unintended consequences and activities that defined the early era of European colonization in the Caribbean is piracy. As a result of the emerging international trade in goods such as sugar, gold, and tobacco, Spanish galleons routinely crossed the Atlantic; loaded with gold and other goods, they were a prime target for pirates. Additionally, the social inequality and instability caused by the rising use of slave labor to man the mines and plantations of the Caribbean added to the emergence of an outlaw culture. These buccaneers and pirates were sanctioned by and sailed under the flag of rival European nations who early on attacked Spanish fleets loaded with luxury goods destined for Spanish ports. The Spanish were unwilling to finance a navy to protect the Spanish fleets crossing the Atlantic; as a result, pirates frequently plundered unprotected fleets. Early settlements in Puerto Rico, including San Juan, were also victims of pirate attacks. During the 1600s, "The high volume of pirates operating in the north coast of Puerto Rico…made it one of the most dangerous water routes in the world."[116] However, many Spanish merchants bypassed San Juan because of its small population, and the colonists survived on procured goods from pirates who sailed undetected into the port to trade. [117]

During the seventeenth century Dutch aggression intensified. In 1625, General Boudewijn Hendriksz attacked San Juan, besieging it for days. In the end, his forces burned the urban core destroying more than 100 houses, the bishop's palace, the library, and the city archives. The Spanish counter offensive won the day and the Dutch departed leaving behind one ship and many dead. Attacks of this type continued until the end of the eighteenth century. The last important major attack of this type was led by Sir Ralph Abercrombie in 1797. It ended, as did all others, in defeat for the enemy and in triumph for the Spanish Crown. In spite of the 1797 British attack, the Dutch attack of 1625 marked the end of an era for Old San Juan and initiated a period of relative calm. This period also witnessed the completion of the formal strategic defensive plan for the urban core. This transformation coincided with the end of the Austrian Dynasty in Spain and the coming into power of the Bourbons. While the first one was related to the Hapsburgs, the second one originated with the French Bourbons. Alliances and strategies, as well as ways of living, shifted as a result of these changes.

After the attack of the Dutch in 1625, the city grew, although slowly. The threat of assault was always there as, during this period, neighboring islands – like Santa Cruz, Antigua, Montserrat and Guadeloupe, among others – were being colonized by European powers who were enemies of Spain. The war between Great Britain and Spain on the European continent spilled over into its colonies when Old San Juan was attacked by the British in 1797. Fortunately, the military defenses that were to encircle the city by means of a stone girdle were finished, following Tomás O'Daly's defense master plan. As a result, during the Baroque Period the historic district's urban persona totally transformed: from a loosely organized gridded organism into a densely-packed, tightly-concentrated core with definitive borders. The date 1625 marks the dramatic urban transformation that was to take place from that moment on: from a city with some defenses to a city surrounded by an impressive defensive wall and massive *castillos* (castles), also known as *fortalezas* (fortresses).

The Colony Matures

During the eighteenth century, the population increased dramatically (compared to the Conquest Period) in both the historic district and the island. It was at this time that Puerto Rico definitively veered away from gold mining activities to agricultural pursuits. With this growth, came the expansion of African slavery.

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[116] Pierce Flores, *History of Puerto Rico*, 43.

[117] Ibid., 41-43; Stephan Palmié and Francisco A. Scarano, eds., *The Caribbean: A History of the Region and Its People* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 152-153, 157.

Transformations brought by the Industrial Revolution in Europe also indelibly changed all facets of life. At this time, a bourgeois class emerged in Spain as a result of the development of a capitalist economy in which land was held privately.[118]

Old San Juan, Puerto Rico's principal port and urban core, directly experienced the transformations brought on by these changes and became part of the international commercial network Spain was trying to develop. From 1509 until 1715, the island had been closed to all flagships except for those from Seville and a handful of others coming from Antillean Spanish settlements. Since the colonies were considered the personal property of the monarch, the royal monopoly transformed the Caribbean Sea into a *mare clausum*,[119] exclusively dedicated to Spanish royally-controlled commerce. This status had resulted in the commercial strangling of the colony. In 1715, conditions changed when trade links with Cádiz were established. Authorization to trade with six Spanish ports followed in 1754, and the powerful and rich Barcelona followed in 1755. By 1777, Mallorca had become part of this group. During this period the city and island involved not only the Crown's interests but also was shaped by the capitalist expectations of the rising commercial class.[120]

As a result of this liberalization, private commercial ventures of all kinds emerged, some of which impacted Old San Juan. One of the most important was the trade established with the Compañía de Barcelona (Barcelona Company), a business that specialized in products from Barcelona and Cádiz. Fernando VI's interest in strengthening commercial ties between the Caribbean colonies and the peninsula directly fueled this enterprise, as well as similar ones.[121] This was a small but significant change in the Crown's policy regarding its Caribbean colonies; rather than being the monarch's private holdings the colonies were now expected to participate in the enrichment of the powerful echelons of Spanish society. The Compañía de Barcelona's first vessel arrived in Old San Juan in 1758. The new situation made locals feel things had significantly changed; the city and island were now active in an international commercial network that was taking small but significant steps. These new business opportunities led to the end of the *época miserable* (miserable times: "[T]he miserable times in the Island ended, after a long time; it is incredible how much it has grown in recent times in all aspects." [122] Events indicated that the political and business relationship between the island and the Iberian peninsula had shifted, although in a small way.

Another much-needed economic boost to Old San Juan was provided by the Compañía de Caracas (Caracas Company), dedicated to slave traffic. This company used the city as a slavery distribution center. The wooden holding pen where the slaves were kept was located close to where the Aduana Federal building is today, next to the Plaza de la Dársena. Slaves traded by this company could not be sold in the island but the commercial venture was considered beneficial to the the local economy since food, medicines, clothes, and other such necessities had to be provided to the traders and slaves. It was not until 1815 that Old San Juan's port opened to free international trade activities, although it remained strictly controlled by the Spanish authorities. Nevertheless, the earlier exchanges provided a welcomed opportunity to establish business contacts, if not with the rest of the world, at least with other Spanish colonies and cities in the Iberian peninsula. As a result of the city's growing naval and commercial ties and in order to facilitate travel, the first state-of-the-art map of the bay was created in 1793 by cartographer Cosme Damián de Churruca.

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[118] Ana Aguado, "El proceso económico," *España Crisis imperial e independencia* (Madrid: MAPFRE y Santillana Ediciones Generales, SL, 2010), 167-168.

[119] Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro The History of the Caribbean*, 46.

[120] Until this time, commercial activities were frowned upon by the higher social echelons in Spain since to be "in trade" implied inferior social standing.

[121] Carlos IV ruled from 1788 to 1808.

[122] Fernando Miyares y Gónzalez. Quoted in Adolfo de Hostos, *Historia de San Juan ciudad murada*, 64. In Spanish: [L]*a época miserable de esta Isla que en muchos tiempos estubo* [sic] *constituida; pues es increhible* [sic] *el conocido aumento que ha tenido en todas sus partes*.

During this period, the core still faced security issues until the defensive master plan was completed, but the city consolidated as an urban entity. Although Old San Juan followed patterns present in Havana during the middle of the eighteenth century, the core was not as large or as elegant as its Cuban counterpart. The city was a relatively tight social enclave populated by 2,600 inhabitants by the beginning of the century.[123] Reflecting a larger movement in the Americas triggered by the independence of the original thirteen British colonies, locals and liberal Spaniards insisted upon their rights as individuals, which they believed the Spanish Crown should acknowledge.[124] Hand in hand with the realization of the Sanjuaneros' inalienable rights as a people came the understanding that they also had the right to free themselves from Spanish colonial rule. In fact, as early as the last decades of the eighteenth century, some – like Jesuit Juan Pablo Vizcardo y Guzmán – published treaties underscoring the need for Hispanic-American colonies to sever their allegiances with Spain. His *Carta a los españoles americanos* ("Letter to Spaniard Americans"), published between 1782 and 1791, suggested that the Spanish colonies imitate the United States and obtain their independence and enact their own constitutions.[125]

Once Puerto Ricans found a voice of their own, the stage was set for the construction of many things, including a social class composed of artisans and craftsmen. At this time, Old San Juan was mainly composed of two groups: the Europeans and their descendants (the *criollos* or Creoles) and the underclasses. This last group was, in turn, subdivided into the free and enslaved. While the latter faction worked the fields and served as domestic servants, the *libertos* (free slaves) and others slowly embraced urban construction professions, such as bricklaying and carpentry.[126] During their visit to the city in the 1770s, Friar Iñigo Abbad y Lasierra and André Pierre Ledrú[127] depicted how the urban landscape was shaped by these forces. Their descriptions, both verbal and drawn, provide great insight into the period's living conditions. The first colonists belonged to three social classes in Old San Juan: Spanish and the rich, mulattoes and colored people, and blacks. This social structure was quite different from the rarified Spanish composition that characterized the Conquest Period. As expected, this diversity had a resounding impact upon the developments that took shape during the Baroque period and, particularly, after 1812.

The Baroque Period ended in 1812 with the enactment of the *Constitución de Cádiz de 1812*, the first Spanish constitution. Known as *La Pepa* because it was enacted on St. Joseph's Day (March 19, 1812), the document was the work of the exiled Cortes de Cádiz,[128] known as the Cortes Generales y Extrordinarias (General and Extraordinary Cortes of Cádiz). This reflected the physical and moral battle against Napoleonic control. Unbeknown to the Cortes and in one of history's most humiliating actions by a reigning monarch, Fernando VII had all but ceded his power to Napoleon, publicly treating him as his friend.

FROM THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT TO AMERICAN TERRITORY

Political Instability in the Nineteenth Century

By the end of the Baroque Period various problems and concerns presaged an end to the *Antiguo Régimen* (in French, *ancien régime*) and to a way of life that had existed virtually unchanged since the Middle Ages. First,

[123] Adolfo de Hostos, *Historia de San Juan ciudad murada*, 61. José María Portillo, "España en el mundo," *España Crisis imperial e independencia*, 136.

[124] José María Portillo, "España en el mundo," *España Crisis imperial e independencia*, 136.

[125] Ibid., 41.

[126] Mention needs to be made that the same kind of social development was taking place in Spain in parallel fashion.

[127] Friar Iñigo visited America during the period from 1771-1778; the Frenchman during the year 1797.

[128] Besieged by Napoleon, the Cortes, the Spanish legislative body was isolated in Cádiz surrounded by the armies of the French emperor. The Cortes de Cádiz were not aware of the shady deals the Borbón king, Fernando VII, had entered with Napoleon. This is the reason the constitution called for a parliamentary monarchy.

Napoleon not only invaded Spain but handpicked his brother José I Bonaparte to replace Fernando VII.[129] After returning to the throne, Fernando VII abolished the 1812 Constitution and declared an absolutist state. From 1814 to 1820, he persecuted "liberals" creating a state of civil strife for six years. During this period, Spain faced the ruin of its *Hacienda Real* (Royal Treasury) and a dangerous degradation of its international clout in the face of the emerging French and British empires.[130] In 1820, the so-called Trienio Liberal (Liberal Three-Years Period) commenced. Pushed forward via a military coup, the Constitution was re-enacted. Fernando VII, while apparently favoring the new constitutional regime, conspired to re-establish absolutism. He was victorious in 1823 when the Constitution was again repealed. The last period of his reign is known as the Década Ominosa (Ominous Decade). Fernando VII is a key figure in understanding Spanish politics as well as the new political route taken by the Spanish colonies in America.

The growing discontent within the Spanish peninsula and the American colonies came to the fore as a result of the ideas of the Enlightenment. Originally, European powers including Spain, had justified their conquest of the American continent through missionization. This *mission civilisatrice* (civilizing mission) had quickly been supplanted by simple colonialsim. Hundreds on the American side of the Atlantic Ocean decided to revolt against the unnatural limitations on basic human rights the Crown decided to favor. Spanish subjects born and raised in America were granted lesser rights than those in the peninsula. While the Cádiz Constitution rejected this status by means of Article I proclaiming: *La nación española es la reunión de los españoles de ambos hemisferios*,[131] *La Pepa* had a short and tragic life to live.

The Crown failed to acknowledge the emergence of a new era characterized by commerce, not militarism, or blind religious obedience.[132] A series of insensitive and weak monarchs, including some who were insane (even if described as *hechizado*),[133] could not derail the imminent social revolt. As it was, the Weak Crown was an obstacle to any change since the American colonies were considered the king's personal (as opposed to Spain's) fiefdom. While scores of colonies from Central and South America broke their political chains during the nineteenth century, Puerto Rico remained under the Spanish fold. As such, the island and its capital city – in unison with Cuba and Havana –became the survivors of a flagging empire. As one of three[134] remaining colonies of a once vast and powerful empire, Puerto Rico's strained relationship with Spain continued until 1898. In fact, the ties between San Juan and Spain intensified precisely because fewer colonies remained under Spanish control.

The Spanish world during the nineteenth century was characterized by instability.[135] Within less than a century, the Spanish government fluctuated between an absolute monarchy, a parliamentary monarchy, a constitutional

[129] Fernando VII was king from March to May 1808. After the expulsion of the *rey intruso* (intruder king) José I de Bonaparte, Ferdinand reigned from December 1813 until his death in 1833. He was expulsed for a brief time by the Consejo de Regencia (Regency Council) during 1823. His inglorious reign[s] include praising Napoleon who had jailed him, rescinding the 1812 Constitution on two different occasions, and planting the seeds for the Primera Guerra Carlista (First Carlist War). He is justly known as the *rey felón* (the felon or criminal king).

[130] Jordi Canal, "Introducción Doscientos años de historia de España," *España Crisis imperial e independencia*, 23.

[131] Article I, *Constitución Española de 1812*. Translation into English: "The Spanish nation is the meeting of Spaniards from both hemispheres." This admirable document made no distinction between *peninsulares* (people born in Spain) and *criollos* (those born in America of Spanish ancestry). In fact, both were to have representation at the Cortes on equal footing. According to contemporary historiography, *La Pepa* may have already contemplated the idea of a Commonwealth-like political union between Spain and its American colonies.

[132] José María Portillo, "España en el mundo," *España Crisis imperial e independencia*, 115.

[133] Carlos II, who reigned from 1661-1700, was known as *El Hechizado* ("The Hexed"). Modern historians agree he suffered from a serious mental illness.

[134] The colonies were Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands. All three were lost to the Americans in 1898.

[135] Unfortunately, the conflict did not find a final resolution until the second half of the twentieth century. It arrived only after scores of American colonies proclaimed their independence during the nineteenth century and a civil war destroyed the freely-elected Second Republic (declared in 1931) forcing a forty years plus dictatorship upon the country. Thus ended the largest empire the world

monarchy, including the deposition of a regnant queen and the return from exile of her son. In addition, during the early years of the nineteenth century, the Napoleonic wars cast a long shadow over Spain and her colonies, including Puerto Rico.

The island was profoundly impacted by this political instability, and as a result, the island went from a dependent colony that belonged to the Spanish emperor/king to a full-fledged province with representation at the Cortes, back to a subjugated colony, to a province, and back to a colony ruled by the archaic *Laws of Indies*. All these shifts occurred within the span of a few decades.

Beginning of an Era of Instability

On May 4, 1809, the islanders discovered that, "Considering our King, our lord, Fernando VII... that this island is not properly a colony or factory, like those of other nations, but an integral part of the Spanish monarchy..."[136] His Majesty saw fit to allow Puerto Rico the right to have representation in his government and in the Junta Central Gubernativa del Reino (Central Government Board of the Kingdom). Ramón Power y Giralt, a *sanjuanero* and a lieutenant of the Royal Navy, was appointed as first representative. Despite the liberal-sounding royal mandate, Power y Giralt was not elected by universal suffrage but chosen by the representatives of the island's municipalities. As luck would have it, he arrived in Cádiz in 1810 and was able to participate in the most extraordinary meeting of the Cortes during which the Constitution of 1812 was created. Power y Giralt served as vice-president of this extraordinary assembly.[137]

Power y Giralt's accomplishments were many, from becoming vice-president of the legendary Cortes to obtaining important legal guarantees for the island. One such concession was the express prohibition to the existing law that allowed the governor to oust any employee. The first governor was entitled to this right by means of vague and capricious provisions that allowed him to carry out this termination whenever he *lo estime conveniente* (deemed it necessary). He could also imprison people *más bien le parezca* (whenever he saw fit). This meant that some islanders could be imprisoned for life in Spain. This prerogative was abolished at this time. Possibly the most relevant nineteenth-century transformation, one that was to last until 1898, was the separation of the civil and military spheres of government by means of the creation of the Real Intendencia (also known as Real Hacienda or Royal Treasury), an autonomous organization/agency separate from the military. As of November 1811, the *intendente* (intendant) was in charge of all civil matters while military issues were under the jurisdiction of the *capitán general de la isla* (captain general of the island). This last person, chosen by the king, also served as governor.

The schooner *Galatea*, in charge of ordinary mail transportation between Spain and Puerto Rico, brought official copies of the constitution to Old San Juan and the island on July 9, 1812. Several formal activities celebrated this important occasion, starting with a formal reading of the document at La Puntilla. The proclamation and oath-taking ceremonies took place on July 25 of that same year.[138] In honor of the document, the name of the principal plaza was changed to Plaza de la Constitución (Constitution Plaza). This urban space, the heart of the city since the move from the *fondeadero*, has been known throughout its history by assorted names: Plaza Principal; Plaza Mayor; Plaza de Armas; and Plaza de las Verduras. The name Plaza de la

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has ever known, proudly described as one where the sun never set.

[136] Quoted in Adolfo de Hostos, *Historia de San Juan ciudad murada*, 93. In Spanish: [C]*onsiderando el rey, nuestro señor, D Fernando Séptimo . . . que esta Isla no es propiamente una Colonia o Factoría, como la de las otras naciones, sino una parte integrante de la Monarquía Española*…

[137] "Doceañistas memorable Algunos protagonistas de aquellos febriles días," *El País*, Madrid, 16 March 2012.

[138] July 25 is a most relevant date for Puerto Rico. For centuries, Spain's most revered patron, Santiago de Compostela's (St James), feast day has been celebrated on this day. Not coincidentally, American troops landed in Guánica on 25 July 1898. The date is celebrated to this day as "Constitution Day," which commemorates the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico's 1952 constitution.

Constitución was used until the 1880s when, under cover of night, someone took down the sign that named it as such. The next name of the principal square was Plaza de Alfonso XII, in honor of the king who reigned from 1874 to 1885. He was the son of the ousted Queen Isabel II and grandson of the infamous Fernando VII.

By August 5, 1813, the first Diputación Provincial de Puerto Rico, as per the Constitution, was organized with seven full and three at-large members. Described during the twentith century as the "Diputación Provincial – a *criollo* parliament where one could speechify and advise – like the Cortes, but without the censuring and legislating,"[139] this Diputación had a short life since the following year Fernando VII discarded the constitution and the country returned to absolutism. As a result, all the local and individual powers granted by the constitution were severely limited. To understand the relevance of *La Pepa* regarding individual rights and Puerto Rico it is important to read how someone who lived during the period described the island's governors: "[In Puerto Rico] the governor is more of a king than the king of Spain."[140]

The creation of the Real Intendencia resulted in great benefit to the city and the island. Its first intendant, Alejandro Ramírez de Villa-Urrutia, played a momentous role in the history of Puerto Rico since some of his accomplishments transformed many relevant aspects of society. He founded the *Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País* (Royal Economic Society of the Friends of the Country) in 1813, an education center which offered courses in geography, commerce and mathematics. During the nineteenth century, the *sociedades* (societies) were the instruments of social transformation, providing the public with the grassroots impetus missing in the state. Ramírez also created the *Diario Económico de Puerto Rico*, a newspaper that had as its main objective to guide small businesses and artisans in managing their commercial ventures in a modern manner. He was the driving force behind the establishment of the first lottery in 1814. The goal of this last scheme was to generate much-needed revenues for the treasury.

Probably the most important event which took place under Ramírez's tenure was the enactment of the *Cédula de Gracia* on August 10, 1815. The decree allowed free trade between Old San Juan and the Iberian peninsula, as well as foreign ports; inter-colonial commerce with other Spanish colonies; and tax-exempted entrance of African slaves. The *Cédula* also permitted buying ships from foreigners without having to pay the *derecho de extranjería* (foreign tax) and fixed the import and export tax at 6% of the value of the product. It also organized the customs administration and eliminated the special tax paid by foreigners. Finally, it granted foreigners the right to naturalize after five years of residence. The authority given to the city to freely participate in the slave trade with foreign countries was meant to stimulate the local economy.

Fernando VII swore to uphold the Constitution, against his will, one more time in 1820. The *restauración* (restoration) of the constitutional monarchy was celebrated in Old San Juan with the same fervor as the original enactment of the document. Demetrio O'Daly's words summarized the general feeling: "Look, Puerto Ricans, your Glory! Don't you ever forget!"[141] He became *diputado* in August of that same year when the Diputación Provincial was reinstalled. During the reign of Fernando VII the *Corporación Municipal of San Juan* (Municipal Corporation of San Juan) received the honorific of *Excelencia* (Excellency). This emphasized the historic district's ranking among peninsular cities.[142] On October 1, 1823, Fernando VII annulled all acts carried out under the Constitution and the country returned to an absolute regime once again. The first governor

[139] José Curet, *Crimen en la calle Tetuán* (Río Piedras, Puerto Rico: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1996), 22. In Spanish: *Diputación Provincial – especie de parlamento criollo donde se podía discursear y asesorar, como en las Cortes de allá, pero sin llegar aquí a censurar y legislar*

[140] José Marcial Quiñones, *Un poco de historia colonial (Incluye de 1850 – 1890)* (San Juan de Puerto Rico: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1978), 111. In Spanish: [E]*l Gobernador ha sido aquí más rey que el mismo rey de España*.

[141] In Spanish: *Mirad, puertorriqueños, vuestra Gloria. ¡No la perdáis jamás de la memoria!*

[142] The *Corporación Municipal* continues to participate in the decision-making processes of the Municipality of San Juan to this day.

of the island after this period was Miguel de la Torre, an authoritarian and strict moralist who created special punishments for those who used "foul language" or sang "dishonest songs," among other ridiculous restrictions by means of the establishment of the *Bando de la Policía y Buen Gobierno* (Edict of the Police and Good Government). He is also remembered for his *baile, botella y baraja* ("dance, drink and gambling"), his version of the Roman *pane et circenses*. He believed this to be the best way to keep citizens content and avoid social revolts. Naturally, his attitude reflected peninsular ideas about colonialism.

The more liberal atmosphere fostered by the *Cédula de Gracia* empowered the establishment in Old San Juan of foreign consuls and consul-like representatives. On November 27, 1815, John Warner, *agente de comercio y marinos mercantes* (commercial and merchant marines agent), was appointed American consul. In 1829, New Yorker Robert Jaques became the first *agente consular y comercial* (consular and commercial agent) of the United States in the historic district, while on September 8, 1829, the first formal American consul was appointed. New Yorker Sidney Mason was chosen for this position.

In 1832, the Real Audiencia y Cancillería (also known as Tribunal de Apelaciones or Audiencia Territorial or Royal Audience and Chancellery) was established on the island. As expected, it was located in the capital city. In spite of the fact that this was no independent judiciary (the president of the tribunal was the *capitán general* or governor until 1891), legal remedies could now be addressed in Puerto Rico rather than Cuba. The audience chamber was located in *una antigua casona* (old large house)[143] in Calle de la Fortaleza, close to the Fortaleza de Santa Catalina. The tribunal was sheltered in this building until 1867, when it was transferred to the Cuartel de Santo Domingo (previously known as the Convento de Santo Domingo) where it was still located in 1898. At the former convent, it shared quarters with the Colegio de Abogados (Lawyers' Association) established in 1840.

The 1835 and 1838 rebellions, led by soldiers assigned to Old San Juan, reflected the instability inherent in the island's political structure. Even if short-lived, these acts revealed the growing local and national discontent with the core of San Juan at the center of the strife. That same year, by means of the *Decreto de 1835* (Edict of 1835), religious orders were suppressed in Spain and its territories. As a result, all convents were closed and the government confiscated all property belonging to the Catholic Church. Old San Juan was doubly impacted since both the Dominican and Franciscan monasteries were closed; church property had also been previously expropriated during the 1821-1824 constitutional period. In fact, in 1835, there were still monks living in some of the convents paying rent for their use of the facilities.

On September 21, 1835, citizens of San Juan were informed that Queen María Cristina[144] had ordered the 1812 Constitution reinstated. The new political state lasted only a short time since on April 18, 1837, the Cortes declared that the Constitution would not apply to the *provincias de ultramar* (provinces beyond the sea). These territories, including Puerto Rico, were to be governed by special laws. This meant there would be no *diputados* from the island and no direct representation at the Cortes. The archaic *Leyes de Indias*, outdated royal orders and governors' edicts, which had no regard for individual rights, were now the law.

Slavery in Puerto Rico

A discussion of the city would be incomplete without acknowledging the existence of slavery as an important component of the island's history. African slaves first arrived in Puerto Rico in 1512, while the first large shipment of slaves to Puerto Rico and neighboring islands occurred in 1517. Slavery was officially decreed on

[143] Adolfo de Hostos, *Historia de San Juan ciudad murada*, 119.

[144] María Cristina, Fernando VII's niece and fourth wife, served as regent for Isabel, the couple's daughter. José María Zavala, *La reina de oros La doble vida de María Cristina de Borbón* (Madrid: Libros Libres, 2011).

the island by the Spanish crown in 1513. For the first three centuries Puerto Rico had a markedly smaller slave population than other Spanish colonies since its overall population remained relatively small because of a stagnant economy. And in 1664 as an affront to its colonial adversaries, the Spanish made Puerto Rico a safe haven for any African slave who managed to escaped from neighboring Dutch, English, and French colonies, resulting in a large free black population. Once the island became a center of sugar production in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, however, the reliance on slave labor became greater. The increased economic growth experienced by the nineteenth century, and in San Juan in particular, is a result of the rise in sugar production and a concurrent rise in slave labor. It is estimated that the slave population of Puerto Rico constituted approximately 10% of the overall island population between the 1760s and the 1870s. Overall, however, there were a higher number of free people of African decent living on the island than enslaved.[145]

San Juan had a sizeable population of free blacks that coexisted alongside white San Juaneros during the nineteenth century. A 1990 essay by Jay Kinsbruner gives ample evidence of free blacks and whites co-existing in buildings that were typically subdivided into multiple residences. For example, house number 27 on block 3 was owned by three siblings who rented the apartment out to a Don Francisco Gonsález de Linares, who in turn rented 7 apartments, two of them to free blacks and their families. Although San Juan was unsegregated, so were other cities throughout the Spanish Americas. Free blacks in San Juan enjoyed many freedoms and legal protections considered liberal by the standards of other societies, however, racism was still present and residents prescribed to a Spanish caste system, one that was guided by degree of blackness, among other socioeconomic factors.[146]

Independence Movement and the Grito de Lares

When, in September 1869, Queen Isabel II was ousted, Puerto Rico regained its representation at the Cortes. On August 28, 1870, as per royal decree, the third Puerto Rican Diputación Provincial was solemnly inaugurated on April 1, 1871. Severo Quiñones, the Diputación president, summarized the moment. According to him, this political agency was to:

> [*E]xercise one of the most important rights given to people with a representative government, to intervene in an immediate and direct manner in all business that have to do with its own interests. Pray tell the government of His Majesty that the island of Puerto Rico only has one goal, to seat in the national banquet next to her sisters the other Spanish Provinces: that we wish to be Spanish citizens and have the same rights that assist the proud Aragonese, the forceful Catalans, like all the other people protected by the glorious flag of Castille…*

The Diputación, that "[I]s born poor and naked, has no home where to find shelter, not even chairs where it can sit peacefully to celebrate its sessions,"[147] was given the old market building which stood where the cemetery used to exist for almost four centuries on the northwestern corner of the Plaza de Armas. In 1873, 30,000 *pesos*[148] were assigned and the *vetusto mercado* (old market) was transformed into the Palacio de la Diputación

[145] Pierce Flores, *History of Puerto Rico*, 35, 37, 62.

[146] Jay Kinsbruner, "Caste and Capitalism in the Carribbean: Residential Patterns and House Ownership among Free People of Color of San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1823-46," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 70, no. 3 (August 1990): 438, 441, 447, 452.

[147] Severo Quiñones. Quoted in Adolfo de Hostos, *Historia de San Juan Ciudad murada*, 143. In Spanish: [E]*jercitar uno de los derechos más importantes que concede a los pueblos el gobierno representativo, el de intervenir de una manera inmediata y directa en las gestiones de sus propios intereses. Decid Señor, al Gobierno de S M que la Isla de Puerto Rico no tiene más que una sola aspiración: la de sentarse en el banquete nacional al lado de sus hermanas las demás Provincias españolas: que queremos ser ciudadanos españoles y usar de los mismos derechos de que gozan los altivos Aragoneses, los fieros Catalanes, como todos los demás pueblos que cobija la gloriosa bandera de Castilla... "nace pobre y desnuda; sin hogar donde albergarse, ni sillas siquiera donde sentarse para celebrar tranquilamente sus sesiones"*

[148] María de los Ángeles Castro, *Arquitectura en San Juan de Puerto Rico (siglo XIX)* (Río Piedras, Puerto Rico: Editorial

(Diputación Palace). Occupied three years later, the Diputación building provided the city with one of its architectural gems: a beautiful building with simple yet elegant lines, double *cortiles*, majestic staircase, and exquisite *rejas* (metal grilles).

In 1869, public elections to once again elect the *diputados* to the Cortes were held. While some called themselves *Liberales* (Liberals) and others *Conservadores* (Conservatives) there were no political parties formally authorized by the Crown. There were, however, two basic sides: those loyal to the Spanish regime or *españolistas* and their opponents, known by all sorts of names, including *mambises*.

> *In such a despotic climate, newspapers became silent. In reality, the press ceased to exist for the Liberales. At that time, the country only had the El Boletín Mercantil which continued insulting us and we were like poor slaves, tied down and waiting to be punished, while the Conservadores continued to behave as they so pleased and we kept up fighting like Don Quixote against windmills.*[149]

Since *españolistas* controlled the government and, most of the time, the limited press, it should be no surprise that they seemed to be the winners in the conflict. The 1874 restoration of the Borbones to the Spanish throne ended the short-lived republican state of affairs.

While Ramón Power y Giralt and others forcefully argued against colonial status, the island still remained a colony. Some islanders demanded more autonomy, while others wished for independence, following the example of the former Spanish colonies in Central and South America. Full autonomy, much less independence, was not forthcoming even when Puerto Rico was granted the right to have a *diputación provincial* or locally-elected body that represented the island's interests before the Cortes; the *capitán general* (captain general) or governor was appointed by the Crown without the advice or consent of anyone on the island or Spain.

As expected, many of the landed gentry favored complete subjugation to the Crown. Protected by their medieval *fueros* (special laws), they saw no reason to venture into unchartered waters. "The society of the early nineteenth century was divided into two different groups: the privileged and unprivileged. The difference between them was established by birth (one was born into either group) and by jurisdiction (the privileged ones were protected by the laws and special *fueros*)."[150] In Puerto Rico, many within the powerful upper castes preferred to preserve the alliance with Spain, no matter how politically unbalanced this alliance was.

Others favored transformation. The Enlightenment, as well as the American and French Revolutions, empowered a new interpretation of the social order. The Industrial Revolution not only fortified the bourgeois class but created new social and cultural expectations. A special and privileged social class, with its own protective laws and immense benefits, was now seen as an obstacle to a democratic and free society. It is ironic that some from the privileged classes were the first to realize that Spain was en

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Universitaria, 1980), 302.

[149] José Marcial Quiñones, *Un poco de historia colonial (Incluye de 1850 – 1890)*, 172. In Spanish: *La prensa periódica, como era consiguiente, con aquel despotismo enmudeció o mejor dicho dejó de existir para los Liberales. El país no conoció, por aquel tiempo, casi ningún otro periódico más que* El Boletín Mercantil*, en cuyas columnas continuóse insultándosenos; y como estábamos como los pobres esclavos atados a la picota para ser castigados, los Conservadores se despachaban a su gusto, peleando solos como Don Quijote con los molinos de viento.* The editor of the *El Boletín Mercantil*, José Pérez Morís, an ardent *españolista* also wrote *Historia de la Insurrección de Lares*, a biased account of the coup. Pérez was assassinated entering his house located in Tetuán Street. The episode inspired the novel *Crimen en la calle Tetuán* by José Curet.

[150] Ivana Frasquet, "Población y sociedad," *España Crisis imperial e independencia*, 230. In Spanish: *La sociedad de principios de siglo xix estaba dividida en dos grupos claramente diferenciados: los privilegiados y los no privilegiados. La diferencia entre ambos era de cuna (es decir, se pertenecía a uno u otro al nacer), y de jurisdicción (los privilegiados estaban protegidos por las leyes y fueros especiales).*

route to a dead end. As a result, and as early as the second decade of the nineteenth century, underground movements of all kinds clamored for a complete break with Spain. Uprisings took place throughout the nineteenth century on the island usually lead by patricians from the highest echelons of society. The most famous uprising is known as the *Grito de Lares*.[151] Those fighting against Spanish rule were cruelly persecuted, killed, jailed abroad for years, and subjected to unjust military tribunals like the famed *Componte*.

As a City Grows an Empire Shrinks

Despite the tumultuous state of affairs during the nineteenth century, Old San Juan grew exponentially, experiencing, among many other things, an influx of foreigners. When, as a result of the Treaty of Basilea (1795), Spain irresponsibly (in the opinion of many) ceded Santo Domingo to France, a wave of émigrés from this island arrived in Puerto Rico.

> "The inevitable and shameful abandonment of the island of Santo Domingo with its unfortunate annexation has cost the Nation many sacrifices, human and financial, and has thrown some disparaging considerations upon the Spanish name, and not because of how the soldiers fought valiantly but because of the bad administration which characterized the place or maybe because the bad passions which characterize the men which fought for power in Spain."[152]

This group was joined by those seeking refuge from the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804). Still more came from Louisiana when the territory was sold to the United States by France in 1803. Waves of French migration continued during the early years of the nineteenth century. When independence was declared in Venezuela in 1813, Spanish loyalists fled and also came to settle on the island.

The flood of people arriving on the island's shores was, in many cases, the result of specific government decisions, from ceding prime territory in the United States to France, to the Spanish king's self-inflicted humiliation by Napoleon. The first mistake made it possible for France to sell Spanish land holdings in the North American continent as part of the Louisiana Territory. As a result, Spain lost its foothold in North America. The second mistake allowed the American colonies to one-by-one demand and declare their independence from Spain. By the time *La Pepa* was enacted, it simply was too late. Unfortunately, many more disastrous decisions were forthcoming.

Not all newcomers came as émigrés. Thanks to Indentendente Ramírez's policies, natives from the Canary Islands were encouraged to come to Puerto Rico after 1816 in order to work on the island's farmlands. Still others came from Louisiana when special tax exemptions were granted to them. Catalans and Basques quickly followed suit, particularly after the War of Independence in the peninsula. This influx of people of varied ethnicities created a new environment, one that valued cultural exchange and diversity. As expected, the foreigners also introduced new architectural and urban ideas. As a result of these new cultural influences, Old San Juan became a more cosmopolitan city.

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[151] As was the case of the Cuban Grito de Yara, the political coup was known as a *grito*, a term that, in this particular context, can be translated into rebel yell.

[152] José Marcial Quiñones, *Un poco de historia colonial (Incluye de 1850 – 1890)*, 95. In Spanish: *El abandono, ya que inevitable, vergonzoso, de la Isla de Santo-Domingo cuya desatentada anexión acababa de costar no pocos sacrificios de hombres y de dinero a la Nación, y había arrojado cierto desprecio sobre el nombre español, debido todo menos al reconocido brío del soldado, que a la mala administración, que allí se llevara, o tal vez más bien a las malas pasiones de los hombres, que en España se disputaban el poder*.

One of the most dramatic transformations of the period was the abolition of slavery during the 1870s. As expected, a lull was felt in all agricultural and manufacturing activities when enslaved labor was eliminated. Old San Juan was doubly affected at this time for many former slaves came to the capital city to start a new life. Enclaves such as Culo Prieto provided a living place for many of these citizens. The sector was located on the northern area of the urban core.

Modernizing the City

During the middle of the nineteenth century, government officials realized that new political powers were developing in the American sphere of influence, in particular, the United States of America. An effort was made to reinforce Spain's economic clout and commercial presence. The lighthouse system was the most visible sign of this goal. The lights would make navigation possible at night and under stormy weather conditions and would ensure the inclusion of the island and surrounding islands and isles in nautical charts. The waterway between the Spanish islands of Puerto Rico and Mona was considered a *ruta natural del comercio* (natural commercial route) for ships traveling between Europe and South America, particularly since speculation regarding a Central American canal was underway.[153] The lighthouse system was not the only project the Spanish embarked upon during the middle of the nineteenth century to adapt the island to modernity. A new system of roads, the rehabilitation of most sea ports, the creation of an internal communications system by means of water canals, and the establishment of a telegraph system[154] were some of the projects the government was also engaged in at the time. All were geared toward empowering commercial activity. The first proposal for the lighthouse plan clearly established that no cost was too high to obtain this goal:

> "The commercial advantages of lighting the islands are unquestionable in spite of the costs the establishment and maintenance of the system present; it is a special service covered by recent legislation and under the public works the state must assume. In Puerto Rico there is no other light than the one at the Castillo del Morro..."[155]

In this manner, as well as others, Puerto Rico continued its colonial service to Spain. Instead of a *Fortaleza de Primer Orden* it became a commercial link in the international chain the country was trying to forge.

Other relevant projects undertaken at this time directly affected Old San Juan. For the first time, imitating Madrid and Barcelona, among other cities, a privately constructed tramway connected the core of San Juan[156] with the then-important town of Río Piedras on the main island where the governor's *quinta* (summer villa), commonly known as the Casa de Convalecencia, was situated.[157] In 1881, the Crown approved the establishment of the tramway developed by Pablo Ubarri. During the 1890s, its station was described in the following manner: "At one end of the Plaza de Colón there is a very modest wooden shed, with a small platform

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[153] Commercial routes around the island were quite dangerous and maritime accidents were frequent. Between 1851 and 1858, for example, fifteen ships suffered accidents close to the Arecibo port alone; many of these vessels came to rest at the bottom of the sea.

[154] Royal approval for the establishment of a telegraph line that connected the urban core to other cities of the island was granted in 1869.

[155] Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid (National Historic Archives of Madrid), Fondo: Ultramar, Serie: Fomento de Puerto Rico, "Se aprueba el plan general de alumbrado marítimo. . . ." In Spanish: *Las ventajas que al comercio reporta el alumbrado de las islas son incuestionables a pesar de los gastos que ocasionan su establecimiento y entretenimiento; es un servicio que por índole especial y con arreglo a las bases de la nueva lejislación* [sic] *de obras públicas de Estado debe quedar a cargo del Gobierno. En las costas de Puerto Rico no hay más faro* [sic] *que el del Castillo del Morro…*

[156] Because of its location on an islet, Old San Juan was always a city unto itself, isolated from the main island. The only connection was a bridge, the Puente de San Antonio. This fragile link disappeared with relative ease. For example, Hurricane Santa Ana (26 July 1825) completely destroy the structure, leaving the two land bodies without physical connection.

[157] The summer villa was also used as a convalescence center for soldiers, hence the Casa de Convalecencia name. The main plaza of the then town of Río Piedras is known to this day as the Plaza de la Convalecencia (Convalescence Plaza.)

were a train with one locomotive and two wagons in the American manner form the *navette*, as the French call it, with a narrow track one meter or 75 centimeters wide."[158] The same year the tramway was inaugurated authorization was granted to Ramón Valdés to establish a similar transportation system connecting Cataño and Bayamón. Since Old San Juan was connected by water with Cataño, transportation was thus facilitated with the northern coast of the island.

The proposed road system for the island needed bridges. A number of these structures were imported from France, as were the lanterns for all the lighthouses on the island. This was not a predilection for French technology but rather the result of Spain's lack of mass-produced technology. Although, during the late nineteenth century areas like Euskal Herria and Catalunya were examples of state-of-the art industrialization, industrialization in Spain lagged behind other nations. As a result, even metal staircases for buildings and lighthouses had to be imported from France and other European countries.

Political transformations during the nineteenth century had a dramatic impact upon the architectural persona of Old San Juan. In fact, the buildings built to house the new government entities – the Real Intendencia and Diputación Provincial – are considered two of the city's architectural gems. Rapid and frequent communication between San Juan and Spain now meant that the influence of Spanish archictural trends was frequently felt. Not only were novel structures and places created to shelter new entertainment activities, such as a theater and two promenades, cafes, and restaurants, but "opening" the city by destroying the perimeter of defenses was seen as a parallel to what Barcelona had done a few years prior.

> Regarding cities, a process of transformation took place during the middle of the nineteenth century in most cities: from medieval to modern ones. Cities had become the center of commercial, administrative and service activities. Prominent examples are the *ensanches* of Madrid and Barcelona. Until then, most of the cities were walled and their streets were narrow, irregular and unpaved dirt ones without pavement, sidewalks and drainage. During the rainy season they were transformed into mud pads no one could cross while during the summer dust covered everything. Streets were used by all including all kinds of unleashed animals and it was also used as the work place of artisans.[159]

As late as the first half of the nineteenth century an official comment regarding plans for the alignment of some streets established that the city had to expand: "In a good and orderly fashion and without negatively impacting the fortifications."[160] The width and configuration of the streets, as well as the urban blocks that measured approximately 100 *varas*,[161] complied with military requirements in the same way as the height of the perimeter walls encircling the urban area. In Old San Juan the destruction of the centuries-old Puerta de Santiago/Puerta de Tierra was interpreted as an *ensanche* (widening) that would allow the core to expand in an appropriate manner. Many locals interpreted these transformations in positive terms:

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[158] Salvador Puig y Valls, *Viaje a América, Estados Unidos, Exposición Universal de Chicago, México, Cuba y Puerto Rico* (Barcelona: Tipolitografía Luis Tasso, 1894), Tome II, pp 249-250. In Spanish: *Al pie de la plaza de Colón . . .* [se encuentra] [u]*n modestísimo cobertizo de madera, con pequeño andamio donde para un tren de una locomotora y dos vagones a la americana que hacen la* navette*, como dicen los franceses, en vía estrecha, no se si de un metro o de 75 centímetros de anchura*.

[159] Ivana Frasquet, "Población y sociedad," *España Crisis imperial e independencia*, p 239. In Spanish: *Por lo que respecta a las ciudades se inició el proceso de transformación de las urbes medievales en ciudades más modernas, que a partir de mediados del siglo xix se convirtieron en el centro de la actividad comercial, administrativa y de servicios. En este sentido destacaron especialmente los ensanches de Madrid y Barcelona. Hasta entonces la mayoría de las ciudades estaban amuralladas, y sus calles, estrechas, irregulares y sin alinear, no estaban enlosadas, sino que eran de tierra y no tenían piedra firma, ni aceras ni desagües. En la época de lluvia se convertían en lodazales intransitables, mientras que en el verano el polvo lo cubría todo. La calle era un lugar de uso común por el que transitaba todo tipo de animales sueltos y utilizado también como lugar de trabajo por los artesanos.*

[160] Actas del Cabildo de San Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico 1815-1817, quoted in María de los Ángeles Castro, *Arquitectura en San Juan de Puerto Rico (siglo XIX)* (San Juan de Puerto Rico: Editorial Universitaria, 1980), p 134. In Spanish: *conforme a buena y arreglada población y sin ofensa de la fortificación*.

[161] A *vara* (pole or rod) was a Spanish unit of length measuring approximately 83.52 centimeters. In 1568, Felipe II – who royally commanded an official *vara* be kept in Burgos – made it a standard measurement.

> "Regardless of why it happened, we started to grow and expand and have more activity. Until that time, we had only participated of the infancy of our people. All of a sudden, as if we could not notice the change, we woke up being men. I have no way of explaining what went through our veins."
>
> "Those that suffer from anemia and the influx of iron beverages have felt their blood rejuvenate and with it they have recuperated their strength and health can best explain what we went through."[162]

This moving comparison contrasts the "anemic" city of yesteryear with the new, exciting and novel place the city's core seems to have become by this time during the nineteenth century.

> All we asked for is denied due to a badly understood policy and assigned funding to the unproductive construction of extra luxurious barracks in the capital city and other towns... To take and never to benefit the local property thinking the exuberant richness of the soil will take care of everything, this is the way most governments have acted in the island; they imitate the wool gatherers, one year the lamb is shaven, they wait one year and shave it again." [163]

In 1893, a Spanish traveler made a point to remind the reader that Puerto Rico was a treasured, if mistreated part of a now gone vast empire:

> "Puerto Rico lacks the grand lines of Cuba and the San Juan bay does not present the charm of a great city, like Havana and her port, her *dársenas*, public buildings, church and bell tower, barracks and fortifications."
>
> "[T]he stepped city with its steep incline shows itself complete to the traveler with its bright colors, its green painted louvers, its small garden next to the sea, its public buildings that are everywhere, *capitanía general*, barracks, churches, with a desire to contemplate the bay."
>
> "From that vast colonial empire in America, we only still have Cuba and Puerto Rico, two most valuable jewels of that crown worn for three centuries by the kings of Spain."
>
> "I am not over optimistic in stating the island of Puerto Rico enjoys an enviable prosperity that it is one of the colonies that have given the colonial power and Spanish commerce more prestige."
>
> "As long as Spain has her colonial empire she will never be as poor as it is said because she possesses the richest, most beautiful and fruitful islands on earth."[164]

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[162] José Marcial Quiñones, *Un poco de historia colonial (Incluye de 1850 – 1890)*, p 111. In Spanish: *Sea lo que fuere, entonces comenzamos a tener una existencia de mayor expansión y actividad. Hasta aquello época, no habíamos participado en efecto más que de la vida de la infancia de los pueblos. De repente, como si no pudiéramos darnos cuenta de lo que nos sucediera, habíamos despertado hombres. No sabría explicar lo que había pasado por nuestras venas.*

Los que se han visto siempre anémicos, y al influjo de bebidas ferruginosas, han sentido regenerársele la sangre y con ella han recuperado fuerza y salud, podrán sólo dar razón de lo que experimentamos.

[163] Ibid., 107. In Spanish: [T]*oda solicitud en nuestro favor demostrada se ha reducido, por una mal entendida política, a la construcción improductiva de cuarteles lujosísimos en la Capital y otros pueblos. . . . Extraer y nunca beneficiar la propiedad, fiándolo todo a la riqueza exuberante el suelo, tal ha sido siempre el procedimiento de todos los Gobiernos con nosotros; imita el proceder seguido con la oveja, que trasquilada un año, se espera que le vuela a crecer la lana al siguiente, para trasquilarla de nuevo*.

[164] Salvador Puig y Valls, *Viaje a América, Estados Unidos, Exposición Universal de Chicago, México, Cuba y Puerto Rico*, 175; 213; 246. In Spanish: *De aquel vasto imperio colonial en América, no nos queda ya más que Cuba y Puerto-Rico, dos joyas valiosísimas de aquella corona ceñida durante tres siglos por los Reyes de España . . .* Since he believed that . . . *no creo opinión optimista asegurar que la isla de Puerto Rico goza de envidiable prosperidad y que es una de las colonias que han dado y dan prestigios más justificados al colono y al comercio español*, he declared: *España, mientras cuente con su imperio colonial, nunca será tan pobre como se dice, pues posee las islas más ricas, más hermosas y más fecundas de la tierra*.

The Spanish American War and the End of Spanish Rule

In 1898, the United States declared war on Spain after the USS *Maine* exploded in Havana's bay; the USS *Maine* was, of course, possibly blown up by Americans themselves. Spain was, thus, forced to enter the conflict, known as the Guerra Hispanoamericana (Spanish-American War) against its will. Understanding that Old San Juan was impregnable, the American forces planned a landing in the town of Guánica, on the southern coast of the island. The city was bombed in a relatively desultory manner, although some damage was done. The assault, led by General Nelson A. Miles, took place on July 25, 1898. In a few weeks time, in spite of a spirited but limited defense, Spain asked for an end to the conflict and transferred ownership of the island to the United States. The armistice was signed on August 13, 1898, and the Treaty of Paris (December 10, 1898) ratified that Puerto Rico was to serve as compensation for American war costs. On November 18, 1898, the tricolored flag was lowered one last time and substituted by the American flag. La Puntilla de San Lázaro in Old San Juan was the last place the Spanish ensign flew before Spanish forces formally retired. The capital city, a symbol of Spanish colonialism for four centuries, now became a symbol of America's new empire.

In 1898, Puerto Rico's capital city became the United States' oldest city when Puerto Rico became the nation's first colony in the Atlantic. The urban core of San Juan, Ponce de Leon's port of departure when looking for the fabled Bimini (present-day Florida) during the 16th century, was incorporated into the United States. But the acquisition of Puerto Rico also became a powerful symbol of America's imperial ambitions. Old San Juan was to play a central role in a new national strategy developed during the 1890s –articulated by Alfred Thayer Mahan and his highly influential *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History* – to obtain supremacy of the seas that would catapult the nation to the status of an international power. Overseas possessions like Puerto Rico, along with a strong navy and commercial fleet, were central to this scheme. The proposed Central American canal, part of this strategy, added urgency to the acquisition of this strategic port in the Caribbean. In addition to its magnificent port, Old San Juan provided a ready-made war machine shaped by centuries of military experiments. These are the reasons why the first and only Puerto Rican city to be bombarded during the Spanish-American War was Old San Juan in May of 1898. Understanding Old San Juan is crucial to understanding American imperialism, and the unprecedented naval, industrial and commercial expansion after the Civil War; the forceful deployment of the Monroe Doctrine; sugar kings; and robber barons.

ARCHITECTURAL AND URBAN SIGNIFICANCE OF OLD SAN JUAN

Old San Juan embodies the distinguishing characteristics of a Spanish colonial city as evidenced by three centuries of varied architectural and urban development. The building typologies, aesthetic trends, stylistic expressions, materials, and methods of construction are representative of Spanish colonial rule and created what is now a unique, distinctive, and exceptional urban center. The history of Old San Juan's urban landscape can be divided into three major periods of development within its almost four centuries of rule by the Spanish (1519-1898): the Conquest Period (1521-1625); the Baroque Period (1625-1812); and the Modern Period (1812-1898). The preserved examples of public, religious, domestic, and military architecture from these three periods reflect European aesthetic ideals as adapted to colonial conditions and contexts and are also demonstrations of local experimentation and innovation in design and construction. They are tangible evidence of the nature and evolution of Spanish colonial life in America.

During the Conquest Period (1521-1625), colonists utilized European architecture and urbanism to give order to a locale they viewed as "virginal" and to create familiar touchstones of Spanish civilization.[165] Despite the

[165] As mentioned, it is possible some settlers moved to the islet immediately after 1519, if not before, when royal authorization was granted to establish the settlement there. The date 1521 is the accepted one for the earliest construction close to the *fondeadero*.

hardships and difficulties experienced by the Conquest Period settlers, they were able to create a modest facsimile of a Spanish city or town. The nascent urban center was composed of a diverse group of buildings that varied in type and stylistic expression, the high-style buildings in particular adhering to peninsular architectural modes, materials, and construction techniques. The street grid of Old San Juan was established during this period, and many of the earliest examples of an array of building types and the only extant buildings in the United States having Gothic and Renaissance features were designed and constructed during San Juan's first century.

Old San Juan's Baroque Period (1625-1812) began with the end of Hapsburg rule in Spain and the emergence of the Borbon dynasty (Bourbon), a change that profoundly impacted Puerto Rico as well as the other Spanish colonies. During this period, Emperor Carlos III declared Old San Juan a *defensa de primer orden* (first line of defense), a designation that dramatically transformed the urban core by encircling it with an impressive system of walls augmented by two massive *castillos* or *fortalezas* (castles or fortresses). While other cities in the United States—such as St. Augustine, Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans—were planned with orthogonal street grids, plazas, and defensive structures, only Old San Juan was fully enclosed within a massive wall many miles long. This period of urban expansion saw a related construction boom that resulted in an urban center characterized by elegant buildings featuring elements of ornate decoration quite distinct from the abstemiousness of the Conquest Period and reflecting a society in which lineage and respectability were of paramount importance. The Baroque Period concluded in 1812 with the end of the *ancien régime* and the enactment of Spain's first constitution, which heralded a period of great change for San Juan.

The Modern Period (1812-1898), which spanned most of the nineteenth century, was a time of dramatic change for Old San Juan. The population of the city increased significantly, resulting in a greater population density. Affluent families began moving out to new suburbs and their urban houses were subdivided for use by multiple families. The geographic expansion of San Juan beyond the perimeter walls and a desire for enhanced public spaces and boulevards led to the removal of portions of the wall on the east and south sides of the old city. Progressive reformers became concerned with the health of residents and recreation of all classes. This led to the relocation of the cemetery outside the city walls, the creation of promenades, and the planting of trees and shrubs in the historic plazas. New construction continued apace for existing institutions and businesses, and new ones appeared such as theaters and cafes. The design of the buildings reflected the popularity of stylistic revivals and the eclectic architectural styles widespread in the Western world during the nineteenth century. When Spanish rule ended in 1898, San Juan was a thoroughly modern city, but one that also clearly conveyed its centuries-long status as the principal city of the Spanish colony of Puerto Rico.

THE CONQUEST PERIOD (1521-1625)

Urban Development

Old San Juan is the oldest urban center with European origins in the United States and the second-longest continually inhabited city in the Americas. Spanish colonial urban centers in America appeared and developed during four phases of territorial organization (three during the Conquest Period, and a fourth in the eighteenth century).[166] Interpretation of development during each of these phases sheds light on changing social, urban, political, cultural, and architectural goals; all phases are represented in San Juan.

The first phase of territorial organization, known as the "Columbian," was guided by the *Capitulaciones de Santa Fe* (1492). Settlements established under its aegis—for example, Caparra —were considered *factorías*

[166] Francisco Muñoz Espejo, "Estudio sobre el urbanismo colonial y las fortificaciones hispanoamericanas con relación de los principales itinerarios culturales de comunicación (caminerías reales y rutas comerciales interoceánicas)" *Comité Español del Consejo Internacional de Monumentos y Sitios*, 4.

(factories): centers for the extraction of minerals. When the Puerto Rico's formal settlement was moved to the islet, its character was significantly transformed. Aspirations and plans for the place changed from that of a sixteenth-century "workers town" to a full-fledged, albeit initially small, urban center that embraced a variety of activities, not just mining and limited agriculture, even if these functions were not completely abandoned

Once the first settlement on the islet in the vicinity of what became San Juan's *fondeadero* (port) was formally organized it became an example of the second phase of Spanish territorial organization, known as the "Ovandina," the name of which dates to 1502.[167] This urban scheme is based on the idea of colonizing territory by means of:

> "[T]he partitioning of land, stimulus of interracial unions, election of mayors and betterment of life on the basis of personal merit. From this moment forward, all explored land with adequate resources could be settled, either by means of a *capitulación* (commission). Once the territory was conquered, a city could be founded."[168]

The urban organization of the Ovandina phase was grid-based, an approach that extended back to classical Greek city plans and the Roman *castrum* (a military fortification/ installation). The Ovandina paradigm is characterized by straight roads meeting at right angles and delineating rectangular or square blocks anchored by a central public plaza known as the *plaza mayor* (principal plaza). The *iglesia mayor* (principal church) and the *ayuntamiento* (mayor's house) or *casa del cabildo* (town council) buildings are part of the border of this public space.[169] The settlement by the *fondeadero* generally followed this scheme, although the limited pace of development in the early settlement followed a more linear organization along its first streets than a more sophisticated grid that would be established later.

The first *plaza pública* in Old San Juan, eventually known as the Plaza de la Catedral, initially served as the intersection of the secular and religious power while framing the entrance into the settlement from the port. The *iglesia mayor* (cathedral), positioned on the east end of the irregularly shaped plaza, symbolized the spiritual power held by the Roman Catholic Church while the secular power of the crown was represented by the *casa del cabildo* located on the south side of the plaza and, to a certain extent, by Ponce de León's family *torre* hovering over the town from a northwestern hill. The Ponce de León estate was symbolic of the hereditary role the family played in Puerto Rico, and its prominence was similar to that of European feudal estates. These features are preserved and are characteristic of the symbolism inherent to Spanish colonial urbanism during the conquest and early settlement period before the passage of the *Leyes de Indias* (Laws of the Indies) later in the sixteenth century.

The Plaza de la Catedral is defined on its east side by the Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud (originally Calle Real de San Juan), a thoroughfare that ran from north to south establishing the eastern boundary of the initial settlement and connecting it to the powerful Dominican Order convent on the northern edge of town. Three streets known as *caletas* (Caleta de las Monjas, Caleta de San Juan and Caleta de San Francisco) linked the

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[167] The name "Ovandina" derives from Friar Nicolás de Ovando who was first governor of Santo Domingo and in charge of all colonizing missions in America. The first implementation of this phase is dated to 1502.

[168] Francisco Muñoz Espejo, "Estudio sobre el urbanismo colonial y las fortificaciones hispanoamericanas con relación de los principales itinerarios culturales de comunicación (caminerías reales y rutas comerciales interoceánicas)," 5. In Spanish: [L]*a repartición de tierras, estímulo del mestizaje, elección de alcaldes y mejoramiento de vida por mérito. En adelante, toda tierra que fuera explorada y que tuviera los recursos adecuados para establecerse en ella, podría ser poblada, por capitulación o por comisión. Una vez conquistado el territorio, podía fundarse una ciudad.*

[169] Originally, only the *ayuntamiento* was required to be close to the plaza but, with time, it became traditional for the church to be also located in its periphery.

north-south road to the port at a later time and, following the linear trajectory of early expansion in San Juan, were the most developed.

The Plaza de la Catedral served in the same capacity that similar spaces had for millennia: as a place of recreation; as the location of open air markets; and as entrance court for the principal church. It was a stage for the mundane activities of daily life and, facing the port to the west, the area of arrivals and departures into the island. The Spanish colonial settlement of San Agustín (St. Augustine, Florida), founded almost half a century after San Juan, also had a plaza fronting on the water and port with all important buildings around its perimeter. The Florida settlement adhered to this arrangement for centuries. In contrast, San Juan abandoned the scheme not long after its establishment when it was decided there was no need to have such a direct connection between the principal plaza and the port.[170]

After the wall was constructed around the city in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the cathedral and its plaza faced the principal sea portal or gate (Puerta de San Juan).[171] The presence of the cathedral opposite the port, entrance portal, and principal plaza created a powerful axis visually uniting the dock and the church, the most dominant building on the plaza. The literal, physical connection between the cathedral and the port mirrored a metaphorical one that connected the spiritual center with the temporal center of the city's economy. The image from the water of the cathedral on a hill across an open plaza must have been particularly moving for those who arrived after a long voyage across what was known by many as the *Mar Tenebroso* (Gloomy or Sinister Sea).[172] The Caleta de las Monjas and Caleta de San Juan still connect the historic port area and the Puerta de San Juan to the plaza and cathedral.

The first *casa del cabildo* stood on the south side of the Plaza de la Catedral. The building served as the seat of the town or municipal council, the body that represented the crown authority and, to a lesser extent, the community of settlers.[173] Although it was altered during the eighteenth century, the first floor, basement, and sections of the façade facing the Plaza de la Catedral are original to the third decade of the sixteenth century. It is one of the earliest of all the Spanish *casas del cabildo* in the Americas as well as the oldest one in Puerto Rico and the United States. The sixteenth-century jail in the basement attests to the multifunctional use of the building when it was constructed.

Theoretically and physically conceived as an urban center, as the initial *plaza pública*, the Plaza de la Catedral included architectural references to both the church and crown. Another important feature of the plaza was its intimate relationship to the port, which many found inappropriate given the spiritual and secular elegance also imbued to the space. Eventually the crown investigated complaints about this urban arrangement and sought a

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[170] The new public plaza, the Plaza de Armas, was connected to the *fondeadero* by means of the Caleta de San Francisco (present day Calle de San Francisco). They were separated by approximately three blocks while the Plaza de la Catedral , in its original configuration, probably opened directly to the port.

[171] It was fortunate that the main façade of the cathedral could face the port and still comply with the centuries-old tradition that the main altar face east. The Catedral de San Juan Bautista, Iglesia de San José, and Iglesia de San Francisco, all erected prior to the nineteenth century, comply with this centuries-old mandate.

[172] In 1831, Alejandro Tapia y Rivera's fathe's trip from Puerto Rico to Spain took a few days less than two months. According to Torres Vargas, in 1640, it took three days to reach Santo Domingo, eight to Havana, six to Cartagena de Indias, and twenty to Nueva España (México). Adolfo de Hostos, *San Juan Ciudad Murada*, 8.

[173] The building has a conmemorative plaque that reads: *Casa Cabildo construida en 1523 es una de las primeras estructuras fue centro de gobierno durante el siglo XVI. Sirvió además como primera alcaldía y en sus sótanos estuvo la primera cárcel. Desde 1960 fue residencia del Lcdo José Alegría Gallardo 1910-1998*. Translation into English: "House of the Municipal Council constructed in 1523 is one of the first structures was center of government during the sixteenth century. It also served as first mayoralty and in its basement the first jail [of the city] was located. Since 1960, it served as residence of Attorney José Alegría Gallardo 1910-1998." It is not known if the house also served as private residence during the early Conquest Period. In any case, it sheltered at least one family by the eighteenth century.

solution. Sometime earlier, perhaps as early as 1527, many prominent residents relocated their houses from the vicinity of the Plaza de la Catedral to the east, around the Plaza de Armas.[174] This shift in residence eventually resulted in the wholesale replacement of the Plaza de la Catedral with the Plaza de Armas as San Juan's principal *plaza pública*. This change eliminated the cathedral from a location in the town center, which departed from the existing Ovadina paradigm and what would be stipulated later in the century with the Laws of the Indies. The new public plaza not only faced the back of the cathedral, but also had a cemetery located at its northwest corner until the nineteenth century.[175] These deviations from typical Spanish colonial development—the lack of a single *plaza mayor*—are distinctive to San Juan and its urban experimentation during the Conquest Period.

The Plaza de Armas was established on flat terrain rather than a slope, as was the case with the Plaza de la Catedral. This topographic distinction resulted in a rectangular plaza (as opposed to a trapezoidal one) that also encouraged expansion along an orthogonal grid rather than the linear nature of the earliest development along the east-west caletas. No competition existed for most of the Conquest Period between the Plaza de la Catedral and the Plaza de Armas because the Casa Alcaldía de San Juan (*casa del cabildo*) was not completed on the Plaza de Armas until early in the seventeenth century. The Plaza de Armas attained greater symbolic and practical importance to San Juan in subsequent centuries. The topographic challenges of the Plaza de Catedral and the unfinished state of the cathedral in time also diminished its significance relative to the Plaza de Armas. The unequal standing was reinforced in subsequent centuries as many other important civic buildings and institutions were positioned on the Plaza de Armas, including a military barracks, prisons, a public market, the provincial government, and the treasury.

Old San Juan was founded a half century before the enactment of the *Leyes de Indias* (Laws of the Indies), which marked the third phase of Spanish American settlement and clearly codified the manner in which new urban centers would, ideally, be established and grow. Because San Juan expanded for fifty years before passage of the Laws of the Indies, its initial development reflects experimentation in urban form and development. Inspiration for this experimentation came from many sources ranging from tangible peninsular urban traditions and regulations to theoretical concepts of how power could be represented in a three-dimensional manner. From this nascent and, in some ways, ideal community foundations, the Spanish would "tame" the San Juan Islet and Puerto Rico.

The third phase in Spanish settlement patterns during the Conquest Period is known as the *Plan de Ordenamiento Urbano para las Indias* (Urban Plan for the Indies), more commonly known as the *Leyes de Indias* (Laws of the Indies) issued in 1573.[176] The Laws of the Indies incorporated Ovandina concepts as well as existing peninsular construction regulations as well as more theoretical ideas about the Italian Renaissance drawing Italian Renaissance treatises. Among the many advantages of the orderly model proposed, known also as the Philippian model, was that large areas of undeveloped territory could be systematically established and expanded with a regular street grid.[177] The Laws of the Indies ordered the creation and growth of Spanish urban

[174] Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Indiferente general, "Real cédula al obispo, oficiales y regidores de la ciudad de Puerto Rico para que estudien e informen si conviene o no reubicar la plaza" (CP, III, pp 190; 339-340. Published in: Ricardo E Alegría, *Documentos Históricos de Puerto Rico Volumen II 1517-1527*, 681. The document is dated 15 November 1527.

[175] Mention of this burial ground during the nineteenth century is made by Alejandro Tapia y Rivera who explained that the site was known as *güirigüiví* (no translation available). *A mi venida al mundo* [1826] *ya no enterraban allí. Le conocí de corral cercado de mampostería con algún arbolado.* Alejandro Tapia y Rivera, *Mis memorias o Puerto Rico como lo encontré y como lo dejo*, p 94. Translation into English: "By the time I was born [1826] no one was buried there. I knew the place as an empty space enclosed by masonry walls planted with some trees."

[176] The "Urban Plan for the Indies," decreed by Emperor Felipe II and approved by the Consejo de Indias (Council of the Indies), was a legal body that included 148 ordinances. Their ultimate goal was to systematize the organization of urban enclaves in America, whether *presidios* (military towns), *misiones* (missions), or *pueblos* (towns).

[177] Simon Hornblower and Anthony Spawforth, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 711.

centers in America for many centuries, and although converting native American groups was considered "the principal objective for which we mandate that these discoveries and settlements be made," the urban characteristics generated by these guidelines were specifically designed to frame Spanish life in *ultramar* (beyond the sea). [178\]

> "The Philip II model;"
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> "The Philippian model has as its principal goal the selection of the best site available to create settlements by establishing that the lands occupied by the natives were not to be settled since cultural prejudices could arise because of their proximity;"
>
> "This model considers that the first task in the building of a city is to create the principal plaza following a straight axis and straight lines, with a definition of streets, lots and blocks, and with specificity regarding roads, streets and principal streets. At the same time, it ordered that four streets are to be located around the plaza and that these be dedicated to commercial activity;"
>
> "The cities located in the coast must have a port-plaza or port with a proportion of 1:1.5. In hot climates streets should be narrow so that shadows help cool the environment and in cold places wide so that the scarce sun rays can enter and provide heat."[179]

Until the eighteenth century, when the fourth phase of Spanish territorial organization was enacted—Carlos III's *Plan de Reformas Urbanas* (Carlos III Plan of Urban Reforms)—the Laws of the Indies provided the theoretical underpinnings for the development of most Hispano-American settlements. In San Juan, the orthogonal grid, the narrow streets that guaranteed shadow and facilitated military activities reflect this model.

While the expansion of San Juan along an orthogonal grid began possibly as early as the late 1520s with the establishment of the Plaza de Armas and predates the Laws of the Indies, the laws reinforced its use for centuries and is the earliest example of this type of planning in the United States. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the early settlers and residents of Old San Juan utilized the "ruler and cord" approach preferred by Spanish urban theorists to map the city's expansion where streets met at right angles and defined blocks and designated squares. This approach was repeated in most Spanish colonial cities, including Havana (Cuba), Panamá la Vieja (Panama), Cartagena de Indias (Colombia), and St. Agustín (Florida) The grid was also used in later non-Spanish colonial settlements in North America, for example the English plans for Charleston, South Carolina (1680), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (1682), and Savannah, Georgia (1733), and the French plan for New Orleans, Louisiana (1721).

The gridded Spanish enclaves in America had little in common with peninsular cities that were cramped and irregular, reflecting centuries of organic development. The regular street grid for colonial settlements, and its

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[178] Article 36, *Laws of Indies*, as quoted in: Spiro Kostof, *A History of Architecture Settings and Rituals* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 444.

[179] Francisco Muñoz Espejo, "Estudio sobre el urbanismo colonial y las fortificaciones hispanoamericanas con relación de los principales itinerarios culturales de comunicación (caminerías reales y rutas comerciales interoceánicas)," 5. In Spanish: *El modelo de Felipe II: El modelo Filipino plantea como principio esencial una óptima selección del lugar para ubicar las poblaciones al disponer que no se debían ocupar tierras con asentamientos de indios para construir ciudades, ya que ello podría traer perjuicios culturales de convivencia…Este modelo considera como tarea primordial para construir una ciudad el trazado de la Plaza Mayor a eje y cordel, con definición de las calles, solares y cuadras, y con especificación distintiva entre caminos, calles y carreras principales. Así mismo dispone que de la plaza salgan cuatro calles principales destinadas al comercio…Las ciudades costeras deben contar con plazas portuarias o embarcaderos, en una proporción de un largo de ancho y uno y medio de lado. En los lugares cálidos se dispone la construcción de calles angostas para que las edificaciones permitan un rápido sombreado, y en los sitios fríos calles anchas que faciliten la entrada e irradiación de los escasos rayos solares.*

underlying organizational meanings, was intended for *la otra España* (the other Spain), the far-flung and untamed regions of its empire thought to be in need of a definitive order and clear class and ethnic distinctions.[180] The grids literally delineated an ordered stage so that social, political, and cultural life could rationally unfold. As in other Spanish colonial cities, Old San Juan's urban grid was also utilized in the *de facto* segregation of social, economic, and ethnic and racial classes. With Greek and Roman roots, the grid plan is sometimes interpreted as democratic; however, in Old San Juan, the grid was democratic only as an illusion of an idealized city. The rigid pattern was a symbol of the government and military's power, not an equalizing force. Contemporary philosophers describe how power rejects the "single uniform mass" in favor of "units" (in this case, city blocks) to facilitate the management of a city.[181] This theoretical framework outlined living patterns in San Juan for centuries. Old San Juan mirrors this interpretation of cities and urban development with the Plaza de Armas. During the early stages of its development, the lots along the perimeter of the Plaza de Armas and in adjacent blocks were the favored locations for the houses of the *españoles* or *peninsulares* (people from Spain) and, later, the rich *criollos* (creoles) who populated the principal social classes.[182] These residents lived among many of the city's most prominent civic buildings and institutions, which further reinforced their importance in the social and economic power structure.

Until the early decades of the nineteenth century, those in the lowest classes lived outside the formally gridded area in sectors described during the eighteenth century as *arrabales* (slums).[183] An 1880 copy of a 1771 plan of the city reveals that the blocks were larger, less uniformly developed, and had less internal organization as one moved further from the Plaza de Armas.[184] Historic plans confirm the formal grid contrasted with the more spontaneous and piecemeal development in the northeastern part of the city intended for the lower classes and implicit in the "ruler and cord" approach to urban organization. As a result, the eastern ends of the Calle del Sol and Calle de la Luna, defied the traditional façade-street relationship present throughout the rest of Old San Juan with entry into a house's living spaces directly from the street.

Even after the enactment of the Laws of the Indies, Spanish American settlements were similar in core characteristics, but also varied considerably from place to place. The dominant shared characteristics include: a grid of streets meeting at right angles; a main plaza featuring a cathedral or major church, the principal government buildings and dwellings, public market, and commercial establishments; and streets extending from the plaza containing houses and stores. Old San Juan departed from this standard model in several important ways. Two plazas, rather than a single *plaza mayor*, anchored the settlement during the Conquest Period. The Plaza de la Catedral was the seat of religion and connected directly to the port, while the Plaza de Armas was initially a residential area and later home to many government functions. Furthermore, the Plaza de Armas did not include a church and, as a result, entirely lacked religious associations. This pattern provided the government buildings relative architectural and urban prominence that was lacking in other Spanish colonial examples. The public cemetery was located across from the northwestern corner of the Plaza de Armas at the center of Old San Juan. Burial grounds were never located in such prominent locales even when positioned inside a defensive circuit of walls. Finally, while Old San Juan was laid out in a grid, it was not a regular one as

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[180] The term *la otra España* in reference to territories conquered by Spain has been amply used in Spanish literature and songs.

[181] French philosopher Michel Foucault explains that power: "[D]oes not link forces together in order to reduce them; it seeks to bind them together in such a way as to multiply and use them. Instead of bending all its subjects into a single uniform mass, it separates, it analyses, differentiates, carries its procedures of decomposition to the point of necessary and sufficient single units." Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 170.

[182] The word *criollo* is used to describe those born in America from peninsular parents. In Spanish, the term is used for **all** born in Spanish America, regardless of ethnicity or skin color, *Diccionario de la Real Academia de la Lengua Española*, word: *criollo*.

[183] Iñigo Abbad y Lasierra, *Historia geográfica, civil y política de la Isla de S Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico*, 211-212.

[184] The nineteenth century copy of the eighteenth century plan was prepared by Francisco J de Zaragosa(?) and dated 9 December 1880. It was copied by the American administration and dated 16 October 1908, "Plano de la Plaza de San Juan de Puerto Rico y sus ymmediaciones [*sic*], RG 71 75, NARA; Arleen Pabón Charneco, "*Por la encendida calle antillana*: Africanisms and Puerto Rico Architecture," *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 1 (Fall 2003): 14-32.

envisioned in idealized Renaissance plans. Its irregular formation resulted from such things as the island's topography and the need to accommodate earlier streets and development as the city expanded.

Old San Juan was not conceived *a priori*. The colonial settled was not fully platted, let alone realized, during the Conquest Period, nor was it realized even immediately after passage of the Laws of the Indies. The gridded historic core only attained its full extent over time as the population increased and the city needed to expand. For centuries, the north and south termini of important thoroughfares such as the Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud, Calle de San José, and Calle de la Tanca were not well defined. The same was true of the eastern boundaries of Old San Juan. A number of early *ermitas* (shrines or chapels)—such as the Ermita de San Sebastián, Ermita de Santa Bárbara and Ermita de Santa Ana—were erected in places considered the outskirts of town during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The fact that these *ermitas* were later engulfed by the city indicates that Old San Juan expanded over time to meet the needs of the population rather than in more rational and sweeping manner. The city's regular street grid and mostly rectangular blocks fully filled in with buildings from later centuries obscure the choppy nature of expansion during the Conquest Period.

Architectural Development

The urban development of Old San Juan during the Conquest Period included an array of buildings, the survivors of which are the earliest examples of churches, convents, defensive structures, and residences in the United States. While Puerto Rico's growth was steady during the Conquest Period, it was sluggish and, at times, stagnant, when compared to other Spanish centers in the Americas. After an auspicious start, gold mining ended after the middle of the sixteenth century and slowed development in the area.

Historic sources estimate that within two years of settlement in 1519, Old San Juan contained approximately eighty houses, most of which were constructed of wood and roofed with straw and *yagüa* (palm leaves), frank imitations of native domestic structures that were known as *bohíos*. It is believed that most of these houses were located around the *fondeadero*, on the Plaza de la Catedral and along the Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud. By the end of the 1520s, the number of houses increased only to 120, though the principal church (Catedral de San Juan Bautista), a second church (Iglesia de San José), and a convent (Convento de los Dominicos) were under construction. By 1604, old San Juan counted 300 houses and 120 *bohíos*. The rest of the buildings were made of rammed earth walls and masonry. As the settlement's first century, and the Conquest Period, came to a close, these buildings housed a population of approximately 170 families and 14 priests.

A visitor to Old San Juan at the time of the 1598 English attack described the city:

> The Towne consisteth of many large streets, the houses are built after the Spanish manner, of two stories height onely [*sic*], but very strongly, and the rooms are goodly and large, with great doors instead of windows for receipt of aire, which for the most part of the day wanteth never.
>
> The Towne in circuit is not so bigge as Oxford, but very much bigger then all Portesmouth [*sic*] within the fortifications, and in sight much fayrer. In all this space there is very little lost ground; for they have been still building, insomuch as that within these three yeeres, it is augmented one fourth part….The situation of this place is exceedingly delightfull: it standeth upon an easie hanging of a hill inclosed [*sic*] on three parts well neere by the Sea.[185]

The fortifications mentioned by this Englishman were relatively humble in character and construction. Two examples are the so-called Alto de Santa Bárbara (St. Barbara High Point) and the Fuerte del Espigón with its

[185] Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others* (Glasgow: MacLehose & Sons, 1907), 71-72.

Garita del Diablo (Devil's Sentry-box or Lodge). Ruins of the first are visible along the Calle de Norzagaray and the second is preserved in its entirety, serving as one of the cherished symbols of the city and the island, as well as the originator of legends. These defensive structures were conceived as relatively simple batteries from which to shoot at the enemy. A larger building intended for defense of Old San Juan was erected on the southwestern boundary of the *fondeadero* between 1533 and 1540. It was dedicated to St. Catherine, hence the name *Fortaleza de Santa Catalina* (St. Catherine's Fortress, also known more simply as La Fortaleza or La Fuerza). Very quickly it became clear that La Fortaleza did not contribute significantly to the city's defenses as it could be used to launch attacks against the enemy only after the enemy had entered the bay that La Fortaleza was supposed to protect. The architectural precedents for this building and the Ponce de León family house, similar in construction, were European. They are American examples of a peninsular building type known as the *casa-fuerte* (fort-house) or *casa-torre* (tower-house) or, more simply, *torre* (tower), a medieval building intended to both shelter and, when needed, defend a family.

In view of the La Fortaleza's limitations, by 1540 the main defensive center of the city had been relocated to the top of the *morro* (rocky outcrop) framing the eastern side of the entrance to the bay. In addition to a strategic location, because the *morro* stands more than eighty feet above the water the site also possessed natural advantages that were soon augmented by defensive structures. A hornwork composed of two half bastions and a wall was erected on top of the rock formation during the 1590s.[186] In time, the structure was expanded and became an imposing and virtually impenetrable fortress known as the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro or Fortaleza de San Felipe del Morro, which was realized through the brilliant work of Italian and Spanish military designers and the hard labor of prisoners and slaves.[187]

Constant attacks by other European nations forced the rethinking of the city's system of defenses. Field Marshall Juan de Tejeda and Juan Bautista Antonelli were contracted during the 1580s to create a master plan for the whole islet. By this time, medieval ideas about defense had been abandoned in response to new weaponry, in particular powerful cannon balls that could penetrate many of the types of medieval walls and other defensive structures. Antonelli and de Tejeda created a plan that included lower, thicker, and more resistant walls; fortified towers; sentry boxes or lodges; batteries along the water; and trenches. Bastions were also an important feature of the system. The new design rested on three principal components: a strong fort located at the bay entrance on top of the eastern *morro*; a perimeter of masonry defensive walls; and a more permanent defensive structure to protect the Boquerón area, the eastern portion of the islet.

The public and domestic architecture of the Conquest Period was a stylistic blend of medieval and Renaissance forms, motifs, and ideas. This blending occurred because Spain was in the middle of a period of an architectural transition (medieval to Renaissance) at the time Old San Juan was being settled.[188] The principal extant buildings of this period—the Iglesia de San José (started during the sixteenth century and finished in the seventeenth century), the Convento de los Dominicos (sixteenth century), the Catedral de San Juan Bautista (started during the sixteenth century and finished in the nineteenth century), the Ponce de León family *casa-torre* or Casa Blanca (started in the 1520s) and Fortaleza de Santa Catalina (sixteenth century) , now embedded in the Palacio de Santa Catalina—drew on aspects of both traditions. They represent significant types such as the convent and *casa-torre*; modes of architectural expression such as Gothic and Renaissance; and methods of construction, such as masonry and rammed earth walls and masonry. In addition to Casa Blanca, other

[186] The early hornwork structure was engulfed by later, now historic, additions, but can still be seen within the interior of the fortress.

[187] The name of the castle honors Felipe II and the words "*del Morro*" its location. The fortification was to directly defend the Cerro de Santo Domingo and the Caleta de los Frailes and also serve as town's citadel. There were no defensive walls on the ocean and bay sides of the islet until 1639.

[188] Noted Spanish architectural historian Javier Hernando has described the aesthetic displacement between Spain and Italy as a syndrome, an *habitual retraso* (habitual delay). Javier Hernando, *Arquitectura en España 1770-1900*, 233.

surviving Conquest Period houses known as Casa de los Contrafuertes and Casa de los Ratones are the oldest European dwellings in the United States. The Casa del Cabildo is significant as an example of how a domestic form came to be adapted for civic functions.

The appeal of the medieval *casa-fuerte* (also *casa-torre* or *torre*) form for the Casa Blanca was understandable as it was intended to serve as the Ponce de León family residence and also as shelter at times of periodic attack. It is the earliest defensive residence in the United States and the building –in keeping with its architectural precedents and function—was organized in an introspective manner and the white stuccoed exterior walls were crenellated to facilitate defense.

The designers of San Juan's earliest ecclesiastical buildings also turned to medieval, specifically Gothic, traditions. The present foundations of the Catedral de San Juan Bautista and its extant bell tower facing the Calle de San José and exceptional masonry circular staircase; the underground burial vault; the chapter hall; and the study belong to the earliest phase of construction and exhibit Gothic influences such as the quadripartite rib vaults in the chapter hall and study. The preserved bays and crossing of the Iglesia de San José are also Gothic in character. Much of the Gothic vaulting of both churches is covered by stucco, a creative local adaptation, and they are believed to be the only extant Gothic structures in the United States. Both buildings were finished later in a Renaissance mode that merges the two seemingly incompatible traditions.

The designers of Conquest Period buildings also looked to the Renaissance for models and inspiration, in particular Italian Quattrocento sources. These buildings exhibit symmetry and regularity; the use of a full *cortile* (courtyard) surrounded by arcaded loggias; and the presence of underlying mathematical proportional schemes.[189] The design and construction of the sixteenth-century Convento de los Dominicos represents a merger of medieval and Renaissance ideas. The internal cloister is a quintessential medieval spatial feature, but finished in a stylistic vocabulary typical of the Renaissance. The cloister was erected to house monks belonging to the Orden de los Padres Predicadores (Order of the Preachers), commonly known as Dominicans. [190] The Dominicans established themselves in Old San Juan during the first half of the sixteenth century, when the city became part of the first American ecclesiastical district, the Santa Cruz de Indias (Holy Cross of the Indies).[191] The first prior of the Convento de los Dominicos—Friar Luis Cáncer, a proto-martyr of the Catholic Church killed in Florida and famed Friar Antonio de Montesinos, leader of the first Dominican friars who settled in Hispaniola and Puerto Rico, founded the convent between 1521-23.[192] The building was finished approximately one hundred years later. During his brief stay in the city in 1598, an English doctor named Leyfield visited the cloister and described it in the following manner:

> There is also a faire Frierie standing on the North side of Towne, but little distant from it: it is built of Bricke in a good large square with a Church and hall and all necessary rooms for a Pryor and Covent of Fryers, it seemeth not to be perfected yet, for they are beginning of a Cloyster not yet covered. The

[189] Arleen Pabón Charneco, *La arquitectura patrimonial puertorriqueña y sus estilos*, 60.

[190] St. Dominic's followers met in 1215 and "held their first meeting as the Order of the Preachers; they were the first inquisitors. . . . Initially, they were known as Militia of Christ, and only later, after St. Dominic's death in 1221 and his beatification as a saint, as the Dominicans. Only much later still did they become known as the 'hounds of God'." James Reston Jr, *Dogs of God Columbus, the Inquisition, and the Defeat of the Moors* (New York: Anchor Books, 2005), 10.

[191] The Santa Cruz de las Indias ecclesiastical district also included Cuba, Jamaica, and Hispaniola.

[192] Friar Antonio de Montesinos was the first member of the clergy to denounce the inhumane treatment of the American natives. As a result of his concern, in 1516, Friar Bartolomé de las Casas was appointed "Protector of the Indians." De Montesinos's religious zeal led him to the area of present-day New York, where the group of monks he was travelling with offered the first Mass ever said in the continental United States. Although persecuted and vilified by many, including Christopher Columbus and his son Diego, de Montesinos managed to convince the king of the inhumane treatment of Native Americans. As a result, the first legal code protecting the indigenous people, the *Leyes de Burgos* (Laws of Burgos), was promulgated.

> Covent was fled all, saving one old Fryer, who in the little broken Latine [*sic*] that he had told me, that they were *Dominicani ordinis praedicatorum mendicantium*.[193]

In 1645, an addition was constructed to the west of the original convent known as the *Casa del Noviciado* (House of Novices). It was at this point that the "good large square" described by Doctor Leyfield was transformed into its present-day organization. The Convento de Santo Domingo is a nationally significant building for its urban, architectural, and artistic significance. It was the first convent constructed on Puerto Rico and in North America. The building is the only example of Renaissance architecture in the nation. The cloister is attached to the Iglesia de San José, a venerable building that is the oldest church in Puerto Rico and the United States and the second oldest in the Western Hemisphere. The size and splendor of the building, particularly when compared to other buildings that existed at the time, is evidence of the role of the Roman Catholic Church in San Juan and across the Spanish empire.

Historic documents indicate that during the Conquest Period the façades of domestic buildings were arranged—in the words of Juan de Laët in the seventeenth century—in the "Spanish manner." Laët described the houses as *espaciosas* (spacious) with wide openings fitted with hinged doors that allowed breezes to freely circulate on the interior.[194] The floor-length openings were cut through the walls and protected by *antepechos* (balconettes). Full balconies could not be supported by the rammed earth and stucco walls common during the period. The houses were oriented inward towards a central court or patio. In addition to the *Casa-fuerte* de los Ponce de León, three domestic buildings are dated with certainty to this period: the Casa del Cabildo (Parcela 11, Block 40, corner of Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud and Caleta de San Juan); the Casa de los Contrafuertes (Parcela 13, Block 3, corner of Calle de San Sebastián and the Plaza de San José); and the Casa de los Ratones (Parcela 14, Block 52, corner of Calle de la Fortaleza and Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud).[195] While all three have experienced alterations, their basic components that date to the Conquest Period retain their historic integrity and are, along with the Casa Blanca, the oldest post-European houses in the island and the United States. Characteristically, the trio makes use of *enfilade* sequences of rooms and a *cuarto esquinero* (corner room) for interior organization; arcaded galleries open onto some of the central patios; façade balconettes provide protection for the floor-level openings; and they utilize both trabeated and arcuated structural systems.

All three houses have flat roofs of the kind known in Spain as *azoteas de Cádiz*. While the trabeated structural system was commonly used in these early houses, *arcos planos* or *dinteles adovelados* (flat arches) were invariably used to create the straight lintels. *Arcos capialzados* (skew arches) also appear behind straight lintels, forming small vaults over openings, a solution to the extremely wide (more than twenty-five-inches thick) rammed earth walls that characterize the period. The Casa de los Contrafuertes has unique and ponderous arcades featuring semicircular arches on two stories facing the patio. The raw beauty of this element contributes powerfully to the cultural significance of the sixteenth century residence.

In general, street facades of Conquest Period houses are characterized by irregular and asymmetrical compositions, as visible in the Casa de los Contrafuertes, the Casa de los Ratones, and the Casa del Cabildo facing the Plaza de la Catedral. There is no vertical alignment between upper and lower level openings and no regularity in the size of the openings. The relationship between street and the house was still guided by medieval sensibilities that considered the urban thoroughfare as a source of noise, dust, and, on occasion, danger. The houses of this period were highly individual not only in their architecture, but also in their location

[193] Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others*, 72.

[194] Juan de Laët, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo Descripción de las islas occidentales Escrita en 18 libros*, 64-65.

[195] While there are only a small number of houses documented as dating from the Conquest Period, it is likely that the cores or portions of other buildings in the historic district also date to the period, but have been obscured with later additions and alterations. This situation provides future opportunites for investigation of Hispano-American architecture and construction.

and siting. Early eighteenth-century maps of Old San Juan show a great variety in the alignment of lots and location of buildings on them, particularly at the edges where the street grid had not yet been entirely embraced.

The buildings that date to Old San Juan's Conquest Period represent the only medieval, Gothic, and Renaissance buildings in the United States. This distinguished group also includes the earliest houses, defensive structures, churches, and convent in the country. Finally, some of the buildings are associated with important individuals, such as Juan Ponce de León and his family, Juan García Troche (Ponce's son-in-law and second governor of the island), Friars Luis Cáncer and Antonio de Montesinos, and military and defense engineers, Field Marshall Juan de Tejeda and Juan Bautista Antonelli.

THE BAROQUE PERIOD (1625-1812)

Urban Development

Old San Juan's population increased significantly during the Baroque Period to around 2,600 inhabitants by the beginning of the eighteenth century.[196] Relative stability and economic expansion helped to foster a construction boom in Old San Juan.[197] Despite the lack of foreign aggression after the Dutch attack in 1625, Spain still decided to completely surround the city with a defensive wall. Construction of this wall began during the third decade of the seventeenth century and was finished by 1771. The combination of the construction of the wall and a rising population resulted in a much denser city within the walls.

In 1765, Field Marshal Alejandro O'Reilly and Chief of the Royal Engineers Tomás O'Daly inspected the defensive system with the following goals: updating the defensive plan; restructuring the existing defenses; and improving the defensive methodology. As a result, they recommended creating a large castle/fortress to repel any land invasions. This idea was the genesis of the present Castillo de San Cristóbal and its outerworks. A small platform for cannons and, at a later time, a small square defensive structure had previously been located at San Cristóbal Hill. By the end of the eighteenth century, these humble structures were replaced by the sister fortress to the mighty Castillo de San Felipe del Morro on the western end of the island. Renovations to the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro also took place at this time and its present-day configuration was the outcome of these actions. The changes included the expansion of the second-level tower battery and construction of the Batería del Carmen (Battery of St. Carmen) designed to protect the Batería de Santa Bárbara (Batter of St. Barbara). All work considered essential to the improved defenses was finished by the last decade of the eighteenth century. The new system was tested when the British, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby, attacked in1797 and were repelled.

The most dramatic urban transformation during the Baroque Period was the creation of the massive masonry perimeter wall that snaked its way along beaches and hills in order to protect the urban core. The construction of this wall resulted in the establishment of the *intramuros* (interior of the city) and *extramuros* (exterior of the city) as geographical and cultural opposites in San Juan. Seven portals were either built or later cut through the walls to conntect the *intramuros* and *extramuros*. From east to west, they were: Puerta de Santiago/Puerta de Tierra, the only landside portal on the islet; the Puerta de Santa Rosa, located to the west of the Castillo de San Cristóbal, opening to the northern cliffs; the Puerta de San José, connecting to the cemetery (added during the nineteenth century); the Puerta de San Juan connecting the Plaza de la Catedral to the *fondeadero*; the Puerta de San Justo, for centuries the only urban door opening to the southern port area; and the Puerta de San Rafael, also known as the Puerta de España (constructed during the nineteenth century). By the time the Puertas de

[196] Adolfo de Hostos, *Historia de San Juan ciudad murada*, 61.
[197] Ana Aguado, "El proceso económico" in Aguado, Ana; Jordi Canal; Ivana Frasquet and José María Portillo, *España Crisis imperial e independencia*, 167-168.

Santa Rosa, San José, and San Rafael were cut through the wall in the nineteenth century, they were not fitted with doors as the wall was no longer needed for the protection of the city.[198] The stone perimeter wall with its portals and adjacent castles/fortresses constitute a UNESCO World Heritage Site, one of only a handful of cultural sites so designated in the United States.[199]

The descriptions, both verbal and graphic, made by Friar Iñigo Abbad y Lasierra and French naturalist André Pierre Ledrú when they visited Old San Juan during the eighteenth century provide great insight into Old San Juan's urban character at this stage in its history. According to Abbad y Lasierra, houses varied according to the three social classes they sheltered, divided in this manner: Spaniards and the wealthy; mulattos and "colored people," and blacks. The friar viewed the city in relatively negative terms, observing:

> Regarding [the] public buildings it can be stated that they are the product of a people who only recently started to break away from the tiredness and poverty that buried it under the calamities which it has suffered since its beginnings, and that it is now free from those conflicts of the past and now takes this time to beautify its motherland. When considered from this perspective one can see in them magnificence and beauty.[200]

Greenery within the walled city core was so common the friar noted that Old San Juan resembled a forest, even though there were eleven to thirteen streets, more than twenty settled blocks, and hundreds of houses, many of which had two floors. The urban center still had green areas given that the west side of both Calle del Sol and Calle de San Sebastián took shape in the eighteenth century while the easternmost sides of the Calle de la Luna, Calle del Sol, and Calle de San Sebastián were only formally developed decades later. It was in this general eastern location that the areas described by the friar as *arrabales* (slums) were located. These areas are visible in the historic plans dating to the period and evident through the scores of humbler houses preserved in these areas.

Architectural Development

The architecture of the Baroque Period in Old San Juan continued to be heavily influenced by European trends and adapted to suit local needs and aspirations. In Spain, two principal stylistic currents dominated: the loosely termed "Spanish Baroque," a mix that included both Italian and French ideas, ans those drawn from the Spanish Plateresque and Churrigueresque styles, and the *severo herreriano* (severe Herreraian style), named in honor of

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[198] Although there is no historic evidence as to the times of the day when the *puertas* (portals; gates) were open—if there was such a daily schedule—the original eighteenth-century openings were fitted with thick wooden doors that could be closed. The Puerta de San Juan preserves a historic set of these doors.

[199] Although Havana also has a formal citadel and a unique moat, the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro is larger than its Cuban counterpart the Castillo de los Tres Reyes Magos del Morro. The Puerto Rican city also boasts the longest preserved wall segment.

[200] Iñigo Abbad y Lasierra, *Historia geográfica, civil y natural de la isla de San Juan Bautista*, 212-213. In Spanish: *En cuanto a los edificios públicos se puede decir son el fruto de los esfuerzos de un pueblo que hace pocos años empezó á respirar de la languidez y pobreza en que lo tuvieron sepultado las calamidades padecidas desde sus principios, y que libre ya de aquellos conflictos se aplica á aprovechar este tiempo favorable para hermosear su patria. Considerados bajo este punto de vista se ve en ellos un aire de magnificencia y hermosura*.

Abbad y Lasierra further mentioned that: *Hay un convento de religiosos Franciscos* [sic], *otro de Domínicos y uno de monjas del Carmen calzado: los dos primeros son edificios mas grandes que hermosos, aunque sus iglesias y claustros están con arco y bien fabricados: el de las Religiosas es mas reducido y pobre. No se halla en ninguno de los tres un solo rasgo de arquitectura que acredite habilidad particular de sus artífices, como ni tampoco en las hermitas*[sic] *de Santa Ana y Cristo de la Salud, edificadas junto á la muralla con el debido decoro y aseo*. Iñigo Abbad y Lasierra, *Historia geográfica, civil y natural de la isla de San Juan Bautista*, 213. Translation into English: "There is a Franciscan convent and a Dominican one and one of Calced Carmelites: the first two are larger rather than beautiful buildings, even though their churches and cloisters are constructed with arches and well built: the nuns' one is very small and poor. One cannot find in any of the three even one element that evidences the creativity of their designers, and this is also the case regarding the shrines of Santa Ana and Cristo de la Salud, located close to the wall with the expected decorum and neatness."

its creator Juan de Herrera, the premier sixteenth-century Spanish architect.[201] The *severo herreriano* in Old San Juan favored sober elegance and sophistication, particularly in terms of the façade composition. The buildings produced during the Baroque Period in Old San Juan mark the emergence of a dominant architectural personality that is still evident today.

Regularization of the façade is probably the most important contribution made by the Baroque Period to the architecture of Old San Juan. In domestic architecture, the trend lent dignity and prominence to the residences of the wealthy through the use of architectural Orders around the front doors that reflected the family's lineage and decorum. The design of public buildings was more fully impacted by European trends. For example, the Hospital de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción el Grande, dated to the 1770s, was originally conceived as a hospital for the poor and a monumental church. An elegant *cortile* surrounded by classical arcades on two stories anchored the plan the building, which was one of the earliest hospitals in America. In addition to the overall form, the arrangement of the main façade was also modeled on the Baroque *palazzi* in Rome.[202]

By 1653, the Iglesia de San Francisco—the third largest church in the historic district—was completed and the attached convent was completed two decades later in the 1670s. The complex mixed elements of the High Renaissance and the Baroque. Although the convent and the church's Baroque belfry were demolished during the early part of the 1900s, the elegant barrel vault over the large nave and clerestory of Roman "thermal" windows are surviving evidence of strong European influences on the local architecture.

The Capilla del Santo Cristo de la Salud with its Baroque belfry and unique placement on top of the defensive southern wall can be considered one of the period's most intriguing buildings. It serves as the southern terminus of "Museum Street," a name given to the Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud due to its age and impressive concentration of historic buildings. The Capilla's Baroque elements—the dramatic semicircular arch that serves as main entrance and the ornate belfry—comingle with its unique form, an open variation of the usually enclosed shrine (chapel), called a *template*. The fluid spatial interaction between interior and exterior also reflects the integration of urbanism and architecture that is characteristic of the Baroque. The masonry portico, open to the sky, adds drama to both the building and streetscape and provides a congregation area for religious services as the building, however diminutive, is a church.[203]

Military engineer Juan Francisco Mestre, who came to the island in 1766, is credited with the design of the chapel, which was constructed between 1773 and 1780.[204] Mestre was a distinguished designer and architect of two other ecclesiastical buildings in Old San Juan. The open chapel/shrine is an example of a unique Spanish architectural typology and earliest preserved example in the nation. Its placement on top of the defensive wall grants the building additional cultural significance. The Capilla del Santo Cristo de la Salud is an example of how folklore is often tied to centuries-old buildings. Historic sources mention that, during the eighteenth century, horse races used to take place down the Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud. According to an actual event that first became an oral legend and later a short story published by famed Puerto Rican writer Cayetano Coll y Toste, during the Fiestas de San Juan (feast day of St. John) in 1753, a man named Baltazar Montañez

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[201] The style known as Plateresque combined Mudéjar and Flamboyant Gothic elements with Italian ones. While some architectural historians consider it a Renaissance style, others classify it as a Proto-Renaissance one. The first examples date to the late fifteenth century. The Churrigueresque is a specific expression of the Spanish Baroque dated to the late seventeenth century.

[202] Arleen Pabón Charneco, *Una Promesa Inconclusa: Apuntes socio-arquitectónicos sobre el Hospital de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción el Grande* (Puerto Rico State Historic Preservation Office: San Juan de Puerto Rico, 1999), 47.

[203] The west arch originally opened to a private garden "which in ancient days must have been public or military walk along the top of the city wall." Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, *Puerto Rico A Guide to the Island of Boriquén*, 201. More likely, it was part of the *paseo de ronda*, a circumferential roadway that connected the whole city along the inside perimeter of defensive walls. Presently, the "private garden" is known as the Parque de las Palomas (Pigeons' Park).

[204] Adolfo de Hostos, *Historia de San Juan ciudad murada*, 334.

was not able to stop his horse and plummeted down fifty feet from the top of the wall. The Secretary of the Government, Tomás Mateo y Prats, a witness to the event, asked for divine intervention along the lines of "Save him, Blessed Christ of Health!"[205] Montañez survived the fall and, after the incident, Secretary Mateo y Prats had the chapel built as a memorial to the miracle.[206]

Domestic architecture also evolved during the Baroque Period. While Friar Iñigo Abbad y Lasierra described several types of houses found within Old San Juan, most residential floor plans fell into two broad categories.[207] The distinct plans reflect social and cultural transformations experienced by the society of the time. The incorporation of *viviendas accesorias* (rental units) on the first floor of houses with two stories was characteristic of one type of plan. These spaces were rented as stores, offices, or individual residences, allowing a high degree of flexibility in function and income potential, and helped to accommodate the growing population of Old San Juan. The palatial homes located in Parcela 1, Block 25 (at the corner of Calle de San José 101 and Calle del Sol) and Parcela 15, Block 25 (the corner of Calle de San José 109 and the Calle de la Luna) are cubic in form and include several *viviendas accesorias*.

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[205] In Spanish: "¡*Sálvalo, Santo Cristo de la Salud!*"

[206] According to Adolfo de Hostos, historic documents belonging to the Catholic Church document that the young man died a short time later, probably as a result of his injuries. Adolfo de Hostos, *Historia de San Juan ciudad murada*, 333.

[207] According to the monk, houses varied according to the social caste of its inhabitants. "*La construcción de las casas es tan varia, como las castas y clases de sus habitantes. Las de los Españoles y ciudadanos acomodados, están hechas de cal y canto, cubiertas de teja, algunas tienen techos de azotea. Nunca les echan más de un piso alto, que generalmente es de tabla, algunas veces cubierto de ladrillo, bien que por lo común aun estas casas de piedra son baxas* [sic]*, y solo tienen el piso de la tierra; pero evitan darle elevación por los huracanes y terremotos que son muy temibles, y por ser muy costosos los materiales, y los artífices. Una casa de piedra con un piso alto, no obstante las pocas comodidades que suele tener, no costara menos de diez mil pesos.*" "*Las casas que habitan los mulatos, y gente de color son de tabla y viga. Fixan*[sic] *estas en hoyos, que abran en la tierra, y bien aseguradas, clavan en ellas por sus cuatro frentes las tablas, que son constantemente de palmas, por su mucha duración y resistencia a las inclemencias del tiempo; su techo forma dos vertientes, mediante un caballete de vigas: cúbrenlo con cañas o tablas, sobre las cuales aseguran con buen orden hojas, o más bien corteza de palma que suplen muy bien por las texas* [sic] *y llaman Yagüas; el ámbito interior de la casa está cortado por el centro por un tabique de tablas o cañas; esta sección dexa* [sic] *dos piezas, la primera en que esta la puerta de la casa, sirve de zaguán y sala: la interior está destinada para dormitorio de la familia, bien que la primera tiene el mismo uso, y en ella cuelgan las Amacas* [sic]*, que es su canapé, en el que pasan día y noche. Este método de hacer las casas, y los materiales, que emplean en ellas, producen multitud de monstruosas arañas, cien-pies, cucarachas, comegen* [sic]*, y otras especies reptiles peligrosos, e incómodos.*" "*Los Negros y gente pobre forman sus casas a esta misma idea, aunque más groseras y reducidas. Apenas son otra cosa, que una jaula hecha de cañas, sostenida por dentro de estacas, que ponen para darle firmeza. El techo es también de cañas cubiertas de Yagüas, como las antecedentes. A estas casas llaman buxios* [sic]*: no suelen tener división en el interior, ni más luz que la que entra por la puerta, que es baxa* [sic] *y angosta*." Iñigo Abbad y Lasierra, *Historia geográfica, civil y política de la Isla de S Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico*, 211. Translation into English: "The construction of the houses varies depending on the castes and social class of its inhabitants. The ones made for the Spanish and rich citizens are made of *cal y canto*, covered with terracotta tiles and some have *azotea* roofs. They never have more than one floor, usually made of wood, sometimes covered with brick, the houses are commonly low in height and have earth for a floor, since they avoid tall structures because of the hurricanes and earthquakes which are very dangerous, and because materials and constructors are very expensive. A masonry house with a second floor even if limited in terms of comfort will cost no less than 10,000 *pesos*." "The houses inhabited by the mulattoes [*sic*] and colored people are made of wood and beams. They embed them in the soil, well secured, nail the wooden planks from palm trees in front, they use this material because it is lasts a long time and resists weather quite well; the roof has two slopes as a result of the truss; it is covered with wooden planks, over which they place lots of leaves, or bark from the palm trees which they call *yagüas*; the interior of the house is divided in the center by means of a wall made of wooden planks; this wall divides the space in two, the first one is located close to the entrance of the house, and serves as a *zaguán* and a living room; the interior one is used as a bedroom of the family, although the first one can also have that use and they hang hammocks which serves them as sofa, where they spend night and day. This method of constructing houses and the materials that they use produce a multitude of monstrous spiders, millipedes, cockroaches, termites and other species of dangerous and nasty reptiles." "The Blacks and poor people organize their houses following the same general idea although they are more grotesque and small. They are really nothing but a cage made of reeds, supported by wooden slats, placed to make it more stable. The roof is also made of reeds covered with *yagüas*, like the ones mentioned before. They call these houses *bohíos*: they have no internal subdivision or any light except the one coming from the door which is low and narrow."

The waning of the *hispano-mahometano* (a Moorish type of house) domestic tradition in Spain, with its preference for a non-aligned *zaguán* (entrance hall) and interior patio sequence impacted the design of houses in Old San Juan. In its place, the *hispano-romano* (also known as the "Christian type") approach to organizing the spaces in a house became common. This arrangement is distinguished by a *zaguán* that is axially aligned with the interior patio. This new interest in visually connecting the entrance with the interior courtyard, a characteristic of the two types of floor plans developed at this time, led to the abandonment of the *cuarto esquinero* (corner room) as the primary element for organizing interior space. There were two variations in the domestic vernacular of the Baroque Period, known prosaically as "Type A" and "Type B." In Type A (*sala-saleta*), progression through the house moves from a *sala* (living room) through one or more *saletas* (secondary living area) that open to an interior patio. In Type B (*zaguán*), a central *zaguán* (entrance hall) serves both as the formal entrance area and as the connection to the courtyard or patio and/or one of its galleries. The *sala-saleta* organization was the preferable and most popular one, while the *zaguán* became more pervasive in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries as a solution to the need for increased density in Old San Juan.

Distinguished examples of the *sala-saleta* type are the buildings located in Parcela 16, Block 18 (Calle de San José 55); Parcela 17, Block 26 (Calle de la Cruz 105); and Parcela 18, Block 40 (Calle de San Francisco 63), and are all dated to the eighteenth century.[208] The houses located on Parcela 1, Block 25 (Calle de San José 101); Parcela 15, Block 25 (Calle de San José 109; Casa de los Dos Zaguanes); and Parcela 11, Block 40 (Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud 152) are dated to the eighteenth century and of the *zaguán* type.[209] The second example of this type, the famed Casa de los Dos Zaguanes, is the only house in Old San Juan where the entry *zaguán* masterfully divides into two secondary ones that embrace a monumental staircase. All examples, whether belonging to the Type A or Type B, used the *enfilade* or shotgun composition to organize the interiors; however, there are no *cuartos esquineros* in either form.

The relationship between the house and street was also significantly transformed during the Baroque Period. The roads were no longer perceived only as threatening and unhealthful, which had been the case during the Conquest Period, and houses began to have more of an outward focus. The design of the street façade was used to underscore the distinction of the resident family. The main area of focus was an ornate entrance portal/doorway, an idea drawn from Italian Baroque traditions as well as Spanish Plateresque ones and even the more austere *severo herreriano*.

An elegantly designed and rendered entrance was a declaration of the social standing and several design concepts were created at the time for door and window apertures. With the first, openings were articulated with a decorative border in the manner of a frame. A trefoiled arched frame was frequently used to provide a sense of movement and a decorative flourish. Sometimes all of the façade openings received a frame, in others only the main entrance incorporated this type of embellishment. The façade of the Casa del Cabildo, Parcela 22, Block 40 (Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud corner Caleta de San Juan) includes secondary openings that are articulated by cusped arched frames with the central one further emphasized by a deep segmental arch in front of a small vault at the entrance. The house located in Parcela 22, Block 17 (Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud 53), in turn, incorporates wide, yet simple frames on all secondary openings and reserves the cusped arch treatment for the central one. This element also includes an oval window that further emphasizes the main entrance. Another example, located in Parcela 12, Block 40 (Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud 154), uses delicate frames around all of its small openings and a segmental arch on the central, principal opening. In all these cases, the decorative treatment distinguishes the entrance, highlighting its relative importance and symbolic meaning for the family. In some cases, Classical Orders were used to further emphasize the portal.

[208] "Estudio de Revitalización Integral Centro Histórico de San Juan Puerto Rico," Inventory Sheets, Parcela 16, Block 18; Parcela 17, Block 26; and Parcela 18, Block 40.

[209] *Ibid*., Inventory Sheets, Parcela 1, Block 25; Parcela 15, Block 25; and Parcela 11, Block 40.

Two examples are the residences located in Parcela 10, Block 3 (Calle de San Sebastián 107) and Parcela 1, Block 25 (Calle de San José 101). Another Baroque element that impacted façades at this time is the *entresuelo* or *entrepiso* (mezzanine or entresol), a common feature in Havana. The use of this type of composition is exemplified paradigmatically by the eighteenth century houses located in Parcela 13, Block 25 (Calle de San José Street 109), also known as the Casa de los Dos Zaguanes, and Parcela 14, Block 34 (Calle de San José Street 159).[210] The emphasis on the entrance portal is particularly characteristic of houses constructed during the Baroque Period in Old San Juan.

Rammed-earth wall construction was largely abandoned during the Baroque Period in favor of masonry *cal y canto* and masonry variances like *mampostería ordinaria* (irregular masonry) and *mampostería concertada* (regular masonry). The stronger masonry walls allowed for the construction of full balconies on the upper levels of the facades, a transformation that related to the changing relationship between the house and street and also a reflection of new social and cultural values. As life became more leisurely for the affluent in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, they became more interested in social life and events in the city and the balcony provided a great place to visit with family and observe the activities in the street. Historical accounts note that balconies were still used during the late nineteenth century for group conversation with family members. These spaces, described as the "projecting balconies of the second story," were the places "where, in the evenings, the family sit and chatter in the light, pleasant chit-chat of southern climes."[211]

Balconies also served other relevant urban responsibilities. On special occasions, families were requested to display *cortinajes* (draperies) to celebrate special occasions. While the birth of an *infante* (prince) or *infanta* (princess) of Spain or the coronation of a king merited elegant tapestries or brocades, the death of a monarch and celebration of Holy Week called for black hangings. The eighteenth-century houses preserved in Old San Juan are culturally significant as places where local interpretation of European architectural fashion played out. They also underscore an architectural maturity that had arrived in San Juan's urban core.

As mentioned, rammed earth wall construction, used in the historic district during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was slowly abandoned during the eighteenth century in favor of *cal y canto*, *mampostería ordinaria*, and *mampostería concertada*. Instead of using the wet, packed earth characteristic of the first technique as the main component of construction, irregular stones and bricks (including fragments) were now incorporated into the wall fabric. The spaces between the large pieces of masonry were filled with smaller rocks, known as *ripios*, and mortar, and, occasionally, packed earth.[212] All walls constructed in this manner were stuccoed- or plastered-over in order to protect the materials from the degrading effects of tropical humidity. This construction technique provided enough stability to cantilever a balcony from the wall and to support decorative door and window surrounds.

The design of houses in Old San Juan reflected the urban patterns of the city, specifically to the straight streets and narrow and deep lots. These conditions meant that central interior patios—the Havana *patio claustral* (cloister-patio)—are rare. Most interior courtyards are placed to one side of the lot along the property line and

[210] A third example of an *entresuelo* is located in the house located at the corner of the Calle de la Cruz and Calle de la Fortaleza (Parcela 13, Block 46). This structure, known as the Elzaburu House, was erected in 1749. While in the first two examples, balconettes are incorporated to this area, in the third building only windows appear. Their proportions and use is parallel to similar elements used by the European Mannerist style. The *entresuelo* of the third example housed the law office of Manuel Elzaburu y Vizcarrondo. It also sheltered the *Parnasillo* literary club from 1879 to1884, the Partido Liberal Reformista (Liberal Reform Party) and the liberal wing of the Diputación Provincial. Adolfo de Hostos, *Historia de San Juan ciudad murada*, p 62.

[211] William Dinwiddie, *Puerto Rico Its Conditions and Possibilities* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1899), 182-183.

[212] By the end of the eighteenth century, rammed earth wall construction was all but abandoned in Havana, but in Old San Juan the technique was never fully discarded. Visual inspection of preserved buildings reveals that packed earth was commonly used in many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century walls in conjunction with *mampostería ordinaria* and *mampostería concertada*.

enclosed opposite the party wall by a long wing containing rooms in a shotgun or *enfilade* arrangement known locally as the *martillo*, and more generally related to the rear ells common to urban houses in many cities. The *martillo* is always situated perpendicular to the *sala* and *saleta*. The bedrooms, kitchen, and toilet, if one existed, were located at the far end of this wing. This configuration resulted in an L-shape floor plan.[213] While the interior spatial organization was, to a certain extent, repetitive, the houses of important families included elegant and lavish decorative details. The Alegría House (Parcela 1, Block 25) preserves the white and blue Delft tiles used in the stair risers that contrast handsomely with the dark and light grey marble tiles on the treads and the elegantly carved wooden nosing that finishes them. One superb Tuscan column frames the landing on the first floor while bronze balls mark the turning points of the balustrade. Each section of this magnificent staircase is approximately six feet wide, a characteristic size for eighteenth-century examples. There are many others throughout the historic district that show a similar interest in elegance and spatial drama. Claiming it was an old house, but more likely an eighteenth century one, Alejandro Tapia y Rivera described his family house, located in the Calle de la Cruz, in the following manner: "The principal staircase, made of porphyry, was quite wide and large; it was located to the left of the *zaguán*, as one entered from the street."[214]

The Baroque Period came to a close in 1812 with the end of the end of the *Antiguo Régimen* and uncertainty about the future of the Spanish crown. In addition to the beginnings of political change, the nineteenth century saw the rise of new interests, influences, social conditions, and new materials and construction methods, all of which would impact the architecture and urban form of Old San Juan.

THE MODERN PERIOD (1812-1898)

Urban Development

By the early nineteenth century, the urban and architectural persona of Old San Juan was well defined, particularly since the walled perimeter clearly defined its boundaries. Pedro Tomás de Córdoba's description of 1842 depicts a fully-formed city:

> From the port one can see the city looks like an amphitheater, and its houses, buildings and defensive walls organize a most pleasing and imposing sight particularly in the manner the fortifications contrast with the buildings... The streets are straight, they all have the same width, and they are divided into blocks of approximately 100 yards, well paved and with beautiful and very regular tiles in the sidewalks. There are about 1,000 houses made of stone and brick, of relatively regular construction, mostly the principal houses have second floors and flat roofs like the ones in Cádiz, and have cisterns... Recently, construction and interior organization within the settlement have become better and all small houses and the poor folks *bohíos* have started to disappear.[215]

Nineteenth-century visitors agreed that Old San Juan was well ordered and its streets and sidewalks well maintained. Although the area within the walls remained the same, approximately 249,660 square meters, the

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[213] Some examples depict a smaller wing perpendicular to the *martillo* on the opposite side of the *saleta*. This creates an irregular U-shaped floor plan.

[214] Alejandro Tapia y Rivera, *Mis memorias o Puerto Rico como lo encontré y como lo dejo*, 8. In Spanish: *La escalera principal, que era de pórfido, amplia y con buenas luces, estaba a la izquierda del zaguán, entrando de la calle.*

[215] Pedro Tomás de Córdoba, *Memorias geográficas, históricas, económicas y estadísticas de la Isla de Puerto-Rico*, 11. In Spanish: *Desde el puerto se ve la ciudad como en un anfiteatro, y el conjunto de sus casas, edificios y murallas forman un todo de grato e imponente aspecto al observar y considerar sus hermosas fortificaciones, que descuellan sobre sus edificios . . . Las calles están tiradas a cordel, son de un mismo ancho, divididas en cuadras o manzanas de poco más de cien yardas, muy bien empedradas y con hermosas e iguales losas en las aceras. Las casas, que llegan a mil, son de piedra y ladrillo, de bastante regular construcción, la mayor parte en las casas principales con segundo piso y casi todas con azoteas como las de Cádiz, y con cisternas o aljibes . . . De poco acá ha mejorado el caserío en su construcción y repartimiento interior y han ido desapareciendo las casuchas o bojíos*[sic] *de gente pobre que había en los barrios.*

population density and number of buildings, principally houses, grew. As de Córdoba stated, there were approximately 1,000 domestic buildings. By 1879, the buildings were categorized in the following manner: [216]

Description	**Total**
One story houses	511
The same with principal floor including public buildings	398
The same with principal floor and a second one	16
The same with a third floor	1

An English-speaking nineteenth-century visitor favorably compared the urban core to others in the Caribbean:

> I have thus endeavored to point out to the foreigner the principal public buildings and institutions of the capital of Puerto Rico. On the whole, the town of San Juan may be considered one of the best in the West Indies; and when the streets shall be newly paved and flagged, as is projected, it will be rendered still more neat and agreeable.[217]

Another one who was quite taken by the picturesque character of Old San Juan, weighed its attraction to European cities:

> As we enter the city proper it seems as if we were stepping back into medieval times. There are all the marks of the walled towns of feudal days, portcullis, battlement, parapet, bastion and remains of a moat. An immense wall surrounds it making San Juan the only city of its kind belonging to the United States. . . The town is of the same quaint character as Lyons in France, in Nuremberg in Germany, or old Seville in Spain.[218]

In spite of the European "quaintness," the author still considered the architecture present in San Juan as lacking in convenience or taste, stating: "Buildings for residences and business are hemmed in by stone walls. The thousand dwelling houses are of mortar or stone, built regardless of convenience or taste."[219]

On his way back to Spain after visiting the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (1893), a Spaniard visited Old San Juan and described the city as per the standard comparison with Havana: *No tiene aquella isla* [Puerto Rico] *la grandeza de líneas de Cuba, ni presenta la bahía de San Juan el encanto de una gran ciudad, como la Habana con su puerto, sus dársenas, edificios públicos, iglesia y campanario, cuarteles y fortificaciones*. In spite of these "limitations," he was charmed by the organization of the urban core: [L]*a ciudad escalonada, en rápida pendiente, mostrándose, toda ella, a la vista del viajero, con tonos vivísimos de color, sus persianas pintadas de verde, su jardinito a la orilla del mar, sus edificios públicos que asoman por todas partes, capitanía general, cuarteles, iglesias, con ansias de contemplar la bahía.* His poetic description of the urban core as an enclave that had *ansias de contemplar la bahía* ("wishes to contemplate the bay")

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[216] José Pérez Morís, *Guía general de la isla de Puerto Rico con el almanaque correspondiente al año 1879* (San Juan de Puerto Rico: Establecimiento Tipográfico del *Boletín*, 1879), 105. In Spanish:

Casas o piso bajo (o terreras)	511	
Idem con piso principal incluso los edificios públicos		398
Idem con piso principal y 2º	16	
Idem con piso 3º		1

It is interesting to note that Pérez Morís's calculation of 926 houses is at odds with the number provided by de Córdoba some years before (1842) when he calculated there were almost 1,000 houses in the historic district. According to José Pérez Morís, the number of buildings at the time was 926.

[217] George Flinter, *An account of the present state of the Island Puerto Rico*, 45.

[218] Joseph Bartlett Seabury, *The World and Its People Book XII Porto Rico: The Land of the Rich Port* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1908), 124-125.

[219] Ibid.

remains true to this day, recalling the early times when the urban core was known as the *ciudad del puerto Rico*.[220] These and other historic descriptions demonstrate that by the early years of the nineteenth century Old San Juan was recognizably what survives today.

In 1897, the city's population was approximately 27,000 and incorporated such modern conveniences as a tramway and train station. The establishment of the public communication systems between Old San Juan and places like the then important town of Río Piedras as well as Cataño and Bayamón, in addition to the historic water link with Cataño, facilitated contact with the main island. Furthermore, the new train line united Old San Juan with a series of towns in the island. Although the new venues allowed for a more intimate connection between the islet and the rest of the island, they also fostered the flight of the wealthy and upper classes to new suburbs, principally Miramar and Condado.

Organization and systematization of the urban center within the walls, including formalization of all address numbers in 1836, characterized the nineteenth century in Old San Juan. Management of the core became imperative and, as a result, several *bandos* (edicts) were enacted by the government in order to control development. Article 19 of the *Bando del Buen Gobierno* (Good Government Edict), ratified in 1823 during the governorship of Miguel de la Torre, required special authorization to construct houses and buildings within the city. The following construction activities were placed under the control of the authorities: "[I]ts organization, delineation and other for the order and beautification of the city, as established in the royal orders." Article 20, in turn, dictated: "I do not allow the construction of *bohíos* with straw or palm leaves roofs, they must be covered with terracotta tiles." [221] This last regulation was aimed at solving the problems presented by the sectors described by Abbad y Lasierra as *arrabales* (slums) during the eighteenth century. Most of these slums were located on the northeastern sector of town. During the second half of the nineteenth century, this neighborhood grew exponentially due, in part, to the abolition of slavery when many former slaves came to the capital to start a new life. Enclaves such as Culo Prieto and Hoyo Vicioso, provided a place to live for many of these new citizens.

Changing ideals and patterns of life caused a significant transformation in housing in San Juan during the last decades of the nineteenth century. As affluent people left the urban core for the suburbs of Condado and Miramar, many more came to the city looking for job opportunities in the wake of economic and natural disasters. The last decades of the nineteenth century saw the exponential growth of coffee production and many land owners mortgaged existing plantations to purchase more land for coffee. This increase in debt was coupled with devaluation of the local currency that had to be abandoned in 1899, the same year that Puerto Rico was devastated by the San Ciriaco hurricane. These traumas forced planters as well as laborers to migrate into the city, coming from all over the island—black and white, young and old—and resulting in a population explosion in Old San Juan. Houses that had once sheltered one or two families at the most were now occupied by multiple households, creating many tenement houses. An 1898 description made by an American official details the main characteristics of these tenements:

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[220] Salvador Puig y Valls, *Viaje a América, Estados Unidos, Exposición Universal de Chicago, México, Cuba y Puerto Rico*, 249-250.

[221] *Bando del Buen Gobierno*, 1823. Quoted in Adolfo de Hostos, *Historia de San Juan ciudad murada*, 78. In Spanish: [S]*u arreglo, delineación y demás para el buen orden y hermoseamiento de la ciudad, con arreglo a lo dispuesto en varias reales órdenes… No permito la fabricación de bojíos* [sic] *techados de paja o yaguas; han de cubrirse precisamente de tejas.* The governor also proposed the destruction of all *bohíos* and similar humble constructions within the defensive circuit. The Policía Urbana (Urban Police) was charged with the task of making sure the regulations were followed. Many residents were opposed and vociferously complained. As a result, little was done. In 1842, another decree again dictated all wooden houses inside the defensive perimeter were to be demolished within the next six years. In addition, no new buildings were to be constructed of wood inside the walls. A new ordinance enacted twelve years later tried, one more time, to force the elimination of all structures considered eyesores. It is not known how many wooden structures were destroyed at this time, if any.

> The buildings . . . abut directly on the street, and in compliance with a municipal ordinance, about one-third to one-fourth of the ground upon which they are erected is left uncovered and is used as a courtyard. The houses are invariably of brick and cement mortar, a compulsory measure also. About four-fifths of the houses in San Juan proper are tenement houses, according to American idea of a tenement house, ie, roughly-speaking, a house in which three or four families dwell. The ground floor consists of a hallway leading to the courtyard, on each side of which, and on all sides of the courtyard, are small rooms, each occupied by one entire family of the poorer class. The wealthier people live on the upper floor or floors.
>
> In some of the large tenement houses there is a person whose business it is to see that no one sleeps therein without paying rent, but there is no one to look after the cleanliness of the place in general. One of the first acts of the city board of health was to endeavor to obtain an approval of the city council to an ordinance compelling owners of tenement houses to appoint a janitor, whose business it would be to clean those parts of the premises used in common; but the council refused to approve.[222]

Houses that had functioned for generations with few changes were drastically altered to allow more people to live in Old San Juan. Few of these changes were evident from the street as floor plans were altered most commonly with the insertion of a service *zaguán* that provided access to the interior patio that now became shared space for the families renting individual rooms within the former single- or two-family house.

Although they may have existed informally since Old San Juan's earliest days, during the nineteenth century the urban core was formally organized into several *barrios* (wards), the oldest ones being the barrios de San Francisco, San Juan, Santo Domingo, Santa Bárbara, Puerta de Tierra, and La Puntilla de San Lázaro.[223] In 1846, the Barrio de San Sebastián appeared and it was followed by the Barrio de Ballajá and Barrio de la Marina in 1858.[224] In 1888, La Puntilla, located to the south of the Bastión de la Concepción and Bastión de la Palma, was expanded to include the area formerly known as La Carbonera.[225] The urban growth outside the walled precinct—indicated by the formal establishment of *barrios* there—signaled the degree to which the population was rising within the walls.

La Puntilla de San Lázaro, a *manglar* (mangrove) and *palmar* (palm grove), was formally developed during the nineteenth century to the south of Old San Juan with new public and private buildings, a promenade, and an improved *muelle* or *dársena* (port). An orthogonal grid, at an angle to the one inside the walls, was used to organize the new streets. The jail was the most prominent new building of La Puntilla de San Lázaro. The move of the prison to a location outside the wall was part of reform movements related to hygiene and safety, which also resulted in the relocation of the burial ground to a site outside the walls on the north side of the islet. The Cementerio de Santa María Magdalena de Pazzis—with its outstanding centralized Renaissance Revival chapel, mausoleum, and hundreds of impressive tombs and memorials—and the Presidio de la Princesa at La Puntilla and the Paseo de la Princesa running along its edge just outside the walls connected these previously isolated locales to the established urban center. Both the presidio and cemetery were considered modern additions to the centuries old fabric that permitted the pursuit of ways of living. The prison included individual cells reflecting the, then, modern concept of solitary confinement as the most humane approach to rehabilitation.

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[222] Military Government of Porto Rico, *Military Government of Porto Rico From October 18, 1898, to April 30, 1900 Appendices to the Report of the Military Governor*, 160.

[223] The number of *barrios* changed with time a result of administrative organizations and population growth.

[224] Ballajá was one of the last *barrios* to develop despite its proximity to the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro and Convento de los Dominicos. During the early part of the nineteenth century, the area featured three streets—Calle del Rosario, Calle de la Beneficencia, and Calle de Morovis—and some informal lanes. The slowness in its development stemmed from state and church ownership of large tracts of land in the area as late as the 1870s

[225] The name was directly connected to the *carbón* (coal) kept in the area.

The Paseo de la Princesa, a new *paseo* or promenade/boulevard, passed along the jail's south side. Most nineteenth-century urban development in existing cities was a reaction to their historically cramped urban cores. New boulevards, parks, and greenspace provided leisure areas for more and more residents, regardless of social class, and beautified cities in the same manner as elegant buildings. These new spaces created unprecedented opportunities for recreation and enjoyment among the lower classes and also granted a degree freedom to women, who could spend time outside the house in safe and carefully controlled environments. These urban components also addressed concerns about the "health" of the existing city center. Trees were planted in order to help the "breathing" process. Although only two such exterior promenades were created—the Paseo de Puerta de Tierra and Paseo de la Princesa—trees and shrubs were increasingly planted in the historic plazas within the walls. For example, during the nineteenth century, a small *allée* of trees was created in the Plaza de San Francisco and shrubs planted around the perimeter of the Plaza de Colón. These examples are philosophically connected to the urban changes pioneered in European cities and taking place throughout the developed world.

In addition to trees and other greenery, the historic plazas were also redeveloped in other ways. They were more formally organized, received street furniture such as benches, and enhanced with sculpture. For example, to celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary of the "discovery" of America and Puerto Rico, a marble monument to Christopher Columbus was erected in the Plaza de Santiago, located at the eastern (land) entrance to the city. The installation of the forty-two foot high sculptural group led to a name change for the space, from a plaza honoring St. James, Spain's patron saint, to the Plaza de Colón. The bronze sculpture of Ponce de León that had decorated this space was moved to the Plaza de San José where it still resides. The Teatro Tapia, built between 1824 and 1834 (with additional work in the 1850s and as late as 1868) and facing onto the reconceptualized plaza, is also reflective of the nineteenth-century expansion of leisure and venues for recreation. Bordering the Plaza de Colón on its south side, the theater's classical façade was an adaptation of a Renaissance palazzo for a modern purpose, and also relating to city's own history of public and domestic architecture.

During the 1890s, Old San Juan experienced a dramatic transformation with the destruction of the eighteenth-century Puerta de Santiago/Puerta de Tierra and its adjacent segments of the wall, a decision that corresponded with contemporary European ideas about urban growth and the loss of many historic perimeter walls. The goal of this act was described in the following fashion:

> [T]he walls are to be demolished as per the request of the neighbors who are asphyxiated inside the walled precinct that the specialists judge can no longer defend the plaza and hygienists consider the belt strangles the lungs of an expansive city that grows and develops as a result of its richness and dedication.[226]

The city's expansion continued into the early part of the twentieth century when sections of the southern portion of the wall were also destroyed. Vienna, Barcelona, and Paris had led the way tearing down walls that were seen as constricting and not allowing the city to expand in a modern way. Old San Juan followed suit and eliminated a portion of a structure no longer needed for its original purpose, the protection of the city.

Architectural Development

Changes in Spanish politics during the Modern Period greatly impacted the architectural persona of Old San Juan. Many of the governmental buildings constructed in the nineteenth century are among the architectural

[226] Salvador Puig y Valls, *Viaje a América, Estados Unidos, Exposición Universal de Chicago, México, Cuba y Puerto Rico*, 248. In Spanish: [L]*as murallas que van a derribarse a petición del vecindario, que se ahoga ya dentro de un recinto amurallado que los técnicos juzgan ya inútil para la defensa de la plaza, y los higienistas cinturón que oprime con sus ligaduras los pulmones y la fuerza expansiva de una ciudad que crece y se desarrolla a impulsos de su riqueza y trabajo.*

gems of Old San Juan: the Palacio de Santa Catalina (nineteenth century section), Casa Alcaldía (façade facing the Plaza de Armas), the Real Intendencia, the Diputación Provincial, the Cuartel de Ballajá, the Presidio de la Princesa, the Capilla de Santa María Magdalena de Pazzis, the meteorological tower at the back of the Real Audiencia y Cancillería, and the graceful and modern jail known as the Presidio de la Princesa (1830s-1840s).[227] They are all architectural reflections of new religious and political groups. During the nineteenth century, novel architectural typologies and new entertainment activities also resulted in dozens of interesting buildings. In addition to the first formal theater, the aforementioned Teatro Tapia on the reconceptualized Plaza de Colón, and promenades—the Paseo de la Princesa and the Paseo de Puerta de Tierra— cafes, restaurants, and social clubs became common at this time. One such eatery still operating, *La Mallorquina*, claims to be the oldest restaurant in the United States.[228] The building, located in Parcela 21, Block 48 (Calle de San Justo 207), is an example of a nineteenth-century architectural trend, small cafes where people could mingle and dine.

> *Otros establecimientos dedicados al ocio de la población eran los cafés, que desde la situación revolucionaria de los años veinte* [del siglo xix] *se convirtieron en escenario de discusiones políticas y también en lugares donde se celebraban las tertulias literarias . . . . Lugares de debate y tertulia de la burguesía y la nobleza, poco a poco los cafés se fueron convirtiendo casi exclusivamente en locales donde se escenificaban pequeñas piezas literarias vinculadas al Romanticismo, de signo dandista o bohemio, ya que la discusión política se fue trasladando a los ateneos o casinos.*[229]

The original interior decor of *La Mallorquina* has been preserved as well as the two rooms that segregated whites from the rest of the patrons.

Progressive ideas, an outgrowth of Enlightenment ideals that took hold in the previous century, found architectural expression in Old San Juan. While it had taken centuries for the Roman Catholic Church to construct a hospital to house the destitute, only to have it commandeered by the military even before its completion (the Hospital de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción El Grande), during the nineteenth century several elegant public structures, specifically designed for the poor, sick, and disadvantaged were erected, following the cues of peninsular trends and movements and those in other American nations and colonies. The elegant Asilo

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[227] Not everyone appreciated the new venues. *En parte opuesta al barrio descrito* [the area around the Teatro Tapia] . . . *se halla la Capitanía General* [Palacio de Santa Catalina]*, edificio típico y con cierto aire de grandiosidad; en sus cercanías un cuartel espacioso* [Cuartel de Ballajá] *con un patio central donde puede formar un regimiento, y cuadras ventiladas y espaciosas, cuartel que costó tanto dinero, que doña Isabel II preguntó si se construía de plata.* Ibid., 248. Translation into English: "On the opposite side of the barrio I have just described . . . the *Capitanía General* is found, a typical building with a certain air of grandiosity; close to it one finds the spacious barracks with a central patio where a regiment can meet, with ventilated and spacious wings, so expensive Doña Isabel II asked if it was being constructed of silver." She was referring to the enormous and expensive Cuartel de Ballajá. The queen, maybe unknowingly, repeated her mother's comments a few years before when, on inauguration of a new train line in Spain, she approached the rails to see if they were made of silver. She had previously complained about its high construction cost. José María Zavala, *La reina de oros La doble vida de María Cristina de Borbón.*

[228] Even though *La Floridita* in Havana and *Antoine's* in New Orleans both have institutional claims on being the oldest restaurants in North America, both have changed locations several times. In addition, the second one was not a public restaurant originally but a dining place for a bordello. *La Mallorquina* was founded by Don Antonio Puig i Carbonell, a native of Mallorca. It was a popular place to drink chocolate and eat *churros* and *mallorcas* after the theater. An 1857 calendar mentions that the following cafes also existed at this time: *El Turulí* ("*calle de los Cuarteles #17 frente a la puerta de la Marina*"), *El Diván* ("*subida de la Marina*"), *La Zaragozana* ("*calle Fortaleza #2*"), *de las Columnas* ("*calle Fortaleza #44*"), *de la Plaza* ("*en la plaza Mayor junto a la casa del Ayuntamiento*"), and, of course, *de la Mallorquina* ("*calle san Justo #25*"). According to the present owners, the Rojo family, there was called a "*salón de Primera*" (first-class dining room) and what can best be termed "*salón de Segunda*" (second-class dining room). In the first area, *oficiales y blancos* (officers and whites) could dine. The segregation of patrons disappeared when the present owner's family bought the place in 1900. Personal communication, Mr Javier Rojo and Ms Daphne Rojo, February 2002. Arleen Pabón Charneco, "The *Swiss Chalet Restaurant* Historic and Architectural Documentation of the Building and Determination of Eligibility of Adjacent Buildings" (MS: San Juan de Puerto Rico, 2002).

[229] Ivana Frasquet, "Población y sociedad" in Aguado, Ana; Jordi Canal; Ivana Frasquet and José María Portillo, *España Crisis imperial e independencia*, 258.

de Beneficencia for abandoned children and elders, dated to 1840 with a second floor erected during the second half of the 1890s, used an "E" shape floor plan to organize residents by gender around two magnificent *cours* (courtyards). Next door, the Manicomio (insane asylum) utilized the same kind of floor plan. A beautiful Classical Revival temple front with Iconic Order columns embellishes the center wing, which contained a chapel that served both sexes. While the two *cours* open towards the back of the building in the Asilo de Beneficencia, they face the front in the Manicomio, allowing all to see from the outside what went on in the interior. The progressive grade school Casa de Párvulos and the educational center Casa de la Caridad y Oficios de San Ildefonso both adapted to the urban fabric by means of elegant, yet understated buildings that were located in the residential neighborhoods they were intended to serve. This collection of buildings, specifically constructed for the poorer residents of Old San Juan, is evidence of the impact of progressive ideals, which were ultimately based on principles of the Enlightenment, on the Spanish colonies.

This period of urban and architectural expansion also included a significant building for the military: the imposing Renaissance Revival Cuartel de Ballajá (1857-1864), designed to accommodate 2,000 men.[230] The building's huge Bramante- and Serlio-inspired *cortile* and magnificent loggias based on Renaissance models offered an elegant residence for troops and expanded the military's impressive inventory of building types and structures in Old San Juan. The nearby Parque de Artillería was also rehabilitated at this time to house the artillery rifle school and military equipment.

The Roman Catholic Church also erected modern buildings in modish styles, such as the Iglesia de las Carmelitas Calzadas, the Iglesia de Santa Ana, and the Seminario Conciliar de San Ildefonso. Both of the churches are exquisite examples of the Renaissance and Baroque Revivals, featuring elegant decorative details rendered in a crisp nineteenth-century interpretation of Serlian and Palladian architecture, particularly in the treatment of the barrel vaults over the naves and on the façade of the Iglesia de Santa Ana. Located next to the Palacio Episcopal, the Seminario Conciliar was started in 1827. The entrance portal was framed by engaged pilasters, a trigylph frieze, and a triangular pediment and flanked by windows covered with *rejas abalaustradas* (wood grilles). The architecture of the building is a mix of classical and exotic motifs and elements, reflecting the eclecticism that was frequently seen in nineteenth-century stylistic revivals. The first part of the complex was finished in 1832 and was described a few years later:

> The seminary for the education of the clergy, erected by the zeal and indefatigable exertions of the present bishop, is contiguous to the episcopal palace. It is built in a modern, chaste style of architecture. It is two stories high in the back parts, where the nature of the ground allows it. There are funds for the maintenance of the professors, and it is nearly finished. This is an establishment of great public utility, and does infinite honour to its worthy, venerable, and virtuous founder. The greatest advantages may be expected to result from an institution which, under the eye of the prelate, will be the nursery of a well-educated and virtuous clergy, who, by propagating useful knowledge, and by the force of good example, will correct the vices of the lower classes. The money thus expended may be considered as a productive capital; for it teaches the ignorant countryman his duty to God, his king, and his country, and inculcates the maxims of honesty and industry.[231]

Architect and *maestro mayor de fortificaciones* (master of fortifications) Manuel de Zayas, designer of both the Arsenal de la Marina de la Puntilla and Iglesia de las Carmelitas Calzadas, later expanded the splendid building with an independent, yet connected addition with its own *cortile*; a centralized chapel with a Pantheon-like dome; a refectory and kitchen. The complex has several unique features that position it as a particularly

[230] The plans for the building state that it was designed to shelter 1,000 men. The drawing titled "Proyecto de un Cuartel de Infantería para mil hombres con pavellones [*sic*] para oficiales en el Barrio de Ballajá de la Plaza de Puerto Rico" is dated 18 February 1854 and signed by Juan Manuel Lombera.

[231] George Flinter, *An account of the present state of the Island Puerto Rico*, 39.

important building within Old San Juan. In addition to two elegant *cortiles*, one surrounded by a one-story arcade on three sides and the other by two stories of arcades on all four sides, the building features a centralized, domed chapel, a kitchen with its original *fogón* (masonry stove). and also a refectory. The kitchen is one of a handful of such nineteenth-century spaces that have been preserved. The refectory, the only nineteenth-century example in Old San Juan and the island, is roofed with a unique and splendid *bóveda vaída* (sail vault), the only one of its kind in the United States. The *grisaille* dome frescoes in the chapel are the only extant ones dated to this period.

These nineteenth-century public buildings provided the finishing touches to a unique city that, like a coffer, held a collection of varied aesthetic expressions evidencing its centuries-old extraordinary development. They were meant to be interpreted by the citizenry as icons of elegance and sophistication, reflecting the new styles favored by Spanish colonial society. The elegant arcaded *Rundbogenstil* façade of the Casa Alcaldía; the stylish Renaissance Revival façades of the Palacio de Santa Catalina and majestic Palacio de la Intendencia; the sophisticated Diputación Provincial, and the refined Plaza del Mercado Municipal not only graced the city with their panache and architectural drama but also proved that revivals of European styles were viewed as appropriate for modern buildings and new civic ideals. With the formulation of the ideals brought forth by the Enlightenment came the mandate that personal interpretations and "creativity" were to be abandoned in favor of varied historicisms that included picturesque aesthetic modes. The nineteenth-century building design in Old San Juan, whether domestic or public, was characterized by the following: dependence on architectural revivals; strict and formal approach to the design of the façade; and use of the balcony, wood or metal, as a key element of the façade. There was a marked favoritism toward classical and renaissance revivalism as well as influences of the Second Empire and, later, the Beaux-Arts, all of which was embraced by the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando.[232]

This admiration for the architectural past shaped Old San Juan well into the 1930s, in part because of its versatility. For example, the Renaissance Revival was adapted for a range of building types: a palace (Palacio de Santa Catalina), a military barracks (Cuartel de Ballajá), a chapel (Capilla de Santa María Magdalena de Pazzis at the cemetery of the same name), the Royal Treasury (Palacio de la Intendencia), as well as scores of domestic façades. In most cases, a lightly rusticated podium contrasted with the use of architectural Orders on the upper level(s), which followed the centuries old trends where classical Orders and other architectural elements were used to denote the important floors of a building. Even the choice of Order symbolized its function and occupants. For example, the lowest classical Order, the Tuscan, was used for both the Palacio de Santa Catalina and Cuartel de Ballajá, buildings associated with the military, while the Composite Order, which along with the Corinthian Order were the highest status, was used for the Palacio de la Intendencia, conveying its important function as the treasury.

The architectural revivalism of the nineteenth century also included medieval styles, particularly the Romanesque and the Gothic. While it took longer for these stylistic trends to appear in Old San Juan, they became part of the rich and varied architectural explorations of the time. Interest in medieval revivalism in the city appeared in the early decades of the nineteenth century, possibly even earlier. The original building of the Casa de Beneficencia, erected during the first half of the nineteenth century, had Gothic decorative elements, clearly depicted on the preserved plans for the building. This was an extremely early use of an aesthetic expression pioneered in Britain in the mid-eighteenth century.[233] The Real Audiencia rehabilitation also included Gothic Revival motifs as part of the decorative scheme. A house located in Parcela 11, Block 3 (Calle

[232] With the establishment of schools of architecture in Spanish universities during the nineteenth century, the role of educating the architect shifted from the *real academias* (royal academies) to new architecture departments within existing universities.

[233] St. Mary's Seminary Chapel in Baltimore, Maryland (NHL, 1971), is considered the oldest Gothic Revival building in the United States. It was designed by French architect-émigré Maximilian Godefroy and constructed between 1806-1808.

de San Sebastián 107) includes a pointed arch in its interior. Confusingly, the house is dated to 1760, an extremely early date for Gothic Revival or even Gothic elements to appear on this side of the Atlantic.[234] There are other houses and public buildings that have pointed arches, including an asylum for the elderly constructed in 1921 and located on the site of Parcela 8, Block 3 (Calle de San Sebastián 111 corner Calle del Mercado). Decorate arches were also an outgrowth of exotic revivals, visible in a house located in the Calle del Sol 285 (Parcela 16, Block 20) whose façade is embellished with horseshoe arches. Interest in the exotic revival continued into the twentieth century at which time it was largely subsumed by the Mediterranean Revival.

As mentioned, the typical *"sanjuanero"* domestic interior changed very little during the nineteenth century despite the fact that the house and home attained new levels of importance to culture and society, as they did throughout Europe and North America. Younger generations were nurtured and started their education within these domestic settings. Regarding separation between the sexes and the layout and the function of the house, in Old San Juan as in Spain and elsewhere: "Differences between men and women were established by means of the different spaces and domestic practices."[235] The domestic planning that provided separate spaces based on sex persisted until the end of the nineteenth century. An American visitor described it in the following manner in 1899:

> The Puerto Rican home life, in fact, differs in no important particular from that of Spain and Mexico, Havana and Madrid, but it is very difficult for the stranger to obtain even a glimpse of the Hispano-American gynaceum. In the writer's experience it was primarily accomplished by engaging quarters in the family of an indigent Don who had seen better days. It was not a boarding house he kept; perish the thought! but a *casa de huéspedes*, and at his table assembled people of the highest quality – that is *solteros*, or bachelors, editors of papers, attachés at the captain general palace, and military men.[236]

The *sala-saleta* (Type A) and *zaguán* (Type B) domestic plans were so adaptable that they could accommodate changes in patterns of living. Some adjustments were still necessary for new domestic functions; these changes also occurred in reaction to the increase in density and overcrowding in Old San Juan. The appearance and acceptance of a dedicated dining room reflected the growing importance of family and family rituals. Few houses had dining rooms before the nineteenth century in Old San Juan or Havana. Even many palatial houses in Havana lacked such a room: "My uncle's house is huge and it is surrounded by galleries with high ceilings so long you lose sight of them, closed with louvers to protect from the sun rays. In one of these galleries we eat, for here dining rooms inside the house are impracticable due to the heat."[237]

When the first known examples began appearing in Havana, they were spatially linked to the interior patio, the source of illumination, ventilation, and greenery within the house, and this trend influenced its adoption in Old San Juan. Another advantage of this location was its proximity to the kitchen. It should be noted that family dining in the nineteenth century was still considered by many to be a private event that was not an important part of social rituals. Because of this, many families used the interior patio or kitchen as informal dining rooms. When dedicated dining space began appearing in houses, it was often in a space having other functions. For example, the historic plan depicting a proposed dining room for the house located at Calle de la Cruz 152 in Old

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[234] "Estudio de revitalización integral del centro histórico de San Juan," InventorySheet: Parcela 11, Block 3. In the 1990s study, the number of the *parcela* is listed as 10.

[235] Ivana Frasquet, "Población y sociedad" in Aguado, Ana; Jordi Canal; Ivana Frasquet and José María Portillo, *España Crisis imperial e independencia*, 242. In Spanish: "*A través de los espacios y las prácticas domésticas se marcaban diferencias entre hombres y mujeres*."

[236] Frederick Albion Ober, *Puerto Rico and Its Resources* (New York: D Appleton and Company 1899), 171.

[237] María de las Mercedes Santacruz y Montalvo, Countess of Merlin, *Viaje a la Habana* (Madrid: Editorial Verbum, 2006), 74. In Spanish: *La casa de mi tío es muy grande, y está rodeada de altas galerías, que se pierden de vista, cerradas de persianas para evitar los rayos del sol. En una de estas galerías es donde comemos, porque aquí los comedores en el interior de las casas están prohibidos a causa del calor*.

San Juan depicts the dining room as a connecting space between the *sala*, one of the bedrooms (specifically described as *dormitorio*), and the *galería* (gallery) that provided access to the *excusado* (toilet) and *cocina* (kitchen) at the back of the house. The novelty of this space was also underscored with the proposed second floor apartment in the building that was to be entered via the *comedor* (dining room).

The second important transformation in domestic interiors was that rooms were now more often intended to serve specific functions, abandoning the multifunctional character of rooms in previous generations. The trend is documented with notations on architectural plans that previously had labeled rooms generically as either *aposento* (space or room) or *habitación* (room). During the nineteenth century, plans used such words as *dormitorio* (bedroom), *comedor* (dining room) or *sala* in place of the earlier generic ones. The disappearance of the shotgun organization of interior rooms, where one could only be entered from another, and the introduction of *corredores* (hallways or corridors) connecting the *dormitorios* to the rest of the house underscores the growing concern for privacy within the house.

The number of bathrooms increased during the period, but these spaces and the kitchen, which was sometimes used for informal meals, were still relegated to a wing at the back of the house: "The kitchen had a more private character rather than social; in other words, it managed a closed sociability due to the fact that several people met here every day, members of the family, in this manner the 'foreigner' was excluded."[238] The houses located at Parcela 19A, Block 43 (Calle de San Francisco 102), Parcela 19B, Block 43 (Calle de San Francisco 104), and Parcela 12, Block 31 (Caleta de San Juan 55), for example, all include nineteenth-century kitchens at the back of the house, close to the *excusado* (toilet).[239] This was the location regardless of whether the housing unit was located on the first or second floor.

One of the most consequential domestic transformations within Old San Juan was the alteration of many formerly single-family houses in order to accommodate multiple families. As a result, many interiors were transformed by means of a retrofitted *zaguán* that connected the street with the patio, facilitating access to the interior. The rooms surrounding the patio were rented to families who used the open space as a communal kitchen and eating area. There is historic evidence that, in some houses, even the area under the elegant stairs sheltered whole families.

Domestic interior arrangements and decoration obviously varied depending on the social class, a visiting American described these interiors in 1899:

> Marble-topped mahogany tables with carved legs occupy the centers of the rooms. On them are flowering plants, vases of artificial flowers, and the photograph album, and above the table is a hanging lamp or chandelier, usually of cut glass, with a profusion of swinging prisms, sometimes gaudily decorated with bright colored ribbons, or festooned with artificial vines and flowers.
>
> Cane-seated furniture is used exclusively. The great rolling rocking-chairs constitute the principal furniture, with a sprinkling of straight-backed chairs and cane settees. Many of these chairs would set the lover of novel forms and finely-carved furniture wild, for numbers of them are rare antiques, handed down for generations. The woods of the carved furniture are heavy and highly polished, while the more modern is lighter, without carving, depending upon the twisted and bent frames for beauty, and it is invariably painted a rich black.

[238] María Astrid Ríos Durán, "La casa santafereña, 1800-1830: en el camino hacia la intimidad, el confort y la domesticidad," 43-84; 67, 2007, Digital source: http://www.humanas.unal.edu. In Spanish: "*La cocina presentaba un carácter más privado que social; dicho de otra manera manejaba una sociabilidad cerrada por que en ella se reunían diariamente varias personas, miembros de la familia; así, se excluía al "extranjero."*

[239] "Estudio de revitalización integral del centro histórico de San Juan," InventorySheets: Parcela 19A, Block 43; Parcela 19B, Block 43 and Parcela 12, Block 31.

> The mathematical precision with which all the furniture is placed in a well-regulated household always creates a thrill of horror in the aesthetic breast. Around the center table, equally spaced, are the great rocking-chairs; against one wall, like guarding sentries, are the straight-backed chairs, while flat against the other wall is placed a cane couch or two. Even in the Governor's summer palace, this primness in furniture arrangement was found. Out on the broad balconies encased in closed white shutters, the beautiful chairs were also ranged down the side walls, with the tables in the center, for all the world like a dairy lunch-room.
>
> The beds, of brass and metal, are dreams in design, covered with canopies of lace, having auxiliary mosquito netting gathered up on the top during the day and let down at night. Wardrobes and not closets are used for clothes. Heavy carved dressing-tables, bureaus, and washstands are often seen, but to the majority these have been too great luxuries. Now and then one sees mirrors framed in heavy antique frames, which are delightful in their symmetry.[240]

The concern for decoration and furniture within the house during Modern Period was paralleled by the architecture of the façade, which was not just viewed as representative of the family living there, but also as an essential part of the urban mosaic and its beauty. Centuries earlier the Laws of Indies held that houses should be considered adornment for the town or city. But during the nineteenth century, the exterior design of a house was no longer just outward symbol of power, position, or wealth. Rather it contributed to the attractiveness and order of a modern urban center. The Modern Period house comfortably merged the revival of historical architecture styles with new domestic needs and functions that in part reflected progressive social change. These houses were characterized by a strict, formal, and academic approach to the façade composition; the centrality of the balcony served the social life and the design of the façade, which was often rendered in modern materials such as iron or concrete; and the eclectic use of decoration exhibited a particular inclination toward the use of classical architectural Orders. Symmetry was the guiding principle most often used for organizing the facade, although some late-nineteenth-century examples exist that exhibit a more picturesque approach to the composition.

New types of doors and door decoration also contributed to the aesthetic appeal of the house and changed the relationship between interior and exterior. In some cases, *reja abalaustrada* (wood grilles) were installed in the place of floor-length doors, which provided privacy and ventilation while also decoratively enhancing the exterior of the house. Balconies on the upper stories of houses and framed in wood or iron increased in size and embellishment, including balustrades, extremely thin support columns, and as structural brackets and anchors. The lively articulation of iron balconies was mainly seen on façades, but were also sometimes used in the design of exceptional interiors.

The Marqués de la Esperanza house—Parcela 14, Block 64 (Calle de Tetuán 252)—had traditional wooden balustrades on the main façade facing the Calle de Tetuán, but embraced the use of iron in varied and novel ways on the interior.[241] The foyer opens onto a stunning oval staircase in its own massive alcove that is crowned by a superb dome ornamented with decoration made of plaster and gesso with symbolic meanings reflecting the family's sophistication. Each step in the stair is carved from a single block of white marble and on the upper level landing it is framed by decorative iron grilles installed over the windows that help to ventilate and illuminate it. The space also contains an iron door intricately decorated with garlands of flowers and figures.

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[240] William Dinwiddie, *Puerto Rico Its Conditions and Possibilities*, 147-149; 157; 160-161.

[241] The marquis was owner of the Fundación Abarca, the first ironworks in Puerto Rico, and was surely cognizant of the new material's artistic potential.

Whether constructed of wood, iron, or concrete, balconies and balconettes at the exterior openings allowed for the continued use of floor-length window openings that were increasingly fitted with doors having *celosías* (louvers), also known as *persianería francesa* (French louvers).[242] Most openings began to be fitted with a pair of louvered doors, allowing for ventilation and a degree of security, and solid doors for securely closing up a house.

Since the period was characterized by ever-growing commercial links with Europe, as well as other countries in the Caribbean Islands and the United States, new construction materials were now available, such as: tinted marbles, New Orleans filigree-like metal balustrades, concrete mixture for finishes, as well as pitch pine wood (known locally as *pichipén*). These contributed to the enrichment of the architecture of the historic district. The interest in incorporating contrasting colors and textures became a favorite solution, particularly in the Second Empire and High Victorian Gothic examples, as the use of metal filigree balustrades, gesso decorative plaques, and metal roofed balconies evidences. Some examples of this new interest are the houses located in: Parcela 18, Block 17 (Calle del Sol 101 corner Calle del Santo Cristo de la Salud); Parcela 2, Block 24 (Calle del Sol 102); Parcela 12, Block 25 (Calle de la Luna 155); Parcela 5, Block 26 (Calle del Sol 206), among others.

Modern Period buildings also at times used exposed brick on façade walls (rather than masonry covered in stucco) that contributed to the texture and color of the streetscape.[243] The building located at Parcela 2, Block 61 (corner of Calle de la Cruz, Calle de Tetuán and Calle del Recinto Sur) is an elegant structure organized in the manner of a Renaissance *palazzo*. The building incorporates the light-rustication on the first floor, a Renaissance characteristic with a second floor rendered with highly decorative Second Empire decoration and exposed brick influenced by High Victorian Gothic models. Even while *arquitectura de ladrillo* (exposed brick construction) showed great potential for architectural drama in a city where the vast majority of walls were stuccoed, it was used sparingly, likely in no small part because of the protective qualities stucco provided for masonry walls in a tropical climate.[244]

By the nineteenth century, age and tropical humidity took enough of a toll on many buildings in Old San Juan that metal ties had to be used to anchor the facades and stabilize the structure, indicated by star-shaped exterior plates tied back into the building structure. An example of the use of this system is the house located in Parcela 3, Block 25 (Calle del Sol 153), where three stars are aligned in the frame of the upper opening. Originally a one-story house, it was renovated in 1898 when the second floor was added. This building is one of a handful of very narrow houses that do not exceed ten feet in width and there is only one opening per floor.

Notwithstanding nineteenth-century poems describing the white that characterizes Old San Juan's walls, paint analysis has demonstrated that colors such as the *verde esmeralda* (emerald green) and grey-blue were used to paint and protect the wood work, particularly on the interiors of buildings. The house on the Calle de San José 101 (Parcela 1, Block 25) still preserves the light grey bluish paint of the interior beams that are, in turn, accentuated with a thin blue line of highlighting. The present pastel color façades walls with door and window frames in white that enchant visitors are a mid-twentieth century addition that has now been embraced as a character defining feature of the historic urban core. Until the development of modern paints, probably only earth-tone colors and white stucco and washes were used.

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[242] Arleen Pabón Charneco, "La ciudad del puerto Rico Reinterpretando los artefactos urbanos y arquitectónicos del viejo San Juan," *Patrimonio* (San Juan de Puerto Rico, 2010), Volume 1, 52.

[243] Although there are historic architectural plans that include this treatment for houses, only two examples have been preserved.

[244] Arleen Pabón Charneco, *La arquitectura patrimonial puertorriqueña y sus estilos*, 283-284. More durable mass-produced bricks introduced at this time became a preferred construction material. The new bricks were made in local *tendales* (brickyards) with better materials than the softer, earlier versions. Stronger bricks allowed for the thinning out of structural walls and more easily constructed round-headed and jack arches over openings. The bricks used at this time were characteristically 50 to 60 centimeters in width.

By the end of the nineteenth century, living conditions in Old San Juan were still dictated by its military character, although not as powerfully as during the earlier periods. The martial élan was still evident even after the destruction of the Puerta de Santiago/Puerta de Tierra. In 1899, the historic district, described as located under "the frowning walls of San Cristobal," was described in the following fashion:

> The streets are narrow and dark, a gloom increased by the projecting balconies of the second story . . . . The sidewalks are so narrow two people may not walk abreast, and hence the streets – which, it must be said, are well paved and scrupulously clean – are used as highways for pedestrians and vehicles in common. One wonders, with the reckless driving of the *cocheros* [drivers], who race down the streets in their carriages, giving as they come a high, shrill cry of warning, that more accidents do not occur to the slow moving foot-travelers.[245]

While the defense of the city remained of interest to those in power, the elimination of large sections of the wall suggests that, in the face of the powerful new weapons, it was no longer viewed as vital to its survival.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Old San Juan and Havana were still considered important Spanish cities, the main cities on the two islands that were the sole remnants of what was once a global empire. The Spanish-American War severed these centuries-old links to Spain. Although Old San Juan was bombarded in May 1898 during the conflict, it was not heavily damaged.[246] The Iglesia de San José, the Convento de los Dominicos, the Cuartel de Ballajá, the Manicomio, the Real Intendencia, the Arsenal de la Marina de la Puntilla, the Casa Blanca, the Seminario Conciliar, the Hospital de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción el Grande, the Catedral de San Juan, the Palacio de Santa Catalina, and nearby houses all received direct hits, but none were destroyed and they were all eventually repaired.

COMPARISON OF OLD SAN JUAN WITH COLONIAL CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Introduction

While some urban centers in the United States such as St. Augustine, Florida, and New Orleans, Louisiana, have significant Spanish colonial histories, the unwavering continuity of Spanish rule in San Juan for approximately 400 years and its sustained importance as a key military outpost and port created a place that, more than any other in the United States, represents the urban colonial impulses driving Spain as this country created an American empire. From proselytizing to empire-making to commerce-building to representing a shrinking world power, Old San Juan served Spain continuously for almost four centuries, transforming itself as required and times changed. Its closest comparatives are, of course, other Spanish colonial cities that are not part of the United States. Although not essential to demonstrating the national significance of Old San Juan, a brief discussion of Havana, Cuba—the city's closest comparative in absolute terms— in addition to selected mainland cities will provide perspective on the importance of Old San Juan.

Within the United States, Old San Juan can also be usefully compared to St. Augustine, Florida (Spanish); Charleston, South Carolina (English); New Orleans, Louisiana (French, Spanish); and Savanna, Georgia (English). The "colonial period" for a majority of the historic enclaves in the United States ceased during the early part of the nineteenth century and their forms and architecture increasingly took on an American, rather than European, character. All cities and towns founded by European powers in colonial America can be

[245] William Dinwiddie, *Puerto Rico Its Conditions and Possibilities*, 182-183.

[246] Ángel Rivero, *Crónica de la Guerra Hispano Americana en Puerto Rico* (San Juan de Puerto Rico: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1977), 94.

interpreted to a certain degree as reflections of the goals and ambitions of the different colonizing nations. The elimination of their colonial status and the dramatic expansion of the United States in the nineteenth century diluted much of their obvious European flavor as they became "American" cities. In contrast, Old San Juan was settled much earlier, its colonial period ended later, and its physical relationship to Spanish and other European urban centers is stronger.

While some of the mainland colonial centers were impacted to differing degrees by various ruling European powers before being absorbed into the United States (Spain and Great Britain in St. Augustine and France and Spain in New Orleans), Old San Juan—like Havana—remained exclusively tied to one culture. Additionally, because Puerto Rico was not annexed by the United States until 1898, Old San Juan also did not share in the American expansion of these colonial centers during the nineteenth century. Charleston and Savannah have Revolutionary War histories and became part of the United States at the time the nation was established, New Orleans entered the United States as part of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, and St. Augustine when Florida became a territory in 1822.

The NHL districts in all four of the historic American cities on the mainland compared to Old San Juan convey their colonial history to differing degrees. Charleston and the Vieux Carré in New Orleans approach Old San Juan in cohesiveness in terms of both urbanism and architecture, but their urban fabric in many ways speaks as much to their considerable growth and change in the nineteenth century as part of the United States as it does to their colonial histories under Britain, France, and Spain. Old San Juan remained the principal city of a Spanish colony for nearly four hundred years and it is not surprising that its blocks reflect that long direct relationship with Spain. Its robust walls are not only a nationally and internationally important survivor in and of themselves, they contained the city for centuries before it spilled outside of them, resulting in a densely developed urban center and one with a remarkable degree of architectural cohesiveness. This density also contributed to a streetscape defined by continuous walls of individual facades, as few buildings—houses or other types—stood fully or even partially independent from another.

Havana, Cuba

No city is more intimately related to Old San Juan than Havana, Cuba. The islands of Puerto Rico and Cuba have been poetically described as two wings of the same bird. The exact same metaphor can be used to describe their capitals—sister cities to this day. The sisterhood is celebrated in poems and songs for both centers were founded during the Conquest Period (early-sixteenth century) and, until 1898, remained part of the Spanish Empire.

While both cities were established more or less simultaneously, the Puerto Rican center was always humbler and less exuberant than its amazingly rich Cuban neighbor.[247] Similarities between the cities include their partial platting before the *Laws of Indies*; high-density development with buildings that share party walls; construction techniques and materials; and architectural styles and aesthetic precedents. In addition, the use of the *cuarto esquinero* (corner room), *sala-saleta* organization, wood and iron balconies, and louvered doors characterized both cores. While many Havana houses use the flat *azoteas de Cádiz*, its *azotea* roofs (hip roofs with wooden trusses) belie the profound influence Moorish architecture had in the Cuban enclave.

Old San Juan was located between the third and fourth line of defense. In a sense, it was sandwiched by these lines and, therefore, it was intimately connected to military routines. Surrounded by a huge wall and located at

[247] Diego Velázquez de Cuéllar, a conquistador, founded San Cristóbal de la Havana on 25 August 1514 or 1515 on the southern coast of Cuba. Two other sites were considered for the embryonic settlement before its present location was chosen ca. 1519, close to a deep bay on northern coast. Because Old San Juan never changed places after its 1519 establishment, historians grant it an earlier founding date than Havana.

the tip of an islet, Old San Juan had its growth tightly controlled early on. Havana's most important military sites and structures—the Castillo de los Tres Reyes Magos del Morro and the citadel known as the Fortaleza de San Carlos de la Cabaña—were located on the other side of the bay. Although Havana was surrounded by walls, the city could grow (once the walls were destroyed) outward unimpeded. This physical separation and potential area of expansion encouraged a different approach to city living, characterized by a higher degree of elegance and sophistication than found in Old San Juan. The richly-appointed architecture of Havana—at times sumptuous and palatial—is also comparatively lacking in most of Old San Juan's buildings. The façade of Havana's Baroque cathedral, for example, has a complex dynamism evident in the convex-concave-convex curvature of its façade, a level of artistry never attempted in the Puerto Rican core. Still, the cities share many similarities as a result of nearly four hundred years of association with the Spanish empire and the same cultural roots and architectural and urban models.

St. Augustine, Florida

St. Augustine (NHL, 1970) is the oldest city and port established by Europeans in the continental United States. Founded on September 8, 1565, by Spanish explorer and admiral Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, it was named in Spanish fashion after the Roman Catholic saint Augustine of Hippo. The city is located in the *La Florida* territory that was first explored by Juan Ponce de León in 1513. As noted earlier, Juan Ponce de León founded the city after he was ordered by the Spanish Crown north to St. Augustine, to establish Spain's presence on the North American continent. Both his first and second exploratory voyages of the Florida territory departed from Old San Juan's *puerto Rico*. Like the Puerto Rican urban core, the small Florida enclave was loosely organized around a plaza that faced the water. This public space was framed by the most relevant buildings, including the principal church, and anchored an irregular grid of blocks of varying sizes.

St. Augustine was frequently attacked by other European powers including the French (assisted by native tribes) and the British (including one led by Sir Francis Drake). The English attack in 1668 resulted in the construction of the Castillo de San Marcos, built between 1672 and 1695. The centralized multi-bastioned fort is located on the northern part of the enclave and has a small surrounding esplanade. Although diminutive if judged by the defensive standards of Old San Juan or Havana, the masonry castle represents state-of-the-art military engineering for the time.[248] Juan Bautista Antonelli, the engineer for San Juan's and Havana's defensive master plans, designed the structure. While he may have considered encircling the core with a thick wall this was never formally proposed, perhaps because St. Augustine was always considered a secondary military outpost.[249] Old San Juan is the only urban center in the United States whose development was so impacted by a perimeter wall.

St. Augustine never attained the commercial relevance of New Orleans as an international port or of Old San Juan as a Spanish military center and port-of-call. Given the frequent threats and political turnover that characterized the city, the growth of the town can be described as "checkered." Late-nineteenth and early-twentieth -century photographs record a collection of comparatively small and modest buildings, many built of wood although some used *coquina*. Many houses were characteristically constructed with a masonry first floor and frame upper story.

[248] Another small fort was constructed by the Spaniards to control the Matanzas River. At a later time (ca. 1861-65), an urban masonry portal was created facing present day St. George Street. It is formed of two square piers capped by curved elements that support decorative stone balls.

[249] The city included a cloistered monastery, which was transformed by the British at a later date into the St. Francis Barracks.

As a result of the Treaty of Paris of 1763, Great Britain gained control of Florida and St. Augustine.[250] The change in sovereignty naturally resulted in an interruption in the development of Spanish colonial ideas within the town. These changes were not only caused by the presence of a new political power in St. Augustine, but also by its abandonment by most of the 3,100 Spanish inhabitants. St Augustine's role as a secondary enclave, for both the Spanish and the British, resulted in relatively spontaneous and irregular urban development. Although the orthogonal grid seems to have been the overriding organizational approach, there was no standardization in terms of block size or development. The British returned St. Augustine to the Spanish under the terms of a 1783 treaty; Spain controlled it until it was annexed by the United States.[251] Despite this change, St. Augustine remained on the periphery of the Spanish empire and elements of the British settlement—for example the "high street" urban organization—remained in place, overlaid on the existing Spanish grid.[252] St. Augustine's current urban character is a result of its establishment as a resort town by Henry Flagler in the 1880s and the growing interest in its Spanish history. The principal high-style resort hotels reflect a fanciful interpretation of *Hispano-Moorish* architecture and the Spanish Baroque with no precedent in St. Augustine and few, if any, loose comparatives anywhere in Spanish America.

St. Augustine's urban organization was quite different from Old San Juan despite the fact that both cities were founded by Spain during the sixteenth century. The five decades of lag between their foundations are significant when considering Caribbean colonies (Cuba, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico) in the Conquest Period. Much changed in the intervening years between the foundation of Old San Juan and St. Augustine

Charleston, South Carolina

The English founded Charleston, South Carolina (NHL, 1960), in 1670 as "Charles Towne" in honor of King Charles II of Great Britain.[253] It moved to its present location ten years later. William Sayle, a Lord Proprietor, received the foundational charter. Organized at the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers, the enclave was assaulted by the Spanish, French, and Native Americans during its early years. A 1733 map by Herman Moll depicts a protected urban enclave with an irregular perimeter of defensive walls pierced by gates. An orthogonal grid was used to organize the town within the defensive walls, but the system of streets and blocks depicted in this plan was never fully completed as planned. While the city was founded by the British, the defensive structures and walls were not unlike those used by the Spanish, attesting to the universality of military engineering. Fort Sullivan was completed in 1776 to defend the city against the British, at the same time that Old San Juan's defensive system was finally reaching full completion.[254] The use of palmetto logs for the construction of Fort Sullivan obscured any similarities in military engineering underlying it and the defenses in San Juan.

Charleston became an extremely wealthy city and the principal port in the slave traffic on the eastern coast of the United States; its development cannot be separated from the plantation economy that characterized the South prior to the Civil War. It was known for its many church steeples and elegant residential architecture. The vast majority of its elegant houses are set in gardens and do not share party walls as they do in Old San Juan. This placement allowed for the development of the idiosyncratic "single house," which is turned with its short side to the street and features a deep piazza along its long side facing into the garden. The form allowed both privacy and a way to catch the breezes in the subtropical climate. The at times opulent domestic architecture visible throughout Charleston and the single house with its piazza and side gardens contrast sharply

[250] British-occupied Havana was given back to the Spaniards as a result of this treaty.

[251] In 1821, Spain ceded Florida back to the United States by means of the Adams-Onís Treaty.

[252] This merger of urban features is also reflected in the names of major sites, such as The Parade and King George Street, as well as the present name rather than the original San Agustín.

[253] The present name of Charleston was adopted in 1783.

[254] The fort was able to repel the British and was renamed Fort Moultrie in honor of Colonel William Moultrie, who was in charge of both the construction effort and the military maneuvers.

with the attached, and often more sober-looking houses found throughout Old San Juan. Nearly all of the buildings in Old San Juan were stuccoed while in Charleston exposed brick and wood were also amply used

New Orleans, Louisiana

New Orleans was founded in 1718 by Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville and named in honor of the regent of France, Philippe, Duc de Orléans. The settlement was formally laid-out in 1721 and became the capital of French Louisiana four years later. In 1763, as part of the settlement of the Seven Year's War (the portion of the conflict in North America is known as the French and Indian War), Britain received Spanish-held Florida in exchanged for Louisiana. During the period of Spanish rule (1763-1801), the core of New Orleans, known now as the Vieux Carré (or French Quarter; NHL, 1965) burned twice in 1788 and 1794, destroying most of the (generally wood) buildings dating from the early French settlement.[255] Much of the Vieux Carré's present character dates from reconstructions post-dating the fires and, by order of the Spanish governor, were constructed of brick and stuccoed or limed over if the bricks were set between exposed wooden posts. While architectural ideas emanating from Spain surely contributed to the reconstruction efforts, much of the high-style architecture dating from after the fire reflected pan-European developments in architecture and vernacular construction techniques pioneered by the French in Louisiana.

The orthogonal grid with a principal plaza facing the water is not unlike the ideal colonial city as outlined in the *Laws of Indies*. As planned, the design of the fortified settlement was also likely informed by the French bastide, a medieval urban form.[256] The mixture of styles and construction techniques in New Orleans can be attributed to a variety of influences, yet the function, location, and architecture of The Cabildo (1795-1799) and The Presbytère (1791-1813), designed by Gilberto Guillemard, a military engineer born in France, have great affinity with similar types of Spanish buildings elsewhere in its American empire.[257] In general, the historic core of New Orleans has more affinity with Old San Juan than Charleston, likely the result of the reconstructions. As in Old San Juan, most blocks in the Vieux Carré are characterized by urban houses sharing party walls, many of the buildings are stuccoed, and ornate iron balconies are widespread throughout the district. Although St. Augustine was founded by the Spanish in the sixteenth century and remained part of its empire for two centuries, the French Quarter of New Orleans bears more similarities to Old San Juan than any other city in the United States with a colonial history.

Savannah, Georgia

In 1733, the British General James Oglethorpe established Savannah (NHL, 1966) approximately twenty-two miles up the Savannah River from the Atlantic Ocean. The city was the colonial capital and first state capital of Georgia. Savannah's urban form was very distinct from that of Old San Juan. The "Olgethorpe Plan" used for the establishment and orderly expansion of Savannah has no direct comparatives. Oglethorpe created a system of wards that were organized around squares (twenty-four were eventually constructed) placed regularly across the street grid. Streets defined the residential and non-residential blocks within each ward. While attached urban housing can be seen throughout the historic district, freestanding houses, civic, and religious buildings are present in great number. The city can also very much be described as a "garden city" with its twenty-four squares formally and informally landscaped, and trees and greenery around freestanding buildings.

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[255] Napoleon sold the city to the United States as part of the Louisiana Purchase of 1803.

[256] Bastide were medieval fortified towns planned according to the principles of the Roman *castra* (military camps). These new settlements were principally constructed during the thirteenth century with the goal of colonizing isolated parts of France. Most bastides were organized following the reticular arrangements of the Roman *insulae* (orthogonal city blocks). Arleen Pabón Charneco, *La arquitectura patrimonial puertorriqueña y sus estilos*, 64-66.

[257] Karen Kingsley, *Buildings of Louisiana*, Society of Architectural Historians, Buildings of the United States (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 62.

Savannah's city defenses were also quite distinct from San Juan's. Fort Jackson was sited on the south bank of the Savannah River one mile east from the city and Fort Pulaski on an island near its mouth. Savannah's upriver location and its establishment later than most of the other colonial-era cities probably provided Oglethorpe and the colony's other leaders enough confidence to forego building a wall around the city. The lack of a wall and the placement of the forts well outside the city meant that the military was not a daily presence in Savannah as it was in Old San Juan nor were defensive structures an important component of the urban center.

The importance of the river to Savannah for commerce and survival was equal to that of the sea and Old San Juan, but how the cities addressed the water were very distinct. In contrast to Old San Juan's cathedral square, which faced and was once opened to the *fondeadero*, none of Savannah's famous squares faced the water, which may have occurred because the grade change between the water and the top of the bluff was significant and steep. Instead, a street grew up parallel to the river that was lined with warehouses and commercial establishments. In the nineteenth century, the upper levels of these buildings reached above the level of the bluff to stand across Bay Street from the first row of Oglethorpe's squares.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
_X_ Previously Listed in the National Register.
__ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
__ Designated a National Historic Landmark.
__ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #HABS PR-61; Call Number: HABS PR, 7-SAJU-42.
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

_X_ State Historic Preservation Office
_X_ Other State Agency
_X_ Federal Agency
_X_ Local Government
_X_ University
_X_ Other (Specify Repository): Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain; Archivo HIstórico Militar, Madrid, Spain; Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid, Spain; National Archives, Washington DC; Archivo General de Puerto Rico, San Juan, Puerto Rico; Biblioteca General de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras, Puerto Rico; Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, San Juan, Puerto Rico; San Juan National Historic Site Archives, Old San Juan, Puerto Rico; Municipality of San Juan, San Juan, Puerto Rico.

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: approximately 235 acres

UTM References:

	Zone	Easting	Northing
A	19	805560	2044490
B		805600	2044340
C		804550	2043360
D		803780	2043970
E		803550	2044870
F		802440	2044180

Verbal Boundary Description: Beginning at a point at the easternmost extent of the Castillo de San Cristóbal, known as the Outworks, on the so-called Colina de los Tres Reyes Magos, proceed west along the exterior base of the defensive wall on the north side of Old San Juan. At the tip of the bastion just to the east of the easternmost properties in the La Perla neighborhood, the boundary proceeds north to the Atlantic Ocean and then proceeds west along the coast to the north of La Perla. Turn south from the Atlantic Ocean at a point in line with the eastern wall of the Santa María Magdalena de Pazzis Cemetery and turn west and follow the outside base of the northern wall of the cemetery. At the western terminus of this cemetery wall, at a point

where it intersects with the defensive wall, continue west along the exterior base of the defensive wall. Continue along the base of the defensive wall around the westernmost point of the islet marked by the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro and continue south and then southeast along the base of the wall around the two bastions. At a point just beyond La Fortaleza to the southeast, turn south along San Juan Bay following the western edge of the plaza and fountain in the Paseo de la Princesa. Continue following the shoreline south to the southernmost point of the area known as La Puntilla. Continue following the shoreline north along the western edge of the port basin and continue east along the shoreline toward the piers. At the intersection of this line and the Calle Tanca turn north. Continue north along Calle Tanca until the street intersects with Calle Recinto Sur, turn east and continue along the southern border of Calle Recinto Sur until the large intersection with the Paseo Covadonga and Puerto Rico 25. Continue east along the south side of Puerto Rico 25 (Paseo de Colón) and follow it north along its east side after the bend in the road around the Teatro Alejandro Tapia y Rivera and along the east side of the Plaza de Colón. At the northeast corner of the plaza, turn east at Calle San Francisco and continue in line with the street (on the north side of Puerto Rico 25 or Avenida Muñoz Rivera) until the line intersects with the exterior base of the Outworks on the south side of the Castillo de San Cristóbal. Continue along the exterior base of the Castillo's Outworks to the east and north to the point of origin. The district also includes a discontiguous parcel across the bay historically known as El Fortín del Cañuelo.

Boundary Justification: Most of the boundary roughly corresponds with the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century defensive walls and structures. Areas initially developed in the nineteenth century outside the walls to the north and south are also included: the La Perla neighborhood and the cemetery on the north and portions of La Puntilla on the peninsula to the south. La Perla formerly included sixteenth-century defenses and, after the construction of the defensive walls, was the location of noxious businesses, such as a slaughter house, and the homes of low status individuals not welcome within the walls. The cemetery was established in the nineteenth century when the original one located within the walls was relocated for health reasons and under development pressures as the population density increased. La Puntilla was the location of various functions over the centuries: in the eighteenth century it was used by the Spanish navy and during the nineteenth century it was the location of the principal prison and a major promenade (Paseo de la Princesa).

11. FORM PREPARED BY

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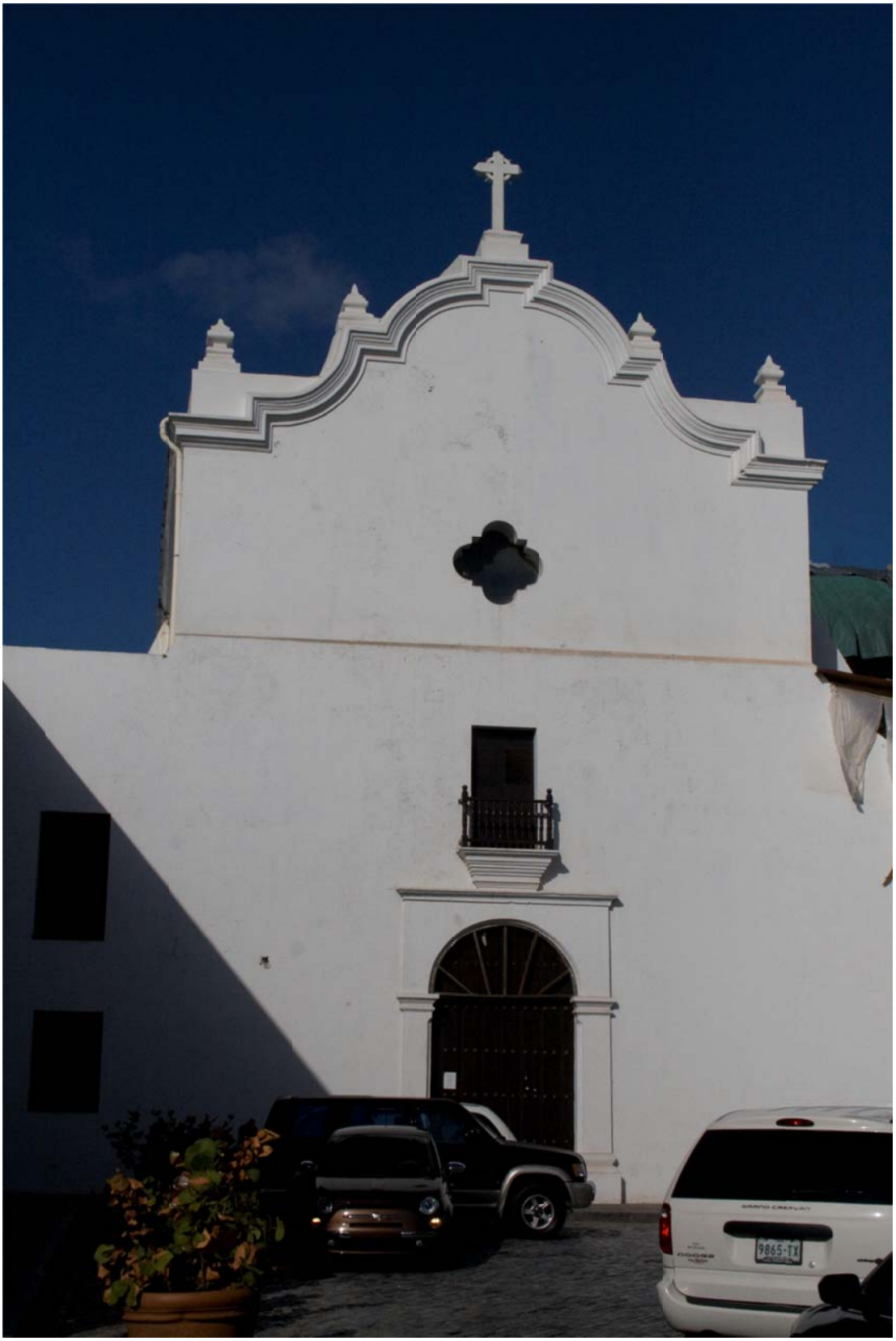
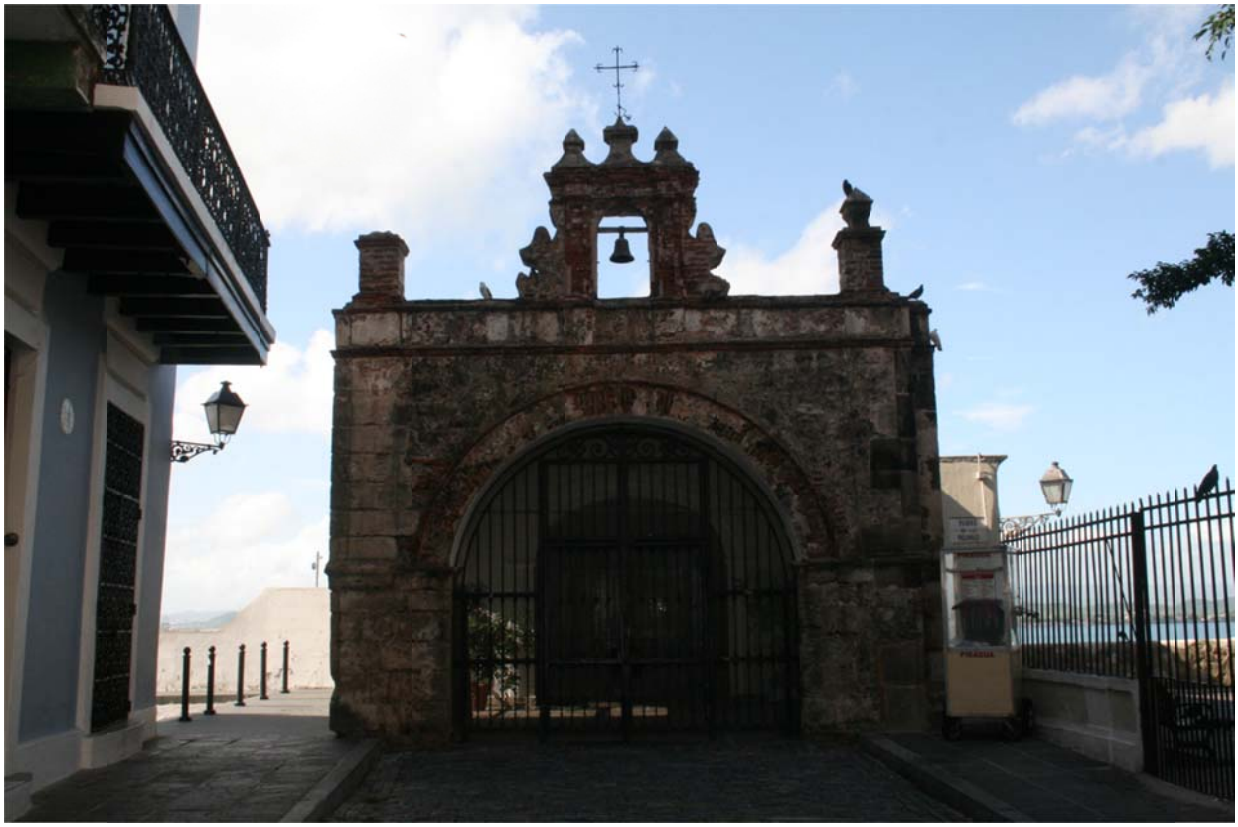
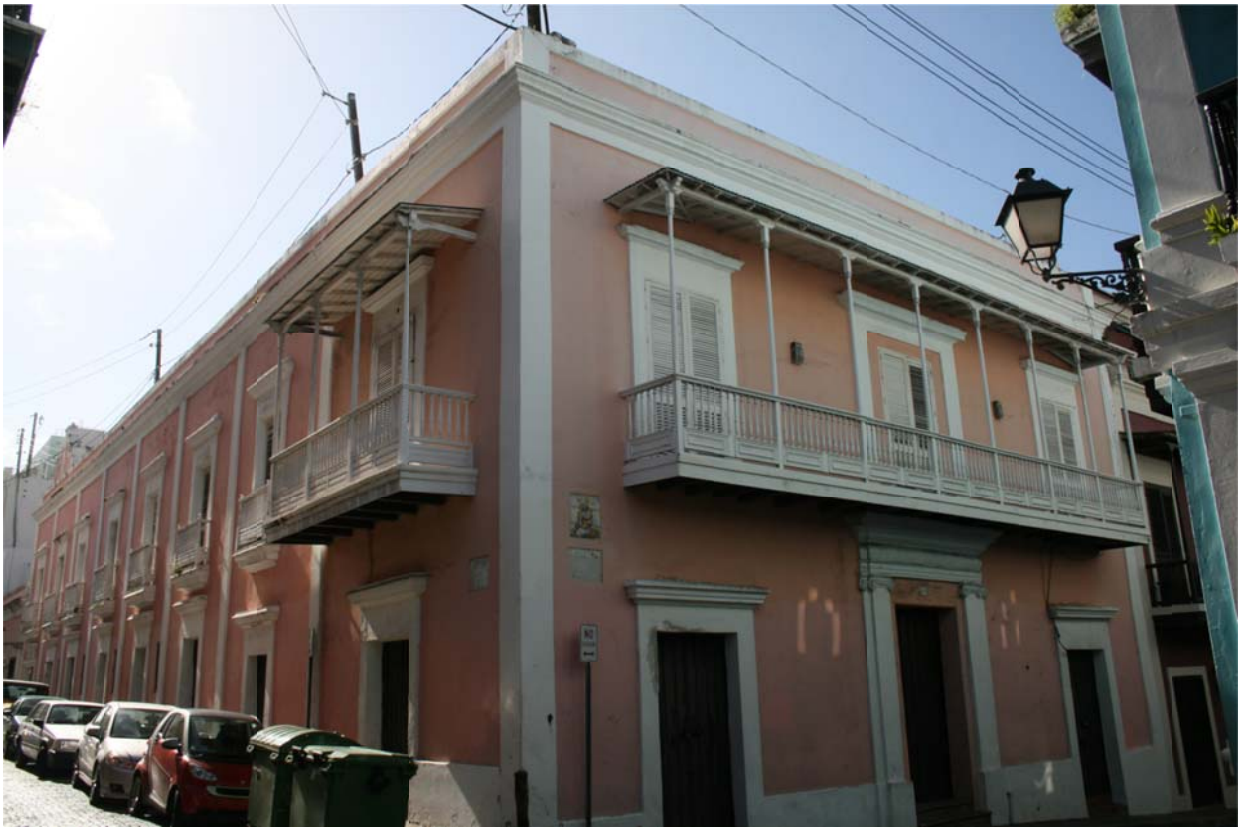
NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM
September 7, 2012

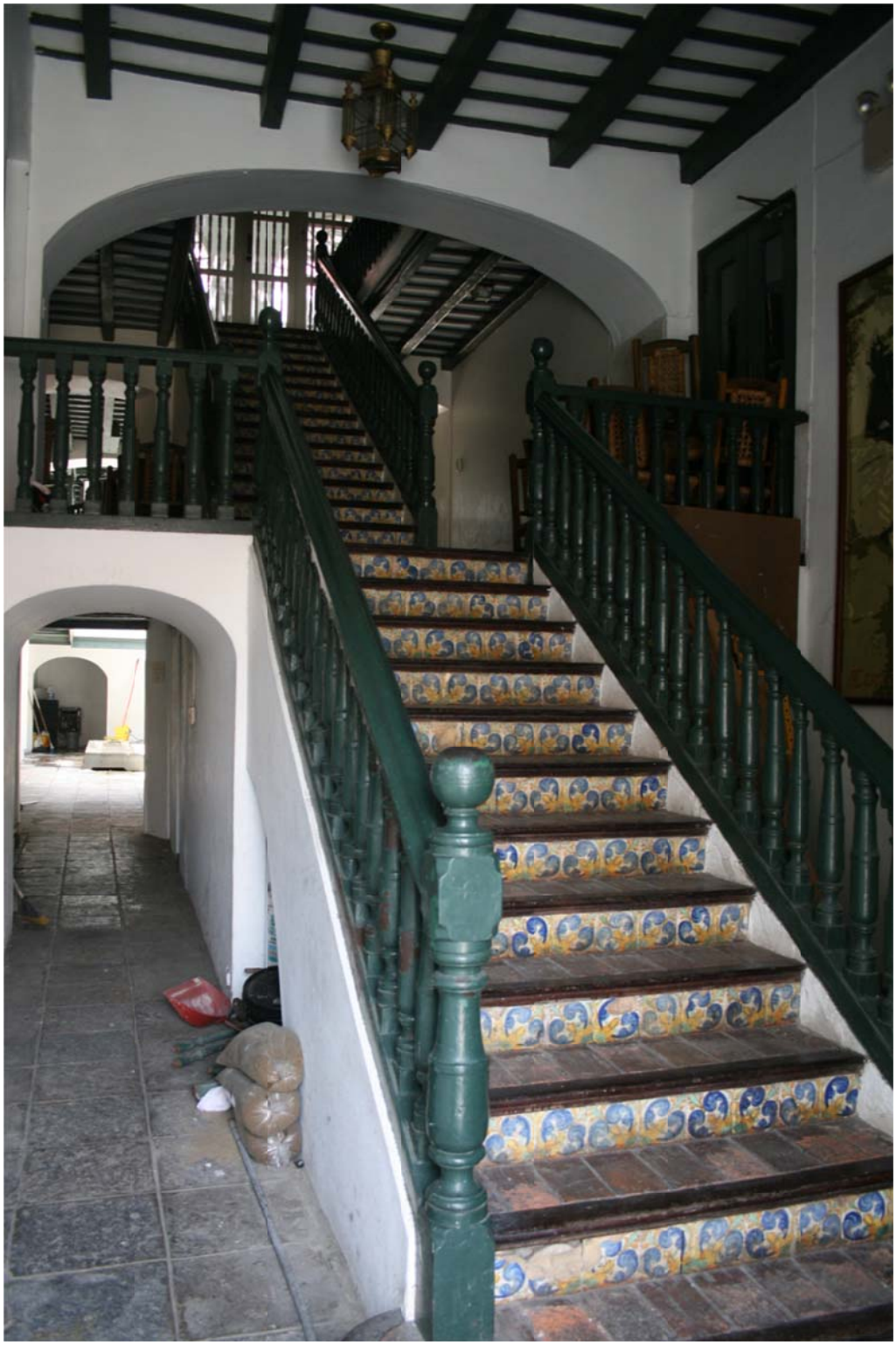


Iglesia de San José entrance, camera facing east. Photograph by Carlos A. Rubio Cancela, Puerto Rico State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), June 24, 2012.

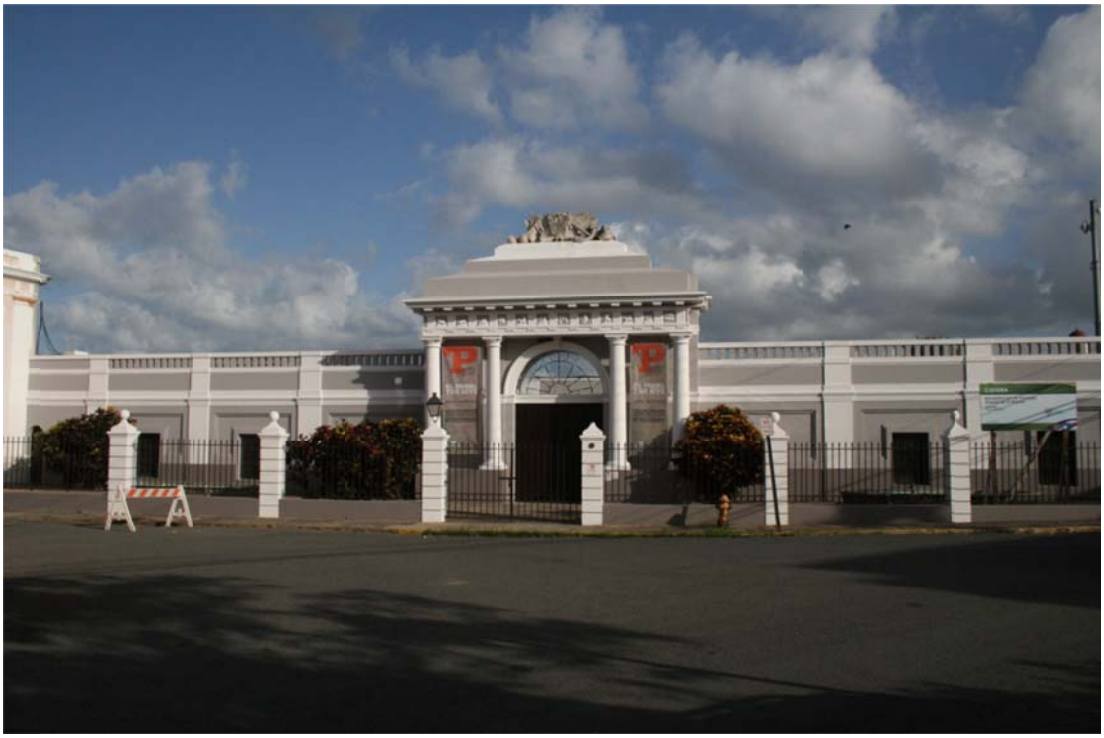


Capilla del Cristo, camera facing south (above), and Residence at Calle de San José 101, camera facing east (below). Photographs by Carlos A. Rubio Cancela, PR SHPO, June 19, 2012.

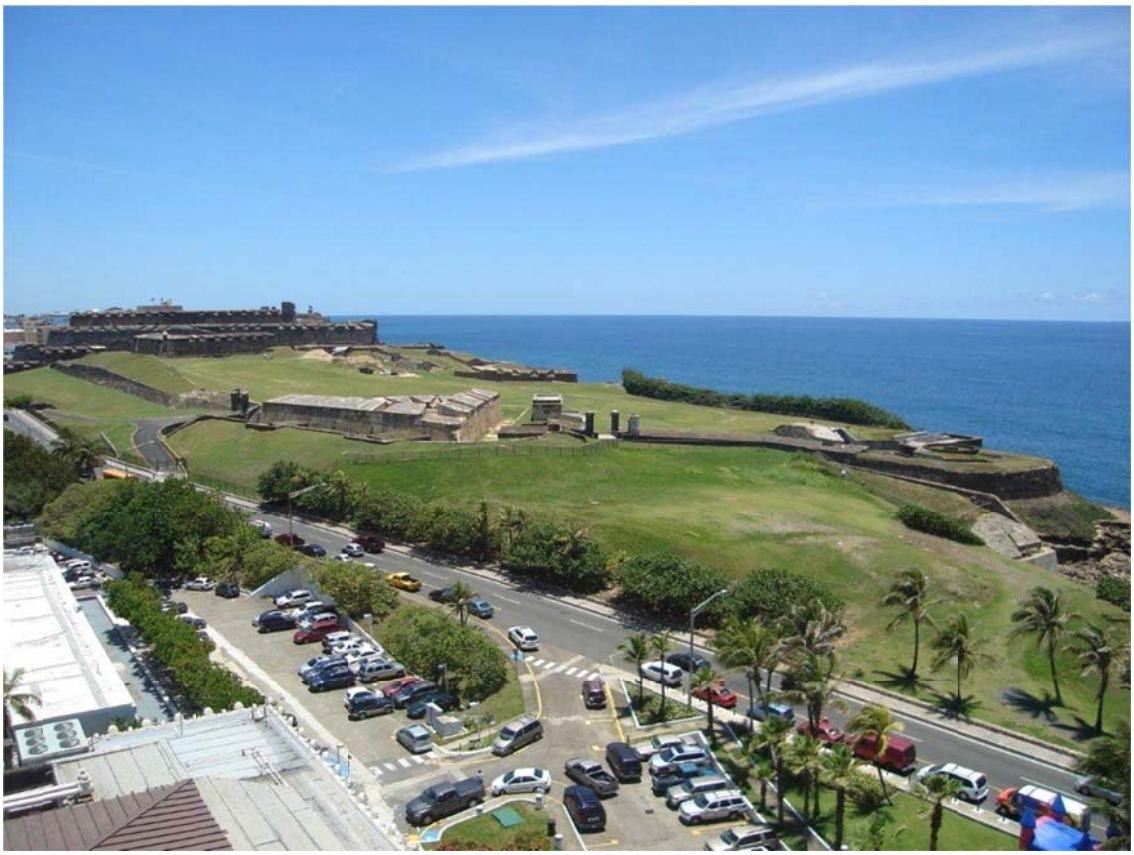


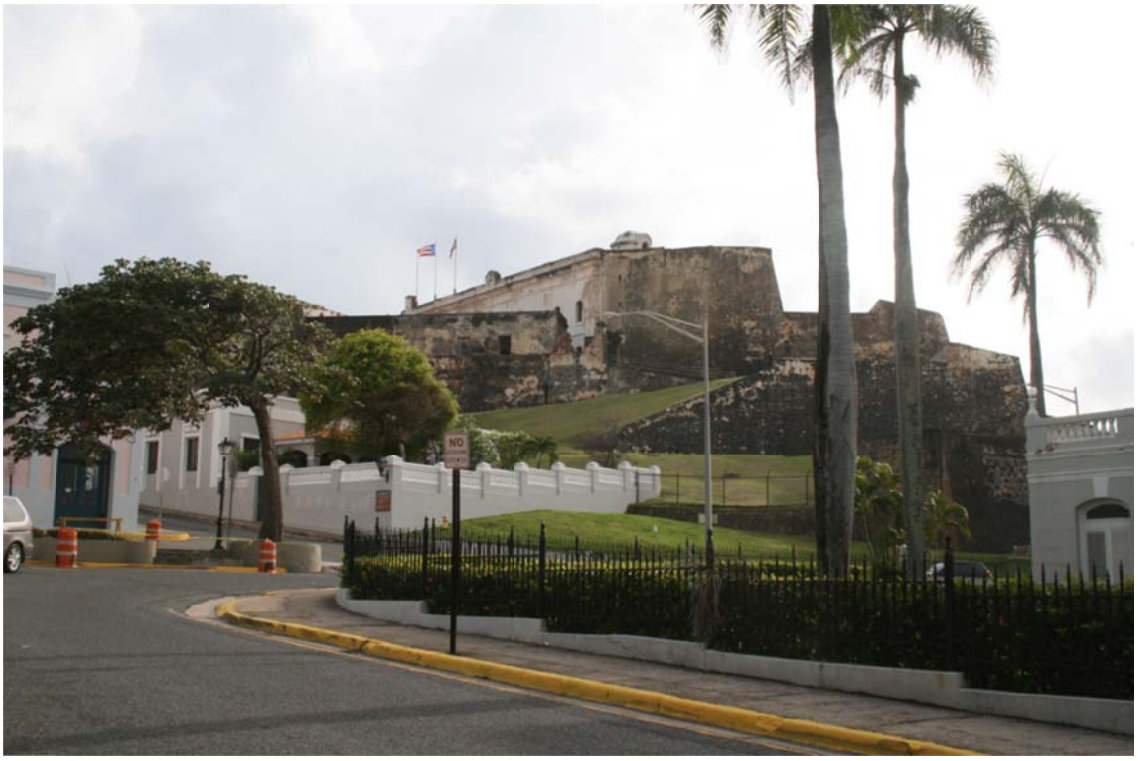


Casa de los Dos Zaguanes, staircase, camera facing southeast.
Photography by Dr. Arleen Pabón-Charneco, June 29, 2011.

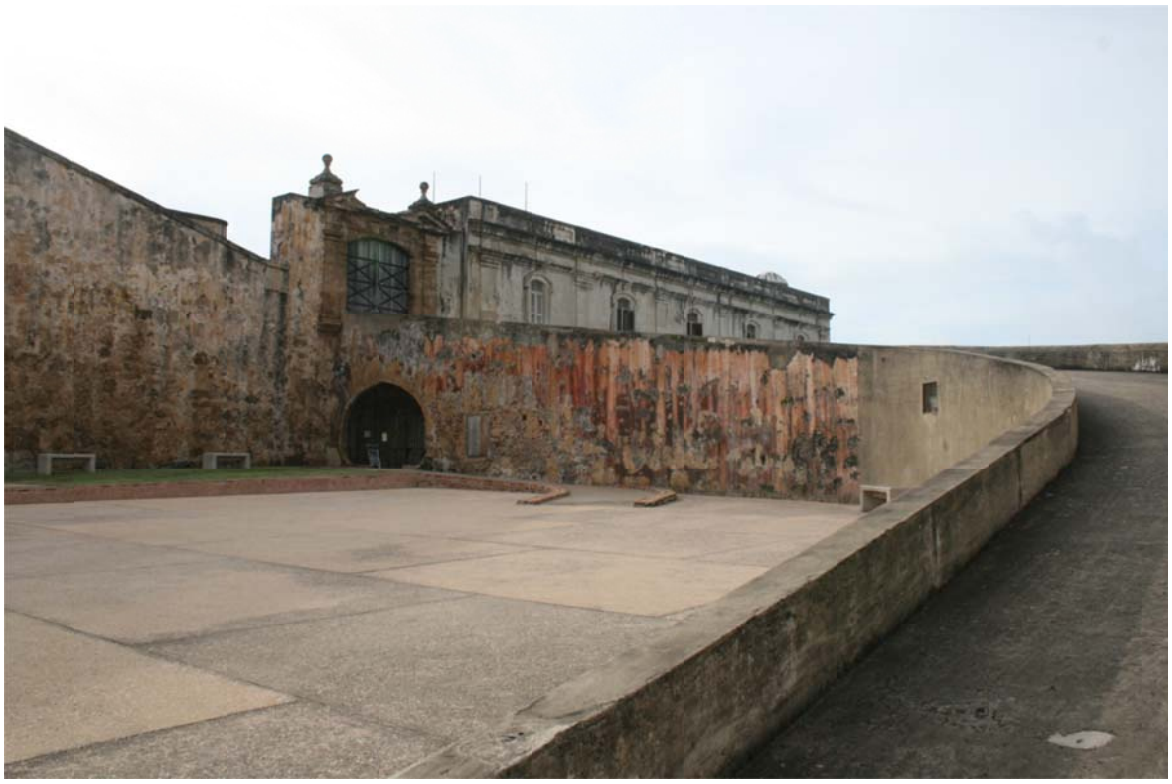


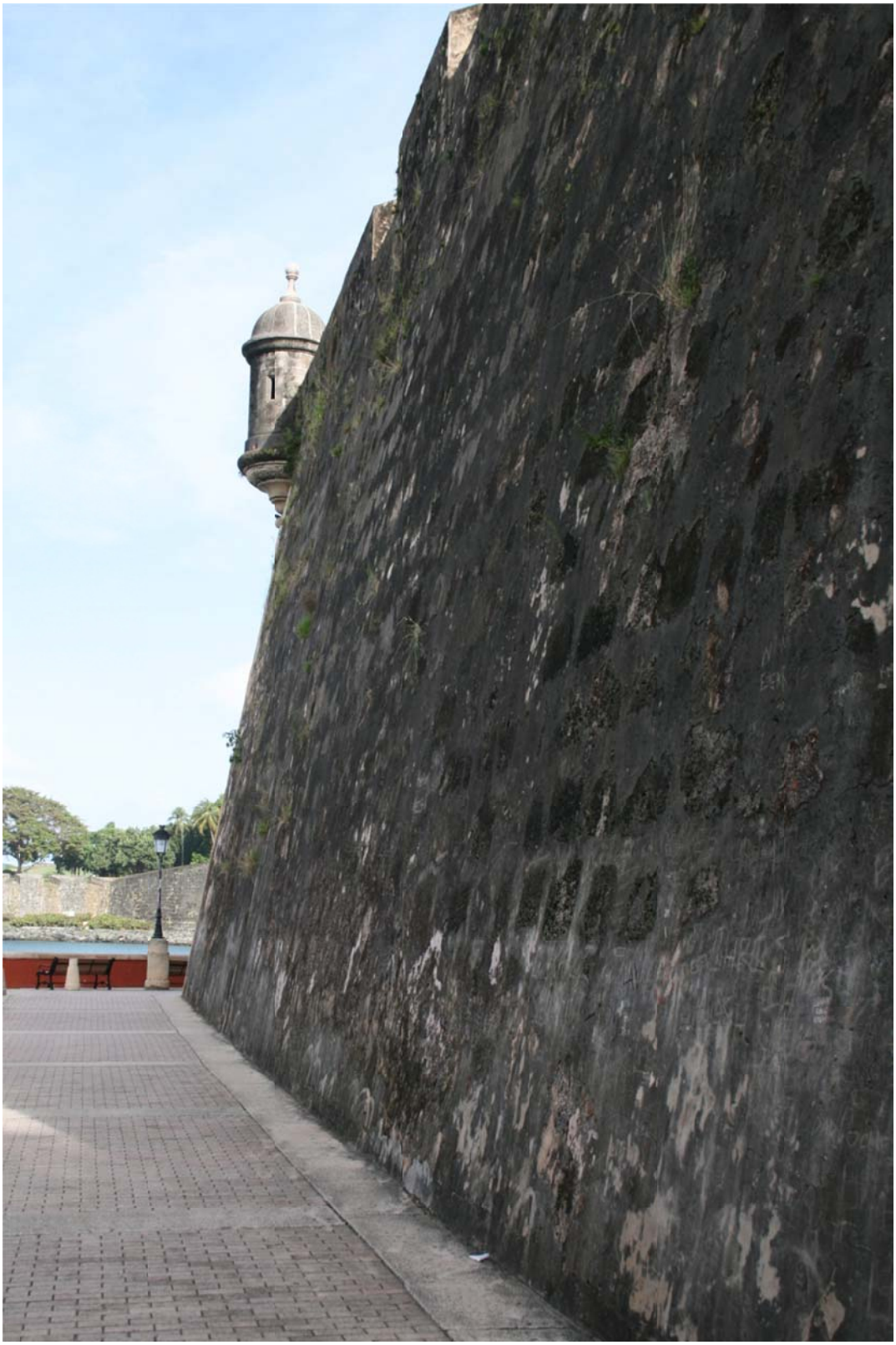
Arsenal de la Marina, camera facing south (above). Photograph by Carlos A. Rubio Cancela, PRSHPO, June 24, 2012.
Fuerte del Abanico, Batería de la Princesa and Castillo de San Cristóbal, camera facing northwest (below). Photograph by Santiago Gala, PR SHPO, March 28, 2011.



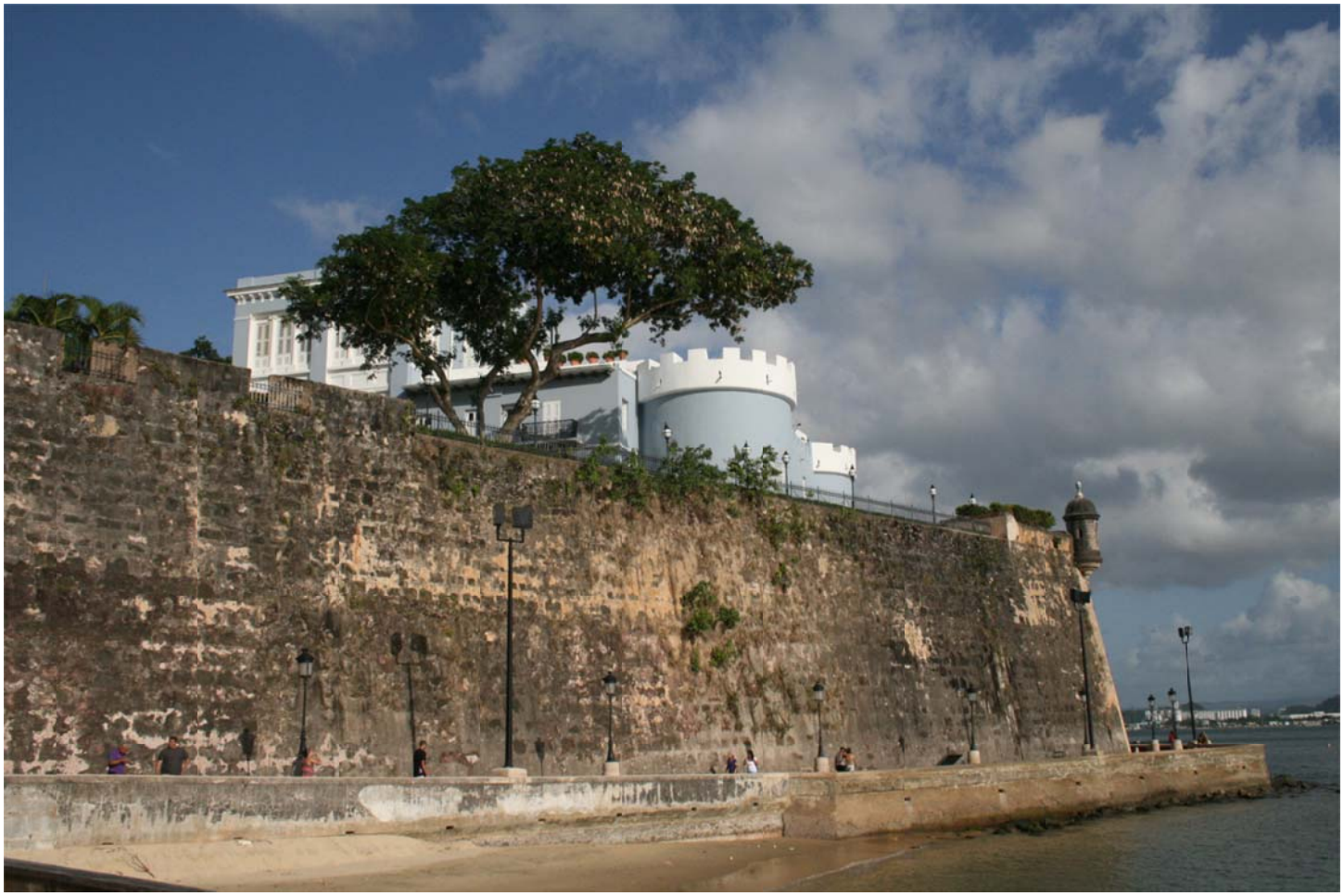


Castillo de San Cristóbal and Casino de Puerto Rico (right), camera facing northeast (above). Photograph by Dr. Arleen Pabón-Charneco, June 6, 2011.
Castillo de San Cristóbal, north facade, camera facing southeast (below). Photograph by Dr. Arleen Pabón-Charneco, June 25, 2011.

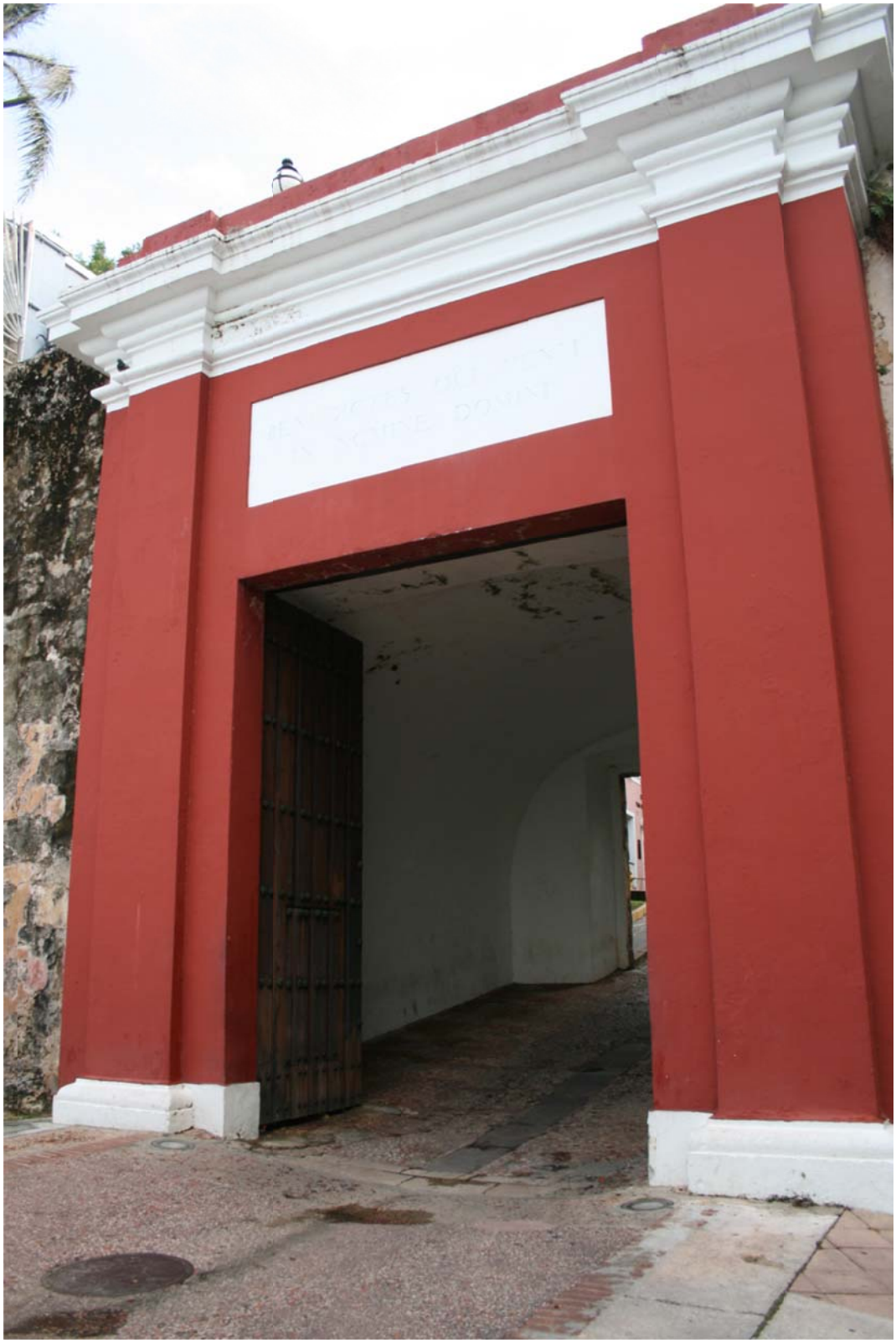




South Wall, south façade, camera facing north.
Photograph by Dr. Arleen Pabón-Charneco, October 31, 2010.

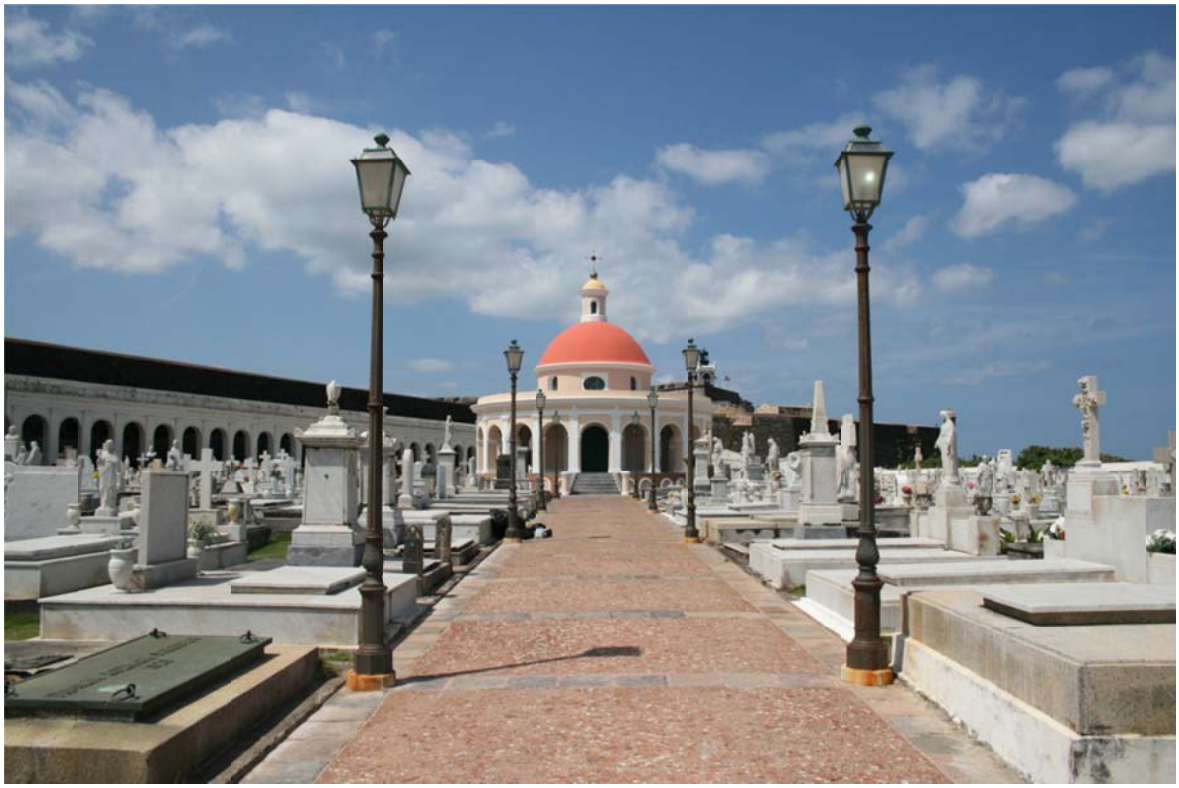


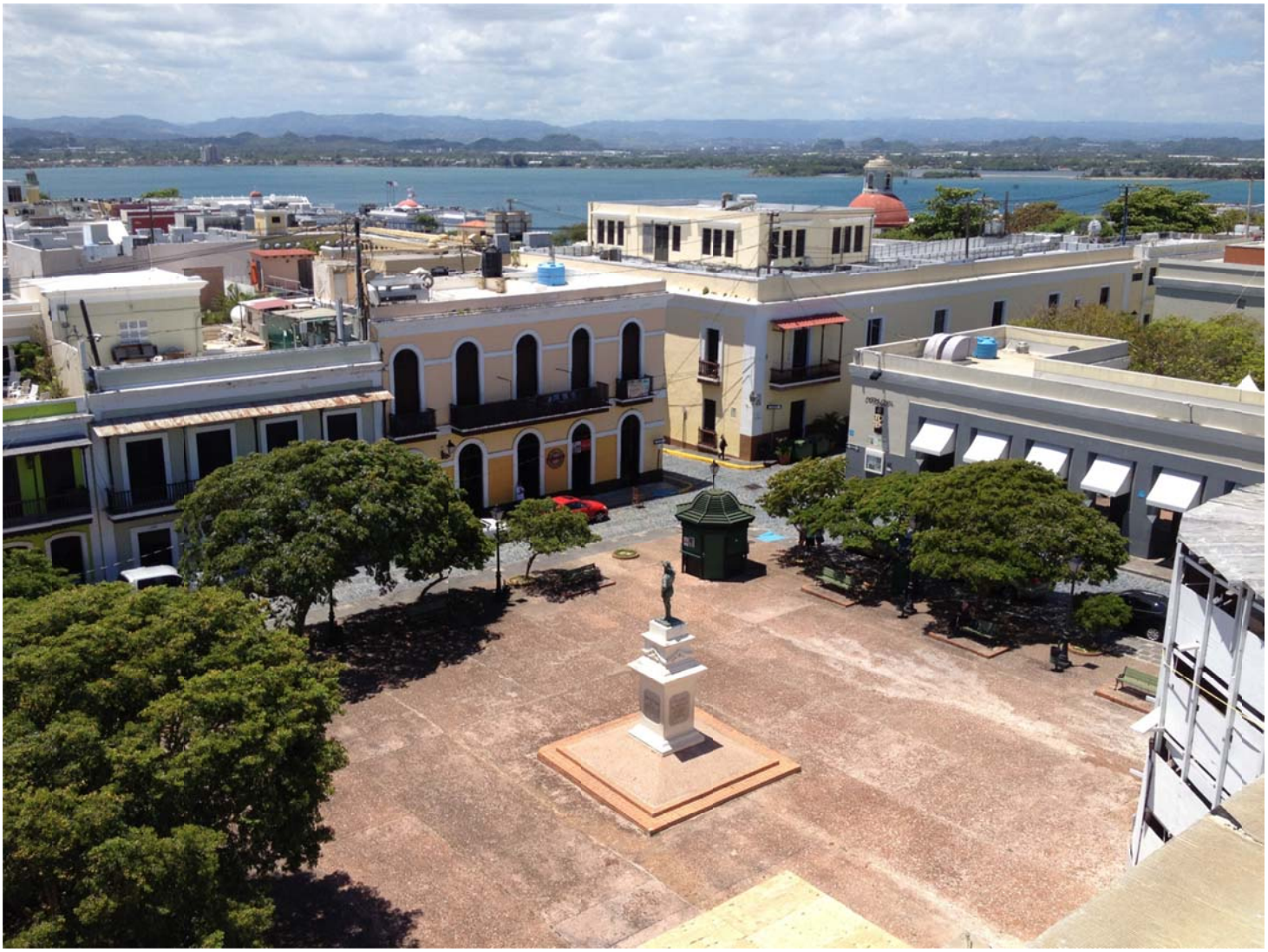
Paseo, Western wall and Palacio de Santa Catalina, camera facing south.
Photograph by Carlos A. Rubio Cancela, PR SHPO, June 24, 2010.



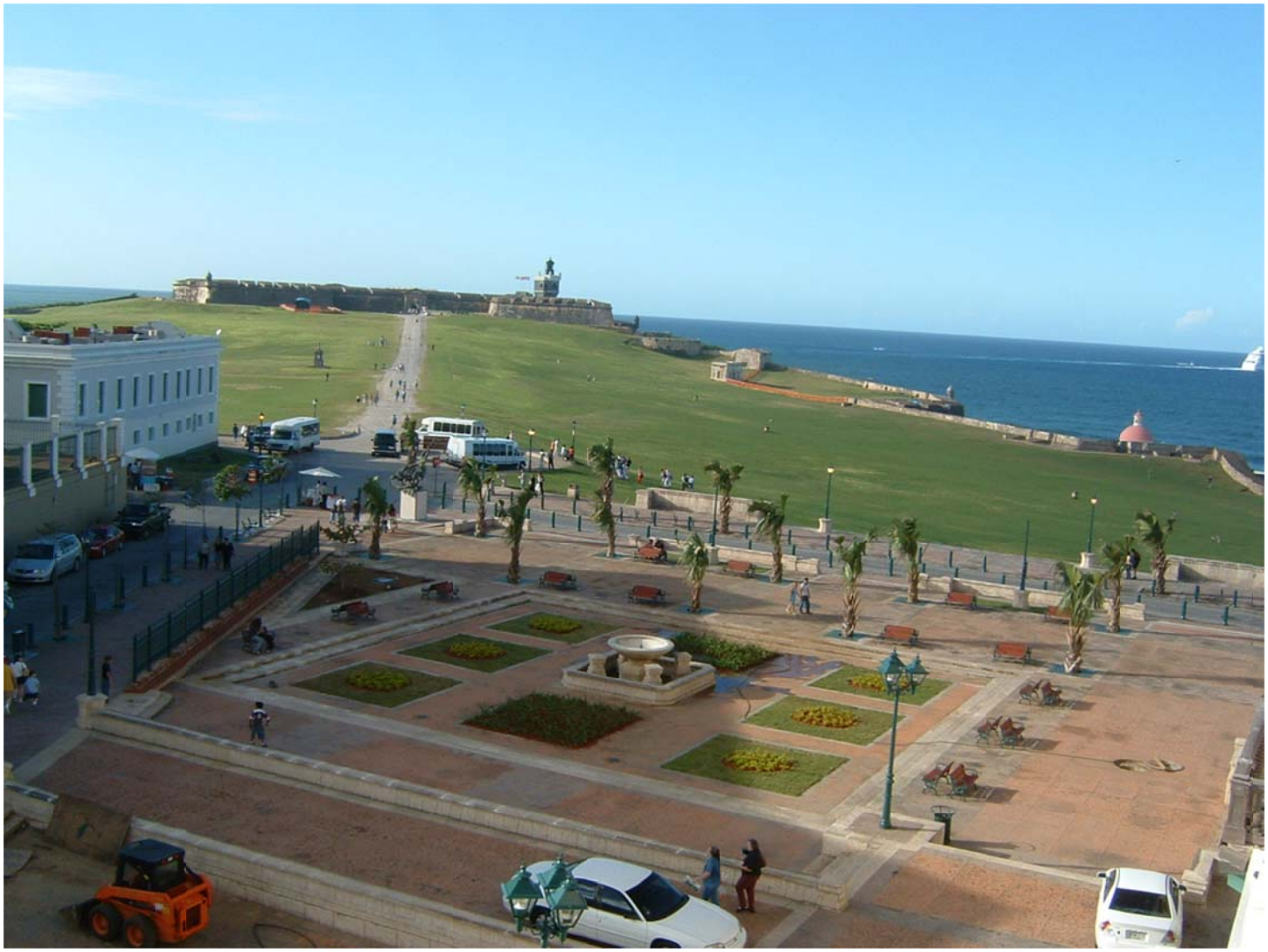
Puerta de San Juan, exterior, camera facing east.
Photograph by Dr. Arleen Pabón-Charneco, October 31, 2010.

West Wall, camera facing north (above). Photograph by Dr. Arleen Pabón-Charneco, October 31, 2010.
Cementerio de Santa María Magdalena de Pazzis, Chapel, south façade, camera facing north (below).
Photography by Santiago Gala, February 25, 2010.

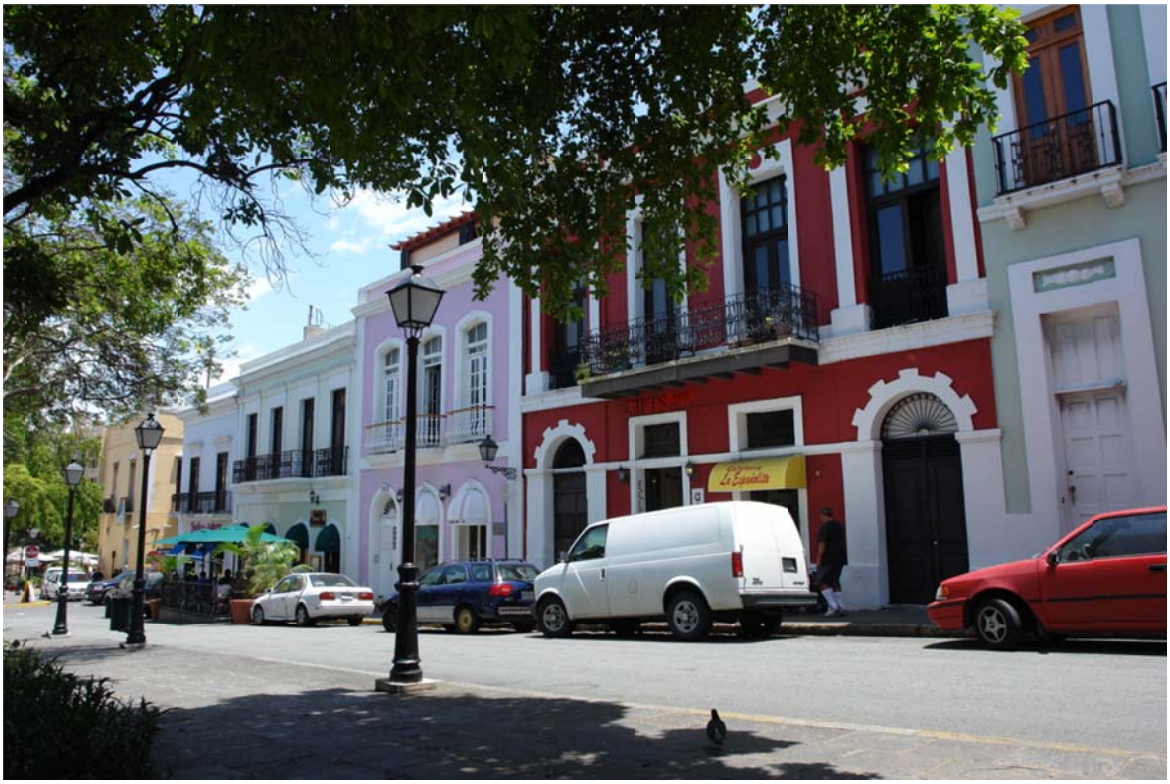




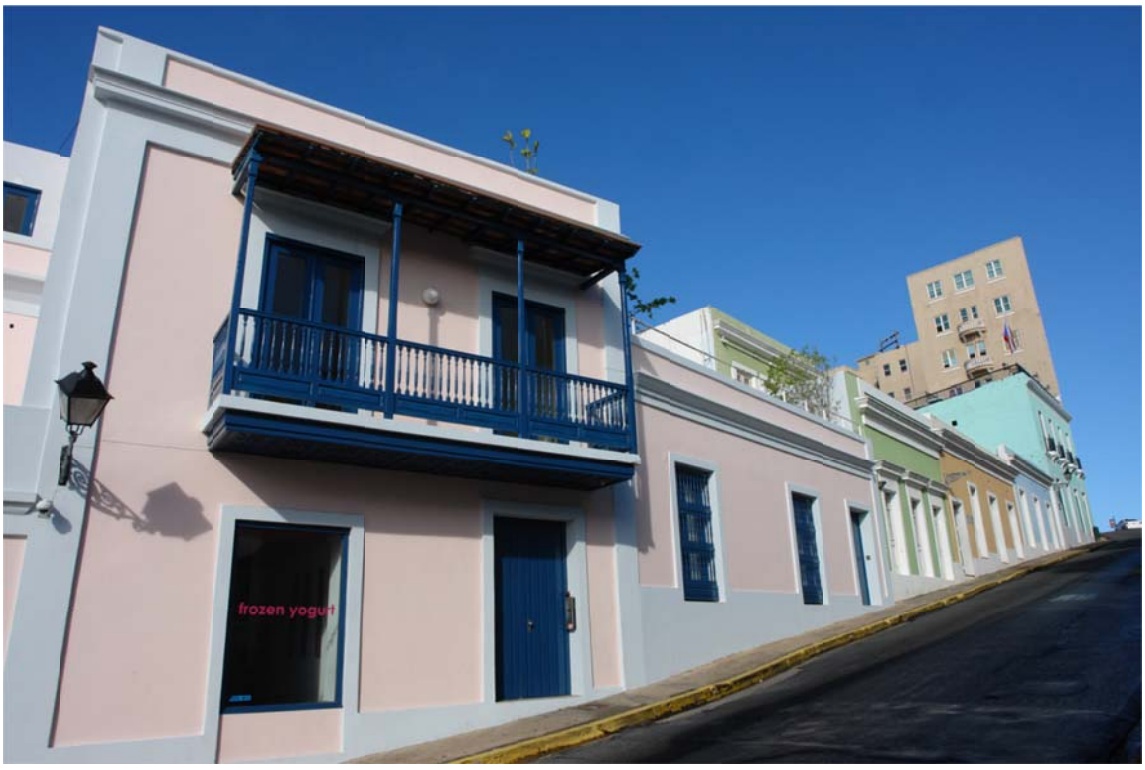
Plaza de San José taken from the roof of Iglesia de San José, camera facing southeast.
Photograph by Carlos A. Rubio Cancela, PR SHPO, June 27, 2012.

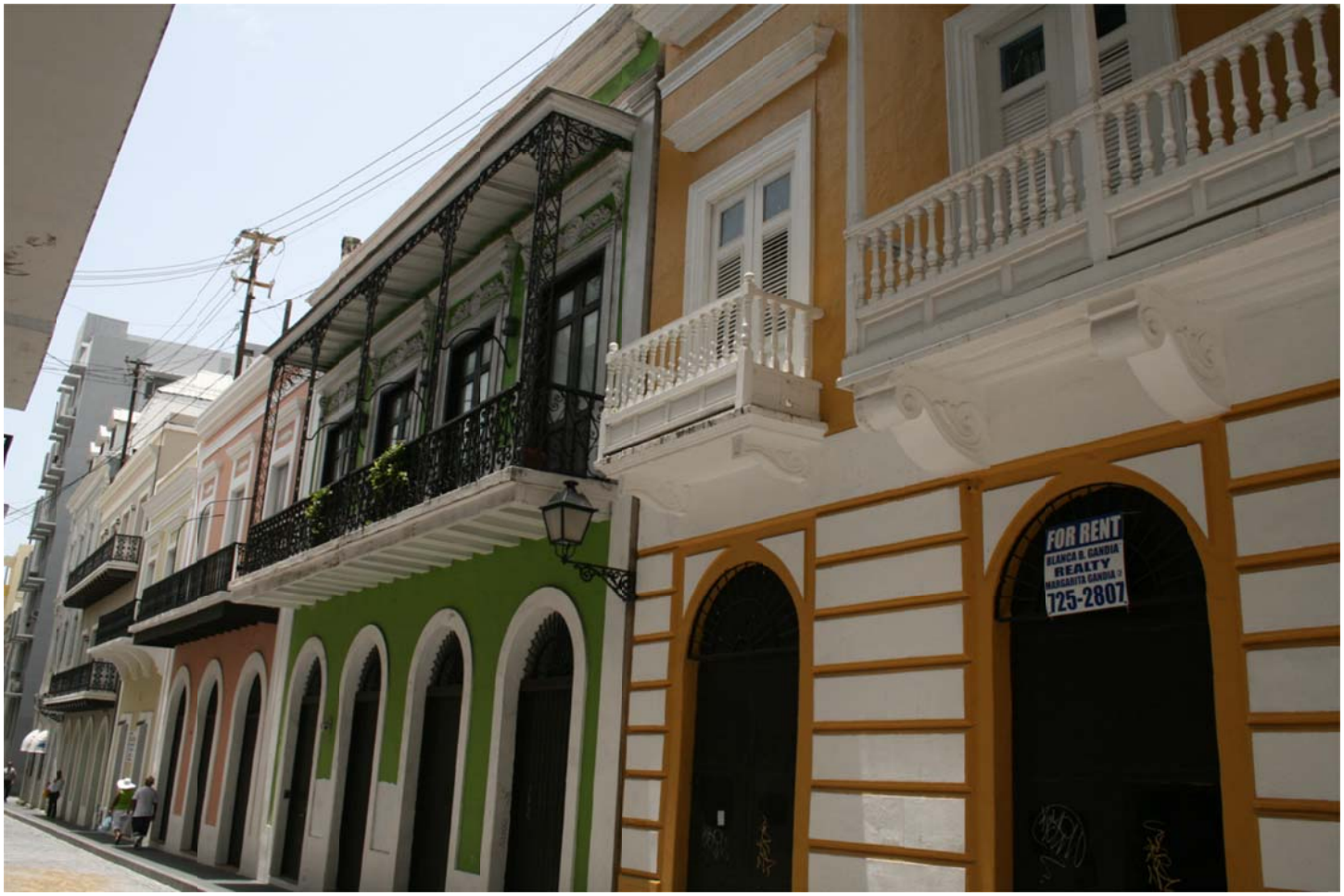


Jardin de Ballajá (foreground), Asilo de Beneficencia, Asilo de Locos, Morro Esplanade, and Castillo del Morro (background), camera facing northwest. Photograph by OECH, 2003.



Buildings on western side of Plaza Colón, camera facing west (above). Photograph by Andy Rivera and Christian Rosado Rivera, Puerto Rico Historic Building Drawing Society, July 3, 2009.
Calle Norzagaray Streetscape, camera facing northwest (below). Photograph by Andy Rivera and Christian Rosado Rivera, Puerto Rico Historic Building Drawing Society January 19, 2012.





House at Calle de la Tanca streetscape, west façade, camera facing southeast. Photograph by Dr. Arleen Pabón-Charneco, June 29, 2011.

Old San Juan H.D.
(Distrito Histórico
del Viejo San Juan)
San Juan, PR
Zone 19

Ⓐ
E. 805560
N. 2044490

Ⓑ
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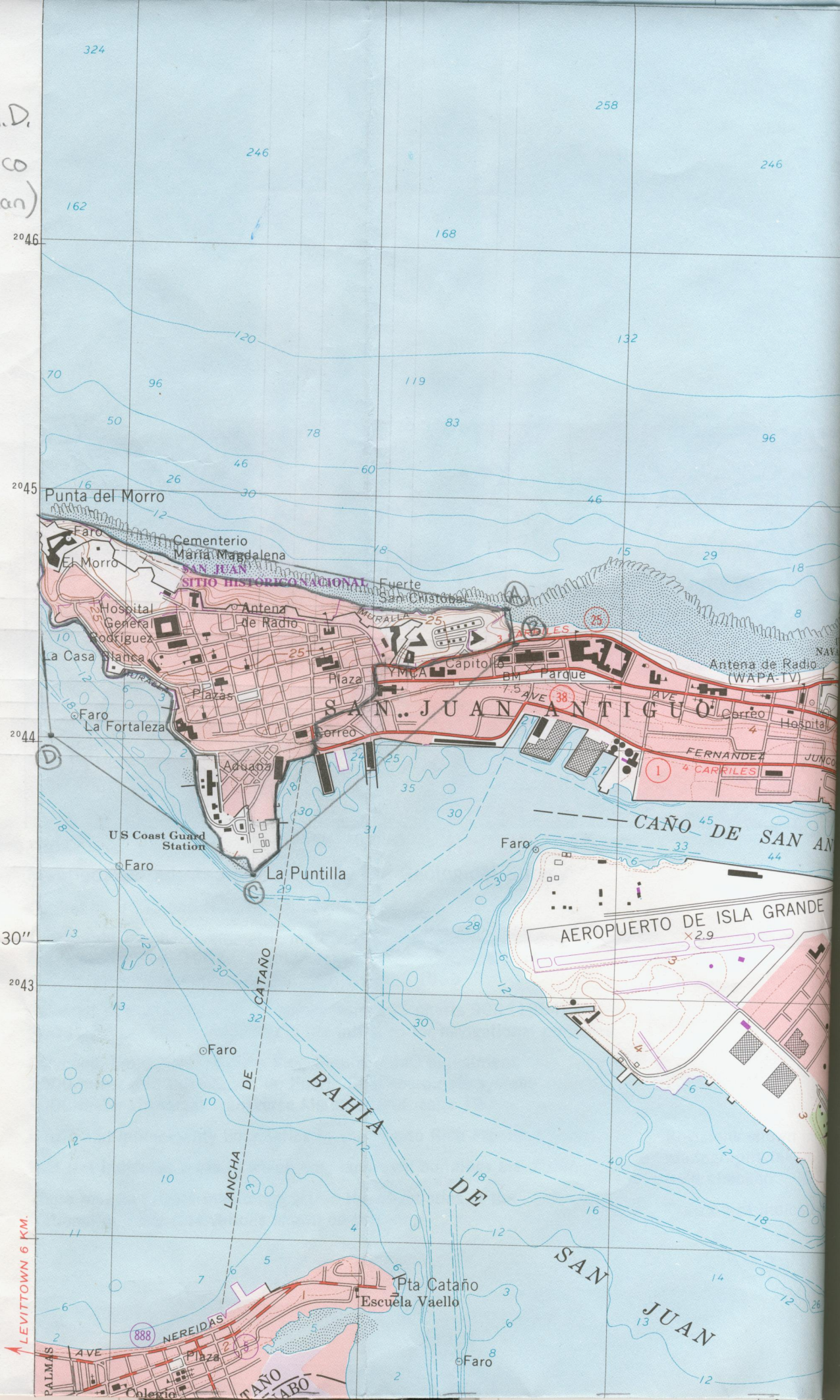

Old San Juan H.D.
(Distrito Histórico del Viejo San Juan)
San Juan, PR
Zone 19

BAYAMON QUADRANGLE
PUERTO RICO
7.5 MINUTE SERIES (TOPOGRAPHIC)