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CONSERVATION AND REUTILIZATION OF THE CASTILLO DE SAN MARCOS AND FORT MATANZAS

by LUIS RAFAEL ARANA

ON July 10, 1821, at four o'clock in the afternoon, Spanish gunners in the Castillo de San Marcos in St. Augustine fired a twenty-one gun salute. On the last round they lowered the royal colors and marched out of the fortification, abandoning twenty-five pieces of unserviceable artillery. Passing in front of the line of American soldiers waiting to enter the Castillo, the Spanish soldiers exchanged salutes with the representatives of the new proprietors of the Florida territory. Five days earlier, ruined Fort Matanzas, some twenty kilometers south of St. Augustine at Matanzas Inlet, had been evacuated by its three-man garrison, who abandoned two guns there.¹ Under the terms of the Adams-Onís Treaty, negotiated two years earlier, Spain had effected the transfer of its sovereignty over East Florida to the United States of America.

By order of the king, the Castillo de San Marcos had been constructed between 1672 and 1695 to guard Florida against enemy attack. The fort was built of coquina, a stone consisting of shells from the mollusk *Donax* found along the upper east coast of Florida. Nine successive earthwork forts had protected (not always successfully) St. Augustine since its founding in 1565. It was hoped that a more permanent structure would ensure Spanish title to Florida, and also protect the fleets and galleons returning to Spain via the Bahama Channel. The present floor plan of the Castillo is the result of the vaulting work

Luis Arana is the historian of Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas National Monuments. A version of this paper was read at the Seminar on Ports and Fortifications in America and the Philippines, in Madrid, Spain, June 1984. The paper was based on Edwin C. Bearss and John C. Paige, *Historic Structure Report for Castillo de San Marcos National Monument* (Denver, 1983).

1. Luis Rafael Arana, "The Transfer of East Florida, 1821," *El Escribano* 8 (July 1971), 102-10.

CASTILLO DE SAN MARCOS AND FORT MATANZAS 73

performed first in 1738-1740 and then 1752-1756, and the work to enlarge the ravelin in 1762.²

Fort Matanzas was built between 1740-1742, to control the entrance through Matanzas Inlet to the intracoastal arm of the sea leading to St. Augustine. Thus situated, the fortification prevented an enemy from surprising the city from either its flank or rear positions. Since 1569 there had been watchtowers at the inlet to warn the settlement of approaching vessels.³ Neither Fort Matanzas nor the Castillo were ever conquered during the many years they served Spain.

The American troops that received East Florida in 1821 were lodged in the Castillo. After their arrival, the newly installed commanding officer complained that rainwater was leaking through the deteriorated pavement of the terreplein into the vaults used as quarters and storage areas, keeping them constantly wet. To rectify this condition, he requested \$1,430 to purchase stone, lime, and sand to plaster and whitewash the fortification inside and out, and board and nails to make floors, bunks, and tables. Funds were provided to make the repairs, but not used, as the troops were billeted in other buildings.⁴

During the first days of American control there were disagreements between the army and the civil authorities about the equitable distribution of eighteen public buildings in St. Augustine. This dispute was settled on November 30, 1821, when President James Monroe issued an order turning over to the war department six buildings, including the Castillo de San Marcos, "with all the space immediately around it, recognized by the Spanish authorities as public property."⁵

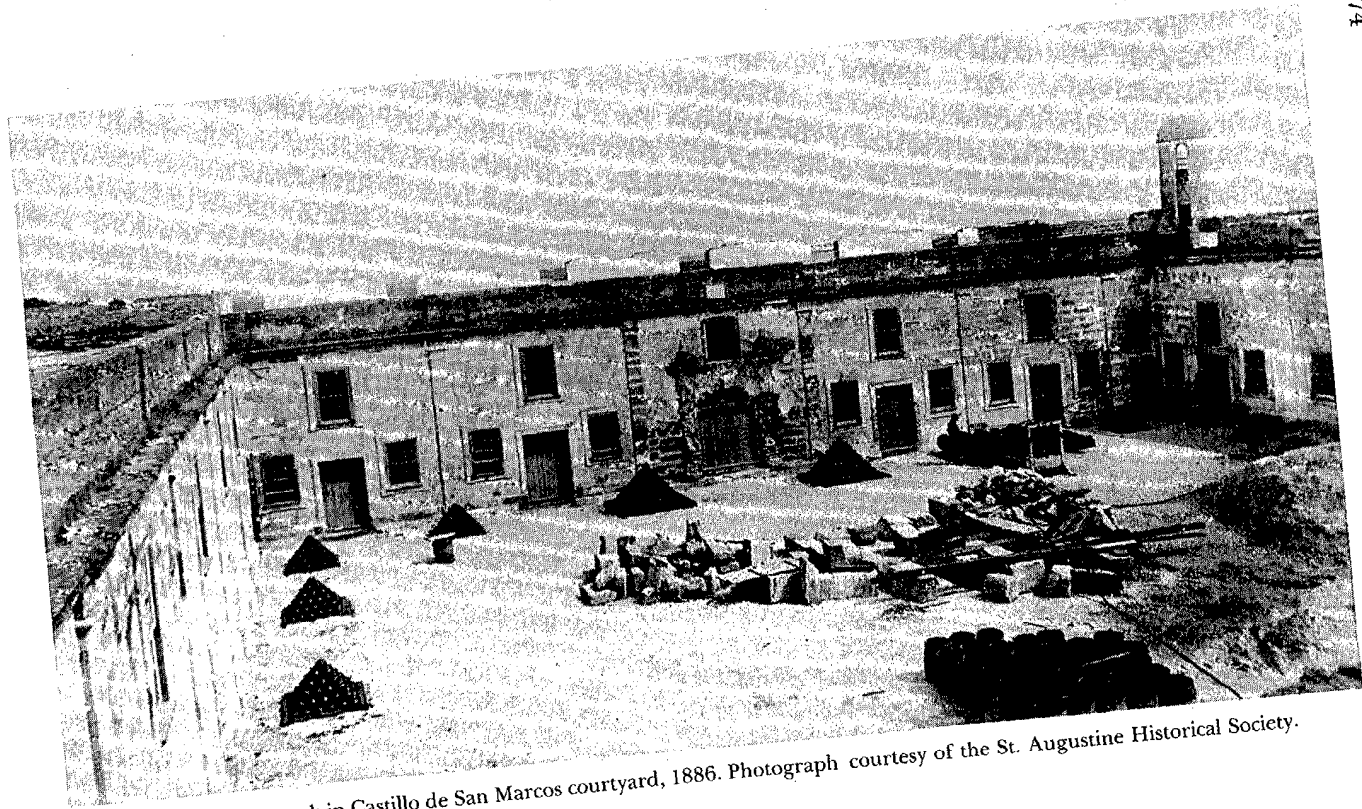
The Castillo was known in the War Department as Fort San Marcos, and it was often confused with Fort San Marcos de Apalache in St. Marks. To avoid this confusion, the War Depart-

2. Luis Rafael Arana and Albert Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos* (Philadelphia, 1977), 51-53.

3. Luis Rafael Arana, "The Fort at Matanzas Inlet," *El Escribano*, 17 (1980), 1-32.

4. Edwin C. Bearss and John C. Paige, *Historic Structure Report—Castillo de San Marcos National Monument/Florida* (Denver, 1983), 36-37, 40.

5. Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States, The Territory of Florida*, 26 vols. (Washington, 1934-1962), XXII, 170, 196-97, 225, 270.



Reconstruction work in Castillo de San Marcos courtyard, 1886. Photograph courtesy of the St. Augustine Historical Society.

74

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

ment published an order January 7, 1825, changing the name of the Castillo to that of Fort Marion, in honor of Francis Marion, the Revolutionary War hero from South Carolina.⁶

During the first twelve years of American occupation, the Castillo performed several diverse functions. It was utilized as an ordnance, quartermaster, commissary, and medical property storeroom, and as a civilian jail and hospital. For the latter purpose a wooden shed was built on the terreplein. On one other occasion the fort again served as a barracks; the men who built the bridge over the San Sebastian River, west of St. Augustine, were billeted there.⁷

By this time the deterioration of the Castillo de San Marcos had become serious. The cracks in the terreplein had widened and the filtration of rainwater into the vaults was increasing. The sentry boxes had lost part of their configuration. Two salient angles of the water battery wall had cracked away; one had fallen into the bay and the other threatened to do so. In the city, the Spanish sea wall running from Castillo to the south limits, which had been designed to prevent flooding from the bay, was missing the section that had been removed by the army to build a pier in the gap. Through this gap, and others created by incoming and outgoing tides, the water came through and sometimes reached the doorways of several houses.⁸

A group of St. Augustine citizens demanded that something be done about the situation. In November 1832, the grand jury of the Superior Court of East Florida urged the United States Government to repair the Castillo and rebuild the sea wall. On January 24, 1833, Judge Robert Raymond Reid wrote to Joseph L. White, Florida's territorial delegate in Congress, declaring that "No one can see the castle or fort, as it is called, completed by the Spanish Government in 1745 [*sic*], without admiration and regret. It is allowed, as you know, by military men, to have been constructed according to the best principles of fortifica-

6. Ibid., 63, fn. 20. See Hugh F. Rankin, *Francis Marion: The Swamp Fox* (New York, 1973).

7. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 267, 511, 645; John C. Calhoun to Joseph M. Hernandez, March 27, 1823, Letters Sent by the Secretary of War Relating to Military Affairs, 1800-1889, Microcopy M-61, National Archives, Washington.

8. "Florida—Repair Fort Marion," United States House of Representatives, 22nd Congress, 2nd sess., doc. no. 62.

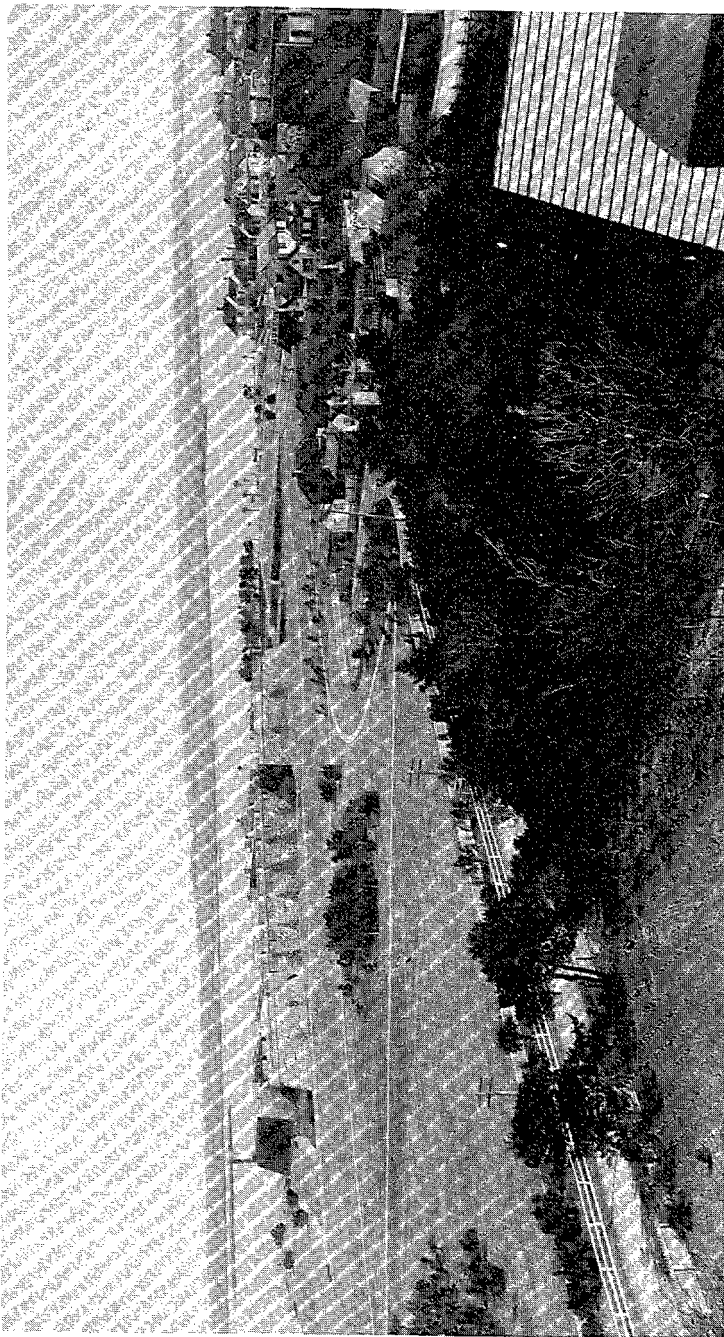
tion, and it long afforded protection to an otherwise almost defenceless position; now going rapidly to ruin." The people of St. Augustine urged that the Castillo be conserved because it was a delicate and venerable artistic monument, and they realized that a reconstructed sea wall might prevent possible flooding in the future.⁹

Joseph White succeeded in having Congress approve a special appropriation of \$20,000 from the budgets of the Corps of Engineers and Ordnance Department to repair the Castillo and the sea wall. In defense of these expenditures it was argued that in case of war, St. Augustine could become an important military depot, and the Castillo was, besides being an historic relic, the sole defense and safeguard of the city and the bay. President Andrew Jackson signed the appropriation on March 2, 1833, and First Lieutenant Stephen Tuttle of the Corps of Engineers arrived in St. Augustine in June to supervise the work. Repairs to the sea wall took nearly all the appropriation, but by September 30, the vaults, moat, and the wells of the Castillo were clear of vegetation and undergrowth. The job was unfinished when work stopped in October 1834, when funds were exhausted, but the fortification had new bridges and there was new terreplein pavement over three of the twenty-six vaults.¹⁰

An effort to get Congress to provide additional funds to finish the repairs and refurbishment was not successful. On December 8, 1834, First Lieutenant Francis L. Dancy of the Artillery, who had relieved Lieutenant Tuttle, submitted an estimate of \$44,182 for absolutely necessary repairs to the fortress, and for the extension of the sea wall. A few thousand dollars, he argued, would make the Castillo "a monument and not an unworthy one of the Spanish nation by whom it was erected, and a memento of events ever memorable in the history of our coun-

9. Ibid.

10. Charles Gratiot to Stephen Tuttle, March 13, 1833, Letters Sent, Chief Engineer, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Record Group 77, National Archives, Washington; Ibid., October 9, 1833; Francis L. Dancy to Gratiot, June 7, July 12, October 20, 1834, Letters Sent, Chief Engineer. See also, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1839," in Henry W. Benham to Joseph G. Totten, October 19, 1839, Letters Received by the Chief Engineer, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Record Group 77, National Archives, Washington.



View of the Castillo and Anastasia Island, 1891. Photograph courtesy of the National Park Service.

try."¹¹ Although this effort was unsuccessful, the measure was reconsidered in the next Congress and a special allotment of \$50,000 was voted. The president approved the allocation on July 2, 1836. The work was renewed on January 2, 1837, and the sea wall was again given priority. At the Castillo, large quantities of riprap were deposited at the foot of the three angles of the water battery wall to prevent the water of the bay from beating on the bastions and curtain of the eastern front. When reconstruction funds ran out again and work stopped on June 30, 1838, the sea wall project was still unfinished.¹²

It was at this time that the Castillo de San Marcos began to be used as a military prison for the first time. In October 1837, Seminole Chief Osceola and eighty-two of his followers were brought to the Castillo, and were held in a vault in the southwest corner of the courtyard.¹³ When twenty of the captives escaped by crawling through a narrow opening and down the outer wall, the remaining prisoners were transferred to Fort Moultrie in Charleston.

Congress again approved money for the repair of the Castillo and the remainder of the sea wall. Two appropriations bills, one for \$29,500 and the other for \$10,000, were signed by President Van Buren in July 1838 and on March 3, 1839. The chief engineer in Washington directed that all of the money would have to be used to complete the sea wall; nothing could be spent on the Castillo. Nonetheless, when the funds were depleted by January 1841, the coping was still missing from the sea wall.¹⁴

A bill signed by President John Tyler on September 9, 1841, included \$15,000 for the Castillo repairs, and between October 9, 1841, and March 31, 1844, Lieutenant Henry W. Benham, United States Army Engineer, who had replaced Dancy, began

11. Tuttle to Gratiot, April 1, 1834, Dancy to Gratiot, October 20, 1834, Letters Received by the Chief Engineer; Gratiot to Tuttle, May 15, 1834, Letters Sent, Chief Engineer; Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, XXV, 81; *American State Papers*, 38 vols. (Washington, 1832-1861), *Military Affairs*, V, 462.
12. Bearss and Paige, *Historic Structure Report*, 86, 93-97.
13. Kenneth W. Porter, "Seminole Flight from Fort Marion," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 22 (January 1944), 112-33; John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War* (Gainesville, 1967), 216-17.
14. Bearss and Paige, *Historic Structure Report*, 101, 113, 123, 130.

“modernizing” the old Spanish water battery.¹⁵ The acute angles of the northern and southern salients of the battery were made obtuse to allow more room in the battery, and the moat was filled with earth. The wall scarp was made of granite to the level of high tide, and then of coquina to the top. The Spanish wall was cut down to the height of the new scarp, and it was backed with coquina. The crown of the new wall was paved with coquina and plastered with cement. The surrounding grounds were planted with grass.¹⁶

Each of the twenty gun-emplacements in the new water battery consisted of a platform; a granite block topped with an iron pintle plate where the front of the seacoast carriage gyrated; a granite track topped by a matching iron track where the rear of the carriage traversed, and a firing step for observing the fire. Toward the gorge of the middle salient angle, a shot furnace was erected.¹⁷ Following these changes the Castillo was transformed into an active American fortification and integrated into the country’s permanent system of coastal defense.

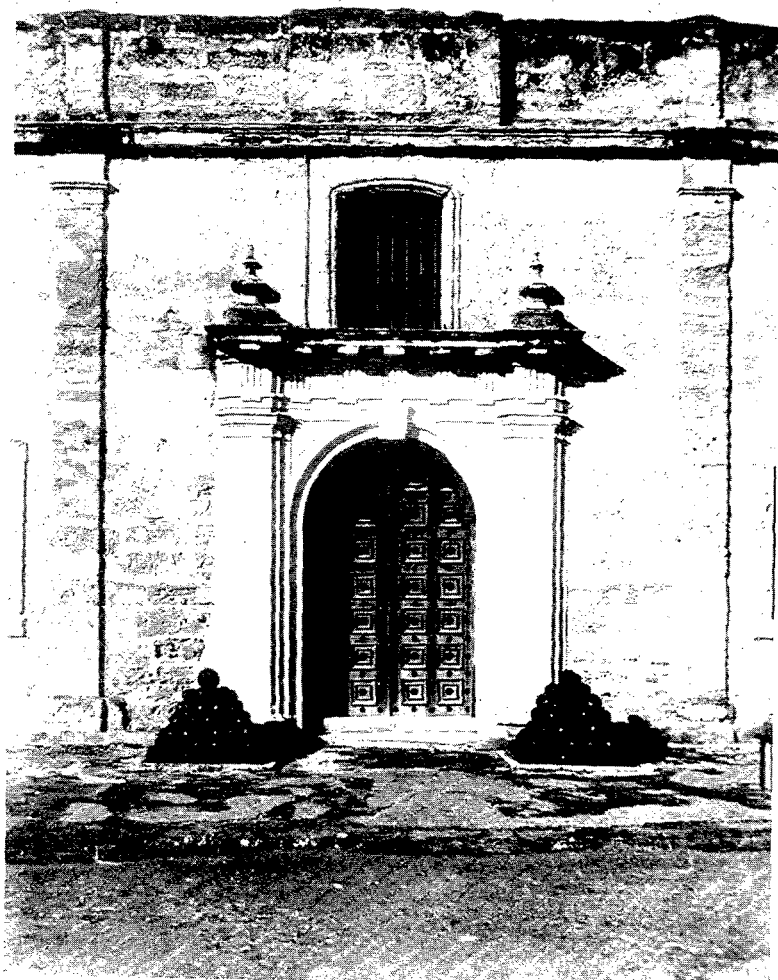
On August 29, 1843, concern over the deteriorating condition of Fort Matanzas prompted Lieutenant Benham to submit a map describing the problems. In his drawing he showed that the tower had been split vertically by two cracks in the face and back; the southeastern angle of the platform had been undermined by tides which had split the angle from the parapet to the foundations at the frontal and lateral walls; a segment of wall, out of plumb from the vertical plane, was listing forward, and the body of the sentry box at the southwestern angle had disappeared, although the base remained.¹⁸ There were no funds available, however, to do any of the needed work.

15. Ibid., 106, 134; Totten to Benham, August 27, 1841, March 5, 28, 1842, February 13, July 11, 15, 18, November 13, 1843, February 5, 1844, Letters Sent, Chief Engineer; Benham to Totten, September 27, October 9, 1841, March 28, November 9, 1842, February 3, April 10, May 27, July 24, 27, November 16, December 10, 1843, January 14, February 20, 1844, Letters Received by the Chief Engineer.

16. Bearss and Paige, *Historic Structure Report*, 207-17.

17. Ibid., 223-30.

18. “Fort of Matanzas Inlet, 20 miles [sic] South of St. Augustine, E. Florida,” drawer 128, sheet 17, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Record Group 77, National Archives, Washington.



Chapel Facade as restored in 1915. Photograph courtesy of the National Park Service.

To continue the St. Augustine projects, Congress, in 1845, allocated \$5,000. Between November 1845, and May of the following year, the termite-ridden sluice gates of the two drains of the water battery were rebuilt, and coping was put in place on the sea wall.¹⁹ Shortly afterwards a hurricane caused considerable damage to the grounds of the Castillo, eroding much of the shoreline north of the water battery. On March 3, 1849, President James Polk signed a bill allocating \$5,000 for repairs, and between November 1 and June 30, 1850, Lieutenant Jeremy F. Gilmer, Corps of Engineers, supervised the construction of a wall to prevent future erosion.²⁰

Since 1834, little attention had been given to the Castillo, and time and other factors had taken their toll. Cattle owned by local St. Augustine residents grazed on the glais, in the covered way, and in the moat, which had become filled with earth. Many paths cut across the glais and the covered-way wall. Vegetation and trash filled the moat. After an inspection in 1859, Lieutenant William H. C. Whiting reported that it was a pity that "so venerable a relic of the most ancient dominion on this continent should, now that it is in our hands, be annihilated for want of care." It disgusted him to see "so ancient and interesting a relic exposed to other hazards than those of time." Perhaps as a result of Whiting's report, \$290 paid from the regular budget of the War Department was authorized to fence in the grounds of the Castillo, clean the moat, and repair the bridge. In 1860 the shingles covering the shot furnace in the water battery were replaced.²¹

19. Bearss and Paige, *Historic Structure Report*, 144, 148, 150, 235-37.

20. *Ibid.*, 239; Totten to Jeremy F. Gilmer, April 6, 1849, Letters Sent, Chief Engineer; Gilmer to Totten, May 14, 1849, Letters Received by the Chief Engineer.

21. John Newton to Totten, June 22, July 1, 1853, October 1, 1854, William H. C. Whiting to Sylvanus Thayer, July 15, 1858, Whiting to René De Russy, June 6, 1859, Whiting to Totten, January 7, 1861, Letters Received by the Chief Engineer; Totten to Newton, May 16, June 30, 1853, Thayer to Gilmer & Whiting, June 17, 1858, De Russy to Whiting, May 16, 1859, Whiting to Totten, January 7, 1861, Letters Sent, Chief Engineer. See also, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. 73 vols. (Washington, 1880-1901), I, 333, 350, 466.

During the first fourteen months of the Civil War Confederate troops occupied the Castillo, then, because of need elsewhere in the south much of the artillery in the water battery was moved. The Federals, when they occupied St. Augustine in 1862, prepared the Castillo for possible attack, but that action never came.²² After the war, the War Department resolved that the Castillo de San Marcos would no longer be included in the permanent system of coastal defense. The effectiveness of rifled artillery against brick fortifications had been demonstrated during the conflict. The Castillo reverted to its unique character as a historic relic, with potential use as a military prison. The War Department, however, was not willing to expend the funds needed to restore and conserve the Castillo to its original design.²³

During the next sixteen years, the Castillo was used as a storage place for a variety of commodities, as a prison in 1875-1878 for the southern Plains Indians, and in 1882 as an observation post for members of the French Academy of Science who were observing the transit of the planet Venus. Repairs were made to the terreplein pavement, parapets, a sentry box, bridges, a vault's fallen arch, windows, doors, the floors of some of the vaults, and the stairway of the watchtower. Four vaults were plastered and whitewashed. A guardroom was improved, a shed was built on the north terreplein, and a sink was installed. The \$7,250 to effect these changes came from the War Department's regular budget.²⁴

22. Omega G. East, "St. Augustine During the Civil War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 31 (October 1952), 75-91; *Official Records* VI, 96; *Ibid.*, XXVII, 240-41; *Ibid.*, XXXV, 25; *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian-Civil and Spanish-American Wars* (Live Oak, 1903; reprint ed., Gainesville, 1983), 99-100.
23. H. W. F. Little, *The Seventh Regiment New Hampshire Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion* (Concord, NH, 1896), 75-77; Richard Delafield to John G. Foster, December 11, 1865, March 3, 1866, Delafield to John W. Barlow, June 11, 1866, Andrew A. Humphreys to Quincy A. Gillmore, December 18, 1867, May 10, 1869, Letters Sent, Chief Engineer; Foster to Delafield, January 22, 1866, Barlow to Delafield, May 28, 1866, Gillmore to Humphreys, February 28, 1868, Letters Received by the Chief Engineer; Bearss and Paige, *Historic Structure Report*, 265-67.
24. Humphreys to Adj. General, December 16, 1868, Humphreys to John B. Meigs, January 30, 1869, Thomas L. Casey to Gillmore, December 10, 1874, April 3, 20, 1875, E. D. Townsend to Humphreys, March 31, 1875, Casey to James C. Post, May 11, 1875, Letters Sent, Chief Engineer;

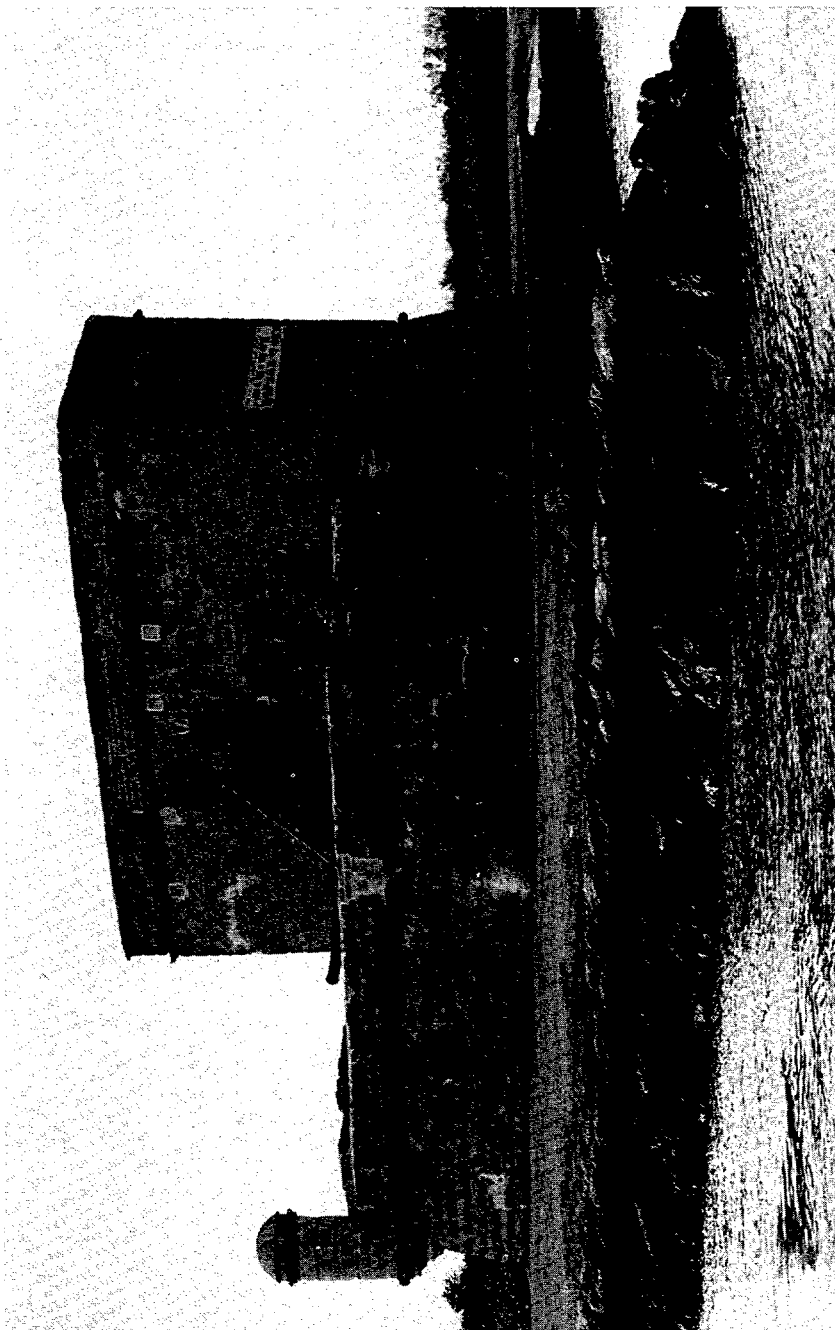
The Castillo also became a popular tourist attraction. After the Civil War, affluent Northerners began wintering in Florida, and in 1869, records show that some 25,000 people visited the state. When the Plains Indians were brought to the Castillo in May 1875, they attracted many curious visitors to the fort who were welcomed almost every day except Sunday. One of the visiting celebrities was Harriet Beecher Stowe who was living with her family at Mandarin on the St. Johns River near Jacksonville.²⁵

Several prominent Floridians tried unsuccessfully to pry funds from the War Department to restore and conserve the Castillo. In 1871, Florida Senator Thomas Osborne requested an amount of \$5,000 to \$10,000 for further restoration efforts. He wanted the fortification to be preserved for its "historical value & as a work of great interest, and that it be cleared of the rubbish and dirt & that it be restored as it was when it was completed by the Spanish." Abijah Gibson, the other United States Senator for Florida supported this action.

In 1877, Secretary of War George W. McCrary ordered that a study be conducted to determine the cost of restoring the Castillo to its 1821 condition. Army Inspector General Nelson Davis, reported that \$10,000 to \$12,000 would be needed to maintain the fortification which was well preserved and which had become an "object of much curiosity and great interest to our people who visit St. Augustine." "Its preservation intact," he noted, "is worthy of the attention and care of our Government." The commanding officer of the army post of St. Augustine, although not headquartered in the fort, stated in 1881 that the Castillo was a "venerable old pile, blackened by time and falling into ruin and decay." The Chief of the Corps of Engineers re-

Gillmore to Humphreys, December 10, 1874, April 2, 1875, Gillmore to Post, April 3, 1875, Post to Humphreys, April 10, 20, 24, 1875, Letters Received by the Chief Engineer. See also Richard H. Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904* (New Haven, 1964), 117-18.

25. Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 120; "Rambler," (pseud.) *Guide to Florida by Rambler* (New York, 1875; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), xiii. Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe visited the Indians at Fort Marion several times. Karen Daniels Petersen, *Plains Indians Art from Fort Marion* (Norman, Ok., 1971), 66, 121, 163.



Fort Matanzas, 1979-1980. Photograph courtesy of the National Park Service.

plied that while he sympathized with the conservation of historic structures, it was up to Congress to make the needed funds—\$10,000 to \$12,000—available.²⁶

Some money was obtained for the conservation and restoration of the Castillo by Wilkinson Call, United States Senator for Florida. On May 16, 1884, Call requested support from the War Department for a special appropriation of \$5,000 or \$10,000 to repair the Castillo, improve the grounds, and build a causeway and drawbridge to join North Beach with the mainland. Although the chief of the United States Army Corps of Engineers objected to the causeway and bridge items, he agreed that the fortification should be restored as much as possible to its 1821 condition. Contrary to the predictions of some skeptics, Congress appropriated \$5,000 for repairs and grounds improvement, and President Arthur approved this action on July 5, 1884. For the first time public funds had been appropriated to restore an historic fortification which would probably never be used again for active service. This was one of the early efforts by the federal government to restore and conserve an historic national structure using public funds.²⁷ To assure an accurate restoration, the War Department obtained from Spanish archives the 1785 drawing of the Castillo by Mariano de la Rocque and the 1796 sketches by Pedro Díaz Berrió. The Cuban archives yielded the plans for the chapel doorway.²⁸

26. Bearss and Paige, *Historic Structure Report*, 268-69, 282-84.

27. John M. Wilson to Gillmore, May 10, July 16, 1884, Newton to Gillmore, May 21, 1884, Newton to Wilkinson Call, May 24, 1884, Letters Sent, Chief Engineer; Gillmore to Newton, May 13, 24, 1884, Albert Tracy to Call, May 8, 1884, Letters Received by the Chief Engineer.

28. Newton to Robert Todd Lincoln, August 8, 1884, H. M. Adams to William T. Rossell, August 18, September 13, 1884, Letters Sent, Chief Engineer; Gillmore to Newton, July 7, 1884, Rossell to Gillmore, August 14, 1884, Nelson H. Davis to Lincoln, August 14, 1884, Frederick T. Frelinghausen to Lincoln, January 5, 1885, Rossell to Newton, November 12, 1884, Letters Received by the Chief Engineer. The full title of the drawings mentioned are "Plano del Castillo de San Marcos, situado a 29 grados y 40 minutos de Latitud, en la Florida del Este" (Plan of Castillo de San Marcos situated at twenty-nine degrees and forty minutes latitude, in East Florida), and "Plano del Castillo de San Marcos en San Agustín de la Florida Oriental" (Plan of Castillo de San Marcos in St. Augustine in East Florida). The Spanish government also furnished a copy of a third plan, entitled "Plano general de la Plaza de San Agustín de la Florida y sus inmediaciones" (General Plan of the Post of St. Augustine in Florida and its environs), also by Mariano de la Rocque, dated December 24, 1791. The

Fort Matanzas also began receiving needed and long overdue attention. On January 29, 1885, Lieutenant George I. Scriven, who was serving with the artillery in St. Augustine, received orders to inspect and determine the condition of the redoubt. On February 17, he reported on the location, design features, condition of the tower and platform, and the prolix measurements of the fort. Scriven concluded that "old Fort Matanzas stands as . . . an historical record whose preservation is well worth the attention and care necessary to keep it."²⁹

The work on the Castillo, for which funds had been appropriated, was completed by August 25, 1886, under the supervision of Lieutenant William M. Black. Part of the terreplein at the north and east fronts, covering nine vaults, was paved; the ramp's arch and the northwest bastion's sentry box were rebuilt; the southwest bastion's sentry box was secured; twenty-two cracks in the faces of the bastions and one in the west curtain were repointed; missing stones in the covered-way wall, the counterscarp, and the ravelin were replaced, and the glacis was re-sodded.³⁰

On April 16, 1886, while the restoration work was proceeding, a group of Chiricahua Apache Indians were brought to the Castillo, and were held there for a year. An artesian well was dug in the courtyard to provide water, and a latrine was built in a vault. Because of these expenses the \$5,000 appropriated was not enough to complete the Castillo rehabilitation pro-

copies can be recognized by the absence of the engineer's signature and by the notation penned on them in Spain, which reads "Copia facsimile del original que existe en el Depósito General Topográfico de la Dirección de Ingenieros, Madrid, 24 de noviembre de 1884" (Facsimile copy of the extant original in the General Topographical Depot of the Engineer Directorate, Madrid, November 24, 1884). The originals have been printed in *Cartografía de ultramar*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1949-1957), II, Nos. 73, 74, 75.

29. Edwin C. Bearss, "The War Department Years, 1821-1933," in *Historic Structure Report—Fort Matanzas National Monument/Florida* (Denver, 1980), 95-102; Luis Rafael Arana, "Notes on Fort Matanzas National Monument," *El Escribano* 18 (1981), 56-57.
30. Daniel Manning to William Endicott, December 11, 28, 1885, Semi-Annual Report for Fort Marion, July 17, 1886, January 27, July 1, 1887, Rossell to Newton, April 16, 1886, William M. Black to Newton, May 11, 1886, Letters Received by the Chief Engineer; Wilson to Black, May 15, 1886, Wilson to Rossell, April 19, 1886, Letters Sent, Chief Engineer.

gram.³¹ Senator Call sponsored a special appropriations bill for \$15,000 to complete the Castillo work, landscape the surrounding area, and to extend the sea wall north of the water battery.³²

Captain William Black (promoted from lieutenant) and Lieutenant D. D. Gaillard finished the Castillo restoration from December 1890 to November 1891. The work consisted in covering parts of the terreplein with waterproof concrete mix and coating them with a mixture of paraffin and petroleum, installing concrete downspouts, repairing banquette surfaces and four embrasures, moving the stairway outside the watchtower to the inside, placing ten wooden tenches on the terreplein for visitors, cleaning and levelling the moat, repairing the molding of doors and windows, installing a door, and replacing glass in the windows with iron bars. The ornamentation of the grounds included fencing the south and west boundaries, restoring the historic slope of the glacis, and planting grass, 384 trees of different species, and seventy-five palms. The sea wall north of the water battery was extended to the north boundary line of the reservation.³³ Between 1891 and 1915, \$1,391, from the regular War Department budget was spent on conservation work at the Castillo. In 1908 \$298 was spent to repair the public access area, and in 1915, \$490 was spent to restore the facade of the chapel vault.³⁴

On February 28, 1890, Congressman Robert Bullock of Florida tried unsuccessfully to get a \$5,000 appropriation bill to rehabilitate Fort Matanzas.³⁵ Florida Congressman Frank Clark made three unsuccessful attempts in 1910, 1911, and 1913 to

31. Bearss and Paige, *Historic Structure Report*, 305-09; Omega G. East, "Apache Prisoners in Fort Marion, 1886-1887," *El Escribano* 6 (January 1969), 11-27; *ibid.*, (April 1969), 3-23; *ibid.*, (July 1969), 4-23; *ibid.*, (October 1969), 20-38.

32. Endicott to E. S. Bragg, February 20, 1886, Black to Chief Engineer, July 23, 1887, Letters Received by the Chief Engineer; J. C. Duane to Endicott, January 11, 1888, Letters Sent, Chief Engineer. See also Bearss and Paige, *Historic Structure Report*, 334-35.

33. Bearss and Paige, *Historic Structure Report*, 335-43.

34. Thomas H. Handbury to Casey, August 31, September 29, 1894, John G. D. Knight to Handbury, October 2, 1894, February 15, 1895, James P. Taliaferro to Fred C. Ainsworth, March 24, 1910, General Correspondence of Chief Engineer's Office, 1894-1924, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Record Group 77, National Archives, Washington.

35. Bearss, "War Department Years," 102-03.

secure an appropriation of \$25,000 to begin rehabilitating Fort Matanzas. The secretary of war opposed this expense, arguing that the fort did not commemorate any "patriotic effort connected with the life of the Republic," and that the United States flag had never flown over it.³⁶

In 1910 the Castillo de San Marcos and the St. Augustine National Cemetery were under the care of retired sergeant George M. Brown. His duties included protecting the fort, doing the paperwork, and taking visitors on guided tours. It was estimated that approximately 50,000 people visited the Castillo each year.³⁷ In 1914 the War Department agreed to allow the St. Augustine Historical Society to furnish a guide service for the Castillo which would be available every day except Sunday from 8:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. There would be no admission charge, but visitors could use a guide for ten cents. The Society was also allowed to install museum exhibits and sell pamphlets, post cards, photographs, and souvenirs. The Society became the custodian of the Castillo and was responsible for maintaining all the space it utilized. In 1923 the Society agreed to spend \$500 a year for minor repairs to the Castillo and its sidewalks and trails, to cut the grass, clean the fort, light and heat the vaults in use, and maintain the sanitation service. Two years later this amount was increased to \$700.³⁸ The conservation work consisted of plastering the top of the parapet, filling cracks and repointing joints in the walls with cement and those in the terreplein pavement with felt strips coated with asphalt, and in coating parts of the pavement with asphalt.³⁹

On May 30, 1916, Dewitt Webb, president of the St. Augustine Historical Society, warned a congressional subcommittee considering the budget for the next fiscal year that if Congress did not provide urgently needed restoration funds, Fort Matanzas might disappear completely, as it was already "fast falling into ruin." Webb's dire prediction came to the attention of Wil-

36. Bearss, "War Department Years," 106-09.

37. George R. Spalding to Chief Engineer, May 13, June 27, 1910, General Correspondence of Chief Engineer's Office, 1894-1924.

38. Bearss and Paige, *Historic Structure Report*, 358-61; Murray D. Laurie "The Preservation of Florida's Historic Buildings" (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1986), 27-28. Thomas Graham, "St. Augustine Historical Society, 1883-1983," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 64 (July 1985), 1-31.

39. *Ibid.*, 366-81.

liam Black, who had supervised the work at the Castillo many years earlier. Black, now a major general and Chief of Engineers, called for an estimate of the cost of the minimal work that was needed to prevent the collapse of Matanzas. The Jacksonville District Engineer reported that \$1,025 would be needed to stabilize the tower, but work on the platform could be postponed since its condition did not affect the rest of the structure. In July 1916, Black authorized funds to rehabilitate the redoubt.⁴⁰

Stone mason Bud Deyo was commissioned to repair the tower. The work took from July 1916 to April 1917, and required an additional \$136. In 1924, with an allocation of \$2,375 the redoubt's platform was repaired. Between April 2 and June 30, Bud Deyo disassembled, stone-by-stone, the two wall segments that the cracks had separated from the structure, reassembled them, and paved the terreplein. Between August 2 and October 15, a mattress of oyster shells was placed around the base of the wall. The cost of this work exceeded the allocation by only \$52.⁴¹

The sentry box at the southwest angle of the platform was rebuilt in 1926 at a cost of \$810. Its design, however, was not compatible with the redoubt's architecture, and the box was demolished in December 1929. A more appropriate one was then built at a cost of \$350.

On October 15, 1924, President Calvin Coolidge proclaimed the Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas as national monuments under the Antiquities Act of 1906. The Act had been enacted to protect historical sites and objects. The Castillo and Fort Matanzas were unique relics of the Spanish presence in Florida and specimens of a vanished style of military architecture and engineering.⁴²

On March 1, 1929, the War Department assigned custody of the Castillo and Fort Matanzas to the St. Augustine Historical Society.⁴³ Custody of the properties was transferred to the Department of the Interior by an executive order on June 10,

40. Bearss, "War Department Years," 113-16.

41. *Ibid.*, 116-18, 212-26.

42. Luis Rafael Arana, "Notes on Castillo de San Marcos National Monument," unpub. mss. (St. Augustine, 1981).

43. Bearss, "War Department Years," 130-32, 135-39.

1933, which provided that public buildings, reservations, national parks, monuments, and cemeteries would be administered by the National Park Service. In an order of July 28, the Castillo and Fort Matanzas were specifically named. The transfer was to be effective August 10.⁴⁴ The National Park Service and the St. Augustine Historical Society jointly administered the Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas for two years, and the Service assumed sole custody on July 1, 1935.⁴⁵ Since 1935 the St. Augustine Historical Society and the National Park Service have maintained a cooperative relationship.⁴⁶

In 1942 Congress restored the traditional Spanish name, Castillo de San Marcos, to the fort.⁴⁷ Today, the Castillo is St. Augustine's principal tourist attraction, with facilities that include museum exhibits, interpretive markers, guided tours, taped self-guided tours, a display of antique artillery mounted on reconstructed carriages, and firing demonstrations for old cannons and muskets. Attractions at Fort Matanzas include exhibits, markers, an audio station, and two cannons left behind in 1821. A motor boat ferries tourists from the visitors center to the small island where the fort is located.

Between October 1, 1984, and September 30, 1985, 703,937 people visited the Castillo de San Marcos. The total revenue collected from the fifty-cents admission fee (there is no charge for persons under sixteen) amounted to \$207,579. During this same period 327,093 persons visited Fort Matanzas. There is no admission fee for the Fort. The two monuments operate with a combined budget of \$758,600. Thus, during 1979-1980, \$246,034 was spent on work at Fort Matanzas. From July 1, 1935, through February 28, 1986, 23,086,932 persons visited the Castillo de San Marcos, and 6,168,365 visitors toured Fort Matanzas.⁴⁸

44. Executive Orders 6166 and 6238.

45. John C. Paige, "National Park Service Period, 1933 to the Present," *Historic Structure Report—Fort Matanzas*, 145-49.

46. Graham, "St. Augustine Historical Society," 6, 16.

47. Act of June 5, 1942, 56 USC 312.

48. Administrative files, Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas National Monuments.

CASTILLO DE SAN MARCOS AND FORT MATANZAS 91

The Castillo de San Marcos, the oldest masonry fort in the United States, and Fort Matanzas are among the nation's most important historical monuments. Both have a long history of continued conservation efforts. Now under the protection of the National Park Service, these national treasures must meet the challenges to conservation posed by our modern-day environment.